THE VOLUNTEER POWERHOUSE

By Janet Gordon and Diana Reische

The Rutledge Press

Published by The Rutledge Press
300 Mercer Street
New York, New York 10003
First Printing 1982
Printed by Interstate Book Manufacturers, Olathe, Kansas
Designed by Allan Mogel
ISBN: 0-87469-038-2

Reische, Diana L.
The volunteer powerhouse.
1. Association of the Junior Leagues of American—History. I. Gordon, Janet (Janet G.) II. Title.

HQ1904.R44 1982 305.4'06'073 82-20436

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book could not have been completed without the help of hundreds of people both inside and outside the Junior Leagues who provided information and insights into the Junior League and its place in the unfolding history of American women. While it is impossible to thank all those whose help made the book possible, a particular debt of gratitude is owed:

Former A.J.L. president Alice Weber, whose interest in this history of the Junior Leagues prompted her to open the A.J.L. archives in 1979, and to encourage individual Leagues to provide information; Judy Fletcher, former Toronto Junior League president who reviewed the entire manuscript and broadened our perspective internationally; Carole Nichols, coordinator of women's history studies at Sarah Lawrence College, whose supportive comments and corrections on drafts of the manuscript greatly enhanced the sections on women's history; Dr. Audrey Smock, author of six books on women's issues, who provided a wise perspective; Letitia Baldrige, a second-generation Junior League dynamo for her encouragement and support; Katherine Niles, a former Junior League president and now Director of the Art Program for Pepsico, Inc.; Linda Beech, a gifted editor who unscrambled several early chapters as a favor to a friend.

To Nancy Sachtjen and others who read and commented critically on all or parts of the manuscript we owe a major debt for spotting errors, inconsistencies or omissions; past and present officers and members of the A.J.L. Board: Amy Adams, Susan Hallas, Margaret Graham, Barbara Hodgson, Anne Hoover, and Joan Smith; A.J.L. staff: Carolyn Levering, Marsha Lichtenstein, Sally Orr, Peggy Pschirrer, Liz Quinlan, Barbara Whitney, and former archivist, Rhoda Ackerman.

Presidents (past and present) of individual Junior Leagues who went out of their way to provide information, photos, and suggestions include DeDee Bowers of the Boston League; Frances Bruton of Mexico City; Wendy Borcherdt and Jeanne Moulds of Los Angeles; Judy Chreist of Albuquerque; Lynne Clark of Scarsdale; Bonnie Downing of Denver; Donna Lee Frisch of Baltimore; Beverly

Hart of El Paso; Mollie Heide of Central Delaware Valley; Harriette Heller and Neita Blondeau of Brooklyn; Lyda Hill of Dallas; Karen Johnson and Carol Ann Rogers of San Francisco; Charlotte Luskey of Washington, D. C.; Mary Martha Mooney of Chicago; Nancy Moore of Houston; Harriette Peavy and Elizabeth Lende of San Antonio; Barbara Prickett of Atlanta; Bebe Rose of Savannah; Mary Schrady of Monterey County; Phyllis Supple of Pelham; Joyce White of Portland, Ore.; and Montyne Winoku of Palm Beaches.

Individual members whose input was most helpful include: Dr. Carol Browning of Ogden; Marilyn Bryant of Minneapolis; Linda Daily and Anne Del Gaudio of Scarsdale; Melinda Deriso of Savannah; Vicki Everson of Great Falls; Vicki Ford of Bronxville; Diane Hicks of Detroit; Judy Kennedy of Monterey County; Jewel Norman of Atlanta; Penny Rembe of Albuquerque; Ann Rohlen of Chicago; Leslie Seabury of Boston; Betsey Stettner of Denver; Mary Wells Vickery of Washington, D. C.; Jerry Williams of Nashville; Mary Whyte of Greenwich; and, Renee Wright of Houston. We are also grateful for the help of Merrell Clark, Carol Mehler, and Katharine Tweed.

We thank Patricia King, Director, and Eva Mosely, Curator, of the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe for digging out old Junior League scrapbooks and other documents; and the staff of the University of Minnesota Libraries, Social Welfare History Archives Center, Minneapolis, Minn.

To George Gordon, who more than anyone else made publication of this book a reality, his advertising agency and art director, Wendy Guagenti for the cover design.

The authors are also deeply grateful to the Junior Leagues of Scarsdale and Pelham for providing the personal experience of membership in a remarkable organization.

INTRODUCTION

hen the Association of Junior Leagues holds its annual conference, the President of the United States generally sends a routine congratulatory message. The 1981 message electrified Junior League delegates, not for what it said, but because it was brought by Ann Swift, one of two women held hostage for 444 days after the takeover of the United States embassy in Iran.

A State Department career employee assigned to a volatile Middle East post does not mesh with popular but outdated images of the Junior League, yet Ann Swift is a member of the Junior League of Washington, D.C. Neither does Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, first woman to serve on the Supreme Court of the United States, and a past president of the Junior League of Phoenix. Nor does Mayor Carole McClellan of Austin, Texas, photographed by *People* magazine in a hardhat at a construction site. Nor does Monica Kaufman, anchorwoman of an evening news program in Atlanta, a black, and a member of the Junior League. Then there is Catherine Cleary, retired chairman of a Wisconsin bank, the first woman director of both General Motors and AT&T. These women do not fit the sepia stereotype that has persisted although the Junior League and its membership have changed immeasurably. Both have grown up.

Junior Leagues have nudged and prodded their members into community service and involvement for more than eight decades. The difference today from 80 years ago is that Junior League women are increasingly community decision-makers as well as community volunteers. More and more League members are acting as lobbyists, activists, agents for change. The old Junior League was a sort of silk-stocking establishment, its members' roles determined more by birth and marriage than by personal achievement. The Junior League today is still something of an elite establishment, but it is more an elite of merit and accomplishment, less one of social position.

For an organization that has counted so many leaders among its ranks, the Junior League is strangely absent from books on women in America. It is even missing from most historical accounts of women's organizations of the 20th

century. Most histories of American women fail to mention the Junior League, or if they do, a single line suffices. In library card files, the only entries on the Junior League are cookbooks various Leagues have produced as fund-raisers, or historical preservation guidebooks compiled by members. Of the Junior League itself, there is virtually nothing.

In part, the omission is the organization's own fault; it often shows an ambivalent attitude toward publicity, a deep caution toward reporters and publications not under its direct control. It is also due to the historical unwillingness of the organization as a whole to take part in the early 20th-century struggle for suffrage or the more recent battle for ERA. Yet the omission from women's history is probably also due in part to the society image that clings to the Junior League, of well-bred butterflies dabbling at good works between tennis, bridge, and vacations.

Accurate 1980's perceptions of the Junior League are mottled by a phenomenon Lillian Hellman used as the title of one of her books, "pentimento," a painting term that describes how an older painted image seeps through a later overpainted layer of pigment. Outmoded conceptions of white-gloved ladies engaging in genteel charity between bridge games still peek through the public impression of the contemporary Junior League.

The society linkage has been both bane and benefit to the organization for decades. In many communities, women of the Junior League are linked by birth and marriage and achievement with an inner circle that runs things, particularly the voluntary agencies. A significant number of Junior League members have contacts, connections, access to top policy-makers. Both Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush have been Junior League members. The wife of the Texas governor, Rita Bass Clements, is a former president of the Junior League of Dallas. Jean Webb French, wife of the United States Attorney General, was once president of the Association of Junior Leagues (her name was Jean Vaughn then). Letitia Baldrige, the second generation of her family to belong to the Junior League, worked for two First Ladies, Jackie Kennedy and Nancy Reagan, the first full time, the second as a public relations consultant. The mayor of Phoenix, Margaret Taylor Hance, is a member. The list goes on and on.

Junior League members, by their connections, often have the invaluable benefits of an establishment, among them access and influence. The single largest grant received by individual Junior Leagues ($350,000 each to the Junior Leagues of Palm Beaches and Fort Lauderdale) materialized in part because the head of a private foundation was dating a member of the Fort Lauderdale League. He happened to mention that the foundation had a significant sum to allocate, but said the application deadline was only days away. A hectic weekend of grant-writing ensued. The resulting grants were a product both of Junior League contacts and of Junior League training seminars, which had produced experienced grants writers when the need arose.[1]

As the organization has changed over the years, so has its once-impregnable

Delegates from every League gather once a year to hammer out policies, solve problems. At a ceremonial roll call, map locates Junior Leagues in the United States, Canada, and Mexico (bottom, 1981 conference in Denver). Photos by Robert Ragsdale, Association of Junior Leagues

social position, at least in some communities. By widening its membership and sharpening its focus on training programs and community activism, it has shed some of its social gloss. The 1981 *Social Register* dropped the Junior League from its listings, and although no explanation is given for such actions, the assumption is that the group had become too egalitarian for the *Social Register.*

Looking back over more than 80 years of Junior League history, one sees a chronicle of women whose names have been nationally known, women like Eleanor Roosevelt, Oveta Culp Hobby, Shirley Temple Black, Sandra Day O'Connor. The strength of the organization, however, has been untold thousands of women whose names are known only in their own communities and regions, who are prominent among the doers, mainstays of hospitals, museums, school systems and social agencies. When the largest Junior League, that of Atlanta, surveyed its more than 2,500 members a couple of years ago, it found more than one-third of them sat on other community boards. The same is probably true in most Junior Leagues.

In one community that has four different local governments, Junior League women in 1981 were elected officials of three of the four; a Junior League member chaired the school board as well as a regional consortium of school boards. Another member of the same Junior League was one of four Democratic state committeewomen. Her personal access to, and influence with, state and county officials had directly affected the government grants recived by local governments and nonprofit agencies in the community.

A former president of the Portland, Maine, Junior League described the Junior League history as one of "providing leadership, encouragement, and guidance to its members and motivating them to realize their full potential. Our community is filled with women who readily credit their successes and positions of leadership to the training received from their Junior League membership."[2]

Membership is by invitation to women between the ages of 18 and 39, although a few Junior Leagues now encourage women to apply for membership. Within the age range, individual Junior Leagues set their own qualifications, which may include a length of residency. Typically, Junior Leagues invite to membership women between 21 and 39. The newcomers comprise a separate "provisional" category of membership. They must complete a training course on the community and perform volunteer work acceptable to the organization before they are voted into active membership eligible to vote and serve on the board of directors. Of about 9,800 women who entered the 1980-81 provisional classes, about 8,300 completed them successfully. Some dropped out for lack of interest; others did not finish the course or do the required volunteer work.

Until recently, 40 was the official phasing-out age for active membership. After a woman's 40th birthday she "went sustaining," which meant that the organization hoped she would continue as a member, but that she no longer had

to attend meetings or report on her volunteer activities. Nor could she vote on issues before the organization. Sustainers are assumed to have absorbed all the Junior League has to offer and to be committed to community involvement. Sustaining age was raised optionally to 45 in 1981, and a member may now choose to extend her active status to 45 or terminate it any year between 40 and 45. Sustainers are valued by their home Leagues not only for their community experience and counsel; their dues provide significant income for the administrative accounts of most Junior Leagues, since membership in the 40-plus category is often greater than that of actives and provisionals combined.

Junior League membership in 1982 totaled 145,000. Of these, approximately 40 per cent were active members; 7 per cent were provisionals. More than half were sustaining members. The average age of new members was 30, and about half of them held paying jobs or attended school.

By 1982 there were 250 Junior Leagues in 45 of the United States, Canada, and Mexico. New groups are accepted into the Association of Junior Leagues almost every year. In 1980, five new groups were admitted; in 1981, four; in 1982, three.

A small dilemma in writing this book has been whether to speak of the Junior League, or the Junior Leagues. The organization is an entity, *the* Junior League. Yet it is also emphatically a conglomeration of 250 separate organizations, each with deep local roots, traditions, habits, foibles, strengths. Directives and policies do not flow from the top down—although advice and encouragement do, constantly.

While there is an Association of Junior Leagues and a leadership hierarchy, the A.J.L. board of directors does not make final policy decisions for the organization. That prerogative belongs to those members sent as delegates by their home Leagues to an annual conference. Within the framework of rules and policies voted at conference, each local group has considerable leeway to follow its own path. Local autonomy is deeply treasured and stoutly defended. The same autonomy that allows individual Junior Leagues to innovate with bold new projects and training seminars also makes it very difficult to generalize about *the* Junior League.

Every Junior League is a separately incorporated tax-exempt organization chartered under the laws of the state of province in which it exists. There are great differences between individual Junior Leagues in size, in interests, and in membership composition. In communities like Norwalk and Stamford, Connecticut, Denver, or Washington, D.C., corporate transfers and other job shifts can produce membership turnovers as high as 25 per cent in a single year. Nearly 2,000 actives transferred to other Junior Leagues in 1981. Yet in some places the population is so unchanging that members tend to be daughters, nieces, daughters-in-law and granddaughters of members. Some Junior Leagues have as few as 125 members, while Atlanta and Houston have more than 2,600 each. In

Nancy Reagan (center) and Barbara Bush, wife of the Vice-President, have been members. Washington member Elizabeth Ann Swift (below) in Air Force hospital after release from Iranian captivity. UPI

some urban Junior Leagues as much as 75 per cent of the active membership is employed.

All Junior Leagues provide volunteers and projects and training in their communities. However, projects vary with the community and with members' interests. Rarely do all Junior Leagues pursue the same interests at the same time, even when the Association is promoting involvement in some area. Some Junior Leagues—New York, Detroit, Boston, San Francisco, for instance—seem consistently to be innovators in areas of social concern. They are the first in town to create a venereal disease information packet, a rape counseling center, a hospice to care for the terminally ill; the first to lobby the state legislature for changes in adoption laws. Other Junior Leagues have tended to pursue more traditional interests, fostering historic preservation and the arts, funding a new children's component of a museum or school volunteer programs. Some Leagues are involved in both innovative social projects and more traditional-type projects, reflecting the variety and range of members' interests. Organizational structure enables a great deal of variety.

In 1980-81, Junior Leagues ran more than 1,400 community-based projects. They raised $10.3 million for educational, environmental, health, and cultural projects through direct fund-raising. Another $5.5 million was secured through government and foundation grants, an area of increasing Junior League interest and expertise. Some individual Leagues are remarkable fund-raisers; San Francisco members netted $430,000 in 1981 in support of their community projects.

The 241 Junior Leagues in 45 states are bound by the laws of each state and by rulings of the Internal Revenue Service as they affect nonprofit organizations. The eight Junior Leagues of Canada are linked through a Federation of Junior Leagues of Canada as well as through the Association of Junior Leagues. The single League in Mexico, that of Mexico City, is, of course subject, to Mexican law.

In the United States, only the states of Alaska, South Dakota, Wyoming, Vermont, and New Hampshire are not served by a Junior League. There are 14 in California, 22 in Texas, 22 in New York. Like the U.S. population, Junior League membership is growing fastest in the Sun Belt states; 28 of the 36 recent additions to the Association are in the South and West.

Responsibility for guiding the organization rests with a 25-member board of directors, elected annually for overlapping terms. The Association of Junior Leagues, formed in 1921, has its headquarters in New York City. A staff of 50 full-time and part-time employees in New York and six regional offices is headed by an executive director. Six Area Councils provide decentralized services for member groups in their regions, with offices in Atlanta, Dallas, Chicago, San Francisco, New York, and Washington.

When a Junior League is fully mobilized for a project, the results can be somewhat breathtaking. The Junior League *expects*. One cannot be a totally passive member. To remain a member in good standing, one must participate,

serve on a committee, and do volunteer work. A Placement Committee in each Junior League monitors this work and provides information and contacts to match volunteers with opportunities that mesh with their interests and abilities.

When a project proposal is put before members, they are free to vote it down. However, if members vote to undertake a project, some Leagues take a second vote to the effect that "every member will support the XYZ project with at least X hours of her time." Thus, when fully mobilized under capable leadership, this kind of commitment can orchestrate an enterprise of grand scale. At a recent meeting on child care, one of the experts remarked that every time she works with Junior Leagues, "I feel like the Marines have landed."

Most Junior Leagues produced some kind of event or product for the 1976 Bicentennial—a history book, a map, a calendar, a museum exhibition. In Albuquerque the Junior League not only put together a multimedia historical exhibit covering 10,000 square feet and showing 20,000 years of human history. It also orchestrated the state's massive week-long Festival '76, an extravaganza that involved dozens of organizations, hundreds of volunteers, and months of planning. Festival '76 eventually featured about 200 spectator events as well as the central exhibition.

Overall festival chairwoman Penny Taylor Rembe said she realized the event had developed a life of its own as she listened to one of the six subcommittee chairwomen, Sondra Kile, outline plans for opening ceremonies. To begin, the Albuquerque Municipal Band was to play patriotic songs while an airplane trailing a banner flew by, the signal to Indian and Spanish dancers to start. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Shriners, cowboys, Yucca Muzzle-Loaders, bands, and other marchers were to follow. Then, said Sondra Kile, "We will have distinguished New Mexicans in the reviewing stand, and after a quick program comes the grand finale. The choir sings the Lord's Prayer, while an Indian atop a 50-foot fountain—a replica of a Pueblo cliff dwelling—accompanies in sign language. The color guard marches in, the cannon sounds, and thousands of helium-filled balloons are released."

More than a little awed by this agenda for what was after all only the start of a week-long program, Ms. Rembe quipped, "What, no fly-over?" The next day the commanding general of Kurtland Air Force Base called to see if she would rather have planes or helicopters.

As the festival proceeded, the committee realized that what had been marshaled for the festival should be recorded. Two days before Festival '76 closed, the Junior League wrote a grant, which it received, for equipment for a slide show of the exhibit and for a traveling exhibition for New Mexico state school children. The show is still used regularly in state schools, and there have been additional spin-off projects in libraries and museums.[3]

The training and experience that enables the organization to orchestrate a single event on this scale has also produced thousands of demonstration projects. They range from shelters for abused children or battered women to career coun-

seling seminars and innovative arts education programs. Executive Director Deborah Seidel, an attorney and a member of the New York Junior League, has described the Junior Leagues as laboratories for new ideas.

In the past dozen years, the Junior League has become a vast training mechanism, producing volunteer trainers in skills essential to the survival of the voluntary sector—management, grantsmanship, advocacy, group dynamics. In 1981 approximately 25,000 Junior League members enrolled in League seminars and workshops. Another 3,000 served as trainers. Increasingly, the Junior Leagues make this training available to other nonprofit agencies and citizens in their communities.

The Junior League has pledged to promote voluntarism, to encourage citizens to take active roles in shaping the future of their communities. A 1978 statement on voluntarism summed up the Junior League posture: "The Junior League asks its members to accept responsibility, to make a commitment to recognize the value of society of the gift of one's skills without expectation of remuneration. In turn, it offers training, broadening experience, and opportunity for continued education and personal growth, and the organizational resources to achieve maximum impact on high priority problems."

Does the Junior League process work? The purpose of the organization is threefold: "To promote voluntarism, to develop the potential of its members, and to demonstrate the effectiveness of trained volunteers." This book is an attempt to sketch the broad outlines of the organization's history as it has evolved and changed and worked to fulfill that mission.

The story of the evolution of the Junior League from a group of very young and very sheltered debutantes into a volunteer powerhouse spans more than 80 years. During those years, the role of women in North America has undergone profound changes. No group exists in a vacuum, and the Junior League has reflected the times and prevailing attitudes about women. In tracing the evolution of the Junior League, then, one also traces the bumpy and circuitous road traveled by American women from the circumscribed and patriarchal world of 1900 to the limitless choices of the 1980's.

1. Telephone conversation with Astrid "Triddy" Peacock, Junior League of Palm Beaches, October 27, 1981; telephone conversation with Fran Hathaway of the *Palm Beach Post*, October 1981.
2. Junior League of Portland, Maine, 1980 yearbook.
3. Letter from Judy Chreist, Junior League of Albuquerque, November 12, 1981; *Junior League Review,* July 1977. p. 11.

CHAPTER ONE

THE "NEW WOMAN" OF 1900

hrough the murky mirror of more than eight decades, it is difficult fo fix in the mind's eye an accurate portrait of a young woman's life circa 1900. Images such as Gibson girls, a Gilded Age, horses and buggies flit through the mind. They must collide, however, with sterner realities like scullery maids, sweat shops, tuberculosis, and Ellis Island.

In an age of great wealth and greater proverty, a young woman of 1900 teetered between two worlds: the pull of time-honored traditions of the 19th century and the dazzling possibilities of the 20th. In 1900 only 8,000 automobiles plied American roads. William McKinley, symbol of a more placid age, was elected President, but his vice-president and successor in 1901 was Theodore Roosevelt, the apotheosis of 20th-century energy.

Conjure her up, the well-dressed, middle- to upper-class 18- or 19-year-old of 1900. Over layers of petticoats, she wears voluminous floor-length skirts topped with high-necked blouses called shirtwaists. Underpinning the outer garments, a fortress of rib-squashing stays sternly shapes a fashionable hourglass figure. A wonderful confection of a hat tops unshorn hair that is pinned and padded into a pompadour.

So encumbered, a young woman moved through a society that every year became more mechanized, more industrialized, more urbanized. The world was changing, but then, so were its women. Accelerating industrialization, the invention of sewing and washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, central heating all changed basic living patterns and therefore women's lives. Industrialization shifted population away from farms toward cities where the jobs were. That shift, in turn, affected the size of families. On a farm, children were an essential source of labor; large families were desirable. In cities, however, the

Settlement house pioneers Julia Lathrop (left) and Jane Addams (center) inspired women to tackle urban ills and demand the vote. At right, suffragist Mary MacDowell. The Bettmann Archive

number of children per family dropped. In the decade between 1890 and 1900, the average size of families declined in three-fourths of American cities of 25,000 or more.[1] A woman who bears eight to 12 children lives one kind of life; a woman who bears two or three children tends to live quite another, for her years of active childcare are far shorter.

Poised to enter adult life in this vibrant new age, the turn-of-the-century girl heard repeatedly of a wonderful new role model, the "New Woman." This self-confident being had been discovered by the popular press a decade or so earlier. She was to be discussed, admired, and excoriated endlessly in the next decades. She was either the harbinger of a fine new world or the agent of destruction of all old and tested values—depending on one's viewpoint. Historian Robert E. Reigel, in *American Women: A Story of Social Change,* defined the New Woman as being better educated, "able to earn a living, frequently in a job formerly monopolized by men, and hence under less pressure to marry; holding independent views of all sorts . . . less dependent upon men, both economically and

The "New Woman" could emulate such pathfinders as a visiting nurse (above) from New York's Henry Street Settlement, or suffragists who marched (left) in a New York parade. Women could vote in only four states at the start of 20th century.
The Bettmann Archive

Progressive reformers, many of them women, fought to end the kind of working conditions shown in this 1890 engraving by W.A. Rogers, "The Slaves of the 'Sweaters.'" The Bettmann Archive

intellectually.''[2] Reigel notes dryly that the New Woman was so well advertised after 1890 as to create the impression that ancient traditions were disappearing overnight. They were not. Like her predecessor of a century before, says Professor Reigel, the average girl of 1900 was saturated in the belief that ''females are different from males mentally as well as physically, and that her future meant marriage and retirement from her home, with her prestige depending on the position of her husband and her reputation as a wife and mother.''[3]

Throughout the 19th century, says anthropologist Ashley Montagu, it was alleged that women had ''smaller brains than men, and less intelligence; they were emotional and unstable; in a crisis you could always depend upon them to swoon or become otherwise helpless; they were weak and sickly creatures; they could not be entrusted with the handling of money, etc.''[4]

However, by 1900, some individual women, and some women collectively, had begun to reject the Victorian syndrome. They had begun to batter down at least some of the multiple barriers to female employment, higher education, and full participation in public life. The challenges of these New Women to the old order sparked intense dialogue about women in the popular press of the era. For every man or woman arguing for suffrage and full citizenship and equal education for women, there were those of both sexes who continued to hold that women were too refined, too sensitive and emotional to cope with the brawling world outside the home. The concept of ''separate spheres'' for men and women remained deeply entrenched in popular attitudes. Women were said to embody traits like sensitivity and tenderness that gave them a sort of moral authority in the home. Though the battle for suffrage dominated public discussion, it was the implied threat that women might abandon their assigned sphere—hence allowing the moral order to crumble—that triggered so much animosity.

However competent she may have been personally, the New Woman of 1900 still lived in a legal Never-Never land, though feminist leaders could point to some hard-won gains in the long battle for full citizenship. As the 20th century began, women could vote in only four western states (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho). Susan B. Anthony and Ida H. Harper surveyed progress in women's legal rights by 1900 in their *History of Woman Suffrage:* ''. . . the wife may now control her separate property in three-fourths of the states . . . In every State a married woman may make a will, but can dispose only of her separate property. In about two-thirds of the States she possesses her earnings. In the great majority she may make contracts and bring suit. . . .'' Such changes in state laws ''represented a complete legal revolution during the past century,'' the two suffrage leaders concluded.[5]

It was, of course, an unfinished revolution. Even so clear-cut an issue as the right to vote was not resolved completely until ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920. Women still had to overcome considerable obstacles to attend college. Old myths were resurrected year after year to prove women unsuited to rigorous intellectual pursuits. ''It was widely contended that the very emotional

and sensitive nature of women, which made them ideal as moral preceptors of the home and rearers of children, by the same token made them unequal to the intellectual strain of learning Greek or mathematics at the college level,'' says historian Carl Degler.[6]

In his definitive 1929 *History of Women's Education in the United States,* Thomas Woody says that in the second half of the 19th century it was still confidently asserted that women could not do college work because they did not have minds like men. Then there was woman's purported physical delicacy to be considered. He quotes as typical the views of the Rev. John Todd, who asserted that women could not handle the strain of extended studies: ''They will die in the process.'' Woody notes that the Rev. Todd apparently conceded that women might be smart enough for college, but saw a clear danger ''in forcing the intellect of women beyond what her physical organization will possibly bear . . .'' To underscore his case, the Rev. Todd outlined a typical day for a hypothetical woman student of higher education. After a rigorous morning and early afternoon of studies, and before her hours of studying at night, she would have ''from three to six hours of severe toil at the piano.''[7] Naturally her health would collapse. He was not talking about a music student; he assumed *all* young women had to master Victorian graces such as piano-playing.

By 1900 too many women had attended college for that kind of nonsense to have quite its old impact, but the long struggle to gain first-rate higher education for women was far from won. In several parts of the country there had been efforts as early as the 1830's to create institutions of higher learning for women, usually ''seminaries.'' Mount Holyoke, founded in 1837, was among the best known. They were something of a cross between a high school, a finishing school, and a junior college and varied enormously in academic rigor. From these seminaries came most of the teachers so urgently needed in the rapidly expanding public schools. However, Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1851 said flatly that one of the institutions calling themselves women's colleges was the real thing: ''They were high schools.''[8]

The first documented instance of women receiving authentic bachelor's degrees comparable to those awarded men occurred when the Oberlin class of 1841 was graduated. Three of the four young women who had entered four years earlier with the first freshman class received degrees. When Antioch opened in 1852, it also accepted both men and women. The Morrill Act of 1862, which encouraged the founding of state colleges, indirectly provided more college openings for women. Some taxpayers and state legislators said that as long as their money was being spent, their daughters might as well benefit. By 1870, eight state universities (Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Michigan, and California) accepted women.[10]

The founding of women's colleges dedicated to providing an education as rigorous as that of the best men's colleges began with Vassar in 1861. Wellesley and Smith founded earlier, became colleges in 1875. In this period, too, many

seminaries upgraded themselves into genuine colleges. By 1900 there were dozens of places where a woman could receive a higher education.

Yet to enroll and finish four years of study, young women of 1900 still had to overcome persistent obstacles. Polite society still frowned on "young ladies" who were exceptionally well educated. Outside financial help was largely nonexistent. Therefore, if a girl's family did not want her to go to college, she had no real possibility of doing so. Fathers born in the Victorian age frequently would not even discuss with their daughters the possibility of higher education. There were of course exceptions, parents who encouraged daughters to go to college, and young women who enrolled despite parental obstacles.

Among what people then called, unblushingly, the "best families," sheltered daughters usually did not attend college. They traveled in Europe, went to finishing school, and at 18 "came out" into society. Such a young woman was Corinne Robinson, a niece of Theodore Roosevelt, a debutante in the 1904–5 season, and later a leading suffragist and mother of columnist Joseph Alsop. "To go to college was odd," she recalled. "My own education was typical, delightful and very sketchy. I learned French, played the piano badly, read avidly, wrote endless themes, and had no mathematics. As a result even long division, decimals or fractions are still completely baffling to me. We were all 'polished' and most of us went to 'finishing schools,' whatever that means."[11]

Despite all the difficulties, increasing numbers of young women from middle- and upper-class families signed up for college. There they absorbed ideas that challenged traditions of the society in which they lived, particularly traditions that insisted on female helplessness. From the ranks of these graduates came growing numbers of women who entered professions considered 'women's work," such as teaching or social work. Some also fought their way into "male" professions like medicine and law. The first woman lawyer was admitted to the Iowa bar in 1869 (she had studied law with her husband), and by 1900 there were 1,000 women lawyers in the country. Another 7,000 women were counted as physicians, although, like their male counterparts, not all had been university-trained.

Many of the young women who had gone to college alarmed their families by their reluctance to marry and have children. The Association of College Alumnae found in repeated surveys that women college graduates married less, married later, and had fewer children than women who did not attend college. A 1901 association survey of the Wellesley, Smith, and Vassar classes of 1880–84 showed that only 55 per cent of these graduates of 15–20 years before had married. Approximately half of the women who went to college in the 19th century apparently never married.[12]

For the great mass of American women, college was a distant, unimaginable concept; they did not even go to high school. The 88-year-old grandmother of a current Junior League member recalls that when she was a girl in St. Paul, Minnesota, neither she nor any of her friends attended school past the eighth

grade. ''We were all from nice families, but no one thought of going on to school. We wanted to work to earn spending money until we were old enough to get married. I used to go to work at 7 in the morning at a shirtwaist factory.''[13] She was 14 at the time.

Industrialization created jobs where none had previously existed, and women surged into those available. The invention of telephones and typewriters, for instance, created entirely new kinds of employment that quickly became ''women's jobs.'' Sales positions in the new department stores drew thousands of women, and by 1900 about 500,000 women held either sales or office jobs.

Despite the new jobs and professional pioneers, the vast majority of women who worked outside their own homes in 1900 were, in the words of the era, ''in service'' as maids, cooks, laundresses, and nursemaids serving families prosperous enough to afford sheltered wives. Women who worked in factories, stores, offices, or in the professions were almost all single. They quit work when they married. In 1890 only one married women of every 200 held a paying job.[14] In 1900 less than 4 per cent of married white women worked outside the home.[15] Even in dire economic need, great social stigma attached to the man whose wife worked. Society viewed a working wife as a public announcement that her husband could not support his family and was therefore a failure. Few wives, notes Reigel, were willing to create the impression that their husbands were inadequate, even if they wanted to work or really needed the money.[16]

For many women, particularly for middle-class married women, the first tentative step toward emerging from the cocoon of home and family was not attending college or taking a job, but joining a women's club. Before the Civil War, hundreds of American women had played important roles in the abolitionist movement, and after the war the organizing penchant of American women burst into full flower. The first two women's clubs began almost simultaneously in New York and Boston.

Jane Cunningham Croly, a newspaper columnist who wrote under the pen name ''Jennie June,'' asked for a ticket in 1869 to a New York Press Club dinner honoring the visiting novelist Charles Dickens. When she was refused, her anger led directly to the founding of the first U.S. women's club, Sorosis. Jane Croly invited a group of New York women—both married and single and many of them professional women—to discuss forming a women's organization to ''provide agreeable and useful relations among women of literary and artistic tastes.''

''At this period no one connected with the undertaking had ever heard of a 'woman's club', or of any secular organization composed entirely of women, for the purpose of bringing all kinds of women together to work out their own objects in their own way,'' wrote Jane Croly many years later.[17]

From its 1869 founding, Sorosis broadened its scope over the years to include an impressive range of educational philanthropic activites, with the emphasis on education rather than on good works. Women's issues, such as efforts to open new jobs to women, were a particular concern. By 1900, Sorosis had 150,000 members in several states.

At almost the same time "Jennie June" was sending invitations to organize in New York, a group of Boston women formed the New England Club, which at first accepted male members (though they were not permitted to hold office). The Boston women also sought to educate themselves on public issues, but their focus was more toward social action and philanthropy.[18] They provided rooms for working women, sponsored classes for the hundreds of young women beginning work in the cities, and helped expand hospitals.

From such beginnings in Boston and New York, the women's club movement exploded into hundreds of new organizations in the next few decades. Effectively barred from employment by social attitudes, yet freed from many household duties by low-priced household help, middle- to upper-class women formed clubs for sociability, for self-education, and to have something of their own outside the home.

Some women's groups, like Sorosis, emerged as responses to male exclusion. The Ancient Order of Eastern Star was formed in 1876 as the female answer to the all-male Masonic Order; the Daughters of the American Revolution began in 1891 because the Sons of the Revolution barred women. Similarly, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1894) and the Women's Relief Corps (1883) provided wives of Civil War veterans with clubs of their own.

Other women's organizations formed as part of the great tide of reform and social activism in the last quarter of the 19th century. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, formed in 1874, marshaled the ranks of women determined to ban alcohol. The forerunner of the National Parent-Teacher Association, the Congress of Mothers, began in the 1890's with the goal of influencing public schools. Various branches of the suffrage movement, formally launched at Seneca Falls in 1848, merged in 1890 to create the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Among middle- and upper-class women the pursuit of "culture," sociability, and self-improvement produced women's groups in towns large and small. It became fashionable to attend lectures on moral philosophy, chemistry, literature, mineralogy, botany, and other topics. This search for knowledge, and a desire to be thought "cultured," was the rationale for the many artistic or literary women's clubs. The leisured woman of the "Gay Nineties" and 1900 might not have had as much education as her husband or brothers, but she had infinitely more time and inclination to pursue additional knowledge, particularly in the arts and literature. What was more logical than that a woman who liked to read should seek the company of other literate females? Sometimes, however, literary excursions led inexorably to awareness of larger social problems, and then to a desire to take action.

Historian Mary Beard noted in 1915 that middle- and upper-class married women had more time for observation and investigation, as well as more opportunities for the "cultivation of social sympathies" than the men of their class. "Often it was the women's clubs which not only brought civic needs or problems to the attention of the municipal authorities, but saw to it that the remedies were

rigorously applied as well,'' says historian Carl Degler.[19] A president of the National Association of Manufacturers urged businessmen to forbid their wives and daughters to join women's clubs because their interests in reform might endanger business profits.[20]

In many cities, ''reading circles'' and other single-interest clubs metamorphosed into more general women's clubs, which in turn merged in 1889 to create the far-flung General Federation of Women's Clubs. The Federation became an umbrella organization for existing women's clubs and spurred the creation of new ones. By 1896, there were 100,000 members of the Federation, linked by 21 state federations. ''The spectacle of 275,000 women splendidly organized, armed with leisure and opportunity, and animated by a passion for reform, assumes the distinction of a 'social force,' '' said the *Literary Digest* in 1904.[21]

The rapidly expanding women's organizations offered mechanisms not only for sociability, self-improvement, but also for philanthropy and social reform. While many clubs remained exclusively literary or social, others followed their members' concerns into the public arena. In his history of social feminism, William O'Neill notes that many women after the 1890's had the time and the inclination for public works. ''They had learned in their clubs and other local institutions the practical requirements of such activity.''[22]

Sarah Decker, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in 1904 nudged organizations in the federation toward even more social concerns: ''Ladies . . . Dante is dead . . . and I think it is time that we dropped the study of his *Inferno* and turned our attention to our own.''[23] In one of the great ages of reform in American history, it would have been odd indeed if some of the new women's organizations had not become social crusaders.

Historian Mary Ryan says that while the businessmen of the Gilded Age were building their trusts and monopolies, middle- and upper-class women were creating equally impressive organizations and forming ideas of their own about how industrial society should be organized. ''Operating through settlement houses, women's clubs, and welfare agencies, women became the backbone and inspiration of the Progressive movement and thereby helped to shape the political economy of the era.''[24]

The years between 1890 and the entry of the United States into World War I in 1917 frame the Progressive era, a period of crusades to reform politics, industrial relations, health care, working and living conditions, and a dozen other areas of concern. Progressives sought solutions to the staggering cluster of human problems that urbanization, mass immigration, industrialization, and corrupt politics had created.

Between 1865 and 1900, some 13.5 million immigrants, virtually all from Europe, arrived in the United States. Often unable to speak English and accustomed to working on farms, they found that almost all available jobs were in cities. They therefore packed into already bursting cities; urban populations grew

far faster than municipal services could be expanded to fill the need. Between 1800 and 1900 Chicago mushroomed from 440,000 to 1.7 million, New York from 2 million to nearly 3.5 million.

In an era of rampant political graft and payoffs, living conditions of the urban poor appalled those of the middle class who took the time to notice. Crusading journalists, the "muckrakers," saw to it that the public did indeed pay attention. With facts, statistics, and moral outrage, muckrakers documented a veritable catalogue of disease, filth, dangerous working conditions, contaminated food and water sources. In a 1904 book titled *Poverty,* Robert Hunter marshaled what little statistical data existed to conclude that at least 10 million of the nation's nearly 76 million people were so poor they could not "obtain those necessities which will permit them to maintain a state of physical efficiency." Follow-up researchers, seeking to discredit his data, found instead that he had probably understated the problem.[25]

The staggering needs of a society that was simultaneously urbanizing, industrializing, and absorbing millions of non-English-speaking immigrants produced another kind of women's organization, one dedicated to alleviating problems faced by young working women. The Young Women's Christian Association, begun in Boston in 1866, spread rapidly to other cities. The Y's offered rooms and other practical assistance to young girls newly arrived in cities to work in factories and offices. Similar services were offered by Working Girl Clubs founded in the 1880's by middle-class women in several cities. These clubs offered such practical help as medical care, classes, and libraries. Josephine Shaw Lowell founded the Consumers' League, an organization not exclusively female that worked to raise wages and improve working conditions by urging consumer boycotts of products of sweatshops and unsanitary factories. After 1899, under the direction of the redoubtable Florence Kelley the Consumers' League became a leading force in the Progressive movement nationally.

In the Progressive era, a new type of "charity worker," now called "social worker," emerged. Sociologist Dorothy G. Becker, who has analyzed the background and characteristics of leading social workers of the time, characterized the female social workers as less conservative than men: "Men social workers saw themselves literally as 'caretakers' of the poor, spoke to the poor, interpreted their needs and developed programs that they felt that they should have; while women thought of a new social order in which the money power would be subordinated to human need, and fought for social work, education and research."[26]

If any one institution typified the high idealism and personal commitment of woman reformers in the Progressive era, it was the social settlement house. Inspired by an English model, Jane Addams and other young women formed one of the first American settlements, Hull House, in a Chicago slum in 1889. Settlement house workers were secular missionaries in the teeming slum neighborhoods of American cities. The messages they carried were of literacy, nutri-

tion, and health services. Settlements offered an improvised pastiche of services aimed at helping their immigrant visitors master the intricacies of life in North American cities. There were kindergartens, English classes, nutrition talks, boys' and girls' clubs. Settlements also often provided health clinics and nurses. Some settlement workers moved into the building itself to be available round the clock to their clientele. Others came on a daily or weekly basis to volunteer their talents.

The settlement concept spread so rapidly that by 1895 some 50 settlements existed, and more were contemplated. Small-scale voluntary efforts to solve massive problems, the settlements provided a training ground and a meeting place for a generation of young reformers. Settlement house workers, notes one standard textbook, were "invariably young (the great majority were under thirty), religious . . . college-educated, single and overwhelmingly from genteel middle-class homes."[27] As meeting grounds for young intellectuals, clergy, social workers, educators, and health workers, settlements became experiment stations for a whole generation of social reformers. Pilot programs first tried in settlements were at times adopted by impressed city administrations.

Yet the young women who chose to live and work in settlements in slum neighborhoods often did so over the vehement objections of their families. Jane Addams wrote that ". . . when the daughter comes back from college, and begins to evince a disposition to do something for the 'submerged tenth,' the family tells her she is 'unjustified, ill-considered in her efforts.' " Despite such objections, literally thousands of young women proffered their services to the settlement houses.[28]

When the debutantees who founded the first Junior League looked for a place for members to work and learn, the obvious choice was a settlement house.

CHAPTER TWO

A NEW ROLE FOR DEBUTANTES

With the reins in her capable hands, her horse Gulnair trotting smartly down Riverside Drive in the harnass of a four-wheeled sulky, 18-year-old Mary Harriman talked exuberantly with Nathalie Henderson one day in 1900. They were driving home from a preparatory school where Mary was cramming for the Barnard entrance exam. Their conversation was not of college, but of what they had just heard from Louise Lockwood, a visitor to the prep school. She had described the work being done by young women not much older than themselves at the College Settlement House on Rivington Street in New York's Lower East Side. For Mary, it was the idea for which she had been searching.

As Nathalie Henderson recalled later, "Mary said, 'This is it. We will get the girls together to work for the Settlements.' "[1] The young women on Mary's mind comprised the year's bumper crop of 85 New York debutantes. For some time she had been mulling over the question of "What can we do to make it a particularly good year, and to show that we recognize an obligation to the community besides having a good time?"[2]

By some accounts, the idea of forming an organization of debutantes for community work first occurred to Mary Harriman as she floated idly in a lake at her parents' 20,000-acre country estate, Arden, in Orange County, New York. It must have been one of the few idle moments in a life full of accomplishments. The daughter of railroad magnate and financier E. H. Harriman and Mary Averell Harriman, Mary was the eldest of six children in a close-knit and public-spirited family. When Mrs. Harriman said she would like to see the midnight sun, her husband chartered a ship, invited a group of eminent scientists aboard, and set off in 1899 with the entire family for an educational voyage to Alaska. Another year Mary and her sister Cornelia traveled the entire summer with their father aboard a special train as he inspected his far-flung Union Pacific empire. Dark-

The year she entered college, Mary Harriman also rallied other New York debutantes of the 1900–1 season to form a Junior League for the Promotion of Settlements. While presiding over the group's formative years, she completed her studies at Barnard, got an "A" on graduation thesis. Junior League Magazine

eyed, slim, and crackling with the same energy that possessed the father she so admired, Mary had no intention of playing the role of sheltered rich girl. Both of her parents were innovative philanthropists, and a life of idle wealth had no more appeal to Mary than to her brother Averell, later governor of New York and diplomat for a succession of U.S. presidents. She entered Barnard as planned, specialized in sociology, and emerged with an A on her graduation thesis four years later. During the same period, she founded the Junior League and chaired the organization in its formative years.

Having chosen the College Settlement, she moved with typical dispatch, and, in short order she and Nathalie Henderson had rounded up 80 debutantes to form the Junior League for the Promotion of Settlement Movements. The purpose of the new organization was ". . . to unite for a definite purpose the debutantes of each season and to interest the young women of New York in the Settlement Movement." So launched, the new group decided as a first activity to raise money for the College Settlement. The event, a tableau staged in a home loaned by the parents of League member Mildred Stokes, raised $1,500, no small sum in a year when the annual income of a fully employed blue-collar worker averaged about $450. The young women also began to consider efficient ways to make use of the cascade of flowers received by each debutante at her "coming out" and at countless other festivities through the year. The new Junior League created a Flower Committee whose duty it was to distribute this floral largesse to city hospitals. Still, raising money and donating flowers did not meet the lofty goals the co-founders had set for themselves. For the more important task of putting some of the members to work at the settlement, Nathalie Henderson chaired a committee of about 18 debutantes.

So structured, the group began its work. Some months later, the New Junior League for the Promotion of Settlement Movements could report the following achievements at the first annual meeting held in March 1902:

> The League was organized and established by the debutantes of the winter 1900–01, and it is to be continued by those of each succeeding year, who shall in turn become active members . . .
>
> Every year an entertainment of some kind is given by the active members, the proceeds of which go to the New York College Settlement in Rivington Street.
>
> The Settlement Movement has been chosen as the object to which the energies of the League are to be devoted, as it is one to which all the members can lend their sympathies irrespective of church or creed. As is well known this is one of the most efficient movements of the times to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems of a great city.
>
> The work done by the League during this first year has been most satisfactory.
>
> As the entertainment given last year . . . we cleared $1,500, and gratifying as this result was, we hope at this year's entertainment to do even better.
>
> Four Standing Committees . . . have done excellent work and are constantly increasing in membership.
>
> I. The Active Work Committee, consisting of 17 members, has confined its work this winter to the library in Rivington Street. On Wednesday and Friday afternoons and Saturday Morning, two members assist in giving out books to the

children. An entertainment in conjunction with the Art Committee was given . . . the proceeds of which are being used to start a gymnasium and an art school.

II. The Art Committee consists of seven members and has undertaken to do over a room in the Ludlow Street branch of the College Settlement and have classes there in drawing, designing and modelling. Sufficient money was raised by the entertainment of February the eighteenth to start the gymnasium and the art classes. There are to be three afternoon and two evening classes a week, the first one taking place Monday, March the third.

III. The Flower Committee arranged to send flowers through the College Settlement to the poor and sick during the summer months. Each committee chose a different day of the week so that there were but few days during the entire summer when no flowers were received.

IV. The Music Committee has 18 members and every Monday during this winter one or more of the members went to the College Settlement to play or sing for the kindergarten. There have also been held monthly concerts by members of the committee at the meetings of the Young Married Woman's Club in Rivington Street. Members of the Music Committee volunteered their services for the entertainment given by the Active Work and Art Committees . . . Although the music school is doing very good work, it is much in need of scholarships for four pupils who cannot afford to pay for their lessons and yet are too talented for the school to give up.

It is hoped that this organized and combined effort on the part of the members of the League to put to a good use the opportunities afforded them by the advantage of time and means, will be encouraged and actively supported by their friends.[3]

The organization was an instant social success. As her co-founder, Nathalie Henderson (Mrs. Joseph Swan), recalled, "Mary made it amusing and chic to belong. And the time was ripe."[4] In its first few years members included daughters of some of America's most well-known families—Whitney, Vanderbilt, Roosevelt, Morgan, Peabody, Reid, Livingston. To those among the debutantes whose social conscience had been aroused, and who honestly wanted to do meaningful work, the League provided much more than amusement and social cachet. It offered a mechanism, acceptable to their families, for involving themselves in the Progressive movement for social reform.

Typical of such young women was the 18-year-old Eleanor Roosevelt, who returned from finishing school in England in 1902 to "come out" into society, an endurance event involving months of parties. One year of the social whirl was all she could take, wrote one of her biographers, Alfred Steinberg. "At the end of that period she found herself both exhausted and bored . . . The first distraction was her interest in social work. She had joined the newly organized Junior League, and she and her friend Jean Reid, daughter of Whitelaw Reid, the editor of the *New York Tribune,* taught calisthenics and dancing at the Rivington Street Settlement House. To get to Rivington, she had to walk through filthy, crowded Bowery. The sight of that seamy existence made a mockery of her evening festivities."[5]

The College Settlement on Rivington Street, two blocks south of Houston Street, served one of the city's most densely populated neighborhoods. Once predominantly German, the neighborhood had shifted first to a Jewish, then to an increasingly Italian, population. Under the direction of social workers at the

settlement, young League volunteers like Eleanor Roosevelt appeared once or twice a week to give classes and play games with children who dropped in at the center. More sensitive members of the new organization were often mortified by their own lack of experience or practical training for the work required of them. As chairwoman of the Committee on Settlements, Nathalie Henderson reported the "inevitably discouraging experience of many of us when we found we had nothing to teach and that even to play games with 20 or 30 children presented frightening problems as we had no experience in handling groups."[6] A niece of one of those first Junior League volunteers remarked that is hard today to realize "how helpless these ladies were" because they came from homes with staffs of servants. "My aunt could neither cook, nor sew, nor clean house 'til the day she died. Children, of course, were taken care of by nannies." And, says the niece, her beloved and dynamic aunt was "*much* less sheltered than many of her contemporaries."[7]

Candidly, the group faced what Nathalie Henderson called "the problem of preparing ourselves to have something to give besides money. This, of course, eventually led to training courses."[8] In her forward to the 1904 annual report, the last year she chaired the Junior League, Mary Harriman wrote that with increasing understanding and contact with settlements, members were beginning to feel their very grave ignorance. That year an Active Work Committee organized classes for League members in calisthenics and basketry, which they could in turn teach at settlements. By 1906, members were attending a series of seven lectures at which municipal departments and charitable organizations explained their work. Over the next few years a variety of lectures was combined with practical work in settlements and with other agencies as educational tools for members. Among the speakers were such national luminaries as John Dewey and Jane Addams. As one member noted, "These lectures resulted in a demand for more, and it was not long before we launched into a course of lectures on Social problems, given under the auspices of the New York School of Philanthropy."[9]

In the first years of seeking by trial and error to create an effective organization for young women that would encourage members to undertake charitable and social work and at the same time bring members in touch with already existing agencies, there were many false starts. However, members learned from their mistakes and were willing to admit that many first efforts had been naive. A 1911 League publication announced a course of "six lessons in elementary games, dances and story-telling such as would enable the Junior League members to take clubs and classes in the settlements . . . As one of our most staunch allies in the settlements has said, 'The volunteers are indeed sweet and charming and have been helping us, but the experiments are a little hard on the children.' "[10]

In 1911, Mary Harriman, now Mrs. Charles Rumsey, joined the Barnard Board of Trustees, and it is perhaps no surprise to learn that Barnard shortly

Eleanor Roosevelt (right) joined the Junior League as a debutante. After her marriage to Franklin Roosevelt, her mother-in-law objected to her volunteer work in slums, lest she bring home germs. Photo by George Hurrell for Junior League Magazine *Actress Ruth Draper (below, fourth from left), a founding member of the New York Junior League.* The Bettmann Archive

thereafter offered a training course for members of the Junior League. The course included economics, social work, and political science, as well as field work. From such experimental training programs ultimately emerged the League's insistence that before becoming active members, all Junior League candidates must complete a course that familiarizes them with their community, its problems, and community agencies.

Meanwhile, new questions of organization and policies arose as the organization grew with each year's group of debutantes. One of the quietly effective mainstays of the organization was Nathalie Henderson, who year after year served as vice president or chaired key committees. Who was to be invited to join and by whom? How long did one remain a member? Many original members had married; thus the organization was no longer one of single girls, but of married women as well. For instance, Miss Eleanor Roosevelt served as secretary of the New York League in 1904. After marriage to her fifth cousin Franklin (her uncle, President Theodore Roosevelt, gave her away), she reappeared on the Board of Managers for 1905 as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. (Her formidable mother-in-law objected strongly to her work in a settlement lest she bring home diseases.)

Each year some of the year's debutantes were asked to join the Junior League. From a casual process of "ask your friends, and your friends' friends," procedures gradually became more formal. By 1914 an admissions committee of five members processed names of proposed members. If three committee members knew and recommended the proposed person, she was invited to membership. Otherwise, letters from five active members in good standing were required. Most new members were debutantes of that year; though a few were slightly older. Occasionally League members met young women through their settlement work who had not been invited to membership as debutantes. These slightly older young women were sometimes invited to membership.

In the year of their debut, young women invited to join the League (usually in January) were called "sustainers." They had one duty: to present an "entertainment" to raise funds for the organization. These events were by invitation only. Corinne Robinson (Cole) recalled that when she entered the Junior League in 1905, "Society was still written with a capital S. It was the period of an elite 400—the list of debutantes was small." She was the granddaughter of Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., and niece of the President—thus a member of a family immersed in public service. Elected chairwoman of the sustainers for her year, Corinne Robinson orchestrated a fund-raiser. "On February 1905, we put on an extremely amateur performance of two short, very poor plays at the small Carnegie Hall Theatre, but it was a glittering social event. In my diary I state: 'We are joyful; we raised $4,000—$1,700 more than last year.' "[11]

Increased membership required a new structure, and in 1905 the League reorganized into neighborhood district committees corresponding with school districts. In each each district members were assigned to survey social needs,

The Junior League required members to do volunteer work; many chose child-related activities. A volunteer and "client" at the New York Junior League baby shelter. Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe

assess relevant facts, and present a list of most urgent needs to the general membership. Neighborhood committees began reporting on such problems as "drunkenness and tuberculosis," "housing and tuberculosis," "crime, strong need for law enforcement and tenement laws."[12]

Reports of the neighborhood committees reflected in microcosm the human impact of mass immigration to already overcrowded cities woefully lacking essential public services. As the chief port of entry, New York had become a city of foreign-born: in 1900 four out of five residents were either foreign-born or the children of immigrants. Each year the numbers swelled. In 1907 alone, 1.2 million immigrants arrived in the United States. Many of the immigrants were rural people who not only had to learn a new language; they also had to adapt to life in a jam-packed, booming city.

Responding to needs so evident in the districts they studied, League members offered their help to other settlements, and by 1907 the organization provided funds and volunteers to Greenwich House, Hartley House, and the East Side House as well as the Rivington Street Settlement. To reflect its widening interests, the name of the organization was changed in 1907 to the Junior League for the Promotion of Neighborhood Work.

With several years' experience behind it, the Junior League began not only to offer the personal service of its members to existing agencies. Committees also began to suggest that the organization sponsor some ventures on its own, to innovate instead of simply to follow. Eliza Morgan (later Mrs. Frederick Swift) headed a committee that launched one of the most far-reaching demonstration projects, one that was a direct outgrowth of the research of neighborhood committees and experience in settlements. Many poor families, particularly immigrant families, were deeply suspicious of public institutions, including schools and hospitals. To forge needed links between home, family, school, and medical facilities, Eliza Morgan's committee convinced the League to fund an experimental Visiting Teachers program. "School and Home Visitors" in this program tutored children having difficulty in school and worked with the families to overcome suspicion and ignorance about medical services, seeing to it that parents knew where to take their children for needed health care. Junior League volunteers amplified the work of the professional Visiting Teachers by also tutoring children and by holding special classes for them. The school districts in which Visiting Teachers began their work reported very positive results. By 1909 the Junior League was paying for four Visiting Teachers, while urging the city to implement the concept city wide and to assume its funding.

The Visiting Teachers program was the first Junior League pilot project, precursor of a long line of ideas launched and nurtured by Junior Leagues until the projects had sufficient community support to stand on their own. Reporting on the Visiting Teachers, Katharine Tweed of the New York League said in 1912 in that ". . . such work . . . the Junior League can be of great use, in being ready and able to stand back of experiments which seem to be of value,

and to carry them on until their worth has been proved and their place recognized . . .''[13]

By 1914, the Junior League funded four Visiting Teachers, other organizations funded another 10, and the city paid for six more. Ultimately, New York took over the program and made Visiting Teachers part of the public school system. The idea was widely copied in other large cities.

To monitor and expedite the work of its members, the New York League created a Neighborhood Work Board, a first step toward what later became firm Junior League policy: supervising the ''placement'' of Junior League volunteers in community work. It was the board's job to match League volunteers with a suitable agency and to follow up to see that the ''match'' worked. Through the Neighborhood Work Board, the League also paid the salaries for three visiting nurses, as well as that of a cooking instructor at Hartley House.

By 1907, League minutes began to record a phenomenon repeated hundreds of times over the next decades as Junior Leagues contributed both time and money to community agencies such as hospitals, settlements, and schools. A League volunteer, deeply involved in a community agency, was invited to join the agency's governing board, either in her own right or as official representative of the Junior League. In one neighborhood district, Ruth Draper, chairwoman of the District 9 Neighborhood Board, joined the Board of Managers of Richmond Hill House and the executive committee of the College Settlement ''to represent the Junior League.'' In another district, Junior Leaguers became members of the Visiting Committee of Public Education Association: Corinne Robinson joined the P.E.A. Executive Committee. At least some of the diffident debs of 1901 had metamorphosed into community decision-makers.

As an organization for young women, the Junior League took particular interest in improving living and working conditions for the growing number of young working women. A tenement house committee, which investigated housing conditions, decided to build a model hotel for working women. Unlike most similar establishments, it was to be nonsectarian. Members pledged in 1909 to raise $260,000 to build a home for ''working girls'' to be called Junior League House. Under the leadership of Katharine Barney Barnes and Dorothy Whitney, funds were raised in six months, and a handsome brick building began to take shape on the East River between 78th and 79th Street.

The building opened in May of 1911, with rents set a maximum of $4.50 a week for single room and board. ''It has remained for the society girls of New York to provide one of the most up-to-date clubhouses or hotels for working girls yet erected,'' *The New York Times* reported. After commenting favorably on the exterior, the paper continued, ''Inside, it is even more delightful, since the equipment includes many absolutely new and novel features.'' These were reception rooms, laundry and ironing rooms, sewing machines, typewriters, a library, a gym, and ''courting rooms''.[14] On the roof were tennis courts and

basketball facilities, plus a breezy view across the river to Long Island. Built to accommodate 340 people, the Junior League House held 270 guests its first year. Residents included stenographers, dressmakers, schoolteachers, social workers, saleswomen, librarians, factory workers, hairdressers, actresses, domestics, illustrators, sculptors—a cross-section of every kind of work available to women in that era.

While one group was raising money for Junior League House, another, the Committee on Amusements and Vacation Resources for Working Girls, investigated "all places of amusement" and "has been instrumental in securing reform legislation."[15] In that small comment, unexplained, are the seeds of another tradition. While the Junior League for many years remained resolutely apolitical and deeply reluctant to lobby, individual League members, and individual Leagues, nevertheless went ahead and used facts, statistics, and sometimes family connections to affect legislation on social conditions.

Another committee worked with the Board of Education to develop additional playgrounds. The committee looked for vacant lots, investigated their suitability as playgrounds, and then obtained permission from owners for their use under Board of Education supervision.[16]

Of course, there also were failures and disappointments. A Factory Committee, formed to investigate working conditions, was abandoned when members could not get permission to enter the buildings. Records for nearly every year report that some committees did not function as well as hoped because of lack of member interest. In 1909, for instance, the chairwoman of one district committee reported little work due to other projects and reluctance to work at settlements."

Despite occasional setbacks, a decade after its founding, the New York Junior League compromised 500 members. A part-time secretary and a rented office added an air of permanence to the venture. More importantly, the New York League in 1911 had clones in two other cities (Boston and Portland, Oregon), as well as one across the river in Brooklyn, where a separate Junior League had been formed.

The New York League launched a regular newssheet in 1911 for meeting notices and reports and to keep in touch with members who had moved to the suburbs or out of town. The *Junior League Bulletin* offered a candid view of both the achievements and the shortcomings of the decade-old organization. The first editorial, written by Eliza Morgan Swift, president of the New York League and founder of the much-copied Visiting Teachers program, offered a forthright summation of the first Junior League, 10 years after its founding:

As We See Ourselves:

What is the Junior League, and what does it do?
These two questions are so often asked in the same breath, that almost our

first consideration should be to separate distinctly the one from the other.

What the Junior League is, is definite, clear, concise. An organization of the young society women of New York whose objects are, first, to promote, among its members, an interest in all kinds of charitable and social effort. Second, to bring the members in touch with the sphere of usefulness best fitted to their individual capacity. And, third, to raise money for the assistance of those organizations in which the volunteer workers of the Junior League are actively interested . . .

If in reading these reports, you find what you consider a discouragingly small return for the effort expended, you must remind yourself again and again of the dual purpose of the League. Remember, too, that these five hundred members, all of them the debutantes of the last ten years, are bound together by no ties except social ones; that in former times they would have been considered the least charitably inclined members of the community, and that bringing these girls into the field of active philanthropy is still in the experimental stages.

We cannot offer the best of volunteer service, neither can we give our untrained members the largest fields for their first experiments. But, year by year, the conscientious workers find themselves with an ever broadening horizon and enlarged opportunities. What the members give in money and volunteer assistance certainly fulfills to a large extent the purpose of the League. But that is not all. What the members gain in a broader knowledge of existing social conditions, through their own experiences, through our meetings and lectures, and through personal contact with the trained workers, is of the utmost importance. If this knowledge helps us collectively and individually to take our place in the world of affairs with a broader viewpoint, larger sympathies, and more human understanding, then and then only, can the Junior League be counted an integral part of the great movement for civic and social betterment.[17]

CHAPTER THREE

EXPANSION AND A WORLD WAR

When members of the New York League went away to school, when they vacationed, when they married and moved out of town, they took with them the concept of a training and service organization for young women. The idea proved a hardy transplant, and a dozen years after the founding of the first Junior League, similar groups existed in 11 cities. Sometimes an individual young woman was the catalyst, sometimes an existing organization transformed itself into a Junior League, and sometimes the staff of charity organizations spearheaded the formation of a new League.

The second Junior League was grafted onto a venerable institution, Boston's Sewing Circles, begun in the Civil War to sew for Union soldiers. Each year a new Sewing Circle was formed of the year's debutantes. By 1900, most circles had long since abandoned sewing and functioned as lunch clubs with philanthropic interests. After talking with New York friends, Sarah Lawrence suggested in 1907 that the three youngest circles (debutantes of 1905, 1906, and 1907) combine into a Sewing Circle League modeled on the New York Junior League. (She was not, incidentally, the Sarah Lawrence for whom the college was named.) By absorbing each new year's Sewing Circle, the Boston Sewing Circle League grew to 400 members by 1919.

Dues were $3 a year. Unlike the New York League, the Boston League did not give "entertainments" to raise money for its endeavors. A committee did give performances at settlement houses, however. Every member was required to participate in one of five standing committees: General Work, Settlement, Entertainment, Literature, Lecture.

Less than five years after its founding, the Boston League in 1912 reported an astonishing breadth of volunteer activity: 162 members worked in 55 different organizations including Associated Charities, Boston Dispensary, Boston Trade School, Brookline Day Nursery, Cambridge Hospital, Children's Aid Society,

A delegate to the first conference of Junior Leagues in 1912, Katharine Tweed of New York reported on the pioneering Visiting Teachers program, later copied in many cities. Photo courtesy Katharine Tweed

Children's Island Sanitarium, Children's Hospital, 17 churches, South End Diet Kitchen, Home for Aged Women, Hospital Newspaper Society, House of Good Samaritan, Instructive District Nursing Association, Kindergarten for the Blind, Massachusetts Commission for the Blind, Massachusetts General Hospital, Massachusetts Training School, Women's Municipal League, Stamp Savings Association, Students Club, Trade School for the Deaf, and Tufts Medical School. Another 89 Sewing Circle League volunteers taught various subjects in 19 settlement houses.[1]

Nor was education ignored in a city with some of the strongest academic traditions in America. The Boston League sponsored a popular series of lectures for members and nonmembers alike. Speakers one winter included Florence Kelley, the driving force behind the influential Consumers' League and one of America's best-known women; Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute; and Charles Eliot, president of Harvard.[2]

The third Junior League appeared not in a separate city, but across the East River of New York in Brooklyn. Until 1898, when New York City annexed it as a borough, Brooklyn existed as a separate city and, at heart, remained so. Brooklyn's founders included young married women as well as debutantes. One of them, Harriet Barnes Pratt, recalled that her daughter was in a perambulator when the Junior League was organized in 1910.[3]

Work in four settlement houses was the Brooklyn group's primary interest, but another important committee concerned itself with the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, a virulent problem in the city. Other projects included finding vacant lots to establish playgrounds in crowded neighborhoods, work with handicapped children, and a friendly visitors program. As a direct outgrowth of this work, the Brooklyn League decided that there was an urgent need for free lunches in city schools and successfully petitioned the Board of Education to provide them. This action may have been the first time a Junior League engaged directly in lobbying.

Meanwhile, a continent away, a young bride who belonged to the New York Junior League, Gretchen Hoyt Corbett, arrived in the rapidly growing city of Portland, Oregon. Her mother-in-law, Helen Ladd Corbett, was deeply involved in a settlement house and urged Gretchen to organize a Portland Junior League to produce more community-minded volunteers. She agreed and invited 40 young women "just back from college or young married" to an introductory tea in 1910.

"It was the answer for young women who needed outside interests and did not want to be confined to society or children," Gretchen Corbett recalled. ". . . The ethic of the day was that if someone with sufficient money worked, they were taking bread out of someone else's mouth. You had an obligation to contribute your services as a volunteer."[4]

Records of the early years of Portland's League have vanished, but Mrs. Corbett said that first efforts involved studying various social agencies. An in-

vestigation committee decided that Waverly Home and Boys and Girls Aid were poorly run. "The Junior League was not popular for making these charges," says the organization's official history; "however they managed to go to Governor West some years later and have state standards set for orphanages and adoptions. The community thought the League members 'radical,' but they persisted in their conversations at home until they had support of their projects."[5]

The new Junior Leagues rarely sought publicity, but among professional social workers and charity organizations, their value was noted and appreciated. In Baltimore, Montreal, Washington, D.C., the New Jersey Oranges, and Milwaukee, community agencies in search of reliable trained volunteers and additional funding acted as catalysts in founding Junior Leagues.

Mary Goodwillie of Federated Charities gathered a dozen young Baltimore women for meetings in 1912 at her mother's home. They read books on social work and discussed "the desirability of establishing in Baltimore an organization of young girls of education and leisure with the object of interesting them in social work."[6] Such reading, one of the group recalled, "was frowned upon by some of the parents."[7] In nearby Washington, a representative of Associated Charities suggested to Elizabeth Noyes, who had been doing volunteer work with the organization, that she mobilize Washington debutantes into a Junior League.[8]

Across the Canadian border, a Miss Helm of the University Settlement in Montreal in 1912 helped form a committee of seven under the leadership of Constance Sutherland to explore forming a service group for young women. The committee expanded into a Debutante League of 46 members, with its chief purpose the raising of funds for Montreal charities.[9] In 1914 the name was changed to Junior League, and thus, almost casually, the Junior League became international.

Like the Boston League, the Junior League of Philadelphia emerged from an existing group, the alumnae of Agnes Irwin School. Meeting originally in a room loaned by the school, the nucleus group under Gertrude Ely and Sarah Lowie opened its ranks to young women who were not connected with Agnes Irwin. Within a year of its founding in 1911, 15 members worked with the Society for Organized Charity as friendly visitors, tutors, and office workers, 11 taught settlement classes, two ran biweekly penny banks that encouraged public school children to save money, two worked at hospitals, one at a YWCA, and one at the Consumers' League.[10] A spokeswoman in 1914 said that the group considered the education of its members its most important activity.[11]

Members of established Junior Leagues were generous of their time in helping new groups organize. The Cleveland League, founded in 1912, reported that "in the first year we were very fortunate . . . to have Miss Lawrence of Boston, who gave us all kinds of kind advice." Grace Henry of New York visited Washington to help establish a League there.

Members of the new Leagues needed all the moral support they could get. When the Baltimore League arranged its first public speaker (on the problems of

refugee children in the Balkan state of Serbia), the president, Juliana Keyser, could not introduce the lecturer because her father deemed it inappropriate for his daughter to appear in public. A man was therefore asked to make the introductions.[12] A Boston League member reported to other Leagues in 1912 that some parents "objected to their daughters doing any 'slumming.' "[13] Some years later Sarah Lawrence Slattery and two other founders of the Boston League wrote:

> It is not easy to realize how hard it was then to persuade the parents that we were not plunging their daughters into Prison Reforms or demanding work far beyond them. We remember one mother who wished her daughter to resign immediately because some nurse had given the daughter a baby to hold which the mother thought too heavy.[14]

The climate of parental disapproval, and the high-spirited reaction of some daughters to it, is captured marvelously in a piece written by Celia Hilliard for the Chicago Junior League. She describes how a decade into the 20th century, privileged daughters went abroad at around age 14 to attend school, study drawing, even meet royalty. "Following school, her parents threw a two-thousand dollar debut . . . at the Blackstone Hotel."

> And then everything ended. Chapters closed, tents folded, the adventure was over. Fathers reminded daughters, as one gentleman put it, 'that men did not care for women who go hustling through the world' . . . Surrounded by roadblocks on every side, a girl usually folded her wings and waited for a proposal of marriage.
>
> Lucy McCormick Blair didn't see things that way. Fresh and energetic, she spent the months following her debut working in the tenements surrounding Olivet Institute, an area known as 'Little Hell.' Most of the buildings there were without gas, light, or sewage systems. The streets were filled with decaying fruit and dead animals, and the neighborhood had 65 liquor stores within a quarter square mile.
>
> As she recalled . . . 'It was up at 7 a.m. and into the elevated to the far northwest side near Goose Island.' One morning she, who had never washed more than a pair of stockings, found herself bleaching sheets with lye that took the skin off her hands. Later that day her future husband, [Howard Linn], suggested that 50 cents to a neighbor lady [who knew how to wash things] would have meant so much more and the sheets would have been so much cleaner.
>
> 'I practically cried from rage and mortification,' she remembered, 'and felt there was something wrong and futile about it all.'
>
> What was wrong and futile, she decided, were not her good intentions but her untrained solo efforts. So she responded eagerly to the suggestion of an Eastern friend that she start a Chicago branch of the Junior League[15].

In November of 1911, Lucy Blair gathered friends to form a Junior League as "a sort of clearing-house, an institution where girls can learn what work needs to be done and where, so that each Leaguer can find work that best suits her tastes and capacities."

Accounts of these first efforts to forge effective organizations express a cheerful candor at their own inexperience. An account of the early years of the Baltimore League by Sally Cary Wolff, is an example:

A 1917 issue of the Junior League Magazine *showed sketches of "War Time Dress," designed and promoted by League members, and offered by Wanamaker, "to conserve materials and labor and to eliminate waste."* Junior League Magazine

> The young League did not master parliamentary procedure right away. On one occasion the president, Miss Juliana Keyser, called the meeting to order . . . A lady representing the awesome New York League was present as a guest. A slate of nominees for the next president was on the agenda and, although Miss Keyser hesitated, she was advised by a more experienced member to keep the chair. She began to read, 'all those in favor of . . . please stand up,' and a few . . . stood in favor of the first candidate. Miss Keyser continued down the list until she got to her own name. 'All those in favor of me, please stand up.' All the girls in the room rose. The New York visitor adjusted her lorgnette and commented dryly, 'How delightfully informal.'[16]

Out in Portland, Oregon, Gretchen Corbett (who of course got her own training in the "awesome" New York League) was no sooner elected president at that League's first meeting than she insisted that proper parliamentary procedures be followed. There was discussion about a proposed committee to survey the city, block by block. Someone spoke up. Mrs. Corbett asked her to address the chair. "No I won't," the recalcitrant member said. "Then the chair cannot recognize you," Mrs. Corbett announced firmly, squelching any parliamentary gaffes in one League, anyway.[17]

Elizabeth Noyes Hempstone, founder of the Washington, D.C., League, recalled that when a charity worker asked her to start a Junior League in Washington, she was terrified at the scope of the task. She rallied 12 friends anyway, and

> . . . without any formal name or plan, twelve of us met at my house once a week. We sewed on little flannel dresses for undesignated 'poor children' and each one read a paper on local problems. I smile now to think of those shapeless garments, and the youthful wisdom of the papers. But it was a beginning.[18]

Nor did everyone respond positively to an invitation to join an organization that demanded as a condition of membership that they do volunteer work in their communities. Mrs. Hempstone recalled that she scheduled a luncheon for a nucleus group, and at every place put copies of a constitution and a piece she had written on "Service." Grace Henry of New York gave a short pep talk, but some of the 60 invitees nevertheless ate lunch and disappeared before the meeting.

From many tentative beginnings, but with increasing confidence as members gained experience and expertise, individual Junior Leagues began to have an impact not just on the lives of their own members, but on their communities as well. The need for a mutual support system among Leagues had become apparent, and in 1911 the following invitation was addressed to individuals in the Leagues then in existence:

> The Board of Managers of the Sewing Circle League requests the pleasure of your company at a Conference on "Volunteer Work" . . . to meet some Volunteer Workers who will be in Boston for the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

Speakers:
Mrs. Frederick R. Swift, Member,
Junior League of New York
Miss Harriet Alexander, Member,
Junior League of New York
Miss Katherine Hutchinson, Member
of the Alumnae Association of
Miss Irwin's School in Philadelphia
Miss Sarah Lawrence, Member of the
Sewing Circle League of Boston
Mr. Joseph Lee, National Playgrounds
Association

Signed: Miss Alice Thorndike[19]

Records of this informal gathering have disappeared, but those present decided that a conference of all Junior Leagues should be held every two years. The first was scheduled for New York in 1912. Though she no longer presided over the New York Junior League, Mary Harriman Rumsey persuaded her mother to open the Harriman mansion at Fifth Avenue and 69th Street to delegates, who came from Boston, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. In her opening address, Mrs. Rumsey warned that while delegates could learn from the experience of Leagues in other cities, the organizational structure of each Junior League should depend on the city in which it functioned. The sociology of every community is different, she said, and each League should reflect the environment in which it is operated.[20]

The president of the New York League, Harriet Alexander, presided as each Junior League in turn discussed its founding, its activities, and its problems. Problems were virtually identical. Constance Biddle of Philadelphia, for instance, wondered how other Leagues kept track of whether members were doing volunteer work. Katharine Tweed of New York said her group's greatest difficulty was "the irregularity of the volunteer and the difficulty of assimilating younger girls." Margaret Carey of Baltimore concurred that the "besetting sin of volunteers" was the "lack of a sense of responsibility."

By the end of 1912, there were 10 Junior Leagues and considerable interest in other cities in founding local groups. The first 10, in order of founding, were New York (1901), Boston (1907), Brooklyn (1910), Portland, Oregon (1910), Baltimore (1912), Chicago (1912), Cleveland (1912), Montreal (1912), Philadelphia (1912), and San Francisco (1912). Across the Atlantic, the Young Women's Guild of Holland kept in close touch with the North American Junior Leagues, reporting in 1912 that the guild had been formed in 1908 and now had a membership of nearly 300 in seven branches. Though the Dutch guild never joined the Junior Leagues formally, its activities were reported routinely in League publications for many years.

In 1913 a League was formed for the first time not in a major city, but in

the more suburban areas of East, West, and South Orange, New Jersey. The Junior League of the Oranges, begun through efforts of the Orange Bureau of Associated Charities, grew very quickly under its first president, Anna Whitney Kelsey, from 13 to 123 members.[21]

Alone among early Junior Leagues, the St. Louis League was formed as a response to the nationwide suffrage drive. In the fall of 1912, about a dozen young women, "very strong suffragists, all of us, met together for the avowed purpose of learning what we were going to do with the vote when we got the vote," recalled Margaret McKittrick. The nucleus group sent out circulars explaining its purpose; about 75 agreed to join. The group began educating itself about issues on which its members might be called to vote. "We got people from the Juvenile Court and the Consumers' League and the Civic League, and all the different charities of the city to come speak to the Junior League."[22]

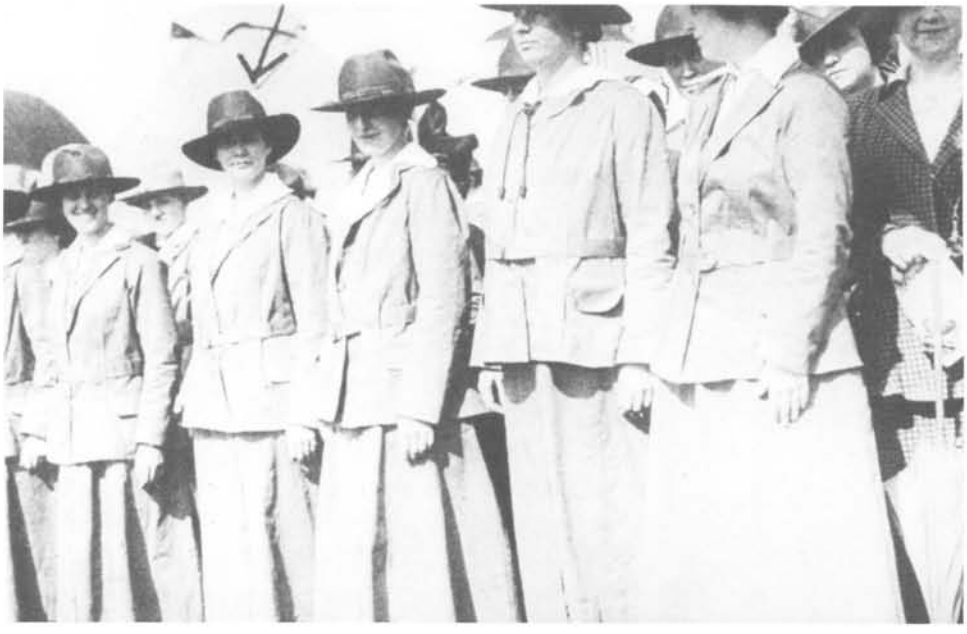
She added that most of the girls' families objected to their doing active suffrage work. (Women could vote in only 12 states in 1913.) However, she said many members weren't suffragists, but joined out of curiosity. Whatever the motives, further discussions led to a desire to create a broader organization, and the St. Louis group wrote to eastern Junior Leagues for information and sample constitutions. The St. Louis group became a Junior League in 1915.

Faced with a proliferating cluster of groups called Junior Leagues that were bound by no formal structure, delegates to the first conferences groped to set rules, procedures, and standards that would allow each Junior League to maintain its treasured autonomy while still providing some national guidelines. Suggestions at the 1914 Chicago conference that there be "some sort of national committee of Junior Leagues" led to creation of a national board, consisting of presidents of the various Leagues. This group, called the International Junior League Committee, was chaired by the president of whichever League would be host for the next national conference.[23]

Not until 1918 did a formal process exist for deciding if a group in a new city could call itself a Junior League. A founder of the St. Paul League (1917) described the earlier process: First there were discussions among young women in St. Paul, and a survey of community needs and opportunities. "The next step was to confer with the New York League. The procedure was to talk to Grace Henry, then editor of the *Bulletin,* to whom we gave references of friends in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis Leagues. Delightfully cordial and encouraging, she told us to shoot ahead."[24] Another account of the process said that when letters of inquiry arrived in New York, if Grace Henry and Miss Meyer (the paid secretary) did not like the handwriting, the query got no further attention.

In addition to the issue of membership for new Junior Leagues, there was also the vexing question of standards for individual membership. Members walked delicately around the unspoken issue of social status. At the 1914 conference chairwoman Amy Walker of Chicago wondered ". . . exactly what the basis of

League member Mildred Green Page of Springfield (marked by arrow) lined up for inspection by President Woodrow Wilson at an Army-run training camp for Red Cross organizers.
Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe



membership is, and what the requirement is for someone to get into the League, the question of whether we want every earnest worker who perhaps is not so well known . . .''

Sarah Lawrence of Boston replied, presumably with tongue in cheek, ''Well, we would be delighted to have the membership uniform if you would all do exactly as we are doing in Boston.'' She added that the Boston League had ''great difficulty in getting our membership just right, without hurting anybody's feelings.''[25] A Brooklyn representative said her League believed it was best to keep the basis of membership social, since its object was to ''interest that class of people who . . . might otherwise never come in personal contact with the great charitable organizations of their own city.''[26]

Grace Henry summed up the decision—or lack of it—in a 1914 issue of the *Junior League Bulletin* reporting on the conference. Membership in the Leagues is always elective, she said, and names were usually proposed by a ''board of electors'' and voted upon by the board of managers. ''Each city is privileged to decide upon its basis of membership, whether it shall be social or because of personal merit. But a combination of the two is always wisest . . .''[27]

Even then, however, individual groups went their independent ways. A spokeswoman for the Oranges told the 1916 conference that ''Society constitutes a very small part of the Orange League. It was originally formed from the Bureau of Associated Charities [and the members] are interested workers. Any girl who

is willing to work in the League and anxious to help her city may belong.'' She said several professional social workers were members.[28]

Gertrude Ely of Philadelphia quoted no less a personage than Jane Addams of Hull House in support of Philadelphia's decision to stress social aspects of membership. ''. . . when I asked her in Chicago what the organization should stand for . . . Miss Addams said her impression had always been . . . that one of the valuable points of the League was that it gave people who worked in Hull House, for instance, a point of contact, gave the girls of Society . . . a point of contact with the social service workers . . . almost immediately because they had an organization . . . She felt that . . . the fact that [the League] was made up of Society girls who . . . met together in a congenial way and very socially, made it possible.''[29]

The question of whether a young woman who belonged to a Junior League in one city could transfer automatically to another League if she moved was raised at the 1914 conference. A delegate from Washington, D.C., noting the transient nature of her city, wondered what the policy was to be. No decisions emerged, but delegates agreed that proper procedure was that the secretary of the Junior League the member was leaving should write to the new League, proposing her for membership there. In time, a policy of automatic transfer of active members came to be an important benefit of Junior League membership. In a mobile society, the right to transfer into any Junior League provided newcomers to a community with entrée into a group with similar interests and background to the one they had left back home.

A 1914 Portland delegate addressed the ticklish question of the age of members in an organization with ''Junior'' in its name. In her city, no one could remain a member after age 30. In New York, by contrast, members were permitted to drop out of active work after five years, though they could remain honorary members or serve on the board of directors. Boston said that after about five years of work, and at about age 25, members moved to associate status, ''and we do not supervise her any more.''[30]

Such organizational details occupied much time at the first conferences, but what fired delegates' enthusiasms were reports of successful Junior League projects like the New York Visiting Teachers program. While a primary object of all Leagues was exposure of their members to the needs and social agencies of their communities, most Leagues initiated and funded projects of their own. These ranged from a free dental clinic in a Montreal settlement to sewing rooms to provide work for unemployed Portland women. The Portland League, in cooperation with Associated Charities, also organized a massive Fresh Air program for working mothers and young children. In 1913, when 34 nearby towns and villages played host to 474 mothers and children, all logistics were orchestrated by the Portland Junior League. The new San Francisco League founded a Junior League Home for underprivileged children, particularly those awaiting

placement in foster homes. Though few American families owned automobiles in this era, Junior League families often did, and these experimental vehicles were pressed into volunteer service. Milwaukee was apparently the first to form an "automobile committee," which chauffeured social workers on their rounds.

Many Leagues created facilities for "working girls" (no one seems to have called them women). Junior League House in Chicago, a low-rent residence for working women, was toured with admiration by delegates to the 1914 conference. Some went home to start similar projects such as League House in Cleveland. The new Detroit League opened a lunchroom for working women, and St. Louis sponsored a lunchroom for female factory workers. The Washington League launched a summer camp for working women on land owned by Elizabeth Noyes' grandfather. Virtually every project reported by the prewar Junior Leagues addressed the social needs of children, families, or working women.

Such activities, reported in the *Junior League Bulletin,* challenged other Leagues to equal efforts. Delegates to the Chicago conference in 1914 asked that the *Bulletin* be renamed and that it become the publication of all Junior Leagues, not just New York. Thus Vol. 1, No. 1 of the *Junior League National Bulletin* appeared in October of 1914. However, the New York League continued to assume financial responsibility for its publication, and the editor continued to come from the ranks of New York members. Though the *National Bulletin,* available by subscription to members in other cities, provided an important information link for the Junior Leagues, further efforts to formalize an organizational structure had to be deferred. By the time of the 1916 conference, the attention of most Junior Leagues had strayed from social work in their communities or organizational possibilities to the effects of the great war enveloping Europe.

The war that exploded in Europe in 1914 seemed remote to many in the United States, but in Canada it was both immediate and personal. The first contingent of 32,000 Canadian troops left for war in 1914, taking with it brothers and friends of nearly every member of the Montreal Junior League. So, said one member, "we plunged into patriotic work" with the Red Cross, at hospitals and in canteens.[31]

As the months passed and war edged closer to the United States, individual Junior Leagues from 1914 to 1916 began "preparedness" work, usually under the direction of the Red Cross. Most Leagues also raised money for European refugees. By 1916 every League reported large numbers of members involved in war preparations. During the particularly hot summer of 1916, Cleveland Leaguers operated a Red Cross unit at the Chamber of Industry exhibition at Edgewater Park. It was part of "preparedness" training for war work:

> Pitched the RC tent, dispensed info, and ended up the week dispensing First Aid as well to fainting women, bruised acrobats, one woman kicked by a cow and a badly cut gypsy boy.[32]

Once the United States declared war in April 1917, enthusiasm for war work threatened to end regular volunteer work at social agencies. Leaders of every League exhorted members not to neglect the agencies that had come to depend upon them. The annual report of one League president for 1916–17 is typical:

> It is our duty as well as our privilege to reinforce by every power we possess these men who are fighting our battle . . . It is equally our privilege and . . . our duty . . . to advance in their absence those democratic ideals for which they have offered their lives . . .
>
> Because we are at war we must continue the civic work we have begun and extend it . . .
>
> Because we are at war, we must prove ourselves such faithful stewards of our citizenship that in the eyes of the world the democracy which we boast may stand approved.[33]

In almost every instance, Junior Leagues performed war work under the supervision of existing organizations, notably the Red Cross, YWCA, Salvation Army, or Liberty Bond campaigns. The Kansas City, Missouri, League established a Red Cross Surgical Dressings Room where members worked every morning both wrapping bandages and then inspecting them. The Atlanta League organized food shipments from its diet kitchen to convalescent soldiers at Camp Gordon. The San Francisco League raised more than $2,500 for the Red Cross by packing and selling sugar-free chewing gum.

The San Francisco League also formed a Motor Delivery Service with Junior League drivers. This group, turned over as a functioning unit to the Red Cross, served as a pattern for the nationwide Red Cross Motor Corps. In Washington, Mrs. Bordon Harriman organized another successful Red Cross Motor Corps that acted as a messenger service, transport, and ambulance squad. After the League raised money for two ambulances and put them into service under League supervision, the Red Cross donated a third vehicle and the Department of Agriculture a fourth.

Caroline Slade of New York found time not only to preside over that city's Junior League; she also took a leading role in the city's suffrage battles. In 1917 she was responsible for organizing 11,000 women registrars to take a military census in the five boroughs of the city. On a national basis, she also organized a Junior League unit of the YWCA for overseas service. Twenty-one New York members and 105 from other Leagues served in France with the unit. The former president of the Portland, Oregon, Junior League, Cornelia Cook Menafee, stationed in France, said their uniforms had a Junior League patch on the sleeve of a designer-styled blouse. A hideous hat, also part of the uniform, she conveniently managed to sit upon and destroy.[34] Not long after the first Junior League contingent arrived in France, the following cable arrived in the offices of the New York League: "Mead to Slade: Would like 200 Junior League types for area. Unit enthusiastically commended. Carter."[35]

Other members also went overseas to work with the Red Cross or other groups in nursing, canteen, or refugee units. The president of the St. Paul Junior

League resigned to go to Europe. Grace Henry disappeared from the masthead of the *National Bulletin;* she, too, had shipped abroad, as had Gertrude Ely, founder of the Philadelphia League.

After the armistice, with much of Europe in turmoil, some of the YWCA unit remained to help with famine relief. A member of the Junior League of Milwaukee, serving with the Y in Vladivostok, Siberia, wrote home in 1920:

> The last two weeks have been very chaotic . . . For some days we had heard that the Bolsheviki were coming. Finally one afternoon we were told that the victorious Red Army was . . . marching on Vladivostok and that they would arrive within 24 hours . . . The opposing Russian army sent out word that the city was under siege and that all civilians must obey certain military regulations. General Graves immediately ordered all American women to go either to the Red Cross barracks or to the Evacuation Hospital . . . which . . . would be protected by American troops.[36]

During the war, hundreds of Junior League members gave up summer vacations and afternoons of leisure to roll bandages, sell Liberty bonds, give concerts for soldiers and sailors, work in army hospitals, and drive ambulances.

The war helped American women shake off a few more of the ancient psychological and legal fetters that still hobbled them. The seemingly endless struggle to win universal woman suffrage finally succeeded in part because of war. President Wilson had finally thrown his support to suffrage in 1918; it became universal in 1920 with adoption of the 19th Amendment.

As organizations, most Junior Leagues took no part in the suffrage fight, and indeed many members opposed votes for women. Some individuals in the League, of course, had worked for suffrage—among the most notable, Gertrude Ely, Corinne Robinson Cole, and Caroline Slade. Members of the St. Louis League, which had begun as a suffrage organization, functioned as pages and patronesses of the National Woman Suffrage Jubilee convention in St. Louis. After Michigan voted in 1917 to give women the vote, the board of the Detroit League announced that it "is the patriotic duty of everyone to vote, whether she wanted suffrage or not."[37] As a whole, however, the Junior League watched the suffrage struggle from the sidelines.

With the 19th Amendment secured, and the heady experience of participating in a great war effort behind them, women inside the Junior League and out looked forward to the 1920's with high enthusiasm. Many thought that the war had created vast new opportunities for women in the economy.

Historian William H. Chafe argues that no such thing happened. After the war women were exhorted to return to traditional roles. "Contrary to the hopes of female enthusiasts," writes Chafe, "World War I produced no substantial change in what one observer called women's 'nebulous, will-o-the-wisp' status."[38] He notes that in 1919 the Central Federated Union of New York declared that "the same patriotism which induced women to enter industry during the war

should induce them to vacate their positions after the war.''

Yet, in the war, women had experienced a new feeling of self-confidence and capability. If it was not to find postwar expression for many women in professional work, for some it would find outlet in the rapidly growing women's organizations, such as the Junior League.

Despite its record of achievements, it is difficult to find reports of the Junior League, except on the society pages, in major newspapers or magazines of this period. And in many cases that is just how the members wanted it. At the 1916 Cleveland conference the Cleveland delegate said, ''We are hardly bothered at all by reporters . . . The only thing we wanted in the papers was a notice that our entertainment would be given on such and such a day and by invitation.''[39]

Yet in cities where Junior Leagues had been in existence for a few years, and where their activities were known, both organized charities and elected officials understood clearly the value of such organizations. In St. Louis the League asked the visiting New York mayor to open a Junior League fund-raiser, a play. ''Mayor Mitchell appeared before the curtain and spoke very highly of the New York League and hoped the League would take the high place in St. Louis that it had in New York.''[40]

As its reputation spread, branches of the Junior League appeared in more and more cities. Junior Leagues were formed in Utica and Wilmington in 1918, the following year in Buffalo, Denver, Omaha, and Poughkeepsie. By 1920, there were 27 Junior Leagues, loosely linked in an informal organization that had no staff, no headquarters, no international constitution.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LEAGUES COME OF AGE

In May 1930, Harriet Alexander Aldrich (Mrs. Winthrop Aldrich) chaired the annual Conference of Junior Leagues, for which delegates of 114 constituent groups had assembled in New York. It must have been a moment of both pride and nostalgia, for 18 years earlier she had presided over the first conference of a handful of Junior Leagues. By 1930, the Junior League was no longer a tentative infant; it had come of age.

During the 1920's, 82 new Leagues joined the expanding network, and many more waited hopefully in the wings for a nod to join the cast. During the decade an international association was created, and a staff of consultants began to guide activities in areas of special interest such as children's theater and welfare.

Nevertheless, compared to more broadly based women's organizations, the League's numbers were minuscule—17,000 in 1928. By 1920 more than 1 million women already belonged to the expanding General Federation of Women's Clubs, 800,000 to the Women's Christian Temperance Union, 500,000 to the YWCA.

By the turn of the decade, world war was a memory and suffrage nearly won (it awaited only final ratification in August 1920 by the 36th state, Tennessee, to become part of the Constitution). It seemed at last that women were on the way to taking their place as equals in the United States. The time had come to consolidate gains made by earlier professional pioneers and dedicated reformers. All sorts of trends seemed to point that way.

Younger women reveled in new freedoms. They smoked, bobbed their hair, tossed away their corsets, and shortened their skirts. In dozens of ways they seemed to have shaken off Victorian strictures. In 1920 nearly half—47 per cent—of all students enrolled in colleges were women; one of every seven Ph.D.'s went to women.[1] In the 30 years since 1890, the number of professional women had increased by 226 per cent. Five per cent of the nation's doctors were women.[2]

Field committee planning 1927 A.J.L.A. conference in Portland, Oregon, above. Courtesy Junior League of Portland, Oregon *Left, first A.J.L.A. president Dorothy Whitney Straight.* Junior League Magazine

Continued expansion of white-collar jobs—as secretaries, telephone operators, teachers, social workers—created opportunities for middle- and upper-class women who before "had been unable to find positions consistent with their social status," says William Chafe.[3] Between 1910 and 1920 nearly 1 million women became clerical workers. The 1920 census showed more than 8 million women employed in 437 different job classifications.[4]

Nevertheless, Victorian taboos still operated most effectively in separating "women's sphere" from that of men. Once the war was won and returning servicemen flooded the job market, women were exhorted not to "take a job from a man." Just because women got the vote, says Carole Nichols, assistant to the director of women's studies at Sarah Lawrence College, did not mean that men received them with open arms. "Opposition was steadfast wherever women tried to move into all-male spheres—politics, jobs, government."[5]

At the very moment when feminism seemed to have won the day, says historian William O'Neill, a countermovement appeared that stressed the importance of family, and Freud's belief that women could be fulfilled only through marriage and child-bearing.[6] The Freudian view of women's practical inferiority was widely touted in the 1920's, and indeed well into the 50's.

Unspoken barriers to women's employment in the professions and in well-paid jobs remained if not impregnable, at least formidable. Though 25 per cent of American women worked for pay between 1920 and 1940, those who did tended to be either single young women living at home before marriage or blacks and other minorities. Only 11.7 per cent of married women held jobs in 1930. There was still strong social pressure against middle-class white women working, except for a brief period before marriage. Chafe notes that as late as 1930, more than 57 per cent of all employed women were either blacks or foreign-born whites.[7]

Women who did pursue careers in male-dominated fields traveled a largely uncharted course that violated the most deeply held conceptions of their proper role, says Chafe. Such women, he says, lacked "signposts." If they acted in traditional feminine ways, they did not win promotions; if they were aggressive, they were said to be unwomanly.[8]

The greatest dilemma for the educated 1920's woman, according to Chafe, was the choice between marriage and career, since the times did not seem to permit both. There were too few role models, too many deeply ingrained social prejudices operating. Thus, in 1920, only 12.2 per cent of all professional women were married.[9]

Feminism failed to take root in the 1920's, says historian Lois Banner, because by and large it did not appeal to that generation's young women. "Their attitude was cavalier to the concerns and achievements of their elders, including the hard-won gains in women's rights.[10]

Young women emerging from college in record numbers heard drummers different from those that had motivated feminists of earlier decades. As college

became a commonly accepted step for young women whose families could afford it, those who attended showed far less inclination to become social reformers. The symbol of the decade, the flapper, eventually married. She did not undertake the rigors of a career—at least not in the 20's and 30's. Chafe and other observers have noted that the young women who went off to college and came of age in the 20's were far less career-oriented than their predecessors. Repeated surveys showed that 1920's college women planned to marry and to forego careers, if necessary, to do so.

Though the proportion of women workers classified as "professionals" rose slightly, from 12 per cent in 1920 to 14 per cent in 1930, there was little in the marketplace to tempt many middle-class women. Of these professionals, says Barbara Sinclair Deckard in her history of the women's movement, 75 per cent were in the so-called "women's professions" of nursing or teaching. Their jobs featured both low status and very low pay. And, she says, things got much, much worse in the 1930's.[11]

In such a climate, and perhaps somewhat in reaction to the sacrifices of wartime, young women of the 1920's chose different routes. Even though the end of mass immigration in 1921 shut off new supplies of cheap labor, middle- and upper-class women could still afford ample and inexpensive household help from the vast pool of earlier immigrants and minorities. The typical young woman who was invited to join the Junior League had at least one maid, and often other help such as a children's nurse and cook. She did not have to hunt up a baby-sitter before going off to meetings or volunteer work.

A women's organization that combined social cachet, fun, and an opportunity to do admirable community work with friends held great appeal in a decade named for its carefree high spirits and sense of fun. The Junior League boomed. The problem, in fact, was to contain growth to manageable limits.

Back from France and again heading the postwar *Bulletin* staff, Grace Henry urged creation of a formal umbrella organization that could assume financial and editorial control of the publication. Other League leaders like Dorothy Whitney Straight concurred, and at the 1921 Montreal conference, the 30 Junior Leagues then in existence agreed to call a special conference to devise an organizational structure and to write a constitution.

The special conference convened May 2, 1921, at 6 East 45th Street in New York City. It was chaired initially by Grace Henry. At the third meeting, the following slate was nominated for a new Association of the Junior Leagues of America: Mrs. Williard Straight, the former Dorothy Payne Whitney, as president; Sophy Sweet of Washington, vice president; Agnes Thompson of Brooklyn, secretary; Margaret Winslow of Boston, treasurer; and Marryette Reynolds of Poughkeepsie and Mrs. Alexander Yarnall of Philadelphia as members-at-large.[12]

For the first president, the Association of Junior Leagues picked a woman who was a lifelong innovator. Dorothy Straight, born in 1887 into the distin-

guished Whitney family, joined the Junior League in 1904. In 1911 she was one of the driving forces behind the New York League's successful hotel for working women. As president of the Junior League of New York in 1916, she strengthened provisional training classes and urged creation of an umbrella organization for all Leagues. When an association finally came into being, she was a natural choice as first president.

During World War I Dorothy Straight chaired the Women's Emergency Committee of the European Relief Council, which worked to feed some three and a half million starving children. She was also active in New York in support of women's rights. With her first husband, Williard Straight, she was a founder of the *New Republic* magazine. She was also a founder of the prestigious New York School for Social Research. After marriage in 1925 to Leonard Elmhirst, she moved to England; there they bought a 2,000-acre estate, Dartington Hall, which they turned into a school that became a showplace for the progressive education movement.[13]

The newly elected directors of the Association of Junior Leagues drafted a constitution of admirable simplicity:

> Article 1. Name: The name of this organization shall be The Association of Junior Leagues of America.
>
> Article 2. Object: The object of the Association shall be to unite in one body all the Junior Leagues and to promote their individual purposes, i.e., to foster interest among their members in the social, economic, educational and civic conditions of their own communities, and to make efficient their volunteer service.
>
> Article 3. Membership: The membership of this Association shall consist of individual Leagues, each of which shall be known as the Junior League of the city in which it is established.
>
> Article 4. Officers: The officers of this Association shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer.
>
> Article 5. Board of Directors: The officers, the Editor of the "Bulletin," and four additional members shall constitute the Board of Directors.
>
> Article 6. Annual Meeting: The annual meeting shall be held on the third Thursday in January.
>
> Article 7. Amendments: Section 1. Any proposed amendments to this constitution shall be subscribed to by at least seven Leagues and submitted in writing to the Board of Directors, who shall present them to the annual meeting for vote or to any special meeting called for this purpose. Section 2. A two-thirds vote of the delegates present shall be required to confirm such proposed amendment.[14]

The new directors filed articles of incorporation, and A.J.L.A., Inc. was in business. Minutes emphasize that the Association was to be ". . . an advisory, not a supervisory organization. The Leagues are self-directing and are bound only by the provisions of the Association by-laws and by such policies and procedures as they themselves may adopt in Association annual meetings or their own guidance."

The A.J.L.A. board recommended in 1921 that every League be assessed a sum not to exceed 50 cents a member to cover expenses of the *Bulletin,* conferences, and the Association. Initially, dues of 35 cents per capita sufficed, for the

only staff of the new Association were the two editors of the *Bulletin*.[15]

Both the *Bulletin* and A.J.L.A. worked out of borrowed space in the headquarters of the New York League. For a time the A.J.L.A. share was "one drawer in a desk in the *Bulletin* office."[16] When the New York Junior League moved into a clubhouse in 1924, space was reserved for both the *National Bulletin* and A.J.L.A., which got a small office at a rent of $300 a year. As more Leagues joined the network annually, and as existing Leagues sought advice about dozens of matters, mail overwhelmed the small space allotted. A.J.L.A. president Mary Schieffelin Brown urged a move in 1926 into a separate and larger space.

Minutes of a 1928 board meeting bemoan both lack of staff and space:

> The office staff at Headquarters this year has consisted of . . . two stenographers (doing virtually all the clerical work of the office); one volunteer helper, not on regular hours; a girl who managed the Play Bureau [concerned with Junior League theatrical productions]. We have found both the staff and the office equipment insufficient to meet the increasing demands being made on headquarters. We have been unable to expand because of lack of space and funds.[17]

The quest for more space seemed solved in 1928 when A.J.L.A. leased the top floor of the Barbizon Hotel for Women. A special Junior League express elevator whisked visitors to the 21st floor where a Junior League clubroom offered tea every afternoon. However, a new, unforeseen problem arose. Out-of-town members arrived in New York expecting to book rooms in the Barbizon, which was frequently full. After much criticism and uproar from members for not assuring rooms for League members, the A.J.L.A. board leased the 15th floor of the hotel. There, 15 bedrooms stood ready for out-of-town members, at a price of $3.50 a night with bath, $3 without. Those who stayed two weeks or longer paid $15 to $21 weekly.

Yet even the Barbizon proved too small for the fast-growing Junior League, and in 1931 A.J.L.A. leased larger quarters on the 19th and 20th floors of the new Waldorf-Astoria. Bedrooms on the 20th floor were reserved for the use of visiting Junior Leaguers. Profits from rentals (which averaged about $5,000 a year) augmented the A.J.L.A. budget.

A.J.L.A. dues went up in 1923 to 50 cents for each League member, partly to meet the expense of an executive secretary. However, the post remained vacant until 1928. Instead, the first noneditorial staff was a field secretary hired in 1925. Her job was both to visit existing Leagues and to inspect groups applying for admission to the Association. The need for a traveling consultant had become urgent, although dozens of League presidents, regional directors, and other volunteers traveled to prospective Leagues and existing Junior Leagues to nurture their beginning efforts.

In 1921 alone, 16 groups joined A.J.L.A. Two years after the Association's founding, there were 63 approved Junior Leagues in existence and dozens of Junior Service Leagues, Charity Leagues, and others applying for approval, eager

to get in. In 1928, 101 groups applied for admission; in 1929 there were 135 applicants.[18]

The process of screening and approving groups seeking admission became increasingly formalized and stringent as groups in cities large and small pressed for membership. Sorting out the applicants while offering consulting help to existing Leagues kept field secretary Clarinda Garrison moving. Her travel schedule bespeaks endless hours on trains. The *Bulletin* reported in 1926, for instance, that Miss Garrison had just returned from a seven-week trip to Junior Leagues and prospective Leagues in Charlotte, Savannah, Montgomery, New Orleans, San Antonio, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma, Cleveland, Akron, and Toronto.

Emily Anderson, who replaced Clarinda Garrison as field secretary, described the evolution of the field secretary's work, and of the Association itself:

> The first 42 Leagues came into the Association because someone on the Board had gone to school with someone in the new League or had a sister who lived in that city, or knew someone who had a cousin who had a sister—but in 1925 so many cities wanted Junior Leagues that . . . it became necessary to appoint a Field Secretary to investigate and nurture new Leagues and answer . . . mail. Her office consisted of a hallway and a courtyard. Here all the Association business was transacted with one typewriter, one table, no file and a chair with legs two inches too short so that one had to sit on a telephone book . . .
>
> But in 1928 the Association suddenly burst from a chrysalis into a butterfly. Letters poured in asking all kinds of information, from how to run a clinic, to what one act play could be given outdoors. An average of 150 letters a day were received at headquarters.[19]

When Mrs. Fosket Brown of Nashville was elected A.J.L.A. president in 1928, a new problem surfaced. She was the first Association president who did not live in the New York area, and therefore could not provide day-to-day supervision to the enterprise. It became necessary at last to hire the executive secretary authorized some years earlier, and Emily Anderson (who became Mrs. James Farr III during her tenure) moved into the position at a salary of $3,000 a year. Forsyth Patterson of the Pittsburgh Junior League replaced her as field secretary. To cover added expenses, A.J.L.A. per capita dues went up to $5 in 1928—$1.50 of it to the renamed *Junior League Magazine* as a subscription fee.

The addition of a second field secretary did not ease the pressure of screening applying groups, and a decision was made to admit no more than 10 new organizations a year. The process and the guidelines had become fairly formalized by 1928, when Emily Anderson outlined them: 1) The applying organization should be in a city with a population of at least 50,000. 2) Applying groups received a model constitution, an A.J.L.A. yearbook of information, plus an extensive questionnnaire about the city, its resources, its problems, and the organization's activities to date. 3) Names of applying organizations were forwarded to the director of the A.J.L.A. region in which it functioned, and if the group seemed promising on the basis of recommendations and the questionnaire,

the director would visit. 4) After winnowing this preliminary information, some of the prospective organizations were chosen for two-day visits by the field secretary and presidents of two Junior Leagues—one nearby League, and one more distant League.[20]

It had become a point of civic pride to have a functioning Junior League in town. "Every paper is full of headlines, 'National Officers Inspect Local Group,' " said Emily Anderson. Considerable embarrassment ensued if the visitors went away unimpressed. "After two years of this work, I feel that there are certain parts of this country where I would never again dare appear with less than a sheriff's posse as bodyguard. I feel also that this is an unnecessary situation . . . no league should be inspected unless their admission is almost certain."[21] Field secretaries, A.J.L.A. board members, and nearby Junior Leagues often were willing to continue their advice and consultations to groups deemed not yet up to standard. Therefore, being turned down for admission to the Association did not necessarily mean that an organization would be rejected a second or third time around. Such consultations, however, absorbed great amounts of time and kept board members and staff from spending as much time as some would have liked working with existing Junior Leagues.

Rigid formulas simply did not work in deciding which groups met admittedly intangible standards. The population-of-50,000 rule proved particularly sticky, for it did not take regional differences into account. To follow it rigidly, said Emily Anderson, would mean that the West would have no leagues, "while New Jersey and Pennsylvania would have a Junior League every 10 miles."[22]

The population yardstick could be circumvented by local ingenuity. Some 50 years after the event, Julia Park of the Junior League of Raleigh wrote that it was a great achievement for the newly formed Junior Guild to be taken so soon into the Association of Junior Leagues, "but it was not without some political string-pulling." Overnight the population of Raleigh zoomed from 35,000 to 50,000 on paper by adding students and faculty of North Carolina State and other schools and colleges to the Raleigh Post Office listing.[23]

With so many groups applying, those chosen for admission during the 1920's could show impressive records of community service and oganization. Most had been nurtured and encouraged by Junior League representatives in the interim phase. Field Secretary Forsyth Patterson reported in 1929 that of 117 organizations applying for membership, those voted into membership at the annual conference included:

Augusta, Georgia, "admitted because it maintains five baby clinics, because it distributes 233 quarts of milk a week in its milk station; because it has equipped the Pediatric Ward of the University Hospital; because it runs so efficiently a dental clinic."

Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania, "admitted because it runs the Community Center House; because of its very efficient volunteer service to national organizations."

Lynchburgh, Virginia, "admitted because in its Children's Free Hospital it affords the only Children's Training School for Nurses in the State, because of its commendable work in the Blind School . . ."

San Diego, California, "because it own and maintains a Day Nursery; because it operates a Salvage Shop . . ."

Troy, New York, "admitted because of its Charity Clearing House; because of the efficient work it is carrying on in Pawling Sanitariam [*cq*] and the Samaritan and Troy Hospitals . . ."

Williamsport, Pennsylvania, "because it maintains the only Detention Home for Women and Children in the city; because of its efficient cooperation with the National Organizations."[24]

The new Junior Leagues came into being for many different reasons and in response to conditions in each separate community. Some were formed by members who moved elsewhere. The Lincoln, Nebraska League materialized after a Vassar graduate attended a class reunion where she heard about the work Leagues were doing. Some were formed in response to particular local conditions, as in St. Petersburg, Florida, where a group of young women organized at the urging of welfare workers concerned with eocnomic hardship created by the collapse of the Florida building boom. And some Leagues formed partly for the fun of it, although they, too, stoutly promised to perform worthy community service while educating their members. For the 50th anniversary of the Asheville, North Carolina League, Mrs. James Westall recounted the story:

> In those days a pageant or tableau was roughly equilvalent to today's community theater. To entertain themselves and others, amateurs of great, limited, or no talent frequently put together and presented such shows . . . During the summer of 1925, one such musical extravaganza hit the stage in Asheville under the direction of a New York City producer whose pay was based on a percentage of the profit.
>
> The local cast asked his advice about the best way to sell tickets. Obviously astonished that any group would undertake the production without organizational backing, he asked (probably in fright), 'Where is your Junior League?'
>
> Mrs. Reuben Robertson, the leading lady in the cast, confessed that Asheville had none . . . [a luncheon was promptly organized for 14 young women who might repair that omission] and the producer explained in detail and error what a Junior League was and did, and he asked if the girls would be interested in starting one.
>
> In addition to selling tickets, the girls agreed to do a scarf dance in the show . . . With more accurate information, the Asheville group organized, launched and began work at an orthopedic clinic, formed a motor corps, and in 1927 were admitted to the Association.[25]

In addition to applications from the United States, applications and informal queries arrived at headquarters from young women in cities abroad, raising a question of how global the fledgling Association of Junior Leagues of America, Inc. chose to be. Since Montreal had been one of the original Junior Leagues, there had never been a question that English-speaking women in Canada were

eligible for membership; in the 1920's, Leagues were organized and admitted to A.J.L.A. in Toronto and Winnipeg. Nor was there great debate over whether to admit a group in Honolulu decades before Hawaii became a state. However, when inquiries arrived from Mexico, Budapest, and other distant points, it seemed time for a full-scale dialogue on the question of foreign Leagues.

Board minutes from 1929 show extended discussions about the application of a Service League of Mexico City, organized by a group of young North American women. There were also formal and informal applications from groups in Paris, Rome, Dublin, Budapest, and elsewhere. Investigation showed the Mexico City League to be the only viable group making a serious application, and a special committee finally recommended admitting Mexico City at the 1929 conference in New Orleans. In 1930 Mexico City's group became the 112th Junior League.

After a swing through the Southwest and West, the first field secretary, Clarinda Garrison, had commented on how isolated individual Leagues were and called for "strengthening connectives." The first effort to do so was the division of the Leagues in 1923 into six regions, each with an unpaid regional director who served on the National Board. (This board was misnamed, since there were member groups in Canada.) In 1927 further division and reshuffling occurred, dividing Junior Leagues into nine regions. Directors visited individual Leagues, dispensed information, and thus augmented the work of the lightly staffed Association headquarters.

Informally, neighboring Leagues met to discuss mutual problems and possible mutual approaches to public issues. Stamford invited other Connecticut Leagues to an informal meeting in 1924. That same year Utica invited the nine New York Leagues and Montreal to consult. In 1926 the new regions held the first regional conferences.

At regional meetings and at the annual conferences, delegates hammered out policy guidelines for the Association and its constituent groups. The Association could recommend, it could not make decisions. Yet at every conference, and in hundreds of letters to A.J.L.A., member groups asked for more information, more advice, more contact with experts. To provide the needed help, the 1927 Portland Conference approved a plan to form A.J.L.A. bureaus in four areas of community involvement: the Junior League Civic Welfare Bureau, the Art and Lecture Exchange, the Players Bureau, and the Arts and Crafts Exchange. The next year a Shop Bureau was added to assist Leagues in running businesses that ranged from tearooms and libraries to craft shops for work by the handicapped.[26]

At the conferences, too, delegates worked on organizational mechanics: how to assure that all members did a minimum level of volunteer work; methods of budgeting for committees; whether a member could get credit for volunteer work in the motor corps if her chauffeur did the driving; the best way to staff a thrift shop. Because such great differences existed between Leagues, conference plan-

ners scheduled separate sessions for large Leagues, medium-sized Leagues, and those with memberships of less than 100. Complete statistics do not exist, but the largest Junior Leagues in 1927 were apparently New York, which had 2,230 members (in New York City, Westchester County, and lower Connecticut); Boston, 1,200; San Francisco, 640; Philadelphia, 450; and Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City, Montreal, St. Louis, and Washington, all with memberships ranging from 300 to 400.

There were elaborate preparations to feed, house, and entertain delegates, for the conferences represented a major social event for the host city. The Montreal conference was described as a week of "sleigh-rides, teas, and ski-jumps." The 1924 Denver conference climaxed with a rodeo in the delegates' honor, ". . . and I seem to recall we gathered for a buffet supper at a vast house a size or two smaller than Buckingham Palace," recalled a delegate from Jacksonville.[27]

To transport delegates in comfort to the first conference in the West, the Burlington railroad scheduled a special Junior League Train from Chicago to the host city of Denver. Pullman cars originating in St. Louis and and Minneapolis joined the train at Lincoln. Another special train rushed home an eastern delegate who collapsed of a heart attack after a buffet supper atop Lookout Mountain.[28]

The conferences—and the long train rides—provided much-needed personal contacts and information exchange. At small group meetings and at plenary sessions, delegates heard possible solutions to mutual problems, new approaches to social concerns, fresh ways to raise money. It was in small group sessions, for instance, that members interested in duplicating Detroit's model program for the handicapped could ask questions about the mechanics of organizing production and marketing of wares made by the handicapped.

In addition to conferences and visits by field secretaries and regional directors, the primary information vehicle was the *Junior League National Bulletin.* From its infancy in 1911 under Helen Morgan, the *Bulletin* was edited by a succession of exceptionally able women, all League members. Among the most notable early editors were Harriet Alexander from 1914 to 1915, Grace Henry from 1917 to 1921 (with time out for war duty), and from 1922 to 1924 Mary Jay Schieffelin (Mrs. Charles Brown), who moved over to become A.J.L.A. president in 1924.

When Edith Lindley assumed the editorship in 1924, the *National Bulletin* was a 64-page monthly magazine focused almost entirely on Junior League activities. Gradually, she broadened its scope until in 1927 the *Bulletin* changed its name, its distribution, and its format. The transformed *Junior League Magazine* went on sale at newsstands as a "Journal of Youthful Opinion." Plump with ads for fine clothes, fine cars, and other luxury items, the *Magazine* doubled in size, and circulation climbed from 17,000 in 1927 to 24,000 in 1931. A typical issue ran more than 100 pages, at least a third of them advertising.

The first 90 or so pages contained a potpourri of fiction, poetry, and articles written by Junior League members on topics of general interest from travel to nursery schools and trends in higher education. So great was the outpouring of manuscripts by aspiring League writers eager to see their work in print, that at least once a year the editors printed apologies about the great number of manuscripts they had to reject. Nevertheless, during the nearly two decades the *Magazine* functioned as a general interest publication, it gave exposure to hundreds of aspiring writers.

The Junior League could summon from its own ranks some nationally prominent women as contributors. An issue on the 1928 Presidential election carried an article favoring Herbert Hoover by Carolyn Louis Slade, chairman of the National Women's Committee for Hoover. For the opposition Democrats, Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the New York governor and chairwoman of the Advisory Committee of the Democratic Party, wrote an article favoring Al Smith.

Among the best sections of the *Magazine* in the late 20's and early 30's were the regular back-of-the-book sections of book reviews, theater and arts criticism. Playwright and critic Marya Mannes wrote regularly as the theater critic. Other distinguished names in the literary world such as Robert Benchley and H. L. Mencken appeared from time to time.

After 1928 the *Magazine* frequently devoted whole issues to single themes. The May or June issue traditionally described the Junior League conference. While theme issues regularly treated such expectable topics as debutantes, gardening, and decorating, the *Magazine* also produced many excellent special issues on subjects like aviation (''a corking aviation issue,'' the *Washington Post* reported), budgeting, and education for women. For a ''Financial Number'' in February of 1929, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon contributed an article on government finance; another article discussed ''Women and Banking.'' The husband of a Tampa League member offered ''This Year of Speculative Orgy,'' a cautionary note on the financial balloon that was to burst a few months later.

Handsomely printed on fine paper, generously illustrated with photographs and drawings—mostly contributed by League artists—the *Junior League Magazine* for almost two decades competed with such publications as *Vanity Fair* for readership. It reached its height in visual elegance and style in the late 30's and early 40's under the art directorship of Irving Penn, the noted fashion photographer.

As a ''Journal of Youthful Opinion,'' the *Magazine* tended to shunt news of Junior Leagues to back sections. In one issue, for instance, it was possible to read the first 96 pages before encountering accounts of League endeavors. Then, in packed columns of small type were contributions from ''city editors'' in every League on fund-raisers, projects, training programs, social notes. Through the publication, members could learn that several southern Leagues had made astonishing amounts of money by taking over newspapers for a day. Or they might

note that 71 Leagues were publishing news sheets of their own to keep members up to date.

In another issue, the Junior League of Little Rock suggested that a Junior League uniform would serve as good public relations, since "elaborate dressing while working with the poor does not inspire a feeling of sisterhood in those whom we are trying to help."[29] The proposed uniform was blue, with white collar and cuffs and had the initials JL embroidered on the front.

Pride in Junior League membership and willingness to display the name was evident, too, in the eagerly accepted suggestion of the Philadelphia League for a national contest to design a radiator cap emblem that would symbolize the Junior League. Some 23 women in 17 Leagues submitted design models for judging by the English sculptor Frank Lynn-Jenkins. Themes included Joan of Arc, a swift greyhound, a warring Valkyrie, the head of a Greek goddess on wings, and a "modern girl in a modern attitude." An amateur sculptor, 22-year-old Evelyn Springle of Montreal, won the $100 prize for her figure, "Fleetfoot and Free."

Contests filled the *Magazine:* contests run by the Association, contests run by regions, by individual Leagues. There were literary contests, art contests, scenery contests, playwriting contests, contests for the best displays of welfare work done by Leagues. The Honolulu League was awarded the 1928 prize of $50 for the best piece of nutrition work in the United States; it was offered by Dr. William P. Emerson of Boston, a pioneer in the field.[30]

Fostering the efforts of members through contests represented one side of the League's commitment to individual development. The more formal process of member development involved training programs, both for new members and for experienced members.

The first A.J.L.A. president, Dorothy Straight, insisted that a top priority must be the development of training classes. The Baltimore conference in 1919 voted that all Leagues should have a training course, and under Mrs. Straight's leadership, A.J.L.A. began to develop a prototype. In her 1922 president's address in Atlanta, Mrs. Straight underscored the rationale for the organization's commitment to educating its members to their communities:

> In order to form any fair estimate of the Junior League we must see it in relation to education as a whole. In the thought of previous generations education was something which ran a definite course, commencing in a girl's life at the age of six or seven and continuing for a period of ten or twelve years. The acquisition of knowledge . . . was crowded into these years and upon graduating . . . a girl was pronounced educated . . . Thereafter nothing more was required of her except her plunge into society and matrimony. . . .
>
> Today . . . we see education . . . as a continuous process.
>
> Given this conception of a continuous educational process, acquired through, and in relation to, living itself, we see in clear perspective the place of the Junior League. It has become our vocational, our continuation school. It picks us up at

> the point where the preparatory school dropped us and it carries us through our second stage of education. It enables us to make our first contacts with the conditions of the big world . . . It becomes more than a school teacher, it becomes in part, a life teacher . . .
>
> In accepting membership, therefore, in the Junior League, a girl becomes at the same time a member of her own community. She steps forthwith into the wider citizenship of her city. And the first training course she takes or the first bit of social work she does is equivalent to making out her first citizenship papers. Thereafter she will endeavor to qualify for full membership in that society, which implies, in the first instance, knowledge of the community, of its people, its needs, its activities, its problems—and in the second instance, a realization of her own personal relation to that community life and understanding of the technique of dealing with social situations.[31]

Mrs. Straight admitted that emphasizing the educational aspect of the League might seem to overlook services performed by Junior Leagues to their community. However, she argued, "this work . . . can almost be taken for granted, for the very reason that once knowledge is vouchsafed to us, once we have seen and known at first hand something of the evils of poverty and disease, of waste and of maladjustment—it will follow . . . that we will want to do something about it." The crucial first step, she insisted, was "the awakening, the initiation . . . to the pain and sorrow of the world."[32]

Provisional courses for new members were oriented firmly to service agencies, and A.J.L.A. strongly urged Leagues to consult professionals in the local social agencies when planning the courses. The 1926 course in the year-old Akron League was typical of the comprehensive program expected of those who wished to be voted into full membership. It was divided into three sections—lectures, field trips, and practical work. The lectures section included talks on parliamentary procedure, public schools, Akron government, local charities, and nursery schools. "Practical courses" included work at the Junior League library at City Hospital, a clinic at the Children's Hospital, the International Institution, and at a nursery. Field trips—"educational excursions"—took provisionals to the YWCA, Salvation Army, Sunshine Cottage (a tubercular sanitorium for children), the Bowen School for Crippled Children, and to Nursery School."[33]

Other Leagues offered variations on the same theme. Dallas required provisional members to complete a six-week course on child welfare under the auspices of the Civic Federation of Dallas, followed by two weeks of intensive field work with agencies. Grand Rapids compressed the course into three weeks of visits to institutions and clerking at the League thrift shop. Omaha required six hours of parliamentary procedure, lectures and class work in kindgergartens, and visits to charities. New Orleans offered four lectures on four types of work in which that League was involved: child welfare, YWCA, a day nursery, and an obstetrical clinic.

Education did not end with training courses for provisionals. Leagues regularly scheduled talks and lecture series of interest to their full membership. In 1929 Detroit reported great interest in a talk by a vice president of a trust com-

pany. "It has been decided to have a course of lectures on the various phases of banking, trusts, wills, etc., that would be of interest to women."[34]

Just as A.J.L.A. sought to guide each League in planning a provisional training program that would meet developing Association standards and yet serve local needs, so the Association also struggled to define membership criteria. Every individual League had the right, as it does today, to set its own membership policies as long as they did not violate Association bylaws. A young woman—usually between the ages of 18 and 35—became a member only by invitation. Some Leagues invited no more than 10 new members a year. Many had admissions committees that chose whom to invite; in others, the board decided.

A.J.L.A. described the membership as "young women . . . who have leisure and the desire to give their services in volunteer work of a charitable nature." Even this criteria had its exceptions, for as a member of the Kansas City, Missouri, League pointed out in 1926, there "can scarcely be a League today which does not point with pardonable pride to its intensely busy professional members."[35] Still, the phrase "young women of leisure" was used repeatedly to describe those invited to membership in the Leagues in the 1920's and 1930's.

Mary Schieffelin Brown, A.J.L.A. president in 1926, admitted that the character of Junior League membership was hard to define. But, she said, because of transfers, the "membership of each League must be drawn from the same type of girl, i.e., the girl of the so-called leisure class, whose background, education and standards will make her a congenial and welcome addition." In its membership, she said, the League "resembles a club far more than it does a philanthropic or civic organization, and if it is to continue to enlist the interest of those it wants and needs . . . if it is to maintain its prestige, this must continue to be so."[36]

During these formative years, leadership of the Association was in the hands of distinctly upper-class women. The first president, Dorothy Whitney Straight, was born into one of New York's most socially prominent families. Her successors in the decade came from similarly lofty reaches of society. Rank and file membership, however, had become somewhat more diverse, particularly in smaller cities. Members tended to range from comfortable middle-class to upper-class. Although it is impossible to document, membership ssems to have been almost exclusively white Anglo-Saxon Protestant in this period.

The 1923 conference voted that incoming members could not be older than 35, and set 40 as the age limit for active members. Some Leagues, however, set their top age for new members at 30. The 1926 convention established three membership categories: active, inactive, and associate. Active members had completed their provisional membership and training, and had been voted into full membership. Associate members were those who had completed a term of service as required by their own League but who had not yet reached age 40. This category also included nonresident members and professionals who "be-

cause of their . . . [employment] are not able to do active work or take the training course.'' Inactive members were those who were still of an age to be active for the time being who were not doing volunteer work or League work.[37] Though the term ''sustainer'' crops up occasionally in describing members of 40, it did not become a formal category of membership until later, describing those who were willing to continue paying dues and offering advice, but who were no longer permitted to vote or serve on the board.

Categories did not solve delicate questions of age. An A.J.L.A. president in 1925 noted that many Leagues had been admitting as members ''older girls'' of 23, 25, and 27'' to the exclusion of 18- and 19-year-olds. She argued that it was girls ''just out'' who needed the Junior League most. However, the trend was the other way, at least in some cities. The Lincoln League had noted in 1924 that perhaps the majority of provisional members the country over were young wives and mothers rather than debutantes.[38] At the 1927 Portland conference, the list of delegates with ''Mrs.'' before their names outnumbered ''Misses'' by 2–1.[39] There was a continuing effort, however, to keep the organization oriented to youthful members. A *Bulletin* editorial summed up the problem: The best and most responsible work was done by older members, and it would cripple the Leagues to let them go. But, continued the editorial, is there anything in a name? ''We are JUNIOR Leagues!''[40] The problem that was cropping up was that the first generation of members now had 18- and 19-year-old daughters. These teenagers were unlikely to be thrilled by an invitation to an organization—supposedly of young women—if their mothers and aunts were still active. A generation gap between incoming young members and experienced older members has constituted a continuing dilemma for many Junior Leagues.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHILDREN'S THEATER AND OTHER ARTS

fter two decades of immersion in social welfare work, Junior Leagues in the Roaring Twenties plunged gleefully into arts and cultural activities, almost as a sideline to the "real" work of social service. Members had commented for years on what fun it was to give "entertainments" as fund-raisers, that planning and rehearsing a follies or a cabaret created *esprit de corps* among members. While some members had to be prodded to fulfill their promise to do volunteer work in social agencies, they rarely needed a nudge to paint sets, rehearse a play, volunteer at a museum.

In this shift of interest, the Junior League was squarely in the mainstream of what was happening in women's organizations in North America. Historian Lois Banner contends that Americans in the 20's were tired of reform causes, and that women's clubs which turned from social service to bridge were indicative of the general mood of the middle class.[1]

Historians disagree about the eclipse of the old reform movement in the '20s. Certainly, settlement houses no longer attracted large numbers of recent college graduates. Yet while reforming zeal dimmed, there was still strong and steady commitment by many women to improving hospitals, clinics, day nurseries and other agencies. However, in the Junior League, as in many other women's groups in the '20s, the central focus of energy and enthusiasm shifted from social causes to the cultural life of the community and to a quest for personal fun and self-improvement.

In the '20s, Junior Leagues not only pioneered children's theater in the United States; they also began to buy and save historic buildings; they worked with museums, art associations, libraries, and radio stations to widen the cultural

horizons of their communities. Support for cultural and educational facilities continues to be a strong theme of virtually every individual Junior League, and in most cities where Junior Leagues exist, many of the arts owe a major debt to the continuing support of the Junior League and its members.

Children's theater in one form or another was the pet project of nearly every 1920's Junior League. Though the Chicago Junior League gave the concept its final form, roots of children's theater can be traced to several sources—to Junior League skits in settlement houses in Boston and New York, to the new Little Theatre movement, and to the playwright Alice Gerstenberg. In both Boston and New York Junior Leagues, volunteers told stories to settlement children; stories gave way to skits, and in 1912 both Junior Leagues offered small but well-received children's plays in settlement houses.[2] That same year, Maurice Browne introduced to America the Little Theatre concept of amateur theatricals, and the idea instantly caught on in several cities. Three years later, in 1915, a play by Alice Gerstenberg, *Alice in Wonderland,* opened on Broadway. Although the play was meant for general audiences, the playwright noticed how many children appeared at matinee and holiday performances. Back home in Chicago, she continued to write highly regarded plays, joined the thriving Little Theatre group, and continued to wonder if there were a way to make plays for children economically feasible.[3,4]

The mechanism appeared in 1929 when the playwright's good friend Annette Washburne, president of the Junior League of Chicago, asked her to take charge of a new drama department for the Chicago League. Ms. Gerstenberg proposed doing plays for children, and when the Junior League enthusiastically agreed, the concept of children's theater was launched in the United States. At Annette Washburne's insistence, the first performance was *Alice in Wonderland.*[5]

Under Ms. Gerstenberg's tutelage, the first plays were big professional productions in good theaters. Professional musicians and stagehands were hired, and at first most of the actors were also paid professionals. With each new production, however, more and more roles were filled by stage-struck members of the Junior League.[6]

In a pre-television era, children's theater filled a vacuum, for there was little of quality entertainment available for chidren. As Winthrop Palmer, A.J.L.A. president, explained in 1927:

> The professional theatre cannot supply children's plays. Modern production costs are too heavy . . . The Little Theatre groups, gallant and gay though they may be, are recruited for the most part from nine-to-five job-holders . . . Morning performances are out of the question, matinees difficult. The expense is a serious consideration, as most theatres charge the same rental fee, be it before or after noon, for children or adults; whereas the sale of tickets to juvenile audiences cannot, and should not, be on the same scale as to a mature audience.[7]

By 1927, 22 Junior Leagues gave plays for children. Eight of them sent

A 1930 Junior League of Chicago production of "Music Box," above. Courtesy Junior League of Chicago *Margaret Ayer Barnes of Chicago won the 1930 Pulitzer Prize for fiction for* Years of Grace. Culver Pictures

Children's Theater in America began with the Junior League of Chicago, was spread by dozens of other Leagues. On this page, performances by the Junior League of Portland, Oregon. Photos courtesy Junior League of Portland, Oregon

When the 1931 road show of "The Blue Bird" played Pittsburgh, the Sun-Telegraph *ran this cartoon. Another paper advertised "Blue Bird Special, Junior Miss Frocks at $8.95 apiece."*

representatives to a League conference in Chicago to exchange ideas and technical information.[8] Later that same year 22 Leagues sent entries to what *The New York Times* called the "first exposition ever assembled demonstrating the Art of Theatre for Children" at the Association headquarters. There were model stages, costume designs, posters, programs, and props such as a camel with wrinkled knees and a medieval play wagon. Ethel Fuller of Fall River won $50 for her original play, *Dream Canal Boat.* The Chicago League took the prize for the best exhibit for its model showing sets for *Pinocchio* and *Aladdin.*[9]

In a further response to the great interest in plays for chidren, A.J.L.A. in 1928 formed a Children's Theatre Bureau. A year later more than fifty Leagues offered children's productions. When Chicago played host to another children's theater conference in 1929, 90 Leagues attended. There, plans emerged for a 15-city tour of Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird* to be underwritten by the Leagues in each host city. The experienced children's theater team in Chicago created costumes, sets, and props. These were then sent on the road along with consultants to help local casts and crews.[10]

Of the opening performance, the Chicago *Herald Examiner* reported:

> Of all the lovely things the Junior League has ever done, practically everyone agreed that "The Blue Bird" was the most wholly satisfying. Its first performance . . . was a sell-out, and the grown-ups in the audience . . . were enchanted while the youngsters were having the fun of their lives.[11]

And so the *Blue Bird* went on tour to rave reviews, but not without recurring

backstage crises. In a terse report to the A.J.L.A. board in 1931, Children's Theatre Bureau head Helen Adamowska sketched a sequence of mini-disasters:

> [The] "blue bird flying effect does not work at opening performance, ruining climax." [When props and scenery were packed for rail shipment to the next cities, they were found to weigh 4,000 pounds, not the budgeted 1,000. In Philadelphia the] "blue bird flying effect barely creeps across . . . stage, making birds look like half-dead geese."
>
> A ban is put on the play in Louisville by one of the . . . churches; reason, that all Maeterlinck's works are on the index for dissemination of so-called heretical ideas. We battle with Bishop. We point out that same play was banned in Soviet Russia because it drew people back to religion. We win.
>
> In Pittsburgh, blue-bird flying effect causes a child to exclaim, 'Oh. Look at the fish.'
>
> Financial depression seriously affects theatrical plans. In Louisville three banks suspend, one containing League funds. Louisville goes on with Children's Theatre however.[12]

Despite folding banks and a flu epidemic, some 35,000 delighted children saw an excellent play. Plans immediately went forward for a multi-city tour of *Treasure Island* the next year.

With more than a hundred Junior Leagues in the theater business, demand for good scripts became insistent. Elizabeth Goodspeed Chapman's script for *The Wizard of Oz* played so wonderfully well to young audiences that the Theatre Bureau could not keep up with demands for scripts on hand. The Samuel French publishing company was contacted and agreed to publish Junior League scripts. The chronicler of the Chicago League, Celia Hilliard, reports that for decades afterward royalties from *Wizard* supported Junior League theater activities in Chicago.[13] Raleigh's Helen McKimmon wrote several plays for League productions, including *Rainbow Palace,* which won an A.J.L.A. top award for playwriting.

Originally, League children's plays were presented in traditional theaters, but gradually some Leagues began to take plays to children rather than inviting children to plays. Grand Rapids and Cincinnati Leagues were the first to troupe their plays to schools, but many other Leagues soon followed suit. By 1958, 76 Leagues took plays into schools.[14]

Many Junior Leagues created shows that featured not live performers, but puppets or marionettes, vastly popular with young audiences and having the great advantage of easy portability. The Portland, Oregon League introduced marionette shows in 1925 and took them to schools, hospitals, and elsewhere. Omaha reported in 1929 that its members were busy filling out-of-town marionette orders as well as training for local performances of an elaborate *Cinderella* and a circus. After only a few months experience, the Columbus, Georgia marionette group presented a command performance for President Franklin Roosevelt and members of his Cabinet at nearby Warm Springs.[15]

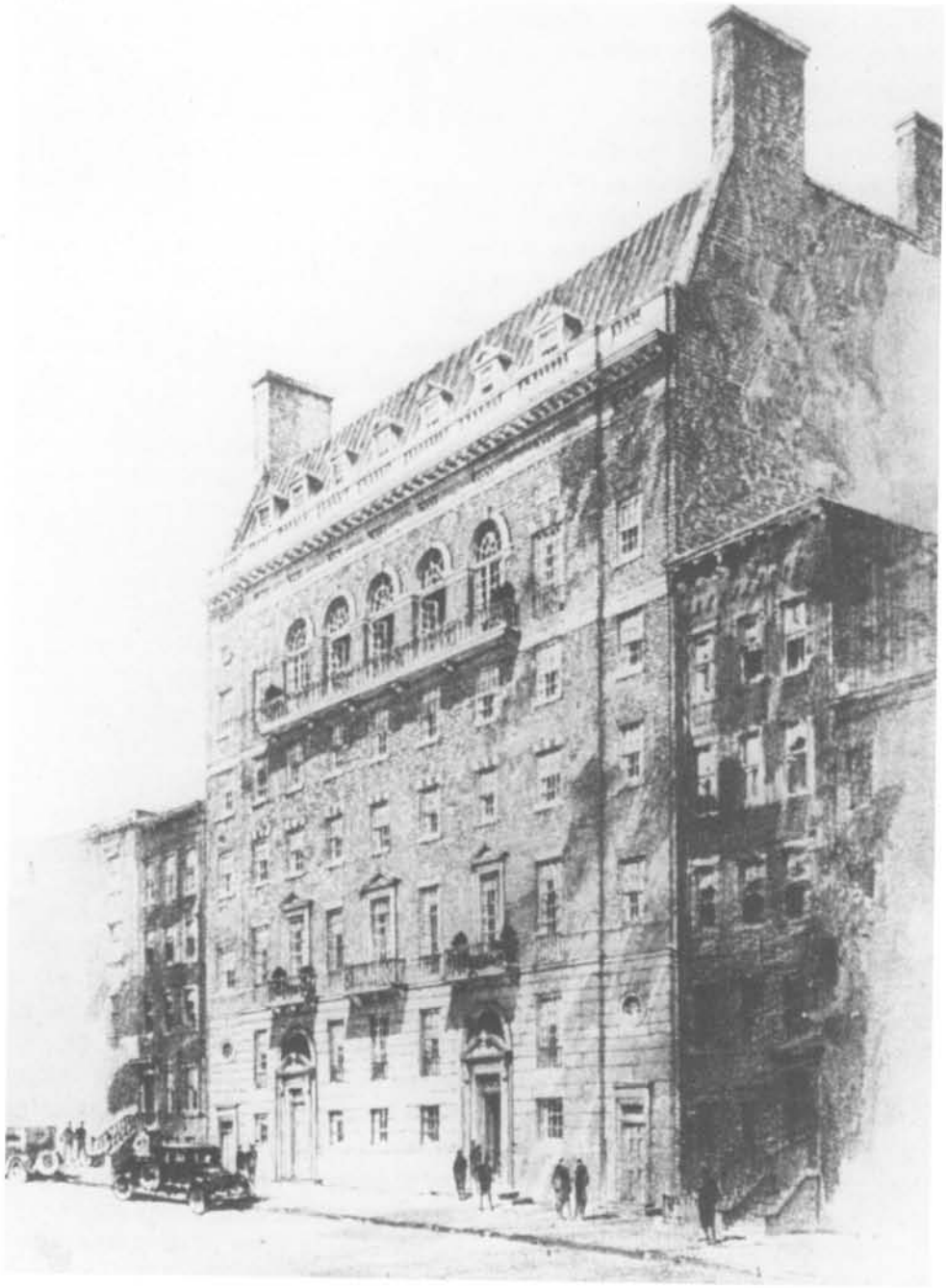
Hand puppets, simpler to make and manipulate than marionettes, were in-

troduced by Chattanooga and Roanoke Leagues in 1928 and 1929 and adopted by dozens of Leagues in the next two decades.

At first, children's theater, puppets, and marionettes were strictly for entertainment, but several Leagues subsequently produced shows that carried messages. At the invitation of an official of the Indianapolis Art Museum, marionettes joined the museum staff as a way of making the museum more accessible to children. As Buffalo approached its 1932 centennial celebration, members crafted historical figures and wrote scripts that could help teach the city's history. Toledo members began in 1931 to teach children how to make marionettes and put on shows of their own.

By the end of the 1920's, Leagues offered a broad spectrum of entertainments for children; A.J.L.A. maintained the only manuscript library for children's plays and the only field service offering professional guidance to children's theater and puppetry. Helen Adamowska, who chaired the A.J.L.A. Theatre Bureau, reported in 1931 that 114 Leagues gave "entertainments for children," of which 80 offered plays, five gave marionette peformances, 37 offered puppets, while 20 showed movies and one gave "shadow picture" shows.[16]

As Chicago prepared for a World's Fair, the Century of Progress scheduled for 1932–33, the city's Junior League wrote a detailed proposal for a special children's area that would include not only playgrounds and a museum, but also a theater. The League offered to present three plays a week for four months and suggested "Enchanted Island" as the name of the entire children's complex. The



In the '20s, many Leagues built or bought clubhouses and headquarters buildings. Above, New York's 1929 structure. Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe. *Opposite, "Bright Shawl," restored by San Antonio League.* Photo courtesy Junior League of San Antonio

plans, submitted to architect Nathanial Owings, were accepted by fair officials, and the Chicago troupe went into rehearsals. Ultimately, a five-acre "Enchanted Island" section of the fair was created for children at the exposition.[17]

Though the Depression cut budgets and often curtailed plans for expanding programs, by 1939 all but 11 of the 148 Junior Leagues in existence worked in one or more of three fields of children's entertainment—plays, puppetry, and radio. In the 1938–39 year they gave some 900 performances of about 200 different plays. All told, League theater for children played to about 350,000 children that year, plus those who listened on radio.

Commitment to quality entertainment for children continued through decades of Depression, war, and suburban expansion. *Theatre Arts Magazine* reported that in a single year (1958), the Leagues staged 1,948 performances to an audience of 5 million—most of whom were children under high school age. And, said *Theatre Arts,* A.J.L.A. consultants "conduct a small relentless war on mediocrity" by traveling throughout the country holding workshops for local Leagues on all phases of Children's Theatres.[18]

While children's theatre was the most publicized activity of Leagues in the 20's, it was only a fragment of a flurry of participation in arts, crafts and literature. Arts and Interests Committees were formed in most Junior Leagues, allowing members to explore their literary and artistic bents. These groups sponsored competitions in writing, sculpting, painting, sketching, gardening, and decorating. Singing groups, garden clubs, and scribblers clubs also formed within Junior Leagues, separate from the traditional structure of working committees. Chicago League members glowed with pride when one of their own, Margaret Ayer Barnes, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1930 for her novel *Years of Grace.*[19]

First as volunteers, then as committee members, docents, and trustees, League members began in the 1920's to work with local art museums. By 1931 more than 40 Junior Leagues were affiliated with museums, generally not in major projects but as volunteers and supporters. By 1940 Junior League volunteers worked with 86 museums and with 32 art associations.[20]

For the most part, League members in the 20's and 30's did not initiate museum programs; they worked as volunteers under professional staffs. Brooklyn members acted as guides and clerical help at the Brooklyn Children's Museum. Montclair and Denver members volunteered as docents. Cincinnati members gave drawing classes at the Cincinnati Art Museum to public school children.[21]

Toledo's involvement began in the 1920's when three of the professional teaching staff at the Toledo Museum of Art happened to be Junior League members. One of them, who also chaired the Arts and Interests Committee of her League, rounded up six Junior League volunteers and trained them to give classes in puppetry and marionettes at the museum. The program grew rapidly over the next decade, becoming a major thrust of the museum's Education Guild.[22]

Many Junior Leagues sponsored art exhibitions, both of work by members and by professional artists. Though many exhibits were of high quality, few could compare with a show mounted at the New York clubhouse in January 1924. A *New York World* reviewer wrote glowingly that ''. . . the committee turned its back on safety . . . and . . . presented a group of about 75 works of art which form an exhibition that is sparklingly young and not at all the proper thing.'' He added that members of the New York League could easily have borrowed ''safe'' Old Masters for the show (from family and friends, he assumed) but instead ''preferred to enter the danger zone of young contemporary art and risk all the criticism that young art gathers to itself.'' The show included works by John Martin, Stuart Davies, Charles Demuth, Georgia O'Keefe, and others who have since been acknowledged as American masters.[23]

Art exhibits were only part of the cultural ferment at League clubrooms and clubhouses. There were also debating teams. In 1924 Boston and New York Leagues debated: ''Resolved: that the Puritan influence has been detrimental to the development of the country.'' Boston took the affirmative, leading Mayor Michael Curley to chide the Boston Junior League for ''running down our ancestors.''[24]

In the booming 20's dozens of Junior Leagues established funds to build or buy a headquarters. By 1929 about one-third of all Leagues either owned or rented clubrooms where members could have tea, play bridge, or change for an evening's concert or theater. The Houston League spent $45,000 for a structure to house League offices, tearoom, and clubhouse, plus rental space on the first floor. There were other League showplaces, but none to rival the luxurious seven-story clubhouse built in 1928–29 by the New York League at a cost of one and a quarter million dollars.

The San Antonio League gave the clubhouse idea an innovative twist in 1925 when it became the first Junior League to use a historic building as a Junior League headquarters. An 1856 complex consisting of house, courtyard, and stables was named Bright Shawl. There, in addition to League activities, a club was launched as a business venture. One thousand women were invited to join the Bright Shawl Club. For dues of $5 a year the club member and her entire family could use the club library, tearoom, and other facilities. Across the courtyard, a half-dozen stables were converted into rental studios for artists.[25] There was even a flower market. Junior League meetings took place in the loft over the carriage house.

Meanwhile, the San Antonio League had bought another piece of property for the site of a childrens' hospital. But plans changed, and the 1880 King house, designed by architect Alfred Giles, instead became the new home of the Junior League of San Antonio and of the Bright Shawl Club and tearoom. Over the years, as activities grew, the Junior League bought property adjoining the King house and built additions that now house the tearoom, dining rooms, and club-

rooms. Ultimately, the original stone house was carefully restored, and it has been designated a Recorded Texas Historic Landmark.[26] While many League-run tearooms foundered and closed in the Depression, Bright Shawl continued to pay its way, as indeed it still does in the 1980's.

The old house idea intrigued several other Junior Leagues. A Nashville member who had "listened to tales of San Antonio's Bright Shawl" at the 1927 conference looked around her own city and saw in a "brown smudge of a building" the possibilities of a similar venture in the business district. Built by a steamboat captain, the building was in a "miserable state of dilapidation" when the Nashville League bought and began rehabilitating it.[27]

Parents of Little Rock League member Elizabeth P. Taylor (later an A.J.L.A. president) donated a historic house to that League. The red brick structure housed not only Junior League offices; it also provided space for social welfare activities such as a diet kitchen, a nursery, and a "welfare station."[28] In 1929, in collaboration with the Dutchess County Historical Society, the Poughkeepsie Junior League bought and began to renovate Glebe House, built in 1766. Members learned that a glebe is a minister's farm and that the house had been the first rectory for Christ Church.[29] In 1931 the Norfolk Junior League helped raise funds to buy Old Colonial House, one of the oldest homes in the city.

Thus, decades before historic preservation or downtown renewal became fashionable, several Junior Leagues acted to save part of their city's architectural heritage from wreckers. In some towns, the commitment to local history took the form of guidebooks or tours. Members of the Savannah League researched and wrote the first guide to that historic city. This publication was snapped up by elementary schools, and at a regional conference in 1931 other southern Leagues were urged to create similar guides. The Providence League took the concept a level higher in 1932, when members wrote a guide for the entire state of Rhode Island. Charleston, South Carolina members began conducting historical tours of the city and of nearby plantations in 1928.

Fund-raising efforts could be frivolous and fun without causing any guilt over having a good time, since the money went for good causes. Nowhere did Junior Leagues show more ingenuity in the 1920's and in the financially squeezed 30's than in thinking up new ways to generate money, or to make more money, from old ideas.

In the 20's Leagues tried everything from fashion shows to dog shows, from bookstores to beauty shops, to raise money. Akron even sponsored a prize fight (netting $6,000 in 1927).[30] Memphis, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Los Angeles, Lexington, Lincoln, and Louisville were among the many cities offering horse shows. A single Junior League over the course of a few years might try several types of fund-raisers. In the 1920's, for instance, Poughkeepsie produced fashion shows, auto shows, garden parties, a circus, concerts, plays, charity balls, and even a chariot race to raise money.

Occasionally, however, Leagues resorted to a more direct method of raising money—assessment. This procedure was first used by Boston in its formative years. The Dallas League reported in 1939 that when funds for projects were needed, members were tapped for $100 one year, $40 another year.[31]

Whatever new ideas surfaced, the old moneymaking reliables were balls, follies, and cabarets. Pittsburgh cleared $17,000 in its first show. The bulk of the profits came from the sale of advertisements in the programs. In 1927 the Denver League made $22,000 from its show, $13,000 of it from program advertising, In 1929 Montclair cleared $15,000 on the program for its show.

Leagues in several cities staffed department stores for a day and collected a percentage of sales. Louisville, Cincinnati, Buffalo, and New York all explained at the 1927 conference how to handle the logistics of such an event.

A variation on this theme, perfected by the Louisville and Nashville Leagues, was to take over one issue (usually Sunday) of the local newspaper. League members sold all the ads in a single edition for a percentage of the total (occasionally as high as 25 per cent) Then, when the edition hit the streets, the League bought out newsdealers and peddled the entire edition. Each copy went for whatever the buyer was willing to pay (anywhere from a nickel to $25). Nashville's first effort in 1924 netted $5,400, while a second in 1925 produced $10,000. By 1930 the Nashville women were clearing a hefty $33,000.[32] They also brought in 800 new advertisers! During the 20's, Leagues in Minneapolis, New Haven, Trenton, Wichita, Jacksonville, Lexington, Tulsa, Los Angeles, Birmingham, and Hartford all raised money with a newspaper day. Birmingham said it managed to raise $7,000 one year on an expenditure of $9.[33]

All these one-shot efforts were fun and lucrative, but called for intensive work in a short period of time. Junior Leagues in the 1920's were beginning to require all committees to plan ahead and prepare budgets. Some ongoing fundraiser seemed the answer to assuring a reliable, predictable supply of funds. Increasingly, Leagues opened tearooms and shops of various kinds.

The St. Louis League held a vast rummage sale in 1918, netting $9,407, but not until Buffalo opened a "Salvage Shop" in 1921 did a Junior League launch its first thrift shop. The Buffalo League acquired a shop for $1 from the Red Cross and soon reported that "we take everything from evening gowns to the *Police Gazette.*" Most donations came from members.[34]

Representatives of the Montreal League went home from the 1926 Nashville conference impressed with reports of the Buffalo shop, and in September 1926 opened a similar venture, the Superfluity Shop. League workers were required to wear "Junior League blue" uniforms. Rules for customers were strict: no exchanges, no refunds, and no layaways. For a fee, deliveries were made by the truck hired by the League to collect donation parcels.[35]

Buffalo, meanwhile, opened a second enterprise in 1924, a women's exchange, in a booth in back of a store adjoining the salvage shop. Indianapolis

(which opened its women's exchange in 1922), Denver, and Chattanooga were among the first to launch such shops. The Indianapolis exchange had three sections: an Art Department, a Children's Department (which included family mending, the committee reported), and a Food Department, for which the League Motor Corps delivered sandwiches and cakes to customers.[36] Most women's exchanges were meant to provide a sales outlet for needlework, baked goods, and other products made by women. Fund-raising for the Junior League tended to be secondary to this purpose.

Other League shops opened not so much to make money as to provide sales outlets for disabled people. The Milwaukee Studio Shoppe provided an outlet for work done by people in occupational therapy. St. Louis ran a similar exchange to sell goods made by the handicapped.[37]

Nashville opened the first League gift shop in 1923. Winston-Salem launched a beauty parlor in 1928 next door to its gift shop. Several Leagues ran lending libraries, while Brooklyn and St. Louis Leagues operated bookstores.[38]

Eighteen Leagues opened tearooms, often in their clubhouses, in the 1920's. In New Orleans, famous for its chicory-flavored coffee, League members created a coffee shop in 1930. Hot beaten biscuits with butter, or bacon and coffee went for 10 cents.

By 1928, so many Leagues ran businesses that A.J.L.A. added a shop bureau to provide technical assistance. The *Magazine* began a monthly column devoted to League shops. In 1929 alone, 22 new Junior League shops opened, and the Shop Bureau estimated that there were about 75 Junior League shops. Most were gift shops, libraries, and tearooms, but there were also antique stores, food stores, and children's clothing shops.

By 1930 the new Shop Bureau of the Association could provide some comparisons on how the various shops were doing. The Pittsburgh Salvage Shop led with a $12,000 profit, followed by the Winston-Salem gift shop ($6,122), In 1931 Junior Leagues ran 72 different businesses, including 24 gift shops, 21 salvage shops, and 24 lending libraries.[39]

As the Depression deepened in 1931 and 1932, tearooms and gift shops began to fold quietly. The Winston-Salem League, for instance, noting plummeting profits in the gift shop, opened a thrift shop in 1932. Silk stockings with one run sold for a nickel a pair: two pairs with two runs each went for a nickel. They sold "like wildfire."[40] More and more Junior Leagues opened thrift and salvage stores both as a public service and as fund-raisers. The Junior Leagues turned from fun and the arts to the pressing social needs of a seemingly endless Depression.

CHAPTER SIX

DEPRESSION YEARS—A TIME OF QUESTIONING

t the 1936 National Conference of Social Workers, a speaker opened her talk by mentioning a recent *Esquire* cartoon. As firemen worked frantically to control a raging blaze, a well-dressed woman handed her visiting card to a firefighter, and said, "I am the president of the Junior League; perhaps there's something I can do."[1]

By the mid-1930's, deep in the most devastating and persistent economic collapse experienced in America, Junior League efforts to "do something" were widely known, if not always perfectly understood. An image of carefree debutantes "slumming" persisted, and reports of League work remained firmly on the society pages, despite a growing record of community leadership and achievement. There were those inside and outside the organization who argued that the Junior League had the potential to achieve much more, if it could muster the will to do so.

"Graduates" of the League process sat in many positions of influence. In 1933 President Roosevelt named Mary Harriman Rumsey, Junior League founder, to chair the Consumer Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. The first woman elected to Congress from New York State, Ruth Baker Pratt, was a member of the New York Junior League.[2] Representative Isabella Greenway of Arizona belonged to the Phoenix League. Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady and most prominent volunteer in the United States, acknowledged her debt to the Junior League, which she said gave her a start—however small—in public service. At the 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs Conference, three of the eight speakers at one afternoon session were Junior League members; nine of the 34 state chairpersons of the Women's Committee belonged to the League.[3]

At the Nashville Junior League Home for Crippled Children, cowboy film star Tom Mix (above left) with a patient, and Christmas morning, 1930. Courtesy Junior League of Nashville
Right, A.J.L.A. executive secretary Katherine Van Slyck in a 1941 photo. UPI

In the 1930's Junior Leagues turned their primary attention back to social welfare. There were fewer glee clubs, debate teams, and tearooms, more well-baby clinics and unemployment agencies. Yet even in the happy-go-lucky '20s Junior League attention to social welfare needs had not vanished; it had simply been eclipsed in some places by other interests. In retrospect, we sometimes think of the 20's as a time of general prosperity, the last of the good times before depression, war, and cold war. Yet prosperity bypassed millions of blacks and other minorities, as well as inner-city immigrants and rural sharecroppers. Throughout the Roaring Twenties, Junior Leagues insisted that members take training courses heavily oriented to social concerns. Dozens of League projects in that decade concerned child welfare, nutrition, and therapy for the handicapped.

Summing up League welfare work in 1930, before most Americans realized that the recent market crash and economic collapse were more than a short-term phenomenon, Emily Anderson reported that Leagues in Augusta, Buffalo, Charleston and Parkersburg, West Virginia, Cincinatti, Fairmont, Hartford, Kingston, Miami, St. Joseph, and Winnipeg all operated milk stations for undernourished children. There were League nutrition centers in Boise, Denver, Honolulu, Little Rock, New Orleans, and Pittsburgh. Leagues in Cleveland, Houston, Kansas City, Missouri, Savannah, Spokane, and Wilmington ran health centers.

Junior Leagues created and ran nurseries, usually for children of working mothers, in Akron, Duluth, Hartford, Jacksonville, Knoxville, Newark, Omaha, San Diego, Toronto, Utica, and Wichita. In Asheville, Charlotte, Elizabeth, Lexington, New York, San Antonio, and Trenton there were Junior League "baby shelters."[4]

Before the Salk vaccine and other medical advances vanquished polio, heartbreaking numbers of children were crippled for life. Junior Leagues in many cities made helping such victims a high priority. Both Dallas and Tulsa Leagues established homes for convalescent children in 1928. After a severe polio epidemic left 16 charity cases in Roanoke in 1929, the Junior League hired a specialist from the Mayo Clinic to work with them. Nashville targeted profits from its lucrative newspaper days for its Home for Crippled Children, opened by the Tennessee governor on January 1, 1930. The Chicago League began in the late 20's to work with Children's Hospital, where members established a convalescent ward and later a Social Service Department.

Many Leagues initiated or supported facilities for the handicapped, particularly for the blind. And in every Junior League, individual volunteers gave untold time to clinics, hospitals, the Red Cross, and other social agencies.

Depression intensified the need for social services of every kind and made it imperative that all efforts be both focused and effective. To monitor and improve Junior League endeavors, the Association in 1930 formed a committee of

For the 1939 Gone With the Wind *premiere, the Atlanta League duplicated a ball described in the book (opposite); a member wore Vivien Leigh's movie ball dress (opposite, top)* Atlanta Journal *A trio of Junior League notables gathered in 1934 (above) to help plan a fund-raising ball for the Junior League of Washington: Left to right, Mary Harriman Rumsey, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and Arizona Congresswoman Isabella Greenway. Mrs. Rumsey, (left, below) chaired Consumers Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. Below right, New York Congresswoman Ruth Baker Pratt.* UPI

members who had either training or professional experience in social work, and in 1931 a formal Welfare Bureau was created. Emily Anderson reported in 1931 that every group in the Association was engaged in one or more kinds of welfare work, either in giving volunteer service to social agencies or in maintaining and financing their own projects.[5] A trained social worker joined the staff in 1930 as a field secretary; a second was hired in 1931, and a third in 1932. Two of the three traveled full-time, spending three to four days at a time with individual Junior Leagues. By 1935 there were five social workers on the Association staff as field consultants.

Katherine Rogers joined the Association staff in 1931 as a secretary of the Welfare Committee, and for a dozen years was to be a guiding force in the Association, first as executive secretary, replacing Emily Anderson Farr. Like Emily Anderson, Katherine Rogers married and changed names while on the staff, becoming Mrs. DeForest Van Slyck. A tactful but firm advocate of excellence, Mrs. Van Slyck consistently prodded the Leagues to establish higher standards and more meaningful projects. As a young field secretary, the then Miss Rogers reported that after attending seven regional conferences and visiting 16 Leagues, she felt that many welfare projects "are below standard or unsuitable." She said the individual Leagues should seek more professional help from A.J.L.A. welfare consultants.[6]

As unemployment, joblessness, and homelessness spread like cancers across the land, many Leagues attempted to provide direct relief while continuing to support the social programs in which they were already involved. They responded in fairly traditional ways to the crisis by setting up soup kitchens and volunteering at unemployment bureaus and other relief agencies. Many, including Dayton and Atlanta, gave money directly to relief organizations such as the Salvation Army.

The Washington League in 1931 opened an unemployment bureau in a church. St. Joseph started a similar bureau at a YWCA, and also sent volunteers to the city's unemployment agency. Dallas voted to channel its unemployment relief efforts through the Salvation Army. The Newark League helped establish a free employment agency for women, mainly domestics, and at the same time opened a candy kitchen whose profits were used to provide food for unemployed in the hard winter of 1931.

The Association Welfare Committee, chaired by Evelyn Davis, issued "Recommendations for Welfare activities" that urged Leagues to investigate thoroughly and consult with experts before they undertook "pioneer work": "It is often advisable to draw on the services of qualified non-members, both in volunteer work and in membership on committees and the board of the project . . . Furthermore, as soon as demonstration has proved that it can depend on community support, the League should be encouraged to start on some other pioneer work if it so desires."[7]

Among the demonstration projects that matured in the Depression, three

As economic collapse spread, one-to-one social work (top) often gave way to the stark need for soup kitchens (right, center). The Bettmann Archive, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College
By 1936, 30 Junior Leagues ran salvage or thrift shops; many gave clothing to neediest. At left, a Junior League volunteer and patient at a Sioux City, Iowa, well-baby clinic. The Bettmann Archive, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College

outstanding examples that illustrate the transition from Junior League fledgling to an independent community agency with a separate board of directors were created in Providence, Detroit, and Montclair, New Jersey.

The Providence League assumed responsibility in 1925 for a handicapped group known as the Irrepressible Society. Two years later the society moved into a building that also housed a one-room League office. There a Junior League shop became a sales outlet for goods made by the Irrepressibles. On the advice of social workers, in 1929 the League arranged to merge the Irrepressible Society with the Rhode Island Association for the Blind and several other agencies into an umbrella Bureau for the Handicapped. However, the Junior League continued to play collective godmother with money and volunteers for many years thereafter.[8]

The Detroit League's comprehensive program for the handicapped became not just a model for that city but for the nation as well. Involvement by Detroit members began in World War I with occupational therapy for injured servicemen. As part of that effort, a League shop sold goods made by disabled servicemen. In 1922 the Junior League of Detroit sponsored formation of a Detroit League for the Handicapped. A revolving fund of $5,000 was established, and a shop supported and staffed by League members opened to sell goods made by the handicapped. There was also a wholesale division to supply quantity orders. In 1928 A.J.L.A. singled out the Detroit League project as a model in occupational therapy and noted that the city of Detroit had asked the League to supervise all work for the handicapped in the community.

Even in the Depression, the Detroit League was able to report with quiet pride that there had been sales of $150,000 that year of goods made by the handicapped, and that $57,000 of the total had gone directly to wages for the handicapped. The Detroit Board of Handicapped remained under the Junior League umbrella until 1934, when it was incorporated, and in 1936 a separate Board of Trustees independent of the Junior League was formed. The Junior League of Detroit continued to support the Board of Handicapped financially until the 1942–3 year, some 20 years after it first began work with the handicapped. It also continued to operate and staff a shop to sell handicapped products even longer, until 1953.[9]

League members in Montclair spent three years thoroughly researching their community before beginning what became a major demonstration project in 1926. The study had shown a need for a community rallying point, somehwat like an old-style settlement, in a Montclair neighborhood about evenly divided between Italian and black residents. The Montclair Community House opened in a rented basement with only a handful of activities, including a nursery school, all under the supervision of a social worker. In 1928 the League began raising money to buy and remodel the property, which was bought in 1929. Programs were added each year, most of them run in cooperation with various community clubs and organizations. In alliance with the Rotary Club, the center formed several clubs

for boys. There were adult education programs, a preschool program, a library, and a host of specialized clubs using the center's auditorium and other facilities. Planners were careful to structure boards to include representatives of all parts of the community. By 1936, the Montclair Community House, with a strong biracial community board, had become a full-fledged community center. Yet 10 years after its founding, 80 Junior League volunteers continued to donate time to the project.[10]

Another pilot program begun in the Depression by a handful of Junior Leagues was the creation of central volunteer bureaus to match volunteers with agencies and cultural institutions. The Cleveland League established a Cleveland Volunteer Association in 1933, which became a Central Volunteer Bureau in 1936.[11] Providence and Montreal opened similar bureaus in 1937.

The fact that the economy had foundered did not prevent some Junior Leagues from starting far-reaching projects. Somehow they found the money to do so, even in the hardest of times. The following extract from a 1959 article in the *Atlanta League Magazine* by Nell Felix Kirkland describes the beginnings of the Atlanta Speech School, an endeavor the Junior League of Atlanta has supported with approximately half a million dollars over the decades:

> Four children came to the June meeting in 1937. They sat in the front row with a recent transfer to Atlanta. Two of the children were deaf. Two had speech no one could understand. Kitty Hamm wanted the League to see them and to become aware there was no place in the entire southwest they could receive help . . .
>
> . . . exactly one year later an office in the Medical Arts Building had been provided rent-free, with a few small chairs, a desk, a blackboard, a budget, and Kitty Hamm. Extending the length of the long hall was a line of anxious parents holding the hands of children who lived always in a bewildering silence . . . Before the day ended, fifty children had been selected for enrollment. The Junior League Speech School had begun.[12]

Junior League thrift shops, patronized by those with little or no money, were often able to give clothing directly to those who needed it. League volunteers at the Pittsburgh shop helped locate jobs for the unemployed. The Springfield, Massachusetts, and Waterbury groups donated clothing to individuals recommended by charities. The Montreal shop gave away all the men's clothing it collected. While other types of League shops folded throughout the Depression, salvage and thrift shops multiplied, and by 1936 there were 30 of them.[13]

As the scope of widening economic collapse grew more apparent, Junior League leaders exhorted members to redouble their efforts. A.J.L.A. president Pauline Sperry urged League members to seek out white-collar women who might be destitute and yet "who hesitate to appeal to social agencies in times of crisis."[14]

The Association in 1932 hammered out a five-point Emergency Welfare Policy that urged special emphasis on welfare projects, but warned Leagues not

to abandon a well-rounded social work program in favor of relief work. "If a League is supporting some form of welfare work other than relief work—i.e., health, educational, child welfare, recreational, etc.,—which fills a need in the community it should not withdraw its support—either financial or volunteer service." The guidelines encouraged Leagues engaged in relief to work with established social agencies rather than to start an experiment of their own. And finally, "The A.J.L.A. believes that at such a time as this no Junior League girl will want to keep a wage-earner out of a job. It is an ideal time to concentrate on volunteer service."[15]

With millions out of work, social and legal obstacles to middle-class women working—particularly married women—had become intense. Twenty-six states in the 1930's prohibited the employment of married women. Most public schools, 43 per cent of public utilities, and 13 per cent of department stores in the United States enforced curbs on hiring wives.[16]

Despite such laws, Junior Leagues reported more and more professional women among their membership. Though there was no accurate count, approximately 10 per cent of the membership in 1940 was estimated to be professional women. The percentage varied sharply among individual Leagues. There was some criticism of those who did work. "The Junior League is challenged to consider the ethics of the Junior League girl who does not need to work for money, holding a paid position, which could equally well be filled by someone really in need of work," wrote Albertine Hoyt Glenny of Buffalo, a regional director of the association, in a 1931 issue of the *Junior League Magazine* devoted to the economy.[17] No one picked up on the issue publicly—certainly not the capable married members of the A.J.L.A. staff. In the same issue of the magazine, however, Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the New York governor, addressed "This Question of Jobs." Reluctantly, because she was a strong advocate of careers for women, Mrs. Roosevelt agreed that "In this emergency she [the Junior Leaguer] should undoubtedly give up her job."[18] Later, however, in a 1940 interview with the *Magazine,* she strongly advocated married women having professions.[19]

Whether or not they voted for her husband in 1932, League members took vicarious pride in the energetic volunteer leadership of one of their own in the White House—Mrs. Roosevelt. When the Dallas League celebrated its 10th anniversary in 1932, Mrs. Roosevelt sent a congratulatory telegram, and an exuberant Dallas president suggested that perhaps in another 10 years there would be not just a Junior Leaguer as the President's wife, but a Junior Leaguer as president.[20]

Throughout her years in the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt maintained a warm affection for the Junior League. In March, 1938, she wrote a laudatory article for *Reader's Digest,* "Lady Bountiful Rolls up Her Sleeves":

"The Junior Leagues, which too many people think of only in connection with parties and the Social Register, have accomplished an almost impossible

task. By making it fashionable, they have induced debutantes to give a certain number of hours every week to serious study and work.''

Mrs. Roosevelt called the 31,000 young women in the Leagues ''as conscientious a group of volunteer welfare workers as can be found anywhere.'' As examples of outstanding League projects, she cited among others:

- A nutrition unit for 1,500 kindergarten children in Honolulu.
- ''During the great flood last year, members of the Louisville Junior League took complete charge of the city's milk distribution, operated emergency telephone switchboards and helped reunite separated families.''
- ''In Little Rock, most of the supplementary reading matter for the Arkansas School for the Blind is transcribed by the Junior League's Braille committee.''
- The occupational therapy program of the Milwaukee League, ''known to sociologists everywhere, takes 600 patients a year from all over Wisconsin.''[21]

Despite such public praise (*Literary Digest* and other national publications also carried complimentary articles in the 30's), there was much questioning in and out of the Leagues about themselves, their direction, and their purpose. Some questioned whether volunteering at a clinic or hospital made any abiding impact on the community. A clear statement of the sharpest type of criticism from an outsider can be found in a 1938 article by Struthers Burt in *The Forum* magazine. Burt argued that Junior Leagues were suffused with complacency. He said that that with war imminent in Europe and Asia, and economic depression at home, the Junior League was in a position to do far more to attack the root causes of problems than to simply do ''nice'' work. League members, he said, are ''so pleased with their social position and so quietly conscious of their good works that any moment you expect roses to bloom from in their handbags . . .''

The problem, he said, was the gap between the admirable goals of the League and its performance. He noted with scorn such activities as interleague bridge tournaments, dancing, and gardening classes. ''Either the Junior League should break up into small, practically autonomous groups, humbly and quietly dedicated to minor good works, or else it should begin to live up to the portentous promise it has given the country. The League presents a clear case of a top-heavy organization that has lost sight of its purpose in the machinery.''[22]

In part, the problem was a public misunderstanding of the League's primary mission as it existed in the 1930's: the involvement of its members in their communities. Neither the stated purpose nor the standing policies of the League in the 1930's permitted the kind of action Burt suggested. Nor did a majority of members seem to want a change. The stated purpose of the Junior Leagues of America, not changed until 1971, was ''to foster interest among their members in the social, economic, educational, cultural and civic conditions of their own communities and to make efficient their volunteer service.''[23]

Another fundamental difficulty was that the Junior League as a whole had voted most emphatically against taking public positions on controversial issues. Although individual Leagues had sometimes worked to pass specific legislation,

or had endorsed various positions publicly, the League as a whole was deeply reluctant to brawl in the public arena lest it lose some of its credibility as a nonpartisan group with no special ax to grind. In this eminently democratic organization, such decisions were made, then as now, by a majority (or more often, two-thirds) vote of two-thirds of all Leagues. Policies were changed not by Association fiat, but by delegates at conference voting as their home Leagues instructed them on pending issues.

A first attempt to settle the lobbying and public affairs issue was debated at the 1934 Toronto conference, where the following position was approved as Policy II of the Association:

> The Association of Junior Leagues is not an action body. Therefore it cannot participate in legislation or controversial matters . . .
>
> Junior Leagues shall not lobby before any legislative bodies; they shall not permit the Junior League name to be used in support of any bill; they shall not in any way use the Junior League name as a political weapon to influence government decision . . .
>
> Junior Leagues shall not endorse by the use of their name any movement pertaining to religious or racial beliefs which would affect any other League in the Association.[24]

Writing up a policy statement and voting it in does not necessarily end disputes, however, and the issue burst out again at the 1937 conference. Debate was furious. Part of the furor arose because members of some Leagues throughout the 30's urged the organization to work actively to promote birth control clinics and birth control information—an action violently opposed by other members and Junior Leagues who said such actions would discredit both the organization and its members.

Peggy Ewing Waxter, president of the Baltimore League from 1929 to 1931, recalls that at every convention she attended, ''Someone always got up and talked for birth control and planned parenthood. They were usually college girls.''[25] In a 1943 letter to the *Magazine*, Helen Hickam Martin of the Washington League said that at the 1937 conference ''some of us got slapped down for wanting Leagues interested in doing so to continue the support of birth control clinics.''[26]

The *Junior League Magazine* described the 1937 conference as ''a week of bitter debate.''[27] What emerged was an even more specific prohibition against involvement in public policy, and a rider that the issue was not to be reopened for two years because it took up too much time:

> Junior Leagues shall not endorse by the use of their names or their funds any movement pertaining to religious or racial beliefs, party politics, national industrial or economic issues, or any movement which would militate in any way against a united League or against a united Association.
>
> Junior Leagues shall not lobby any legislative body; they shall not allow the Junior League name to be used in support of any bill except where a council of social agencies or another established federated group of which they were a mem-

ber, lists its member agencies in so doing; they shall not use the Junior League name to endorse any candidate for public office; they shall not in any way use the Junior League name as a political threat to influence government decisions.[28]

Despite this explicit ban, twice reinforced at annual conference, individual Leagues occasionally found that they wanted to lobby for public action as a result of their work in areas of social concern, notably children. In 1934, the Association pointed with justified pride at the comprehensive work on child welfare done by four Virginia Leagues. At the urging of the Junior League of Richmond, Norfolk, Roanoke, and Lynchburgh, representatives met in 1933 to begin a study and evaluation of child welfare in the state. At issue was the care of dependent children. A brief introduction to a 1934 article in the *Magazine* describing the work said, "The A.J.L.A. Welfare Department considers this study to be one of the most vital and far reaching League projects today."[29] Decades later it is hailed as a pioneering public affairs venture by a consortium of Junior Leagues and outside groups.

"It was decided that in order to formulate a program of child welfare in Virginia that would be valid, say for ten years, at least one year of study of the conditions would have to be made," explained Frances Leigh Williams of the Richmond League in 1934. Professional direction from child welfare experts was obtained. Social workers agreed to train at least 10 volunteers in each of the four Leagues on how to conduct a valid survey. Working in a 50-mile radius of each of the four cities, the Virginia Leagues were able to cover most of their state.[30]

Their initial study completed, the four Virginia Leagues asked A.J.L.A. for permission to publish a pamphlet in cooperation with the Child Welfare League of America. After much discussion, the board voted approval, but added that "they be requested not to lobby for any bill as members of the Junior League and that any further participation be as individuals and not as board members."[31]

The Virginia welfare study showed the complications that were inevitable when a group was encouraged to study and understand an issue and yet was forbidden to take any public position on the findings. Having studied child welfare in great depth, and having found it in need of improvement, the Virginia Leagues were poised to carry their work further by presenting a comprehensive proposal to the Virginia legislature in 1936. Yet the rules the Leagues had voted for themselves in 1934 forbade any such action except as individuals separate from any League identification.

At the 1940 annual conference, stunned delegates heard one of their invited speakers, Dr. Sidney Hollander of the Maryland Board of State Aid to Charities, demand that they stop trying to avoid controversy. Dr. Hollander said Leagues were too placid, that old-fashioned volunteer service at private charities was not really addressing difficult social issues of a new era.

"You have forbidden your members to concern themselves with economic or industrial problems; they're controversial! You have discouraged them from

touching racial issues; they're controversial! You have denied them the right to sponsor any movement or programs or to press for legislation in its behalf. It's controversial! No conflicts! No issues! No struggles! . . . How do you think the League can hold its members to a program stuck fast in yesterday?

". . . you in the Junior League must decide where you will stand in this great struggle. Will you be content to float along in your present placid pool, or dare you brave the winds and . . . currents surging onward to a greater America?"[32]

The *Magazine,* faithfully reporting convention activities, said the speech created such furor that hostesses at the regional dinners that followed could not get delegates to their seats, so hot were the discussions and arguments. It is a mark of the professionalism of the *Junior League Magazine* that it devoted nearly nine pages to an only slightly cut version of a highly critical speech about the organization.[33]

At the same 1940 conference, after extended debate in an "open forum," delegates approved a compromise that let individual Junior Leagues act on public issues locally. Each Junior League received the right to "decide its course of action on a local public question provided any action taken by that League 1) does not affect any other League, 2) does not conflict with the stated purpose of the Junior League, 3) is within the field of that particular League's program, and 4) does not militate in any way against a united League or against a united Association. No Junior League may take public action unless it has previously set up machinery for arriving at such action through a specific study of the community problem involved and of the pertinent legislative or administrative measures."[34]

Economic and social upheavals of the 1930's caused many Americans to question old truths and to reexamine both themselves and their institutions. All organizations faced internal debate in the turbulent 30's, and the Junior League was not immune. It is impossible to know how many members might have resigned from individual Leagues in such disputes, or how many invited to join might have declined the invitation. Despite such disputes, and despite the loss of some members who could not pay the dues (which averaged $10), membership in the Depression grew to 33,000 members in 148 Leagues in 1939.

Of the members whose families suffered in the Depression, there is no official record, nor is there a tabulation of resignations due to financial difficulties. Yet in the cold figures of the treasurer's books another story can be read. In 1932 the A.J.L.A. treasurer reported that several Leagues in industrial cities had written that they would have difficulty meeting the A.J.L.A. assessment of $4 per capita because of members' failure to pay dues. One midwestern League said it expected to lose a quarter of its members through nonpayment of dues. To cut costs, Junior League clubrooms and tearooms closed all over the country.[35]

The New York League faced a special problem, the expense of a luxurious seven-story clubhouse on East 71st Street built in 1928–29 at a cost exceeding $1.2 million. The building included not only committee and board rooms, but

also guest rooms, a nursery floor for poor children, squash courts and swimming pool, a huge ballroom and stage—even a room to park dogs. When the building opened, more than 2,500 members in New York, lower Westchester County and southern Connecticut paid dues of $120—the highest in the country. After the Crash, membership dropped to 1,700. It became difficult to pay for the elaborate clubhouse. The New York League trimmed dues to $75 and managed to remain in the clubhouse until 1948, when it was sold for $600,000. The League moved to a smaller building.[36]

The Association had a different kind of money problem, a bit embarrassing when everyone else was low on cash. At the 1922 Buffalo conference, A.J.L.A. per capita assessment had been raised to $5. Rapid membership growth, plus profits that averaged $5,000 annually from rental of League bedrooms at the Waldorf and profits from *Magazine* advertising, which sometimes ran as high as $25,000, produced a $147,000 surplus by 1933.[37] To reduce this reserve fund to $50,000, Association dues were trimmed to $4, and a 10-year expansion program was voted to add more staff services to those already provided the Leagues by A.J.L.A.

While the economic disaster occupied the Junior League and all of America throughout the 30's, there was still opportunity for fun and glamour to benefit a good cause. When the Washington League in 1934 considered ways to promote consumer spending as a spur to the economy, a "Wear Something New" ball was planned. The hit of the evening, however, was the appearance of a trio of famous Junior League debutantes from the 1900–04 period wearing dresses and hairstyles of their debuts. Eleanor Roosevelt appeared in a rosebud wreath around a 1901 pompadour. More rosebuds were sewn to the tulle of her blue gown. Mary Harriman Rumsey wore her debut dress of silver rosebuds and pink tulle. Congresswoman Isabella Greenway of Arizona, a noted beauty in her day, admitted that the hourglass gray silk she had worn for her debut would no longer button. She concocted a substitute costume in a shade she described as vermilion red.[38]

For sheer glamour, however, there was nothing to rival the huge costume ball the Junior League of Atlanta staged in honor of the premier of the movie *Gone With the Wind.* The ball duplicated as nearly as possible one described in Margaret Mitchell's book, even to the decorations and costumes. A Junior League provisional won the right in a contest to wear the $5,000 dress worn by Vivien Leigh in the film. On hand for the ball were not only the film's stars, Vivien Leigh, Laurence Olivier, Olivia De Havilland and Clark Gable, but also Gable's famous wife Carole Lombard, trying to look inconspicuous because she was not in the film, and Claudette Colbert. The *Atlanta Journal* reported that the great hall of the civic auditorium was filled with "five thousand hysterically orderly fans" and a hundred celebrities, including a brace of governors.[39]

It was perhaps apt that the most spectacular Junior League event of 1939 should involve a film about war, for the war raging in Europe had begun to concern all Americans.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORLD WAR II: "TO LEAD AND NOT FOLLOW"

f there had been any doubts whether the Junior League attracted outstanding women to its membership, World War II should have ended them. During the war, Junior League veterans not only led the creation of central volunteer defense bureaus in virtually every city where they lived, experienced League members also commanded the WAC's in the United States and the Women's Auxiliary Air Force in Canada. League women chaired hundreds of war-related organizations in their states, counties, and cities.

War work began before Pearl Harbor, even before Canada followed England into war against Germany on September 10, 1939. A *Junior League Magazine* article in 1940 reported the activities of Katherine Garrett of Baltimore, one of the first to return from the war-scarred Franco-Belgian frontier. She had worked for "American Friends of France," not only as a driver but also as a mechanic, Red Cross First Aid trainer, childrens' nurse, and chauffeur for the sick and aged as well as military personnel. After six months work with frightened evacuees, she said, "If you have a real job to do, you can't be frightened."[1]

As the likelihood of direct U.S. involvement in the war increased, A.J.L.A. board and staff explored ways to mobilize the Junior League most effectively for defense work. They decided to capitalize on the unique Junior League expertise in placing volunteers, the League "placement" system of matching volunteer skills and interests with the specific needs of agencies. During the 1930's, Leagues in Cleveland, New Orleans, Louisville, Montreal, and elsewhere had organized citywide central bureaus to place volunteers in agencies seeking help. A.J.L.A. executive secretary Katherine Van Slyck believed that in wartime such

League members signed up by the hundreds to work with the Red Cross. A World War I "Cocoa Kitchen" was ceremonially replaced in Washington, D.C., by up-to-date canteen. UPI

Tens of thousands of women went to work in nontraditional jobs (above) in the war. Culver Pictures *Women were the backbone of civilian scrap drives (opposite) Red Cross, and other homefront work.* Culver Pictures *A Victory Nursery run by the Portland, Oregon, Junior League (right)*


RUBBER
SCRAP
METAL
SALVAGE

League members enlisted in every military branch open to women and in uniformed civilian groups. A group of San Antonio members (top). The Association of Junior Leagues *Oveta Culp Hobby of Houston (right) helped organize, then commanded the Women's Army Corps.* Culver Pictures

agencies would be invaluable in effectively mobilizing the hundreds of thousands of people who would want to do their part at home.

By the time Canada declared war in 1939, the Association had begun drafting a working outline for creating central volunteer bureaus. Two days after Canada entered the war in September, Mrs. Van Slyck sent a memo to the six Canadian Leagues with guidelines for setting up a central volunteer bureau. She offered any A.J.L.A. staff help that might be needed.[2]

Using Montreal's existing volunteer office as a model, Association staff helped the Winnipeg League develop a prototype volunteer defense bureau agency that could be copied by other Leagues in the Americas. The Winnipeg office not only registered volunteers, it actively surveyed all major social agencies and government offices to assess their specific needs and openings, and acted as a clearinghouse for most of the city's volunteer groups involved in both war efforts and regular social welfare agencies. Within months, all six Canadian Junior Leagues had helped organize volunteer offices in their cities. Former Toronto president Polly Armstrong explained the rationale for the League's role:

"There is no question but that the Leagues in war time have something special to offer—a knowledge of volunteers. That does not mean that the Leagues have any corner on good volunteer service. All through the land there are hundreds of admirable volunteers working for agencies who have probably never heard the name Junior League, but they are not centrally organized as bands of volunteers. We are, and our responsibility is therefore heavy."[3]

A.J.L.A. president Mary Ferguson of Winnipeg felt a special urgency, as her country was already at war. In 1940 the A.J.L.A. executive committee agreed to a crash program to establish volunteer bureaus, and she sent a memo to all Leagues urging them to form central volunteer bureaus that would avoid wasted efforts and overlap. "Leagues as such are now in a position for the coordination of volunteer effort in their communities. The Leagues should be able, if necessary, to lead and not follow," she said.[4]

It was the first time the Association had suggested a specific public action by all constituent Leagues. By January 16, 1941, central volunteer bureaus had opened in 44 cities, most of them initiated by Junior Leagues.[5] The 1941 annual conference endorsed the board's action, and Mrs. Van Slyck fired off an explicit memo prodding those Leagues that had not yet acted. "If there is no Central Volunteer Bureau in your community, go at once to the chairman of the local Defense Council and offer your service and that of your most informed League members to help in setting up a volunteer office."[6]

Meanwhile, the Federal government borrowed both Mrs. Van Slyck and Association field service social worker Wilmer Shields of New Orleans to help expand the Office of Civilian Defense (O.C.D.). One of their first tasks was to write a Civilian Defense Volunteer Office manual for national use, and on September 5, 1941, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York, Federal O.C.D. director, went on the radio to announce official plans for organization of vol-

unteers through C.D.V.O. offices. Much of the broadcast was written by Mrs. Van Slyck.

Mayor La Guardia also announced that Wilmer Shields had been named head of the Community Volunteer Service of the Office of Civilian Defense. Mrs. Van Slyck was asked to remain on the government payroll, but declined.[7]

War loomed closer each day, particularly to those in coastal cities, and most particularly to those in the U.S. territory of Hawaii. Dixie Alsup of Honolulu sketched an expectant scene in a November 1941 issue of the *Junior League Magazine:* ". . . Pearl Harbor is filled with warships; the forts with their thousands of soldiers, old and new; the army trucks one sees by dozens every day; the planes roaring overhead . . . There are civilians and soldiers preparing for anti-sabotage activities . . . There are FBI men working . . . . On advice of Army officials, Honolulu housewives are filling basements . . . closets, and shelves with . . . canned goods."[8]

Flying instructor Cornelia Fort, a member of the Nashville League, was giving a young man flying lessons over Honolulu on December 7 when she noticed a Japanese plane. As they headed in for a quick landing, the young man asked when he would solo. Her terse reply was, "Not today." [She was killed on active duty with the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron some months later.][9]

Anticipation of war was over. Now it was as real in the United States as it had been for two years in Canada. By the hundreds of thousands, men and women, teenagers and senior citizens offered to help wherever needed. C.D.V.O.'s proved invaluable in quickly matching skills of willing volunteers with the multitude of jobs to organize and staff blood banks, U.S.O.'s, scrap drives, canteens, victory gardens, and hospitals. Others worked as aircraft spotters, drivers, and a dozen other roles. When Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, approximately 100 cities in the United States and Canada had functioning Central Defense Volunteer Offices, most of them started by Junior Leagues. No two offices were exactly alike; their organization and functions depended on the city and its makeup.

Typical of a large and complex bureau serving both government and civilian agencies was the Washington, D.C., office, begun in the spring of 1941 by three League volunteers, Elizabeth Houghton, daughter of a former ambassador to Britain, Mrs. Howland Chase, a former League president, and Mrs. Montgomery Blair, the current president. During the planning phase these three met repeatedly with the Council of Social Agencies and with government planners. Approximately 150 private and public agencies were consulted; lists were compiled of slots to be filled and qualifications needed. An initial three-day citywide volunteer registration signed up 18,500 persons, 40 per cent of them men. Registrars noted with pride that volunteer sign-ups paralleled the city's population mix: The number of black volunteers was about the same as the proportion of blacks in the

population. In its first month's operation, the Washington C.D.V.O. placed about a thousand volunteers as hospital aides, U.S.O. hostesses, housing registry workers, and in a motor transport corps.[10]

Similar tales were told in other cities in late 1941 and in 1942, particularly along the coasts, where it was too soon to know whether North America itself would be invaded. In June 1942, Mrs. Van Slyck reported that in 135 of 147 cities where Junior Leagues existed, they had helped organize Civilian Defense Volunteer Offices. Fifty-four Leagues funded the offices directly, pending support from Defense Councils. Sixty-three of the C.D.V.O.'s had "experienced League members as their chairman or executive officer."[11]

In many cities, Junior League presidents or past presidents personally assumed the formidable task of organizing the disorganized for tasks that were as yet unclear. Harriet Alexander Aldrich, well known in Junior League circles for three decades, headed the office-coordinating work of five Civil Defense bureaus in boroughs of New York City. Junior League co-founder Nathalie Henderson Swan formed a Child Care and Youth Service branch to mobilize teen-age girls as volunteers.[12] Janet Walton Leovy chaired the Pittsburgh C.D.V.O.; Mrs. C. E. Dunaway of Miami headed the Florida Division of Home and Community Services branch of the State Defense Council. Phoenix League president Leslie Kober chaired that city's C.D.V.O.; Mrs. Warren Corning chaired Cincinnati's. Mrs. Green Dodd Warren served on the Atlanta Defense Council and as head of volunteer services. El Paso's Mrs. J. Mott Rawlings chaired the volunteer agency and served on two other defense boards. Similar lists filled pages of the *Magazine,* which shrank to a third of its former size because of wartime paper shortages.[13]

Though League money and volunteers started and sustained volunteer offices, the Junior League role often was deliberately muted to make the bureaus seem a community-based effort. As the records of the Raleigh League noted, "The real achievement of the year [1941] was the establishment of the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office . . . later becoming the Civilian Defense Council. Five League members served on its placement committee. It was a real community project, with no mention of the League in the setup. All of us were learning to work with other organizations, not as Leaguers."[14]

The orchestrated effort to create C.D.V.O.'s was a sharp departure from League traditions, and the only time the Association had virtually directed individual Leagues to take a specific public action. At the same time A.J.L.A. was advocating volunteer offices, members were also urged not to neglect vital community services in favor of the more glamorous war work.

Nothing was quite the same as before, however, as hundreds of Junior League wives left their home towns to follow their military husbands to new stations. The first comprehensive survey of Junior League membership, completed in 1941, had shown that 76 per cent were married.[15] Internally, Junior Leagues made numerous adjustments to the emergency. In Honolulu, all officers

of the organization were frozen in place "for the duration." Shortages of all kinds thinned supplies of salable goods to League thrift shops, causing many Leagues to set minimum quotas to be donated by every member. To save rationed gas and wear and tear on irreplaceable tires, collection depots were scattered around towns to collect for the shops.

More than 400 League members enlisted directly in the armed forces as WAC's, WAVES, Spars, Army and Navy nurses, and WAF's. The Association even waived its inviolable rule against giving out the mailing list of president's names when the WAVES and WAC's asked for it to solicit League members to enlist in the Navy and Army.[16]

Because no one had time to make accurate counts, there are no reliable totals of Junior League participation in the war effort. However, in 1943 the *Magazine* sent questionnaires to all Junior Leagues and to seven suburban units of the New York League, a total of 161 groups. Of the 127 that answered, 105 reported that members were giving volunteer service or money to U.S.O.'s and other recreational projects for servicemen; 113 Leagues had members on war rationing boards; 111 had members selling war bonds and stamps; 72 worked with Civilian Defense block plans, an idea developed by the Winnipeg Junior League.

With an additional 6 million women in the labor force, there was urgent need for day-care facilities, and 58 Leagues reported that members were volunteering at day-care centers. More than half of all Leagues helped with salvage drives to collect reusable strategic materials. The Winnipeg League, for instance, collected 30 tons of scrap metal in a single day. Forty-seven Leagues cooperated in food programs such as sponsoring or promoting victory gardens. The *Magazine* said the questionnaire did not bother to ask about Red Cross or volunteer bureaus, because all Junior Leagues were involved.[17] The six Canadian Leagues alone reported 1,238 members in Red Cross work.[18]

When they tried to tally numbers of volunteers in war work and community service, most Leagues came up with figures that exceeded their memberships. To remain an active member in good standing of a Junior League at any time, one must do volunteer work, but in World War II many League members did not one, but two or three volunteer jobs—working both for the Red Cross and at a C.D.V.O., at a U.S.O. canteen and at a day care center, on a radio program for children and at a blood bank.

When it tried to summarize war work in 1946, Association queries got responses from only 117 of the 151 wartime Leagues, but these showed 74,000 war and community service jobs undertaken by the organization's 44,000 members. About 330 League members served overseas with the Red Cross and United National relief agencies. More than 1,100 took paid war work. Both as paid and unpaid staff, 21,000 worked for the Red Cross. Almost 2,000 League members worked on government rationing boards; 6,200 on Civilian Defense, 2,300 in C.D.V.O.'s. More than 7,000 sold war bonds.[19]

Locally, projects were tailored to community conditions, particularly where

there were great influxes of military personnel or defense workers. Members of the Mobile Junior League, for instance, operated a downtown Information Center to handle queries from thousands of war workers unfamiliar with the city and its schools, bus system, and medical facilities.[20]

Maintaining a steady supply of food when so many farm and cannery workers had enlisted or been drawn into defense industries was a special problem addressed by the Oakland League. Members first gathered information by working in California canneries; then Mrs. Lee Laird wrote a report for management suggesting changes that would attract more women to cannery payrolls. Invited to act as a consultant to the industry, Mrs. Laird helped develop a public relations campaign. Posters and radio spots addressed to "The Women of California" noted that canned goods were already rationed, and that it would become worse unless California canneries were able to produce more food.[21]

The Augusta Junior League collaborated with a businessman's group to form a Victory Garden Exchange. People with vacant lots registered them with the exchange for planting by other citizens willing to farm the space, usually on a shares basis. The mayor of Boston inquired about the plan, then said it should be copied in the North.[22]

Individually, League women assumed a disproportionate share of leadership roles in many agencies. The most prominent headliner was Oveta Culp Hobby, an attorney and journalist who was the first professional woman invited to membership in the Houston Junior League. Army Chief of Staff George Marshall asked her to study plans to form a Women's Auxiliary Army, and when Congress approved the plan in 1942, she was chosen to head it. With the command went the task of recruiting and training members. By the time Colonel Hobby resigned her command of the renamed Women's Army Corps in 1945, there were 100,000 women in the WAC's.[23]

Former A.J.L.A. office manager and Ways and Means chairwoman Jean Palmer of Omaha entered the naval branch, the WAVES, at its founding as assistant director and in 1946 became its second commander.[24] One of the two highest-ranking officers in the newly formed Women's Army Corps of Canada was Margaret Eaton of the Toronto League. Flight Officer Kathleen Walsh Walker of the Montreal League headed Canada's Women's Auxiliary Air Force.[25]

On the civilian side, Pauline Sabin Davis, an early member of the New York League, became national director of volunteer special services for the American Red Cross, directing the work of a million volunteers in canteens, motor corps, and other activities. Margaret Mason Colt, a former member of the Pittsfield, Massachusetts, League, directed Red Cross volunteers overseas. Ann Carter Green of the Washington League headed Red Cross operations in the China-Burma theater.

Clarice Pennock, who replaced Katherine Van Slyck as executive secretary of A.J.L.A. in 1943, served as director of volunteer participation for the New York State Defense Council. Boston's Dorothy Stebbins Bowles (Mrs. Chester

Bowles), a former A.J.L.A. field worker, chaired the Community Service Division of the Connecticut State Defense Council.

Quietly, those not so-famous found time to work and then work some more. The Raleigh placement chairwoman noted in 1944 a continuous deep fatigue, and she described a typical member, "a work-weary girl . . . she no longer has help, spends half of the year going from coast to coast, gets a job on the side, but is sport enough to see the more pressing needs of a community crying for volunteer service."[26]

The personal diary of a New York League member recorded ". . . lots of flu in town . . . people are dying by the dozens and each night there is a flu casualty list in the paper just like the one of those "killed in action." " When she learned of a need for volunteer nurses, she began working at an army housing facility each day at 3:20 p.m. after her factory shift was over, because "life is too tragic now and we are all keyed up to such a pitch that sleep does not seem so necessary."[27]

For a Junior Leaguer to work in a factory would have been more or less unthinkable before the war, yet like millions of Americans the New York woman explored new dimensions of her capabilities in the war. The 1941 survey showed that 12 per cent of members held paying jobs. As no other event in history, World War II drew women into the job market. The war had a profound effect on American women, permanently altering attitudes about women's place in the marketplace. Approximately 6 million women entered the job market in the war, nearly 2 million of them in heavy industry.[28] The proportion of women in the labor force rose from 25 per cent to 36 per cent, an increase greater than that of the previous four decades combined.[29]

"At the beginning of the war, 95 per cent of women workers intended to quit when their men came home," according to historians Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman. "By war's end they had changed their minds. More than 80 per cent wanted to continue working, mostly because they needed the money."[30]

During the war women were exhorted to work as a patriotic duty, told that if they could drive a car they could run a machine. Although the firings began as soon as peace was declared, many women never abandoned the job market. Many were forced to shift to lower-paying "women's jobs," but they did not give up the experience of paid work. "Girls who started working during World War II never learned that some jobs supposedly 'belong' to men and some to women," wrote Caroline Bird in *Born Female.*[31]

It was a world turned upside down, and even amid the war many in the Junior League pondered its postwar role. In dozens of cities, C.D.V.O.'s elected to stay open to deal with an expected postwar housing shortage and unemployment as veterans returned home and into the job market.

In cooperation with a branch of the Community Chest, the Association in

1944 issued a major study, "Looking at the Future," which attempted to project the need for community volunteers after the war. Announcing the study, executive secretary Clarice Pennock said the emphasis would undoubtedly be on the quality of volunteer work rather than on the quantity.[32]

In 1943, at the last A.J.L.A. conference held during the war (there were no conferences in 1944 or 1945), Association president Mrs. Linville K. Martin summed up with great candor a major dilemma facing the Junior League as it looked past the immediate war emergency to the question of its relevance to a new postwar world:

> America is undergoing terrific changes and if the Junior League is to survive it will have to change, too. Whether we like the thought or not we must recognize that the *real* issue before us in thinking of the Junior League in the post-war period is whether or not we can justify our existence . . .
>
> I frankly believe . . . that we are going through such a social revolution today that in the days to come an organization such as ours will surely and most certainly fall by the wayside unless our members prepare and equip themselves to meet the challenge ahead . . .
>
> In the past our whole organization, program and membership was based on leisure. Those of us meeting here today trying to work out our problems are vitally interested in not letting the words Junior League fall into disrepute, but the word leisure already has . . .
>
> . . . the members we are making plans for will no longer be the sheltered young woman of pre-war years. Never before has the sheltered woman had so many unavoidable shocks to bring her out of her seclusion. All the insulation of family background and security has been penetrated by reality.[33]

CHAPTER EIGHT

POSTWAR YEARS AND SUBURBAN EXPANSION

When Japanese surrender finally ended World War II in 1945, some 11 million servicemen were released to civilian life. They rushed to catch up on lost years by marrying, getting jobs, starting families, attending college, buying homes. After the deprivations of war, says historian Lois Banner, a close family life seemed particularly attractive, and "women eagerly responded to the returning soldier's desire to create a secure environment in the family."[1] William O'Neill describes the phenomenon of the postwar years as "the privatization of everyday life."[2]

Larger families, a revival of concern for home and family, and a marked shift to the suburbs all affected American middle-class women profoundly. Families of three, four, and five children became common. The birth rate for third children doubled between 1940 and 1960 and tripled for fourth children. Pent-up demand for new housing, expedited by inexpensive GI loans, powered a building boom that changed the physical landscape of America. Suburban developments spilled outward from cities, across farms and forests. Between 1950 and 1968 towns and villages in commuting range of large cities grew five times faster than their cities. "Suburbia" became a way of life that featured at-home wives, station wagons, PTA's, and commuting husbands.

Banner notes that affluent Americans increasingly clustered in suburban areas, where jobs for women were limited and domestic help was in short supply. She adds that because they had to spend time commuting, men were away from home more hours a day; because few services were within walking distance in new suburbs, and public transportation largely unavailable, women did a great deal of driving—to the station, to stores, to doctors, to piano teachers. "The American

dream of affluence in a natural bucolic setting, away from urban squalor, often made it impossible for women to be other than housewives and mothers.''[3]

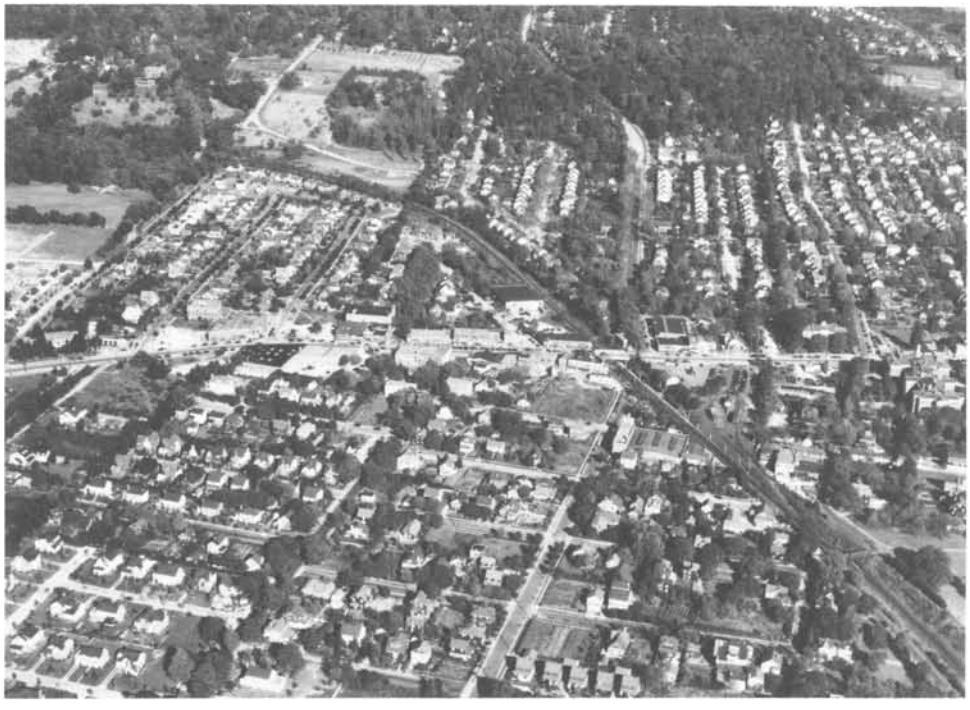
Superficially, at least, postwar women seemed to have backed away from the career and education gains so painfully won by earlier generations, in favor of domesticity. ''Togetherness'' was the media catchword for a tight family circle. A tidal wave of advice from sociologists and others insisted upon the need for an at-home wife and mother. Freudian ideas of ''true womanhood'' were dusted off, refurbished to fit the times. William Chafe views the postwar rebirth of the 19th-century ''cult of true womanhood'' as deeply rooted in the American tradition. Some later feminist critics of this period, he contends, ignore the fact that many 1950's women considered their lives both rich and rewarding. If the popular literature of the times is to be believed, Chafe says, enlightened child care, good cooking, a full-scale social life, and volunteer work provided many women with ''a diverse and rewarding existence—one which they would not choose to sacrifice even if the opportunity presented itself.''[4]

Things are often not quite as they seem on the surface, and a closer look at postwar employment trends shows women entering the work force steadily and in growing numbers, a pattern that was obscured for a while by media attention to the baby boom, domesticity, and ''togetherness.'' Chafe believes that the most striking feature of woman's history in the 50's was the degree to which women continued to enter the job market. In 1952 more than 10 million wives held jobs, 2 million more than at the peak of World War II.[5] By 1950, married women outnumbered single women in the work force.

In the early postwar years, these trends did not seem to affect the Junior League in any significant way. It was a period of rapid growth and geographical expansion for the organization, one that is sometimes seen in retrospect as a golden period of tranquility. All was not serene internally, and in fact very serious problems festered at the Association level, but across the land individual Junior Leagues seemed to mesh perfectly into the postwar climate.

''We just didn't go to work then,'' says Jean Webb Smith, a 1940 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Stanford University who married out of college. ''You started a family and threw yourself into volunteer work.''[6] The League provided a training ground, a mechanism, and compatible women as friends. Mrs. Smith, now the wife of the Attorney General of the United States, rose through the League hierarchy to the presidency of the Association from 1968 to 1970. (She was then Mrs. George Vaughn.)

In a mobile society in which corporations bounced husbands from city to city at two- and three-year intervals, transferable Junior League membership was a lifeline against loneliness for many young women. Social observer Stephen Birmingham has commented that ''. . . in the peripatetic postwar 'forties and 'fifties [League membership] became a national security blanket for transient businessmen's wives.''[7]



Involvement in arts boomed in postwar years of suburban growth (top). The Bettmann Archive *Toronto League radio program (right).* Photo by John Steele, courtesy Junior League of Toronto *Washington's new docent project (opposite) at the National Gallery. Author Eudora Welty of Jackson (above)*

A typical incoming Junior League member in the 1945–60 period was older, married, and probably never "came out" as a debutante. Cleveland Amory, writing about the Junior League for the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1948, quoted an old adage to the effect that the idea of debutantes had apparently drowned while trying to cross the Mississippi River.[8] League membership was drawn less from upper reaches of wealth and old families, more from the expanding middle class of every American city. A survey of the Buffalo League, for instance, showed the average member to be 30 years old, married, and with once-a-week cleaning help. Nevertheless, an invitation to membership was still much coveted.

Vance Packard's best-selling *The Status Seekers* argued that postwar American society was obsessed with a relentless search for outward symbols of social status—and he said Junior League membership was one such measurement. Packard cited a study by two Cornell professors of social discrimination in 248 cities in which the researchers applied three tests of social acceptability: admission to the Junior League, admission to country and city clubs, and admission to exclusive residential areas.

Packard also wrote, "When the girl of proper background approaches marriageable age, she and her mother start the maneuvers necessary to win an invitation from the local Junior League. You don't just apply. That would be unforgivable."[9]

Concerned about the persistent image as a social rather than a community organization, the Association hired a public relations advisor. He suggested that

the League must clarify for itself its fundamental purpose for being. With the public relations advisor sitting in, the Association board in 1952 therefore discussed, as A.J.L.A. president Mrs. DeLeslie Allen of Rochester, expressed it, whether the Junior League was a service organization that provided trained volunteers, or a training organization that gave volunteer service. Was service a by-product of League training or League training a by-product of community service? she asked. Although rarely stated with such clarity, the question troubled the Junior Leagues for decades. The 1952 board tended to agree—though not wholeheartedly—that the League was a service organization, with education of members as a by-product.[10] Only three years earlier an Expansion Committee had defined the League's purpose as "a training school for community leadership."[11]

The League began in 1946 to set standards for dropping members who did not do volunteer service—a step not previously taken on an Association-wide basis. A.J.L.A. also began to shape minimum standards for individual Leagues already in the organization. At the 1946 conference delegates agreed informally that all Leagues must have a provisional training course, an education committee, and a placement committee for volunteers. At the next conference, minimum standards for provisional courses were approved.

A.J.L.A. consultant Dr. Margaret Wingert drafted a model course that could be adapted to local conditions and that could be compressed into two weeks or spread over an entire year. Most provisional courses were split into two parts: a first part on the Junior League, a second on the community. Often, the community segment was planned in cooperation with a local volunteer agency or Community Chest. By 1952, nearly 60 Leagues offered all or part of the provisional course to the public.

Efforts to raise standards generated some determined local resistance and resulted in soft-spoken but fierce infighting between some Leagues and A.J.L.A. At issue were minimum standards, Association dues, and the role of Association staff.[12] The effort to impose minimum standards offended some who were determined to preserve local autonomy. Delegates to the 1947 conference heard a stinging letter from a former A.J.L.A. president deploring "regimentation" of membership and increased dominance of employed staff over elected directors.[13]

Such disputes led in 1952 to the resignation of most of the A.J.L.A. staff.[14] Continuing tumult reduced Association leadership to a minimum for much of the decade, while individual Leagues pursued their own course. At the board level, a major point of concern was orderly expansion of the organization.

Suburbs had begun to draw Junior League members out of cities decades before the big postwar suburban boom, but the postwar period accelerated the trend and exacerbated an old question. Between 1931 and 1953 the A.J.L.A. board debated endlessly—and inconclusively—whether there would be suburban Leagues, despite the fact that there already *were* some in New Jersey.

From 1926 on, groups in suburban enclaves of the sprawling New York metropolitan region applied regularly for admission to the Association. Since many of applying organizations included displaced Junior League members, the applications could not be brushed aside lightly. Further, the New York League wanted to retain these out-of-town members on its dues-paying rolls. Junior League members who moved to Westchester and Connecticut formed "branches" and then "units" of the New York League. As dues-paying members, they were entitled to use the luxurious New York City clubhouse on days in the city.

With applications on hand from groups in the Westchester suburbs of Larchmont and Pelham, the Association board in 1931 formed a committee to consider the "small cities in the metropolitan areas." On the recommendation of a Metropolitan Area Committee, the board in 1933 decided that no Junior Leagues should be recognized in Westchester. Two years later some members of the Greenwich, Connecticut, branch asked permission to become an autonomous Junior League. The board refused, saying such a move would raise questions about the status of various Westchester units, notably the one in Rye.[15]

Another committee pondered New York suburbs, produced a comprehensive status report in 1936, and recommended further work by four geographical subcommittees. The commitee and its offshoots reported that within a 75-mile range of New York City, there were eight existing Junior Leagues in New Jersey, seven of them in the metropolitan area. Sixteen New Jersey Service Leagues in commuting range had applied to become Junior Leagues at one time or another. In Westchester there were five branches of the New York League. The committee said six Service Leagues on Long Island had asked for admission, but it recommended leaving Long Island under the New York City umbrella. Curiously, the Brooklyn Junior League, on the lower tip of Long Island, is not mentioned in these various reports.

The 1936 Metropolitan Area Committee found that Greenwich's "large and well organized group" preferred to remain under the New York umbrella, apparently a change of mind or leadership since three years earlier. It was recommended that the Connecticut towns of Darien and New Canaan be considered within the area of the Stamford Junior League, a part of the Association since 1923.

"Westchester was considered by far the most difficult problem facing the Metropolitan Area Committee. The reports on Pelham [a Service League with a number of Junior League members] were very favorable, but it was felt that a much more complete and thorough study should be made of the whole county . . ." before any groups were considered. The committee urged the Association to decide if Westchester County should have one, two, several Junior Leagues—or none.[16]

Yet another committee was appointed to study Westchester. This group recommended that the 260 Junior League members in the county be absorbed into various units of the New York League. "With the possible exception of

Greenwich (which is of course in Connecticut) and Pelham, there are no community nuclei which are ready to become Junior Leagues.''[17]

The Association board apparently had heard more than enough on this interminable issue. The committee report was rejected bluntly by the 1937 board of directors. ''Instead of regarding Westchester County as the territory of the New York League, all applying organizations in this area should be considered as applying organizations in any other area.'' The board added that ''people should not be penalized for living close to New York'' and voted to allow the Pelham Service League to begin the two-to-three-year process of formal application, visits, and consultations for membership in the Association.[18]

The New York League was not willing to yield up all those potential members without a struggle. In 1940, as the application from the Pelham Service League neared final stages in the application process, New York asked A.J.L.A. for a five-year moratorium on further suburban admissions. The reason cited was possible unrest among Westchester units of the Junior League. The A.J.L.A. board agreed to a three-year moratorium.[19]

Underlying this determined delaying action by New York were the financial problems created by the Depression and the cost of maintaining the elaborate seven-story clubhouse built in 1929. Although New York dues were slashed in the mid-1930's from $120 to $75 a year, they remained far higher than those of any other Junior League. The 1936 Metropolitan Area Committee noted that many out-of-town members in the suburban units did not want to pay the very high New York dues.

The Pelham League—ironically closest of all geographically to New York City—was admitted to the Association in 1941, but the issue of what was to happen to suburban units dragged on for several more years. As soon as the three-year moratorium expired, the Hudson River Unit applied for admission to the Association; another committee was appointed.

In the meantime, Scarsdale conceived a new approach, which broke the long logjam. The Scarsdale Unit of the Junior League invited the Scarsdale Junior Service League to merge with it in 1941, thus creating a strong new organization. This Scarsdale group had its own admissions committee, but provisional training was supervised by New York. Scarsdale was admitted to the Association in 1947, Bronxville in 1948, Larchmont and Tarrytown (the old Hudson River Unit) in 1950 and Mount Kisco in 1953 (the old Northern Westchester Unit). Greenwich, Connecticut, entered in 1959. The first Junior League on Long Island was the Junior League of North Shore, formed in 1951 as a New York City unit and admitted in 1963 to A.J.L.A. The Association board voted in 1953 to allow branches of Leagues—if the parent League agreed—to be treated as a group seeking admission to the Association.

While there were special circumstances in the densely populated New York region where towns, villages and cities bump against one another with little if any intervening space, several other city Leagues gave birth to suburban spin-

offs. Wartime gas rationing led to development of auxiliaries of the San Francisco League. Units were formed in 1943 in San Mateo and Palo Alto, and in 1946 in Marin. The Palo Alto group applied in 1963 for membership as an independent Junior League serving a 14-city area on the San Francisco Mid-Peninsula and in 1965 was admitted to A.J.L.A. Marin and San Mateo units rejoined the San Francisco League in 1963 with a new unified administrative structure.

Both Boston and Chicago worked out "area systems" that kept city and suburban members in one umbrella League but allowed them to attend meetings and do their volunteer work in their own city or suburban section. Boston shifted to an area system in 1951 as general meetings became increasingly difficult to plan, and by 1957 had evolved a system in which there was a single board of directors but considerable autonomy for each area.

Questions of suburban growth, problems between staff and directors—these were concerns primarily for the Association and for some big-city Leagues. They were not mentioned in the *Magazine* or even perceived by most of the rank and file. Junior Leagues plunged happily into a flurry of work on postwar problems. Several Leagues worked with the YWCA on a Round-the-World Reconstruction Fund; Seattle developed a program of creative dramatics that a UNESCO conference eventually adopted on a worldwide scale as a tool for working with children who had been emotionally scarred by the war. For the most part, however, projects reflected problems and possibilities closer to home: a shortage of schools, a renewed concern for the arts, interest in the new medium of television.

The baby boom produced an enormous need for schools and teachers, and many Leagues worked to improve and expand public schools. School systems in the 50's faced a double bind—the baby boom created a huge immediate need for more teachers, yet those entering the field were Depression babies, born when birth rates were low. There were too many students for the teachers available, and not enough teacher-trainees in the pipeline.

Dr. Claude Albritton, dean of faculty at Southern Methodist University, had studied the dilemma in Texas and in 1954 urged his wife to interest her colleagues in the Junior League of Dallas in the problem. Invited to speak at a League meeting, Dean Albritton made a compelling case, and a committee was formed. After working with the superintendent of schools and the head of teacher employment in Dallas, the committee reported that within five years Dallas would need 500 additional teachers above and beyond normal hiring. Three potential sources were identified: high school students not yet committed to specific careers; students short of funds for college training; and older teachers who had quit teaching.

The Dallas League worked with the Dallas school administration to develop a multifaceted teacher recruitment project, "Teachers for Texas—the Dallas Plan." As a first step, teams of two teachers and one Junior League member visited every Dallas high school to discuss teaching careers. After 385 students

indicated serious interest, there were follow-up interviews, help with college application forms, and advice on scholarships and other financial aid. With foundation funding the Dallas League produced a film, *Why a Teacher,* which was used throughout Texas on television and by community groups. Funds to distribute the film widely were donated by Dallas businesses, the Classroom Teachers of Dallas, and the Junior League of San Antonio. Follow-ups around the state included radio spot announcements, newspaper coverage of teacher recruitment, and community meetings. Other Leagues across the nation rented prints of the film for use in their own teacher-recruitment efforts.[20]

Sometimes a small infusion of funds, backed by careful research and targeting, went a long way toward solving a specific school problem. In 1951, a member of the city school administration spoke to the Wilkes-Barre Junior League about the strengths and weaknesses of local schools. Leaguers were appalled to hear that retarded children were placed in regular classes because there was no qualified teacher for a special class. The League voted a $385 scholarship to train a teacher already on the elementary staff, and city schools agreed to establish a special class for slow learners once she had been trained. So successful was this cooperative venture that the schools asked the League to fund two additional scholarships, one for a teacher to work with the emotionally disturbed, another to teach severely retarded students.[21]

To list all the school or child-related projects of Leagues in the 50's would be to produce a roll call of the organization. A 1954 survey, for instance, revealed 123 Leagues at work creating more playgrounds. Leagues sponsored diagnostic testing programs in public schools to identify children with hearing or vision problems. There were remedial-reading centers such as those established by Beaumont and Chattanooga. Indianapolis continued its long-term support for projects involving gifted children; Salt Lake City and Omaha launched similar programs. The new Mount Kisco League was one of many to support special work with retarded or handicapped children.

Attention to schools did not detract from traditional League commitment to health projects. In 1952, more than 100 Leagues were involved with projects for volunteer service through hospitals or other health agencies; 79 worked with handicapped children and adults. Throughout the 50's Junior Leagues sponsored establishment of Visiting Nurse Services in their communities. More than 50 Leagues maintained rehabilitation projects in 1957, from homes for crippled children to sponsoring an Arkansas conference on the physically handicapped. A 1959 survey showed 378 Junior League projects in health, welfare, and recreation.

Individual volunteers worked wherever their fancy, or their placement adviser, sent them. The assignment could be as traditional as delivering reading materials to hospital patients, or as unusual as the job undertaken by Mrs. John Brady of Los Angeles, who was asked by her placement commmittee to help the

Police Department interview prospective policewomen. The department was looking for someone who did not have a "police point of view."[22]

Occasionally postwar Junior Leagues pioneered in health areas that no one else seemed willing to address. Chicago Leaguers were shocked to learn that epileptics were still being treated as social pariahs and that many doctors had no idea how to diagnose or treat them properly. Dr. Frederick Gibbs, one of the first to use brain waves to diagnose the disorder, told the Chicago women that epilepsy had gone underground, that he knew of parents who hid their afflicted children in attics or basements. After extensive study and documentation, a general membership meeting was called to vote on a project to establish an epilepsy clinic. One member reported consulting several physicians, who told her amateurs had no business meddling in such a complicated subject. The wife of a doctor shot back, "If this job is to be done, we will have to do it. The regular doctors are too busy."

The Chicago League voted to sponsor a Consultation Clinic for Epilepsy at the University of Chicago College of Medicine. When Dr. Gibbs found that he could not locate trained assistants, League members learned to work as electroencephalographic technicians, to run blood tests, to prepare medical records for evaluation. Between 1946 and 1950 the Chicago League spent $47,800 on the clinic. *Coronet* magazine quoted Dr. Gibbs: "People flocked to the clinic from all over the world. Lives were saved. Children were made normal and returned to school. Men and women who were unemployable were relieved of their seizures and returned to work. The Junior League stepped in where angels had feared to tread."[23]

In 1948 the Louisville Junior League financed and helped staff a Cancer Clinic on Wheels, believed to have been the first of its kind. Donated by the League to the Kentucky division of the American Cancer Society, the mobile clinic traveled to isolated rural areas, bringing tools for cancer detection.

The Mexico City League extended its work with the blind, begun before the war, and in the process created the most complete center for the blind in the Spanish-speaking world. A grant in 1942 allowed establishment of a Braille print shop and libraries for Spanish-speaking blind. In 1951 UNESCO chose the Mexico Braille Editorial Center as the facility to serve all of Latin America. In 1953 the Mexico City Junior League obtained a grant from the Kellogg foundation for additional equipment and training. Work to expand the facility continued until 1962, when the League turned it over to the community.[24]

Television and the arts generated a special enthusiasm among postwar Leagues. Interest in television flowed naturally from the League's experience in radio, which dated from the early 1930's. By 1947, all but fifteen Junior Leagues participated in radio in some way, mostly by producing children's programs. The Peoria League recorded a historical dramatization, "I am Illinois." A.J.L.A. produced a series called "Books Bring Adventure" that was disseminated by

dozens of Leagues in the late 1940's and 50's. The Fort Wayne League bought recordings from the Association, then worked with local libraries and schools to promote a deeper understanding of the books. League volunteers helped write a teachers manual for use with the recordings.

The Association noted in 1951 that in the past two years, eight national awards had been received for Junior League radio programs, among them Pittsburgh's "Fun With Books," Salt Lake City's "When the World Was Young," Seattle's "Their Name Was Courage," and a series on New York State history, "The Price of Liberty," produced by the Albany League and co-sponsored by all 19 New York Leagues.

In 1944, the *Magazine* carried a piece by Association arts consultant Virginia Lee Comer about an experimental television station run by General Electric in Schenectady. "There is an invention that will be in our houses after the war, come what may," she said. Junior Leagues plunged into television in its infancy, usually to promote quality programming for children and to encourage educational use of the medium. After the Federal Communications Commission set aside channels for educational purposes in 1952, many Leagues helped start ETV stations in their communities. The Memphis League helped fund the first months of the local educational station and underwrote the salary of a children's program director for two years. The San Francisco League promoted broad community interest in the ETV station by sponsoring a one-day institute in cooperation with the Bay Area Educational Television Association. Some 400 delegates from Bay Area organizations and agencies attended. To further promote the station, the League funded a director of community relations for a year and set up a speakers' bureau to promote educational television.

Several Leagues produced live teenage panel shows. Typical of these was Lubbock's "Student Silhouette," a weekly half-hour panel. By 1953, 16 Leagues were working in television, and the number grew rapidly.

Virginia Lee Comer, an arts consultant who joined the Association staff in the '40s, is one of those women who have had a significant impact on the direction and quality of work done by the Junior League. Evidence of her foresight can be found not only in her 1944 recognition that television would become a daily factor in our lives, but also in her encouragement of Leagues to consider the cultural resources of their communities as a whole, rather than piecemeal.

Thirty years before the Junior League adopted management by objectives as its *modus operandi,* Virginia Comer in 1944 drafted an "Outline" that included a Plan, Objectives, and Mechanics for surveying arts resources in any community. A revised version was published as "Arts in Our Town," a model for surveying arts resources. It was her belief that before a Junior League launched a new project in radio, theater, the visual arts, music, or a related field, an assessment should be made of what the community already had, what it needed, and how each piece related—or did not relate—to the rest.

While "Arts and Our Town" was being polished for publication, the Junior

League of Vancouver, British Columbia, asked Virginia Comer for help establishing art classes in the city's schools. While on the scene, she suggested that the Vancouver League survey the city's cultural resources. The League accepted the idea, and in cooperation with the Women's Voluntary Service, canvassed every city organization and business involved in cultural or recreational activities.

More than 400 residents attended a public meeting in May 1946 to learn the results. Virginia Comer was invited back to Vancouver to speak; another speaker was a League husband, a leading industrialist who spoke on the role of arts in community life. On behalf of the city, the mayor accepted the arts survey and named a committee to explore further the concept of an organization that would be a coordinating council on the arts. At a follow-up meeting five months later, again attended by 400 people, the Community Arts Council of Vancouver was born. It was the first arts council in North America and a prototype for all those that have followed.

Shortly afterward Junior Leagues in Corpus Christi and Baton Rouge also formed arts coordinating agencies. In 1946 the Corpus Christi Junior League conducted an arts survey, organized a meeting of some 50 community groups, and adopted a plan to chose an operating board for a Council of Cultural Activities. Also at Virginia Comer's instigation, Winston-Salem League members formed an Arts Council and paid the salary of a community arts coordinator. By 1968 some 35 Leagues had helped start councils in their cities or counties.

When the Association surveyed League projects in 1946, it found only 33 Leagues involved in community arts, but the number multiplied rapidly as Junior Leagues helped expand or open art museums, natural history museums, arts centers, symphonies, and theater groups. By 1959, Junior Leagues were involved in 316 arts projects, not including another 248 in theater and puppetry.

Plans for opening day of Denver's Children's Museum in 1946 foresaw a crowd of perhaps 200 or 300. Instead, more than 500 children surged forward as the doors opened, and an estimated 1,000 arrived within minutes. The only policeman on duty called in his squad. "It's worse than a raid," he said, as eager children raced through galleries and up the stairs of Chappel House, a branch of the Denver Art Museum. Start-up costs were modest—$1,000 from the Denver Art Museum, $1,000 from the Junior League. The second floor of Chappel House was renovated by Leaguers for exhibits, and the rest of the building was converted for such facilities as a Young American Craftsmen (YAC) club. All activities were planned and operated by League volunteers under the supervision of the director of the Art Museum and an advisory board.[25] From these modest beginnings as a Junior League fledgling, the Denver Children's Museum has grown into one of the preeminent institutions of its kind in the world.

In several cities, Junior Leagues collaborated with the William Hornaday Foundation to establish children's museums. Foundation director John Ripley

Forbes, asked by the Jacksonville Children's Museum Association for help in getting their project on a daily basis, turned to the Junior League of Jacksonville. The League voted not only to pay the salary of a curator, but also to provide two volunteers daily. Between 1947 and 1953 the Jacksonville League contributed $32,000 to the museum. Even more importantly, League members convinced both the city and country to guarantee annual support funding.

In a 1946 article for the *Junior League Magazine,* Forbes described other Junior League work with children's museums. In Kansas City, he said, League efforts with the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Arts "made possible one of the finest children's programs carried forward by an art museum." He noted that Leagues in Knoxville and Nashville were supporting new museums for children.[26]

In Charlotte, North Carolina, the League worked with the Hornaday Foundation to create a different type of museum, one in which children could handle snakes or pet a lizard. Charlotte's impressive Children's Nature Museum began when the Junior League took over an abandoned day nursery in 1946 for a nature center featuring regional animals and plants. When financial difficulties threatened to close the small but popular facility, the League staged a follies, a fashion show, and a barbershop quartet contest to raise funds. Eventually the museum moved into a $68,000 building built by the Junior League. By 1954 there were three paid staff members and a daily contingent of 45 League volunteers at work, and plans for a new wing were underway. By the end of the decade, the Junior League of Charlotte had invested more than $100,000 in the facility.[27]

When a Junior Museum was planned in Miami, the Miami League contributed more than $50,000 in the first four years to get it started. The New Orleans League began a Junior Gallery at the Delgado Museum. Nearly 200 League members helped organize the popular Children's Arts Program of Milwaukee, jointly sponsored by the Junior League and the Art Institute; the wide-ranging program has continued to evolve over the years.

The splendid Arkansas Arts Center traces its roots to the late 1950's, when the Junior League of Little Rock formed a nonprofit corporation, the Community Center of Arts and Sciences, to work toward development of a statewide arts program and eventual construction of an arts center. Twelve businessmen and 12 League members comprised the original board. One of the first programs was a Fine Arts Library, opened in temporary space in the League building in 1957. An educational director was hired and art classes started for children. For a membership fee of 50 cents, children from anywhere in Arkansas were entitled to attend movies, astronomy shows, art films, music classes, and other programs. As programs proliferated, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller in 1959 joined the board that was trying to raise funds for a permanent center. The Arkansas Arts Center opened in 1963, eight years after the first League efforts to create such an institution.

Perhaps no Junior League activity was more popular among some members

than the museum docent programs begun by Leagues in New York, Washington, Houston, Tulsa, Baltimore, Duluth, Lubbock, Montclair, Syracuse, Wichita, Kansas City, and elsewhere. League volunteers in these programs are trained by museum staff to conduct tours, usually for school groups, through museum exhibits. In some cases the Junior League also funded a staff person in charge of volunteer training.

Postwar Leagues became considerably more sophisticated in their method for developing, monitoring, and evaluating projects. Many established Projects Committees to oversee the efficacy of ongoing programs and to screen proposed new ideas. After approval by the local League board of directors, a project must still be approved by the membership, and most Leagues require that two-thirds of members approve any major project or expenditure. A project proposal in the 50's often carried a second stipulation: that all members give volunteer time to the endeavor. In other words, members were free to vote down an idea, but if their League adopted it, all were pledged to commit personal time to its success. Therein, of course, lies one reason Junior League projects tend to succeed.

In the ongoing effort to overcome the isolation of individual Leagues, and to provide more interchange among nearby groups with similar interests and problems, regional lines were reshuffled in 1950, with 12 new regions created. Regional Presidents' Councils, at which presidents shared problems and concerns, began the same year. The *Magazine,* much shrunken in size and with decreased advertising revenue, dropped to publication six times a year.

To finance their projects, nearly 90 Junior Leagues ran thrift shops in 1958, and old standbys such as follies continued to generate substantial funds. However, a few Leagues hit upon a lucrative new source of money, Junior League cookbooks. One of the first was a modest little green book in a spiral binding titled *Charleston Receipts,* a collection of family recipes and regional sayings. *Receipts* was the work of a group of 22 sustaining members of the Charleston League under the direction of Mrs. Thomas Huguenin. It took them less than six months to produce a book that was still selling well more than 30 years later. First published in 1950, *Receipts* was in its 23rd printing in 1981 and had netted $440,000 for the League's Community Trust Fund.[28]

The Memphis League produced the *Memphis Cook Book* in 1952 and launched a creative merchandising campaign to market it. Baton Rouge published its first cookbook, *River Road Recipes,* in 1959, followed by *River Road Recipes II* and *A Second Helping* in 1976. Together these cookbooks sold more than 836,000 copies by 1979, generating $942,000 for the Community Trust Fund of the Baton Rouge League. Cookbooks have been among the Junior League's most durable products. In almost every public library card file, the listing "Junior League" is followed not by material about the organization or its work, but by cards for cookbooks published by various Leagues—108 of them by 1981.

At the end of the 1950's, Junior League membership had reached 66,400 members in 193 Leagues, a minuscule proportion of the female population, yet an influential and highly visible one. Even in a "domestic" decade, some League women achieved notable success professionally. The second woman to serve as a Cabinet officer, Oveta Culp Hobby, was named Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare by President Eisenhower. Mary Pillsbury Lord, originally of the Minneapolis League and a New York member in the 1950's, was appointed U.S. delegate to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Interviewed at the time of her appointment, Mrs. Lord credited the Junior League with initiating her to community service. A founding member of the Cleveland League, Frances Bingham Bolton, was elected to Congress in 1940; she eventually became the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Writer Eudora Welty of Jackson, Mississippi, had already begun to win both awards and a national readership for her novels and short stories.

More typical of the decade, perhaps, was Nancy Davis Reagan, a member of the Los Angeles League. Mrs. Reagan epitomized an "ideal" '50s woman as promoted by the popular media—she was an attractive wife, homemaker, and concerned mother who abandoned her own acting career to create a home for her family. Across the country, Junior League women tended to make the same choice, and the Junior League fitted perfectly into their lifestyles.

CHAPTER NINE

RETOOLING FOR NEW REALITIES

> The role of Junior Leaguers (and of all women) has been changed drastically over the past 50 years—we have gone from being a group of wealthy debutantes with ample leisure time for welfare work to a grand conglomeration of housewives, students and professional women, with or without children, married and single, wealthy and not wealthy. Household help is almost nonexistent in many parts of the country. Women are more highly educated, more are working, many choose graduate work, career or Peace Corps when they might have chosen the League in the past. These changes in the role and expectations of women have profound significance for the Junior League and its place in the lives of these new women.[1]
>
> *From a speech given several times in 1970 and 1971 by Mary Poole, director of Region XII.*

ike other institutions of and for women, the Junior League reached a crossroads in the 1960's, as members questioned its relevance in a world of revolutionary changes in women's lives. A reborn women's movement revived old issues and posed puzzling new questions; the civil rights movement focused attention on membership practices; opposition to war in Vietnam radicalized some of the incoming generation of potential members.

A young woman who went to high school or college in the 50's grew up in a society that for the most part expected her to marry forthwith, and then to follow her husband loyally through the progress of his career. For her the Junior League was a natural, comfortable niche in which to grow and learn among friends. Ten years later, a 1970 college graduate was the product of a decade of civil rights and antiwar protests, shifting moral standards, and increasingly militant feminism. A 1970 graduate was far more likely than her predecessor of 10

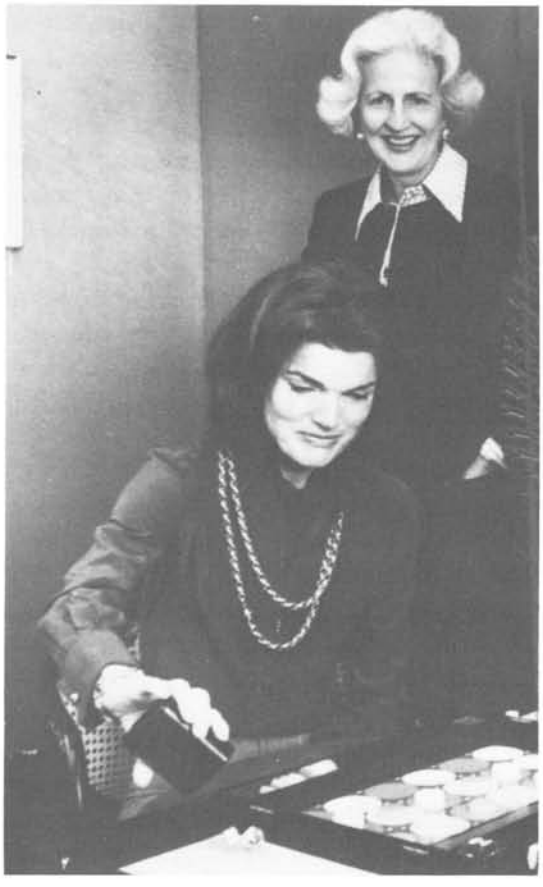
years earlier to say, ''No thanks'' if invited to membership in the Junior League. Some of those who did join the Junior League insisted that it had to be reorganized and redirected if it was not to decline into a purely social organization.

Signs of change in women's lives had been evident in the late 50's, but popular images of cheerful homemakers somehow obscured them. Historian Barbara Sinclair Deckard says that as the 1960's began, though women were a silent and powerless majority, they were not a contented one. She notes that even women's magazines that had promoted a domesticity ideal recognized a ''trapped wife'' syndrome by the early 60's.[2] When the Gallup poll surveyed homemakers in 1962, three out of five said they were happier than their mothers, yet a startling 90 per cent said they did not want their daughters to lead the same kind of life they had; they hoped instead that their daughters would stay in school longer and marry later.[3]

Betty Friedan's 1963 best-selling *The Feminine Mystique* triggered an avalanche of letters and articles in response to what she called the ''problem that has no name.'' ''Women were afraid to ask themselves, ''Is this all?' '' said Friedan. She described an unarticulated yearning, a restless longing for some dimension of life beyond cooking, cleaning, and chauffeuring. And she said that each suburban wife struggled with it alone.[4]

Every year, fewer American women fit the myth: married, not employed, and at home with the children. Monumental shifts had already occurred in the lives of American women, and trends that had begun earlier accelerated throughout the turbulent 60's. Most dramatic was the continued entry of women into the job market. Of 13.8 million jobs created in the 60's, women claimed 8.4 million, or nearly two-thirds of the total. In 1950, about 34 per cent of adult women worked outside the home; by 1970 the figure was 43 per cent. An even larger shift occurred among wives of professional men, the group from which perhaps a majority of Junior League members have traditionally been drawn. In 1960 about 30 per cent of wives of professional men worked; by 1970, 41 per cent were employed.[5] A National Industrial Conference Board report in 1970 showed that the more educated a woman was, the more likely she was to seek work. Among women with college degrees, participation rate was 55 per cent; the rate exceeded 70 per cent among those women who had done graduate work.[6]

Meanwhile, women began to document and then to protest the pervasive inequalities in the marketplace. Prodded by Esther Peterson, director of the Women's Bureau, President John F. Kennedy in 1961 established a Commission on the Status of Women that was chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. The national commission, and the 50 state commissions created as a spin-off, brought together articulate women from a cross-section of the United States. In its final report in 1963, the national commission documented blatant discrimination against women in most areas and noted that married women faced specific professional handicaps.



Student protests punctuated the 1960's (top), a time of questioning for all organizations. UPI *League graduate Letitia Baldrige (shown standing in 1975 photo below) was White House social secretary for Jacqueline Kennedy (seated).* UPI

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 included a provision that banned discrimination on the basis of sex, yet produced few real changes. Individually and collectively, militant women demanded with increasing vehemence that all barriers to full equality with men had to be eliminated. The term "consciousness-raising" entered women's vocabulary; it implied a new awareness of oneself as a female in the male-dominated world.

These trends had begun to coalesce by the Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women in 1966, a meeting of 50 state commissions. Over lunch, a splinter group decided to form a new activist group, the National Organization for Women (NOW), with Betty Friedan as first chairperson.

Though NOW and other feminist voices demanded attention for women's issues, for much of the 60's reawakened feminist concerns were overshadowed first by civil rights and then by war in Vietnam. Nightly on the evening news, Americans watched young people—black and white—confront a segregated system. Many young women who first became social activists in the struggle for black equality later shifted their energies to achieving full equality for themselves as women. Opposition to war in Vietnam further radicalized a significant part of the population of better-educated young women, again the pool from which Junior Leagues drew their membership.

Although U.S. and Canadian society was changing precipitously, the Junior League as a whole was not. The need to retool the organization to make it relevant to the members it already had, and desirable to the members it hoped to attract, had become urgent by the late 1960's. Pressure to remold the Junior League to suit these turbulent times came earliest and most insistently from the big city Leagues. The president of one metropolitan League said in her president's report for 1968, "We are in the midst of a social revolution and many changes are ahead. Our younger members particularly want to face these issues squarely and get involved in the War on Poverty and man's right not to be denied anything because of his race or color."[7]

By the mid-1960's, as many as a third of the total membership of some urban Junior Leagues held jobs. With less time for volunteer work and committee assignments, these women showed little patience for cumbersome organizational rules and encrusted procedures. Some newer members—fresh out of colleges that seethed with rebellion—found Junior League committee and board meetings boring, overly concerned with *administrivia* and endless rewriting of bylaws. In a revolutionary decade, some Junior Leagues seemed moribund to their younger members, who resigned in significant numbers.

Association rules on public issues seemed to preclude playing a significant role in controversial issues. Some individual Leagues in the 60's did launch innovative projects and programs to meet the changing needs of both their members and their communities. As a whole, however, the organization lumbered

forward very, very slowly, hobbled by an outmoded structure and procedures better suited to a smaller organization and more tranquil times.

There were repeated setbacks in the 1960's to the continuing effort to create a more positive image of the League among nonmembers. In 1961, for instance, a spokesman for the proposed Peace Corps said it "is not going to be an overseas lark for kids who want to get away from home. Neither is it going to be an overseas Junior League."[8] Stephen Birmingham's long 1962 *Holiday* article highlighting the New York Junior League carried the following title and subtitle: "The Ladies of the League: Is the Junior League a collection of snobs or social workers, post-debutantes or do-gooders? Even the ladies bountiful themselves aren't sure." The article talked a lot about bloody Marys over lunch in the city clubhouse.[9] *Newsweek* ran a fairly contemptuous article in 1964 titled "Junior Mrs."[10]

Administratively, the Association and its regions weren't working well. Unpaid but overworked regional directors worked valiantly to "cover" dozens of Leagues as well as serve on the Association board of directors. The combined responsibility left little time for planning or shaping policy. Headquarters staff, prone to rapid turnover, seemed unable to give the sort of inspiration it had in earlier decades when there were fewer Leagues and fewer members to serve.

Calls for a thorough reassessment of the organization had been made regularly since the early 50's, when most of the paid staff of the Association resigned en masse. An Association Planning Committee reported in 1964: "The A.J.L.A. is once again confronted by the same complex of organizational problems that have plagued it for at least 10 years, probably longer—problems caused by growth and other factors, notably 1) lack of board continuity; 2) failure to enlist staff support; 3) reliance on mechanistic solutions to purely short-term problems."[11]

In 1965 the consulting firm of Robert H. Schaffer & Associates said it had found a growing awareness that the Association must begin to reshape many of its objectives and services. "Some of this impetus for change comes from the belief that the Association is not maintaining its position of leadership. Individual Leagues are progressing beyond the Association's most advanced horizons. Other voluntary organizations and the professional and business worlds are competing successfully for the time and energies of potential League members."[12]

By the end of the 1960's the need for renewal was inescapable. While many individual Leagues were strong and effective, the Association was not. In 1969 a Study and Development Committee chaired by Joyce Black and composed of past and present members of the board was charged with formulating responses to the organization's malaise. With help from the consulting firm of Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co., the committee undertook an analysis of the organization, its members, and its purpose.

A year later the S & D Committee reported back that the most striking

feature of the Junior Leagues was their high degree of autonomy: "Legally they are independent entities organized under local charter regulations. Operationally, they identify primarily with their own communities."

The S & D study also looked at the Junior League woman herself. "The odds are about four times as great as they were in 1930 that she has earned at least an undergraduate degree, and just as great that she is pursuing a career after marriage." The report noted the effect on potential members of increased social activism by young people in the 1960's and said "the higher the scholastic standing of a college, the greater the chance that its young college graduates have been immersed in campus protests against authoritarianism and in demands for greater relevancy of experience."

The young woman of the late 60's had a smaller family; her youngest child had generally entered school by the time she was 35. Two-thirds of all new members of the Junior League in 1969 were between 25 and 34, significantly older than just six years earlier. "Many also have a short work period or join such organizations as the Peace Corps before becoming Junior League members."

And what of the 19-year-old member, the girl for whom the League was founded? She was vanishing. In 1963, 19-year-olds made up 9 per cent of provisional members; by 1969 the proportion had shrunk to 3 per cent. The study also noted a steady rise in the proportion of Sustainers, nonvoting members over the age of 40. In 1968, of 99,000 total members, more than half, 52,952, were Sustainers; another 5,077 were incoming Provisionals. Only 41 per cent of the total membership consisted of active members who could vote and hold office in the organization.

As part of the study, a cross-section of Junior League women was surveyed on likes and dislikes about the Junior League. Among the positive benefits mentioned were *esprit de corps,* a sense of participation and involvement in the community, and a sense of accomplishment involving projects. A key complaint—specifically from members in urban areas—was that they often met with frustration when they sought ways to deal with complex urban problems. "I finally quit," one member told the S & D researchers, "because my Junior League program was irrelevant to the needs of my city." Other interviewees noted that increased government intervention in social and urban problems had made it difficult not to violate Junior League procedures on public affairs issues.

The study found the voluntary sector, the arena in which the Junior League operated, vastly changed. Where voluntary agencies were once the primary source of health and welfare services in the United States, by 1970 volunteer sources contributed only about 5 per cent of such money. All voluntary agencies faced a serious problem in identifying their changing roles. "This crisis has caused many social service leaders to conclude that the voluntary sector could disappear unless steps are taken to make its effort increasingly relevant to these changing times," the report said.[13]

Problems the study committee identified fell into four main areas: the chang-

ing status and role of women; radical changes in communities; pressures on voluntary organizations in general; and the problems peculiar to the Junior League, notably leadership continuity, outmoded organizational structure, and lack of a clearly understood purpose.[14]

In a detailed report titled "Proposal for Change," the S & D committee in 1970 suggested both general and specific changes in the Junior League. It said the most far-reaching implication of the suggested new structure and statement of purpose was that it "is designed to accommodate 'change' itself . . ."

"Proposal for Change," a 63-page document, recommended three broad innovations: a new purpose for the Junior League, a restructured board of directors, and replacement of the old regional system with a network of six Area Councils that had both staff and offices. The study also suggested dropping the word "America" from the group's name to stress the international functions of a restructured governing board.

The new governing structure was designed to meet several chronic problems in the organization, notably the lack of leadership continuity and the unrealistic workload placed on regional directors. In a speech explaining proposed changes, Mary Poole, Region XII director (who later became Association president), noted that twice in recent years the Association had stopped the process of screening and admitting new groups as Junior Leagues. Both moratoriums were imposed to free directors and staff to give more time to existing Junior Leagues.[15] Such measures were mere stopgaps; what was needed was a more workable structure forthe Association itself.

The study group attributed lack of leadership continuity to the fact that Association directors served two-year terms for which there was no real training or preparation. Repeatedly, new directors said their first year was a learning experience, that not until the second year of their term did they know their job well enough to do it properly. However, various outside management consultants over the previous two decades had pinpointed another chronic problem: the elected board did too much day-to-day administration, too little long-range planning.

Area Councils were proposed as a connecting link between Association and individual Leagues. Each Council was to have a staff and office, and thus the ability to provide closer-to-home consulting services to Junior Leagues in its area. They were seen, too, as a way to decentralize the Association.

These proposals, of course, meant that Association costs would rise to pay for Area Council offices, and there was some initial resistance to restructuring on financial grounds. There was also some resistance by those who feared loss of local autonomy. However, after a year of pilot tests with three different forms of Area Councils and some amending of the restated purpose, most of the S & D proposals were accepted in 1971. A name change was approved, and a purpose for the Association of Junior Leagues, Inc., adopted:

> The purpose of the Junior League is exclusively educational and charitable and is to promote voluntarism; to develop the potential of its members for voluntary

participation in community affairs; and to demonstrate the effectiveness of trained volunteers.

Six Area Councils were established in 1972 with offices in Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Unlike the old regions, each area has a staff coordinator, plus one clerical employee. Area Councils cover much larger areas than the old regions and provide a far greater range of services. The Area III Council serving the southeastern states describes its function:

> Area Councils were established to provide assistance and service to Area Leagues in every part of League program and training except finance. They function as the communications link coordinating all facets of the Association. Our Area Council Members . . . serve as resources; publish resource papers; monitor individual Leagues; engage in future planning; help to coordinate a Presidents' Meeting in the fall; plan the Area-wide Seminar and publish the *Third Word.*[16]

Each is governed by an elected Area Council consisting of a chairperson and seven other Junior League members. Every Council member is assigned to monitor the activities of approximately five or six individual Junior Leagues.

In 1979, an Association Structure Appraisal Committee suggested several changes in the Area Councils, notably that Council chairpersons be elected to the International Board of Directors. Delegates at the 1979 Atlanta conference approved that recommendation, which increased the size of the International Board, but rejected another committee suggestion, which would have reduced the number of area offices to three (in Washington, D.C., Dallas, and Denver), each of them serving two areas.

As amended in 1979, the International Board of Directors of the Association of Junior Leagues, Inc., consists of 25 members: five officers, 18 directors (six of whom chair Area Councils), and two Association nominating directors. The six directors who are Area Council chairpersons serve one-year terms; the rest, two-year terms.

While the Association was being restructured, so were staff functions and the headquarters itself. The title of the top staff person had been changed from adminstrator to executive director in 1966. In 1970 the Association for the first time hired a man to head the Junior League staff, Myron R. Chevlin, a social welfare expert previously employed by the Child Welfare League of America. Chevlin's tenure began a seven-year period in which the Junior League staff had a male executive director. General Edwin H. Marks, former chief of staff at West Point, assumed the post in 1972, and in 1976 social welfare specialist Gordon Manser agreed to serve temporarily as interim director. He was followed by Jeweldean Londa in 1977. Deborah Seidel, an attorney who joined the A.J.L. staff in 1977 as a project director, became executive director of the 50-person staff in 1980.

Meanwhile, rising costs and cramped space forced the Association officers to leave the Waldorf, though the lease of hotel rooms for members was retained. In 1969 national headquarters moved to an office building at 825 Third Avenue. Nancy Sachtjen, a former Association board member and treasurer who is now one of three deputy staff directors, recalls that the closely guarded League membership mailing lists were not yet embedded in computer memories, and that during the move the League's addressograph plates spilled out onto New York's busy Third Avenue, causing momentary consternation among the staff scrambling to recover the highly marketable lists.

Since its reorganization in 1971, the League has charted aggressive new directions, notably in training programs and public affairs. These are discussed in the next two chapters. With a strong new organizational structure, and courses in leadership training, board development, management by objectives and similar topics in operation in most local groups, the Junior League was also ready in the 1970's to address the prickly and divisive issue of membership practices.

The civil rights movement had pointed an unblinking eye of publicity at all organizations—industries, schools, country clubs, business clubs, and fraternal societies—that discriminated against minorities. Old ways of operating faced blunt challenges that were increasingly buttressed by administrative law and court rulings outlawing discrimination.

Locally, many Leagues in the 60's tried to respond creatively to the civil rights movement and urban unrest. Partly to sensitize members to minority aspirations and concerns, several large city Leagues formed community advisory boards as bridges to the inner-city residents who were showing themselves so disaffected with mainstream America. Why, the Junior Leagues asked these advisers, do we have such trouble running successful projects in the black community? From these community boards, several big-city Leagues heard a blunt warning: either integrate your membership or forget trying to operate in the inner city. The black mayor of Washington, D.C., resigned from the advisory board in protest against the all-white membership of the Junior League. Chicago's advisory group warned the Junior League that it must admit black members.[17] Boards in other large cities gave similar advice.

Even today it is all but impossible to document when individual Leagues began to reach beyond the WASP community for members. The Junior League of the 1960's was not one indivisible entity, but many separate groups, each indigenous to its community and with strong local traditions and values. Each League therefore was (and is) as much or more a part of its own community as it was a cog in an international organization. The Leagues did not keep ethnic or racial statistics on their membership. Nevertheless, there do not appear to have been black members of any League at the start of the 1960's. When Stephen Birmingham studied the Junior League for a 1962 magazine article, he found that a number of Leagues had Jewish members, but could locate no instance of a black member.[18]

Since that time, some Leagues have invited minority members into membership; some have not. Some members of Leagues in cities with segregated social traditions kept up a steady pressure against other Leagues admitting minority women lest some of them transfer into a League where they might not be welcome. Other Leagues have actively recruited minority members.

By the start of the 1970's, many within the Leagues argued that the organization must rethink its entire admissions and selections process, not just in terms of minorities, but for the sake of the organization itself. The issue, they said, was how to attract and keep effective new members, whatever their ethnic, social, or economic background. The League was admittedly and deliberately small and selective. It sought women with leadership potential and a capacity to grow in community service. Thus, while many younger members wanted to change admissions policies, most did not want the organization to lose the right to select members on the basis of leadership potential, commitment to voluntarism, and compatibility. Yet many felt that the existing process of picking members had become a detriment to the organization and a serious obstacle to community effectiveness. At an open forum on future directions at the 1968 conference, several delegates asked the Association for help in developing new membership policies.

As separately incorporated groups, individual Junior Leagues set their own local procedures and rules for choosing members. The system most typically in use in 1970 was one in which three to five members of a League proposed and sponsored a candidate. Although she was not told that she was being considered, she began to receive invitations to mysterious teas or other events at which she could be introduced to any members of the League admissions committee who did not know her. Ostensibly, these were simply social occasions, and the candidates theoretically did not know they were attending a Junior League admissions function. The admissions committee subsequently met and voted on which candidates to invite to membership. The rationale for this secret admissions system was that in many cities far more women wanted to join the Junior League than the organization could provide with solid training and administrative experience.

Considerable variation among Leagues in the choosing of members began to evolve after 1970. A 1971 study of Junior League admissions showed that about 30 Leagues had shifted to "open admissions" in which candidates were informed they were being proposed for membership and told what the obligations of membership were.[19] Pressure to open up the process further intensified every year, both within local Leagues and from the outside community.

In 1976 an Association Membership Practice Committee began to provide local presidents with documentation on laws affecting tax-exempt organizations and information on how civil legislation and court rulings might affect the Junior League's nonprofit status. Each year additional information in the packet of

admissions material became a more pointed nudge toward a more inclusive approach to finding members. The packet showed that one Junior League was refused a seat on an arts council because there were no black Junior League members in the city. In another town a bank told the Junior League it would no longer contribute to fund-raisers because it believed the League to be discriminatory.[20] In 1977 A.J.L. notified League presidents that as part of an IRS audit of one large League, information on membership had been requested.[21]

At the 1977 Senate confirmation hearing for Ann Cox Chambers, an Atlanta newspaper publisher who had been nomimated as ambassador to Belgium, Senator Jacob Javits of New York questioned Mrs. Cox on her membership in the League. He said he believed the Junior League discriminated against minorities.[22] The Association sent the Senator a letter outlining its admissions policies, and stated that there were minority women in the membership and current efforts to reach out to nondiscriminatory ways. Senator Javits apologized. This information, too, went into the material sent annually to League presidents. A revised Membership Practices portfolio in 1979 urged Junior Leagues to reach out to the broader community in an affirmative way and suggested strategies to implement a policy of ''inclusiveness.''

At area workshops, president's councils, and annual conferences, delegates from Junior Leagues that had shifted to open admissions or admitted minority members reported that the changes had benefited the League. A 1976 survey by the San Jose League found that five Junior Leagues permitted women to apply for League membership rather than having to wait passively for an invitation.[23] By 1976, nearly half of all Leagues notified prospective members that they were being proposed and discussed with them ahead of time the obligations of membership.[24]

In 1982, some Leagues no longer permitted a ''no'' vote on admitting potential provisional members. If a given number (generally between two and five) of Junior League members were willing to propose and endorse a candidate, she was automatically invited to join the next provisional training class. Grand Rapids, Brooklyn, and some other Leagues pioneered the use of ''community endorsers.'' In this system, a young woman who might not know enough League members to secure the required number of sponsors could be seconded for Junior League membership by an employer, a community leader, or other persons.[25]

Most open of all is the process followed by Greater Utica and some other Leagues. Women are encouraged to apply for Junior League admissions. After explanations of what membership entails, the admissions committee itself sponsors them for membership. Such applicants must still fulfill the rigorous requirements of a provisional course and must do volunteer work acceptable to the Junior League before they are voted into active membership.

The A.J.L. board in 1977 drafted an affirmative position on nondiscrimination that was adopted by the 1978 conference:

> The Association Board commends to and expects of member Leagues admissions practices which reach out to all young women, regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin, who demonstrate an interest in and commitment to voluntarism.

The board also voted in 1977 that any Junior League practicing discrimination could be suspended from membership in the Association. Guidelines were set forbidding League staff or board representatives to participate in any conference or organization that practices discrimination. The A.J.L. membership practices policy further stated that the organization is educational and charitable, not social. It noted that in considering candidates for admission, inappropriate questions included any relating to religion, family background, social affiliations, or requests for photographs.

In 1978 the board adopted as an objective of the Association: "To identify and provide at least five varied resources or forms of assistance that will expand the Association's ability to respond to the individual Junior League's needs for assistance and support in sustaining their efforts to broaden the base of their membership."

Peggy Pschirrer, A.J.L. staff adviser on membership, counsels Junior Leagues to evaluate their admissions by asking two questions: 1) Does it work—are you getting more members? and 2) Are you getting minority members?[26] Amy Adams of Santa Barbara, an A.J.L. board member and member of the Membership Practices Committee, would add a third question: "Does your membership reflect your community?"[27] A current five-year goal of the Membership Practices Committee is that all local Leagues achieve memberships that reflect the makeup of the community.

The trend is toward a process in which membership in the Junior League is "self-selecting," says Ms. Pschirrer, in which an individual chooses to be proposed for the Junior League and is judged solely on her potential for community service and leadership. An Association Membership Practices Committee in 1979 sent all Leagues a packet of materials to help them broaden the base of their memberships.

Ms. Pschirrer emphasized again, however, that individual Junior Leagues are autonomous; each has its own criteria for membership. Basic A.J.L. requirements, as voted upon by all Leagues, include age (incoming members may be no more than 40, although most Leagues set the age for incoming members between 34 and 38); completion of a provisional course; and performance of volunteer work. Some Leagues have added requirements, such as a certain length of residence in the community, letters of recommendation, or a certain number of sponsors.

A revitalized organizational structure, a clarified statement of purpose, and a new candor and inclusiveness in admissions policies led to a vastly more effective Junior League in the 70's and 80's. Emphasis on intensive training in such skills as grantsmanship and management by objectives has taken the 1980's League woman an immeasurable distance from the naive young girl heading off to "do her hours" at a local charity.

CHAPTER TEN

THE JUNIOR LEAGUE TRAINING MACHINE

When Jim Kiley of the Illinois Department of Health, Welfare and Human Services was looking for a well-organized dynamo to co-chair the politically volatile Illinois/White House Conference on Families in 1980, he turned to Frances (Ann) Rohlen. There were two reasons. First, he had worked with her before, watched her in action. Second, he wanted Junior League particpation in the planning and operation of the conference. When he approached Ms. Rohlen, he asked not only that she co-chair the conference; his other question, Ms. Rohlen says, was, " 'Will the Junior Leagues become involved?' He wanted Junior League professional expertise."[1]

While some state conferences on families had floundered in emotional battles, the Illinois meetings went off smoothly, according to the Chicago *Tribune,* which credited Ann Rohlen with the feat. Information was assembled and disseminated, ideas exchanged without walkouts or angry disputes.

Praised all around for the thoroughness and skill with which she handled a political hot potato, Ms. Rohlen was bemused by those who expressed surprise that a Junior League person had done such an excellent job. She cheerfully admitted that her *only* credentials for the complex task were her training and experience in the Junior League. An undergraduate degree in comparative religions and graduate work in Buddhistic studies were scarcely preparation for the rough-and-tumble pressures of handling groups that were pro-abortion, anti-abortion; pro-day care and anti-day care. Nor did a brief stint at a bank offer skills in group dynamics or planning allocation of time to put together a complicated conference. As Ms. Rohlen explains, she left her bank job because the volunteer work she was doing through the Junior League seemed more challenging. Thus she became a full-time volunteer.

"Everything I did at the White House Conference, the skills I put into use,

I learned at the League—organizing, listening, public speaking, planning goals and objectives, group dynamics, and the art of politics,'' Ms. Rohlen told the *Tribune.* She described the conference as ''dog-eat-dog'' but said she was prepared and sure of herself. ''I was nurtured in the League.''[2]

Ann Rohlen is admittedly a remarkable woman, yet she is not unique in crediting the continuing education program of the Junior League with giving her a level of organizing skill and political finesse that prepared her to orchestrate a complicated and controversial conference. For dues that average $45 to $50 a year, a member of the Junior League is enrolled in a remarkable educational endeavor, one in which she can help plan the curriculum, select teachers, even become part of the faculty. Since the start of the 70's, Junior League provisional courses have been augmented by hundreds of seminars, workshops, and conferences developed by A.J.L., Area Councils, regional councils, and individual Junior Leagues. The sum of these efforts is an ongoing seminar directly applicable to women's lives in the 1980's.

For the member who wants to learn new skills or polish up rusty ones, the Junior League has become an adult education school. In 1980, more than 25,000 members enrolled in workshops, seminars, and courses in management, community resources, advocacy, group dynamics, and leadership skills, conducted by 3,000 Junior League women. Several hundred more attended workshops run by consultants hired by Area Councils, individual Leagues, and the Association.

''I take every training course the League offers,'' said one eastern member who works professionally as a community developer. ''A League conference on Community Impact (offered by Area I) in Hartford several years ago probably got me started in what has become my career.''[3]

A sustaining member of another Junior League, a musician, values her League training for precisely the opposite reason—because it gave her skills and expertise totally different from those she uses professionally. In preparation for League jobs as a workshop trainer, board member, president, and Area Council member, she has enrolled in training seminars in leadership, management by objectives, group dynamics, career development, conflict resolution, facilitating—to name a few. For personal enlightenment she has also taken League-sponsored workshops in parent effectiveness training.[4]

Junior League workshops normally originate when a single Junior League, A.J.L., or Area Council hires a consultant to work with League representatives. The consultants prepare a format and printed materials and train a nucleus group who in turn become a cadre of workshop leaders who extend the process throughout the organization.

Such a process created the peripatetic Boston Facilitators. Faced with great changes and organizational restructuring in 1971, the Boston Junior League Board of Managers voted to hire consultant Erv Pollitt of the National Training Lab in Bethel, Maine. He was asked to immerse a group of volunteers in the Boston League in the specialized skills of group dynamics and organizational effective-

Workshops in topical areas plus intensive training in organizational skills are a hallmark of the contemporary Junior League. A session at A.J.L. annual conference. Photo by Robert Ragsdale, Association of Junior Leagues

ness, and to train them sufficiently to allow the Boston League to offer similar workshops to other nonprofit groups that might not be able to hire consultants on their own.

Twenty Boston members enrolled for two weeks of saturation training in 1972. They emerged with an infectious enthusiasm for the process Pollitt taught and a name for themselves, the Boston Facilitators. As part of this package, the Facilitators taught a process for sharpening skills in group dynamics, team-building, and leadership. With workshops using experiential learning and hypothetical models, they explored methods of team-building, conflict resolution, decision-making, and other operations necessary to any organization, voluntary or otherwise.[5]

The facilitator course has been offered to Boston Junior League members every year, and since 1974 the Boston Facilitators have shared their talents with other Junior Leagues. Their training seminars are perhaps the League's most popular traveling road show since the days "Blue Bird" trouped in the 30's.

The Boston Facilitators, formed by the Boston League in 1972, offer training to other Junior Leagues and Boston-area organizations. courtesy, Junior League of Boston *Boston Facilitators have ranged as far as Long Beach, California, to run workshops*. Courtesy Junior League of Boston

Leagues as far away as Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Long Beach, California, have invited succeeding groups of Facilitators to come from Boston workshops.

In a typical course, three Boston Facilitators traveled to Memphis in the fall of 1980 for two three-day sessions. "This Cadillac of training courses is aimed at helping individuals to be more effective in working with people, in helping groups function better in accomplishing tasks," the Memphis League informed its members. Areas explored included self-awareness, problem-solving, decision-making, listening, observing, team-building, and motivation. The schedule was intensive: from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Tuesday through Thursday for two weeks.[6]

By 1975 the Boston League was offering a training package not just to other Junior Leagues, but to community groups in the greater Boston area as well. A team of Junior League consultants, facilitators, and management trainers conducts workshops for community groups in assertiveness training, communications, conflict management, decision-making, leadership training, meeting design and group process, motivation, time management, and the management process. No fees are charged for this community service, although expenses for travel, accommodations, and teaching materials must be reimbursed.[7]

The Facilitators exemplify a program developed by one League and then shared with other Junior Leagues and community groups. In its first nine years, the Boston Facilitators conducted training sessions for approximately 20 Junior Leagues. By 1981, more than 60 Boston women had worked as volunteer facilitator trainers.[8]

The Junior League purpose includes a commitment to "develop the potential of its members." To that end A.J.L. has invested considerable time and talent in designing training seminars and materials that can be used throughout the organization. Some are incorporated into provisional training courses required of all incoming members. Most, however, are available to all members, including sustainers, at no charge. Many also are offered for token fees to the community at large.

Among the first such efforts were Community Leadership Seminars, pilot-tested in 1969 and expanded the following year to all League presidents and directors of the newly created Area Councils. Funded by the Sears Roebuck Foundation, the Leadership Training Seminars were designed to give Junior League leaders some of the skills and techniques of corporate management.

Leaders of the newly renamed and reconstructed Association of Junior Leagues realized at the start of the 1970's that if voluntary organizations like the Junior League were to be effective, they must master the techniques of business management. In the fall of 1973, A.J.L. retained the management firm of Teren Co., Inc., to design a program to introduce management by objectives into the operations of the entire organization. Teren developed what came to be called the Association Management Process (AMP): management by objectives adapted to the needs of a voluntary organization and stressing a systems approach to planning.

AMP made a distinction between the "science of management" and the "art of leadership." Management was defined as the science of getting something done through utilization of five basic resources—money, manpower, materials, time, and organizational authority. By contrast, leadership was held to be the art of getting people to do things—a particularly necessary ability in a voluntary organization. The Association Management Process was designed as a five-step cyclical system of management that forced Junior Leagues and the Association to set clearly defined goals and objectives, to coordinate planning and budgeting, and to ensure continuing assessment of operations. The steps were 1) define and communicate the objectives, 2) organize for action, 3) establish controls, 4) execute plan, and 5) appraise the results.[9]

As a first phase to grafting AMP onto Junior League operating procedures, the upper reaches of leadership were immersed in the process. The board of directors, Area Councils, and presidents all took the course in 1974 and 1975. During the 1974–75 year, directors of Areas I, II, and III gathered in Washington for more training. Area I then conducted AMP seminars in Boston and New York for key members in the Northeast. At this stage the organization's dissemination process began to take over, and volunteer trainers replaced consultants to introduce the AMP locally. In a typical start-up effort, six adjacent Junior Leagues that regularly scheduled joint training asked a team of three "AMPed" members to conduct an introductory session in the management process for their combined provisional classes. A project still in the planning stages by one of the groups was used to illustrate use of the method.

To introduce AMP to its members, the Chicago Junior League turned directly to the man who designed it, L. Renshaw Fortier, president of Teren Co. Fortier ran the first training workshops for a hand-picked group that would then indoctrinate the rest of the organization. Over a three-year period Fortier tracked progress as the Chicago League applied AMP to all phases of its work. Then, in an interview with the financial editor of the Chicago *Sun Times,* he had high praise indeed:

> "I would put the leadership of the Junior League of Chicago up against 90 per cent of the business managements I see . . . These young women in Chicago can match most corporations when you look at such management techniques as cost controls, long-range planning, defining objectives, and executing projects."[10]

When it was introduced, AMP seemed like a stilted and contrived foreign language to many women; there was considerable rank and file resistance to its use. Members struggled to differentiate between goals (generalized long-term desired results), objectives (measurable specific results), strategies (methods to be used), and other tools of the process. However, as more members mastered the jargon and techniques, they found the method a valuable tool for both planning and administration. AMP quickly became permanently embedded in the organization's style. In 1978, A.J.L.'s annual questionnnaire to all Junior Leagues

showed more members enrolled in management process courses than in any other type of training offered. Similar results appeared in 1979 and 1980, when more than 8,000 members enrolled in AMP seminars.[11]

So sold on AMP were Chicago members that as a 65th anniversary gift to the community in 1977 they again hired Fortier, this time to conduct a two-day management training seminar for community organizations. Sixty-three Chicago community groups (ranging alphabetically from Afro-American Family and Community Services to UNICEF) sent teams of three to five members representing both staff and board.

In the two days leading up to "Seminar for Success," Fortier put 16 Junior League members through an intensive workshop on ways the management process applied to various types of groups. Ann Rohlen, one of the 16, described the workshop as the "most exciting two days, the most pleasure-receiving, mind-stretching days of my in-League experience."[12]

The 16 League members acted as group facilitators during workshops, and the Junior League offered follow-up consultations to groups that wanted further help. About a third of the organizations attending asked for ongoing consulting help from the facilitators.[13]

After management by objectives, the most frequently offered courses are board training workshops, which Leagues require all new board members to take. These courses vary widely, depending on the size and complexity of the individual League. Most include segments of leadership training, organizational mechanics, AMP, and parts of the facilitators' courses. Many Junior Leagues have offered similar board training workshops to nonprofit groups in their communities, usually in collaboration with an umbrella social agency such as the United Way. Like Boston, both Baton Rouge and Pensicola Junior Leagues have ongoing programs for community board training.

No training course developed by the Junior League has had more personal impact on members or been more eagerly received by their communities than one called Volunteer Career Development. The course originated as a response to the confusion and doubts experienced by so many middle- and upper-class women on the question of what to do for the rest of their lives. Though it began as a self-management process workshop for members, the career development idea proved so meaningful to participants that it has been adapted and expanded far beyond the Junior League into specialized workshops for high school and college students, and for adults—men and women alike.

A.J.L. began in 1974 to explore ways to create a self-awareness training experience in response to the surge of women into the marketplace. As more middle-class women took jobs, those who were not employed often expressed uncertainty about the direction of their own lives. Some questioned the continued validity of volunteer work. In addition, many women with substantial volunteer

credentials who wanted to switch to paid jobs found it hard to translate their unpaid experience into a convincing résumé.

Partly to counteract the notion that every woman should work for pay, and partly to help those who wanted to do so, the Association Leadership Training Committee in 1975 commissioned a self-management workshop tailored to Junior League women. Alene Moris, director of the Individual Development Center, Inc., in Seattle, collaborated with A.J.L. in designing a career development seminar that consisted of a self-assessment, self-planning program designed to help women make conscious choices in answer to the question "How shall I plan and manage the rest of my life?" The word "career" in this context did not necessarily mean paid work; rather, it implied a planned program of life choices—including work either as a paid person or as a volunteer—consciously and intelligently selected as part of a life plan. Ms. Moris called it a "plan for significant life-work—another way of describing 'career.' "[14]

In 1975–76, Ms. Moris, aided by Junior League area directors and board members, conducted a dozen three-day seminars to train League members in the techniques of life-planning and to give them the skills to impart the process to others. Each Junior League tailored its career development workshops to its own members and their interests, but a typical workshop ran five to six sessions for a total of 10 to 12 hours. It included self-assessment, skills identification, and such practical tools as interviewing and résumé writing. By 1977, 90 per cent of all Junior Leagues had received career development training. Members in all age groups loved it.

Convinced that the career development concept was worth sharing, A.J.L. approached the W. K. Kellogg Foundation for funding to develop a program suited to the community at large—men, women, and teenagers. The proposed program emphasized benefits of volunteer work, and to sharpen this focus the word "volunteer" was added to "career development" in the project name.

"The Volunteer Career Development program gives women the skills to make decisions regarding their own lives, instead of merely reacting to the demands of others," said the funding proposal written by Marjorie Sharpe. "These decisions might be: to become more effective in the voluntary sector; to use skills developed in volunteer work to gain access to paid employment or higher education; or, if employed, to add a second meaningful career to one's work."[15] In 1977, A.J.L. received a three-year $95,000 grant for a Volunteer Career Development outreach project.

The Association asked Alene Moris to revamp the original career development material to underscore the importance of voluntarism as lifework and as a way to gain added skills and experience. She also wrote training manuals for two new types of V.C.D. courses, one for adults—both men and women—and another for teen-agers. A separate $8,000 grant from ACTION, the Federal volunteer agency, funded development of an adult training text and workbook.

Thirty-eight Junior Leagues applied to participate in the pilot phase of the

V.C.D. project. Six Leagues of different sizes in different types of communities were selected: Central Delaware Valley, New Jersey; Durham; the western Canadian city of Edmonton; New Orleans; St. Louis; and Toledo. Each sent four members in April 1977 to intensive workshops in Toledo, where Alene Moris drilled them in career development procedures. For the additional skills of training trainers, A.J.L. had hired Arlene Schindler and Dale Chastain of the National Center for Voluntary Action in Washington to work with the 24 volunteers from the pilot cities. These two wrote the "Training of Trainers" section of the V.C.D. manual.

The 24 pilot trainers went home to decide how best to present Volunteer Career Development to adults or students or both. They were often overwhelmed with the response. When Sally Hayes appeared on a New Orleans television panel on opportunities for women, she mentioned an upcoming V.C.D. course, and before the show had gone off the air, all available slots for the first session had been filled. The Edmonton, Alberta, group decided to specialize in courses for young people, and within months had presented nine seminars as electives at a local college.

"Much was asked of the Pilot Leagues in a short time," said the first project report with considerable understatement. "They had to market the course, prepare for it, deliver it, evaluate the usefulness of the materials, make suggestions for other Leagues and present a training section to members of the Junior League—all in less than six months time."[16]

Materials and training were revised and fine-tuned in preparation for a full-scale training institute in Kansas City in Jaunary 1978. Each of the six pilot Leagues was asked to send one of its original V.C.D. trainers, who were also asked to become "A.J.L. training consultants" for the duration of the project. These women and 17 others who attended the Kansas City trainers institute all agreed to work as volunteer consultants for at least two years. They became the trainers for a series of 10 regional workshops held over the next year and a half to disseminate the process throughout the organization.

By January 1979, delegates from 195 Leagues had attended regional training workshops in Chicago, Washington, Atlanta, San Francisco, Dallas, New York, Denver, and St. Louis. By the time the last regional seminar ended in March 1979, more than 400 League volunteers had been trained to run Volunteer Career Development workshops at home.

These volunteers in turn offered V.C.D. courses to groups ranging from "Displaced Homemakers" to nurses enrolled for credit, to teenagers and senior citizens. As they adapted V.C.D. for their communities, many Leagues realized that although adult women had been the original target group, young people seemed to have an equally urgent need for this kind of structured approach to life-planning.

From Dayton came this report on a session with disadvantaged young people: "This morning we completed 12 hours with a group of juniors and seniors . . .

This group of 25 boys and girls was another group of earmarked dropouts. Most of them had fourth- or fifth-grade language and reading skills. One girl was seven months pregnant, one unmarried girl had a 14-month-old girl . . . None of them had much self-esteem . . . We had no problems with discipline. They were polite and hung on every word . . . A sample evaluation read, 'Then I thought this was stupid but now I want you to stay. I used to be nothing, now I have a future. I thought I'd never think of things like this but now I am going to work on my career.' ''[17]

Oakland's Junior League worked with the Community Careers Council to put trainers in inner-city high schools. Sessions included interviewing techniques, public speaking, ways for working in different situations, and résumé writing. A ''Managing Your Future'' course offered by the Junior League of Westchester-on-Sound was so well received that the Rye school system made it a semester-long required course.

Delivery systems and methods varied to suit local needs. The Philadelphia League gave Volunteer Career Development courses as an ongoing part of a continuing education program at a local college. Courses in Mexico City were offered in both Spanish and English.

The Junior League of Columbia convinced educational television of South Carolina to collaborate in preparing a series of video tapes of youth career development workshops for distribution to schools through ETV. A $105,000 grant from ETV of South Carolina helped underwrite the project. The finished product was to be offered to educational television networks in other states.

Verification of Junior League leadership in the field came in 1979 when Dr. Ken Hoyt, director of career education for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, invited A.J.L. to send representatives of 10 Junior Leagues that had strong youth models in V.C.D. to a mini-conference in Washington on career education. League V.C.D. trainers from Boston, Battle Creek, Dayton, Oakland-East Bay, Columbia, Westchester-on-Sound, Kingston, N. Y., New Orleans, Topeka, and Spokane attended, as did several members of the A.J.L. committee—all at government expense.

In a newsletter to state coordinators of career education after the mini-conference, Dr. Hoyt wrote, ''It's very obvious that Junior Leagues have been engaged in career education for several years. It's even more obvious that they can be a very effective force, especially in helping us promote the concept of the importance of unpaid work in general (and volunteerism in particular) and in helping us promote both career development as part of human growth and development of work values as part of one's personal value system. They were fantastic.''[18]

For its Volunteer Career Development efforts, the Association won the 1980 Outstanding Merit Award of the American Vocational Association for contribution through vocational and career guidance. In the 1980–81 League year, 700 Junior League V.C.D. trainers offered more than 550 career development sem-

inars in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Collaboration with local school systems, state career education departments, and other national voluntary organizations continues.

The management process, career development, and board training for specific jobs within the League are the core curriculum of the ongoing Junior League school. However, almost every League schedules one, two, or more additional seminars for members during the year. Among the most popular are grantsmanship, public speaking, interviewing, group dynamics, parliamentary procedure, and networking (techniques for developing and maintaining alliances with other organizations). There are also frequent seminars on areas of special member interest such as parenting.

Junior Leagues budget funds each year for education and training. Generally, education is defined as familiarizing members with some aspect of community life (a speaker on drug abuse or a film on problems of aging), while training is considered the acquisition of specific skills. Because significant portions of members' dues go to education and training, almost all Junior League courses are available free to members.

The large Junior Leagues, with 1,000 or more members, can afford to run a dozen or so seminars annually, using outside consultants and community resource people as well as League volunteers. Small contiguous Junior Leagues, such as the six in Westchester County or the Junior Leagues of New Jersey, regularly pool resources to offer an equally rich mix of opportunities. In 1981, Ann Lindau, coordinator of training programs for the Council of Junior Leagues in Westchester, noted that current offerings included AMP, public speaking, volunteer development, workshops in assertiveness training, conflict management, grantsmanship, and parliamentary procedures. "These are open to any non-profit group in the county. They're taught by professionals who are our own members,"[19] says Ms. Lindau.

Although Leagues are very good at direct fund-raising, most have also tried to absorb the fine art of grantsmanship—getting money for projects from someone else. Alone and in consortia, Junior Leagues have sponsored grantsmanship training for their members and for other nonprofits in the community. These efforts have proved enormously popular, and even more necessary than ever in a hard-pressed economy. For their own projects, Junior Leagues in 1980–81 secured grants totaling $5.5 million.

Kansas City, Missouri, began with 1972–73 grantsmanship seminars for its own members, then expanded into a full-scale Funding Resource Center. By the 1975–76 League year, the center had been turned over to community management.[20]

The Austin League in 1978 not only sponsored a grantsmanship seminar to provide training for local agencies by a professional grantswriting agency; the Junior League also provided full scholarships of $325 to each of 10 local agen-

cies.[21] In keeping with the trend to collaboration instead of solo ventures, the Asheville Junior League joined with the University of North Carolina to sponsor a three-day community seminar in grantsmanship and fun-raising.[22]

The San Jose League in 1979 established a Grantsmanship Resource Center with computerized facilities available to any nonprofit group in the area.[23] Junior Leagues in San Antonio, Lancaster, Morristown, New Jersey, Spokane, Tallahassee, Evansville, Indiana, and Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota and Minnesota, have all shared their grantsmanship expertise with community groups.

At the beginning of the 80's, A.J.L. identified four priority areas for future training programs: financial management, funding, organizational management, and public affairs. Most complex of all training methods attempted by the League thus far has been the immersion of members in the techniques of advocacy. The first national Public Affairs Training Seminar in Washington, D.C., in 1980 brought 450 Junior Leaguers to the capital for a three-day training session on the skills needed to take on "the system." (More on this in the next chapter.)

Liz Quinlan, Director of Communications at A.J.L., commented on the direction of Junior League training in a special issue of the *Junior League Review* (a new name for the A.J.L. magazine) at the start of the decade:

> "If one trend can be identified in League training for the 1980's it will be the breaking down of what one AJL officer has called 'a sort of classroom mindset'—the tendency to view training as an end in itself and to fail to take that bold next step into the community. Alice Weber [former AJL president] put it this way: "The Leagues have to understand that experience is the best trainer. Academic exposure to advocacy or public affairs has no meaning until it has been applied. Training only becomes defined for a League woman when she does what she has been trained to do in the community.' "[24]

CHAPTER ELEVEN

INTO THE PUBLIC ARENA

On a steamy July night in 1981, NBC's flagship station, WNBC-TV of New York, broadcast an editorial about the massive tax bill hammered out in the first year of the Reagan Administration. "One of the wildest scenes in Washington these days has been going on outside the chamber where the Senate Finance Committee has been putting together a tax bill," said the editorial. It went on to describe lobbyists milling outside the Senate chamber and wondered aloud who was around to lobby for the little people. "According to New York Senator Pat Moynihan, their representatives seem to have run for cover, surrendered before the fight is over. Only one such organization has been present and active, he says, and that has been the Junior League . . . They fight for what they believe in."[1]

Senator Moynihan was one of the co-sponsors of a provision in the tax bill to allow taxpayers to take the standard deduction to deduct charitable contributions from their federal taxes. In support of the measure, the Association and other voluntary sector organizations generated a barrage of letters, phone calls, and other personal contacts with legislators. A tie vote bottled up the bill, presumably killing it for the 1981 session.

Word went out on the new Association Legislative Network to keep up the pressure on individual Senators. By the time senators Bob Packwood, an Oregon Republican, and Daniel P. Moynihan, a New York Democrat, re-introduced the deductions bill, 50 senators had been lined up as co-sponsors. Some of them had voted against it in committee. The bill sailed through the Senate 97–1 and the House passed a similar measure.

Again in March of 1982, Senator Moynihan lauded the Junior League's lobbying efforts, when he inserted into the *Congressional Record* praise for the organization's work for children. "None have been so steadfast in their defense of children in need as the Association of Junior Leagues of America." He cited

specifically the Association's lobbying efforts to pass the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980, which he called the only major piece of social legislation enacted during President Carter's years. ". . . but for the Junior League it might have languished like many other Carter initiatives." And, said the New York Senator, the Junior League was the only national organization in 1981 to testify against the Reagan administration's attempt to repeal the 1980 act. "Spurred by the sensible protests of the Junior League, Congress demurred. We did not repeal the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980."[2]

In support of its purpose to "promote voluntarism," the Junior League of the 1980's has become a vocal and effective advocate for the voluntary sector. Lobbying is only one component of that effort, but it represents the most startling change from the Junior League of old.

Junior League women as lobbyists? A Junior League Legislative Network? Vocal advocates? The Junior League has changed significantly from prewar days, when such activities were forbidden by organizational policy, when some more traditional members insisted that ladies did not involve themselves in public controversies. Individual Junior Leagues have taken stands on criminal justice, adoption rules, child abuse, environmental protection, and a host of other issues. A.J.L. itself has had authority to do the same only since 1975.

Transition from cautious prewar policies to all-out advocacy came gradually, unevenly, and not without argument. Three major roadblocks loomed as some Junior Leagues forged into public affairs much faster than others wished or thought wise: fear of losing credibility as a nonpartisan group; fear of losing tax-exempt status because of lobbying activities; and disagreements among individual Leagues and members over specific issues.

In 1945 the Association published a booklet, "Let's Look at Legislation," which discussed such basics as tax-exempt status and rules governing lobbying activities. The booklet noted that between 1921 and 1940 the issue of entering the legislative field had been discussed repeatedly. (See Chapter 6 for a discussion of that period.) "Time and again Leagues found that community problems they were attempting to meet were rooted in poor legislation; time and again they discovered the hopelessness of trying to treat symptoms, rather than causes," the booklet said.[3] However, nearly three decades slid by before most or all member groups felt comfortable in the public arena.

Since 1940 local Junior Leagues have had the authority to endorse legislation. Procedures to be followed included thorough study, consultation with regional directors, clearance from A.J.L.A., and notification of all other Junior Leagues in the state. In 1943 this authority was broadened to permit legislative action at the state level *if* every Junior League in the state concurred—thus solving the problem the Virginia Leagues had faced after their 1930's welfare study. A.J.L.A., however, was forbidden to endorse or sponsor "any organization, movement, or program."

Testifying before a Congressional sub-committee on child welfare legislation, Meredith Hallowell, 1980–81 chairman of A.J.L. Public Issues Committee (second from left). Photo by Iris Rothman, courtesy Association of Junior Leagues *League member Shirley Temple Black (left) U.S. representative at a 1972 U.N. Conference on the Environment.* UPI

The practical effect of these guidelines was that if a local Junior League was determined to do so, and willing to follow detailed procedures, it could lobby for legislation. Though the process was time-consuming, Junior Leagues within a state could cooperate on statewide issues if they chose. Where there was only one Junior League in the state—as in the case of Providence or Albuquerque—action on state issues was much simpler.

"Today Rhode Island has its first separate and statewide Children's Court as a direct result of the Providence League's efforts," the 1945 A.J.L.A. booklet on legislation reported. "Connecticut Leagues are busy with a program to further the state's public educational system. Virginia is working for increased appropriations for aid to children under its Department of Public Welfare. New Jersey has joined the battle for a revised state constitution. Florida is working with the State Children's Code Committee on plans designed to improve all conditions affecting the lives of children."[4]

Rather frequently, however, the rules prevented a League from acting. Representatives of Pennsylvania Junior Leagues met in 1944 "to determine types of legislation that the Leagues might be interested in to discuss an effective program for study and action on state legislation." The Reading League wanted to support a stream pollution bill concerning the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers then before the state legislature. Following the guidelines, the Reading League contacted other Pennsylvania Junior Leagues for permission to back the bill. Wilkes-Barre and Scranton refused, and the issue had to be shelved, although Philadelphia and Williamsport had agreed to support the Reading position.[5]

Despite the restrictions by 1946 nearly 100 Junior Leagues reported some legislative activity, mostly educational for their own members. Forty-seven said they participated in public action, half of it at the state level. Seven statewide Junior League Legislative Committees existed.[6]

The issue of allowing the Association to speak for the Junior League, or even to represent the organization to the outside world, provided years of controversy. In 1944 A.J.L.A. queried all Junior Leagues as to whether the Association should be permitted to take stands on public policy in the organization's name. Only 45 Junior Leagues responded affirmatively, while 68 said "no," and the rest either didn't reply or had no opinion.[7]

Refusal stemmed in part from the reluctance of some members to involve themselves in public issues in any form. However, resistance also resulted from a determination by some members to prevent the Association from propelling individual Leagues into support of any specific project or program, as it had in urging all member groups to promote Volunteer Bureaus in World War II. No one objected to Volunteer Bureaus; it was the precedent that troubled autonomy-minded members. They repeatedly voted "no" to proposals to give A.J.L.A. a voice on public policy, or even to let board and staff endorse other organizations.

Postwar Association boards discussed these restrictions at some length in 1945 and 1946, and at the May 1946 board meeting, A.J.L.A. secretary Edna

Kuser summed up the findings. She noted that because of the highly visible role played by A.J.L.A. during the war, requests for the Junior League to endorse various programs and organizations "keep pouring in." She noted, for instance, that a famine relief council was currently seeking endorsement.

In a report to the 1946 conference in Quebec, Edna Kuser said that Association policy forbidding sponsorship of outside groups meant that A.J.L.A. staff and board had to withdraw from meetings with agencies or other organizations whenever a question called for endorsement. On a motion from the Junior League of Washington, D.C., the 1946 conference agreed to let A.J.L.A. endorse or sponsor international organizations, movements, or programs—if three-fourths of all Junior Leagues in the United States had voted authorization. If the activity involved Canada, all Canadian Junior Leagues had to approve.[8]

Even that small step disturbed some member organizations, and at the 1947 conference, delegates specified that the Association was an advisory body, "unless specifically desired otherwise" by the Junior Leagues. For good measure, the 1947 Coronado conference again voted to prohibit A.J.L.A. from endorsing or sponsoring legislation. The Association board was directed to prepare a new set of legislative procedures to guide Junior Leagues that wanted to take legislative action on a statewide basis.

Thus the issue came to the floor for the third year at the 1948 conference in French Lick, Indiana. Procedures for selecting issues for legislative action, and for clearing them through A.J.L.A. and regional directors, were established. An amended Policy II was adopted by the 1948 delegates:

> The Association may participate in, cooperate with, or sponsor any organization, movement or program which, in the judgment of the Board, as represented by a three-fourths affirmative vote of the members of the Board, will further the purpose of the Association. The Board will inform any such organization that active participation by the Individual League is optional. The Association shall not engage in legislative action.[9]

This subdued power struggle over local autonomy and Association leadership did not hamper legislative effort locally or on a statewide basis. Junior Leagues continued to add legislative committees to their administrative lineup. Their functions in the 1950's were mainly educational and consisted of research followed by reports at membership meetings. As one example, legislative committees in the 1950's in Asheville, Augusta, Baltimore, Charleston, South Carolina, Englewood, N.J. Flint, Kansas City, Kansas, New Orleans, Rochester, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, Toronto, and Wilkes-Barre all studied and reported on juvenile delinquency.[10]

The slow process of gaining support for state issues had the advantage of assuring that thorough research and documentation had been done, and that all avenues for improvement other than legislation had been explored. Several New York Junior Leagues collaborated in the late 1950's to modify state laws to permit the establishment of Youth Employment Services for teenagers.

In Texas, significant changes in statewide treatment of emotionally disturbed children resulted from work begun by the Junior League of Amarillo and carried on by a nine-League consortium. Members of the Amarillo League began in 1955 to study problems involving the care and education of emotionally disturbed children. Initially, the committee had expected to begin a local project, but three years of study revealed that a local solution would not be the best one. To reach its conclusions, the Amarillo League consulted state psychiatrists, psychologists, the County Hospital Board, the Mental Health Society, the Child Welfare Agency, the Health Council, the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, and the Ford Foundation. Many of those interviewed said revision of Texas law was needed before significant change in the care of such children could occur.

Following procedures, Amarillo summarized its findings for other Junior Leagues in Texas and invited them to support legislation. Nine of the 14 Texas Junior Leagues agreed to cosponsor the resolution and to work actively with Amarillo for its passage. Representatives of the nine Leagues decided to form a Texas Public Affairs Study Committee, or PASC, which could work further on improving the care of emotionally disturbed children. With funds from the Hogg Foundation, PASC prepared a pamphlet, "No Place for Tommy," to point up the need for specialized facilities for emotionally disturbed children. A film, *Christina's Doll,* was made in 1962 and shown by League volunteers to Texas civic groups.[11]

"Nine Texas Leagues participated in the initial study of PASC, 'Emotionally Disturbed Children in Need of Residential Treatment'," said the Amarillo League. "Amarillo's Killgore Children's Psychiatric Center and Hospital, Inc. (the first hospital in the Southwest designed exclusively for children with emotional disorders, and one of the few in the nation) is a very tangible result of this first survey."[12]

Nor was mental health the only concern of the Texas study committee. A 1961 survey of state agencies identified juvenile delinquency as a priority concern. A year later, because of its growing expertise, the Texas PASC was asked by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency to co-sponsor a spot check of county probation services. Instead, PASC decided to interview judges, sheriffs, and probation officers in every one of the 254 counties in Texas. The resulting report, a comprehensive Juvenile Delinquency Survey, was used in 1964 by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency as a definitive tool for recommending change.[12] A film, *Theft of Tomorrow,* was made in 1964 to dramatize the need for improved juvenile facilities. The Tarrant County Juvenile Detention Center, established in 1971, was one of several direct outgrowths of PASC's work in juvenile delinquency.[14]

Clearly, some Junior Leagues were not only deeply involved in public affairs; they were also effective. In the 1960s many individual Leagues took public stands in support of education. The Cincinnati Junior League endorsed a contro-

versial school tax levy and thereby helped it pass. The Junior League of Toledo endorsed a school bond levy, which also passed. Albuquerque's Junior League backed an income surtax in support of public schools in the county. Palo Alto's Junior League helped pass a state amendment authorizing the use of volunteers in schools.[15]

The Junior League of Jacksonville played a key role in the effort to consolidate the local governments of Jacksonville and Duval County. Involvement began in 1965 when two Junior League members were appointed to a 50-person legislative task force to study local government. In January 1966 the Jacksonville Junior League invited the task force chairman to speak at a membership meeting. After an in-depth study of the issue, the League's Public Affairs Committee in 1967 invited the task force chairman to present final recommendations to the League, which voted to endorse consolidation. Members of the Jacksonville Public Affairs Committee attended hearings before the state legislature; they sent letters supporting a state charter allowing consolidation to every member of the Florida legislature. After legislative approval, the League worked to win support in a public referendum. During the summer of 1967 more than 40 Junior League volunteers worked at the headquarters for gaining voter approval of a new city-county charter. The public approved the measure in August.[16]

As more Junior Leagues gained experience and confidence in dealing with public issues, discontent with existing procedural rules mounted. Every year pressure to relax restrictions on taking legislative action intensified. As other organizations became more assertive in the 1960's and early 1970's, the Junior League seemed by contrast to be losing some of its influence because of its caution.

At the 1967 conference, Cleveland protested procedures adopted in 1964 that had made it harder than ever to endorse a bill. "Prior to that we endorsed bills for years and years," the Cleveland spokeswoman said. A key point of dispute was the rule that any Junior League in a state that wanted to take a position on any public question—even a purely local issue—had to gain the approval of every other Junior League in the state. That meant getting the item on the agenda of every League's board meeting. Since meetings normally took place only from September through May, and since agendas were often too full to include outside issues quickly, there was often considerable delay in getting a response.

Another area of great concern was the recent loss by the Sierra Club of its tax-exempt status because of a ruling that it had engaged in "substantial" amounts of lobbying activities. "With the very real example of the Sierra Club losing its exemption . . . we are scared of our shadows as far as engaging on the state level to influence any legislation," said a San Francisco delegate.[17]

At the 1971 conference in Colorado Springs, San Diego asked for a full debate on endorsing issues at a state level. The San Diego delegate said her

League was spending an inordinate amount of time studying issues proposed by other Junior Leagues in the state.

In the ensuing debate, a Newark delegate crystallized the urgency felt by some members for the Junior League to shed its caution. "The young women of our 'now generation' want action," she said. "If there is an issue to which we feel we must have attention drawn, we must not be afraid to stand up and be counted. The Junior League is an organization commanding respect . . . we must be part of the decision-making process in areas of vital concern. If informed organizations do not become involved, they can hardly complain, if and when their community, state, or nation is in chaos."

Some minutes later, a Minneapolis delegate added another rationale, saying Leagues all over the country were being pressured by their communities to assert their leadership and influence in the area of legislation. "There is no other national organization comprised of women who have the education, financial resources and power to affect change in all areas as we do. Fellow delegates, we are the establishment, and if we do not take on this responsibility for getting at the causes of the problems through legislation or support of those legislating on the issues which will better our communities, then rest assured that no one will . . . this is our responsibility."[18]

The conference voted to allow individual Junior Leagues to take legislative action in their own name on national or public questions without first getting clearance from other state Leagues. Three years later, in 1975, on a motion at conference from the Junior League of Stamford-Norwalk, Connecticut, A.J.L. was authorized the issue statements or lobby on public policy on legislative matters.[19] That authority came more than 50 years after establishment of an Association of Junior Leagues.

Guidelines adopted in 1980 set the following procedures for selecting issues for public affairs actions by Junior Leagues or groups of Junior Leagues: "Issues selected shall be germane to the purpose of the Junior League . . . While action may be taken on many issues, priority shall be given to those issues related to areas in which the Junior League has developed expertise . . . Before taking a position . . . the Junior League . . . shall make a study of the topic . . ."

While these changes were evolving, an increasingly popular acronym entered Junior League jargon: SPAC, or State Public Affairs Committee. Junior Leagues in Virginia and Pennsylvania had proved before World War II that working on a statewide basis amplified their effectiveness, as had Texas Leagues in the 1950's. By the early 1960's, formal State Public Affairs Committees existed in Florida and Ohio; several other states had informal public affairs networks. More than 20 additional SPAC's formed in the 1970's, and by 1981 Junior Leagues in 32 states had organized public affairs committees. Most came into being in the 1970's, after Junior League rules governing public affairs had been streamlined, and after the Tax Reform Act of 1976 clarified the extent to which nonprofit

organizations could lobby without loss of tax-exempt status.

By 1982, no two State Public Affairs Committees were exactly alike, but most had adopted a threefold purpose: to communicate, to train, and to organize for possible action. All state committees are conduits of public affairs data to members in their state. Some, like the SPAC's of Florida and California, are mandated to "recommend action." Nebraska's SPAC states as part of its purpose "to lobby effectively for legislation, and to be instrumental in writing legislation for meeting SPAC's goals and objectives." Each state SPAC sets its own bylaws and procedures. Several require a unanimous vote by all members before action may be taken. About one-fourth permit the state committee to speak for the Junior League in their state on a vote of two-thirds to three-quarters of its members.[20]

Initially, most State Public Affairs Committees limited their work to research and information-sharing. For some, these are still the main activities, but more experienced SPAC's, like those of New Jersey and California, take direct action, including lobbying and letter-writing campaigns in favor of legislation.

One of the most sophisticated of all state committees, New Jersey's SPAC came into existence in 1970 as a result of work by three Junior Leagues in Essex County. Working together, they had established an infant shelter for abandoned, abused, and neglected infants. Encouraged by this success, they asked the State Council of New Jersey Junior Leagues to reactivate an inactive State Public Affairs Committee.

Their first effort was a study of the Blum Report, a comprehensive analysis of child welfare in the state, which members followed up by intensive interviewing. Research showed that care of battered, abused, and neglected children was a statewide problem. The committee therefore asked permission to represent the Junior League in New Jersey in areas affecting these children and "to work toward . . . changing the state laws affecting these children where necessary." Permission granted from all New Jersey Leagues, the state SPAC therefore had its first mission.

As an alternative to foster care or institutionalization, subsidized adoptions had been proposed for some children. SPAC research documented a need for financial aid to some adoptive parents of hard-to-place children and those in need of medical care. In cooperation with other concerned groups, the Junior League helped draft legislation, which passed in 1973 after a two-year campaign. Five years later, more than 800 children had been adopted under the program.[21]

The eight-League New Jersey SPAC works through task forces, which study specific areas of concern. By 1978 there were four such task forces: abuse and neglect, adoption and child care, learning disabilities, and juvenile justice. Only after a task force has made recommendations and an advisory committee of non-Junior League individuals has approved can the New Jersey SPAC urge legislative action.

The New Jersey SPAC has been called by others in the League a "model

for advocacy.'' Since 1975, the Association itself has been pledged to advocate for children. This major step, the first of its kind for the organization, moved the Junior League into a new and explicitly change-oriented role.

The concept of members as advocates for change, spokeswomen for those unable to make their own voices heard, began filtering through the organization in the early 1970's. To give members the tools for such a role, any number of seminars and workshops, plus three national conferences (on child advocacy, criminal justice, and public affairs), have been held since 1975. In the process, not all members have abandoned direct volunteer work to become community catalysts or lobbyists, but a significant minority did so, and they became more effective every year.

''When it was formally endorsed by the member Junior Leagues in 1975, the Child Advocacy Program appeared to some individuals to be a frightening new undertaking,'' said A.J.L. president Susan Greene in 1978. She urged members to think of advocacy as the role of the Dr. Seuss character, the Lorax who ''speaks for the trees because the trees cannot speak for themselves.''[22]

As advocates, the task for members has not been limited to lobbying. In 1978, Mimi Martin, A.J.L. Child Advocacy chairwoman, noted the varied roles advocates may play: legal counselor, defender, ombudsman, expeditor, enabler, organizer, petitioner—''all roles Junior League members have assumed at one time or another.'' Nevertheless, she said, 90 per cent of advocacy is administrative redress—making already existing systems more responsive to the needs of children.

To illustrate the variety of ways Junior Leagues were acting as advocates, she cited several techniques they had used successfully. Boise members lobbied successfully for funding of Idaho's subsidized adoption program. Five Junior Leagues in Tennessee joined forces to expand the work of Nashville's Comprehensive Emergency Service System (CES) into a statewide network for monitoring and emergency intake for abused or abandoned children. A complex program that deals with entire families, CES took years to implement thoroughly, and requires constant monitoring to keep it effective. The Lorax, in other words, cannot declare the task done and go off to another challenge. In this long-playing role, the Junior Leagues of Tennessee provided continuity and staying power to buttress the work of child care professionals.

Wilmington League members began a project called Children in Placement in 1978, a case review of foster care in the county. After statistical analysis, members drafted legislation to create a citizens' Foster Child Review Board, registered as lobbyists to promote it, and in June 1979 applauded passage of the bill. In the process, the committee not only affected child care in Delaware; members were also asked to share their knowledge on a national level. ''Our chairman testified in Washington before the House Ways and Means committee in favor of child welfare reform, using statistics from our report,'' said 1979

Wilmington Junior League president Carol Harlan. "Our U.S. Senator also quoted the Junior League of Wilmington's statistics and rationale from the C.I.D. project while speaking on the Senate floor in favor of child welfare reform."[23]

As members became more adept as advocates, the Junior League established careful rules under which they could speak in behalf of the organization. Nationally, the League has voted position statements in five specific areas—children's issues, voluntarism, women's economic opportunities, domestic violence, and older people. These 1982 position statements read as follows:

> The Association of Junior Leagues is committed to assuring that children have the opportunities and services essential for their physical, intellectual, emotional, mental and social growth, and will advocate to see that such opportunities and services are provided.
>
> The Association of Junior Leagues supports and promotes voluntarism as an essential component of our society and will continue to take action which will ensure the effectiveness of the voluntary sector.
>
> The Association of Junior Leagues is committed to eliminating domestic violence by supporting programs and legislation designed to understand the problem, assist and protect the victims and work effectively with the abusers.
>
> The Association of Junior Leagues supports the goal of fair and equal economic opportunities for women and men and will advocate the attainment of this goal.
>
> The Association of Junior Leagues is committed to ensuring that older adults have the opportunities and services essential for their physical, intellectual, emotional, mental, social and economic well-being and will advocate to see that such opportunities and services exist.

Position statements by A.J.L. represent what the Association may do; they do not bind individual Junior Leagues, which are free to speak and act on these issues, other issues, or not at all. Many individual Junior Leagues make several other position statements each year.

For the task of advocacy on a national level, new tools were needed, and in 1979 the board authorized a Junior League Legislative Network through which individual Leagues and State Public Affairs Committees could function. Activated in 1980, the Legislative Network had grown to 204 Junior Leagues, 23 State Public Affairs Committees, and one regional council by the fall of 1981. There was no requirement that a Junior League participate; each was free to choose not to do so. Those groups that enter the network are kept informed through frequent mailings. In its first year, the network directed 14 mailings to member Leagues, urging them to contact their Congressional representatives.

The network is not available for scattershot campaigns; its mandate is to work in areas on which the Junior League has adopted a position statement. In the 96th Congress, the network lobbied for two pieces of legislation affecting

children: the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980, which passed, and the Child Health Assurance Program, which did not.

In November 1980 more than 450 Junior League representatives gathered in Washington for a three-day public affairs training seminar, the first scheduled by the Association. Delegates from 221 Junior Leagues, 18 SPACs, and the six Area Councils attended workshops on the legislative and regulatory processes, and met in small groups with public policy specialists.

Conference keynote speaker Marilyn Berger, a political and diplomatic correspondent with the Public Broadcasting System, noted that organizing for or against an issue requires more than hard work. It helps, she said, to have contacts—an area in which Junior League women have advantages over many others. She suggested, too, that networking, the building of alliances, was most important.[24]

Increasingly, Leagues have done just that in their public affairs activities, locally, statewide, and nationally. When A.J.L. queried Leagues in 1980 about their public policy work, more than half of those involved in public affairs or advocacy said they had joined coalitions to work on public issues. That, the Junior League was learning, was how to change the way things are.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PROJECTS FOR PEOPLE: 1960-1982

nce a year A.J.L. sends Junior Leagues a questionnaire on activities and interests, and each year the results show that nearly half of all Junior League projects touch upon the lives of children. Of 1,361 projects reported in 1981, 43 percent directly or indirectly related to social, educational, or cultural services for children. The next largest category, projects affecting women, was far smaller, 6 per cent of the total.

From concern for children and women has flowed an understanding that often an entire family is in crisis, that sometimes there can be no lasting help for an abused child or battered wife without treating the whole family. Consequently many programs in the 1970's and 1980's founded family crisis centers or stress centers.

As the population aged, Junior Leagues turned their attention to the special problems and potential of older citizens. Two recent programs of many Junior Leagues deal with older people. One is an Association-wide pilot that encourages able retired people to become volunteers and advocates for others. A second program, by individual Junior Leagues, extends the hospice movement in which trained teams of counselors and medical personnel both care for and counsel terminally ill patients and their families.

This is a report of the ''people projects'' of the Junior League since 1960. It is not a complete report—Junior Leagues ran 63 projects on child abuse alone in 1980–81. Computerized summaries of projects by the A.J.L. Department of Field Services fill 422 pages for the same year.

Increasingly, Leagues have moved from direct service projects to intricately planned collaborations with one or more community groups or agencies. Many

are advocacy efforts to heighten public awareness or to change administrative procedures. Yet there are still dozens of direct service projects, for many, many members derive great satisfaction from personal one-to-one volunteering. Thus you will still find Junior League members delivering hot "Meals on Wheels" to elderly shut-ins, tutoring in kindergartens, or bringing puppet shows to hospitalized children.

The strongest single thread running through the fabric of Junior League community efforts for more than eight decades has been concern for children. This concern has created projects for their health and safety, as well as projects to expose children to the arts, to nature, to history. Current efforts run a gamut from the Halifax, Nova Scotia, magazine *Ahoy,* through preschool screening programs to detect learning disabilities, to drafting legislation for state legislation on foster children or adoption.

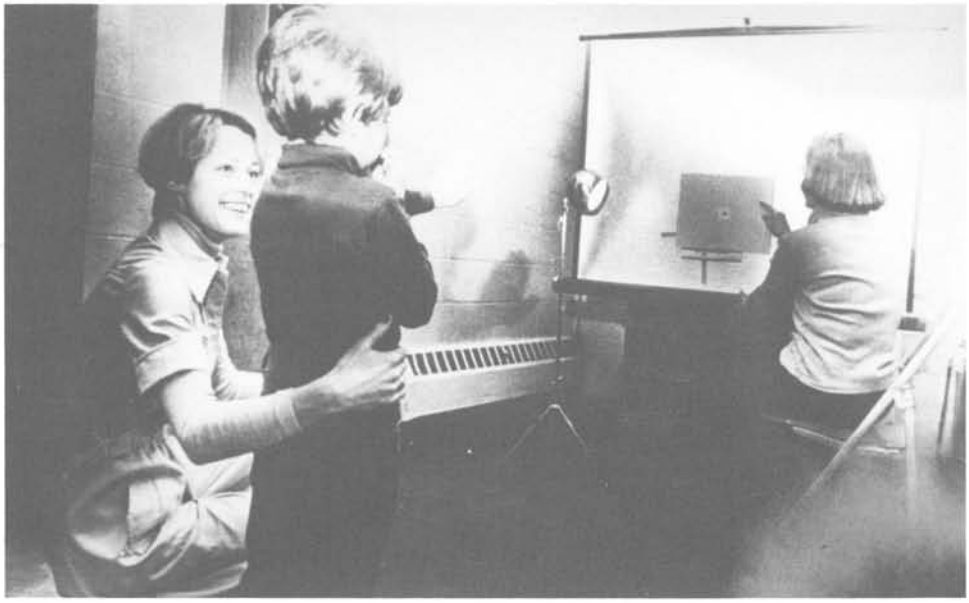
It would be hard to find a Junior League that has not produced at least one project with a public school system in any 10-year period. Junior Leagues have introduced and nurtured school volunteer programs in at least a hundred communities. They have started preschool and kindergarten screening for vision, hearing, or learning disabilities. They have been leaders in pressing for expanded arts curricula in schools.

In Houston, a Junior League team initially headed by Marianne Andrews created the nation's first reliable, validated instrument with which volunteers could screen kindergarten children for learning disabilities. Begun in 1970, the project was under direct Junior League administration during nine years of validating and screening. During this time Junior League supervisors recruited and trained volunteers and built a solid network of community support for the Volunteers in Public Schools (VIPS) program. The Houston *Chronicle* reported in 1971 that the program involved 4,000 workers in 40 schools and had the support of 26 community organizations.[1] In 1979 the program screened 14,000 five-year-olds in a two-week period.

Nancy Moore, first vice president of the Houston League, notes that the Houston school district provided a staff person to revise the tests each year. "It was a cooperative project from start to finish, but League members managed it and pushed it along to the desired validation."[2]

In 1981 the Junior League of Dallas committed $60,000 to an enhancement program for children who function below grade level. Junior Leagues in Duluth, Evansville, Indiana, Minneapolis, St. Joseph, St. Paul and Fargo-Moorehead all sponsored "Bucket Brigades," volunteer tutoring programs in elementary schools. The name derives from volunteer fire-fighting in early American communities, when every able-bodied person lined up to pass along buckets of water to quench fires.

A single League often runs more than one project in the school systems. The Junior League of Parkersburg, West Virginia, helped introduce an arts cur-



Volunteers from the Junior League of Scarsdale screen preschoolers for possible vision (top) or hearing (bottom) problems. Scarsdale Inquirer *For eight decades , projects affecting children have dominated the community work of the Junior Leagues.*

Physical therapy and first-aid training were a focus of many Junior Leagues a few years back, courtesy, Junior League of Portland, Oregon *Work of the Portland, Oregon, League*, courtesy Junior League of Portland, Oregon *A San Antonio volunteer steadies a Boysville resident in a League-run summer camp program (opposite)*, courtesy, Junior League of San Antonio

riculum in the primary grades. At the same time, another project created a preschool classroom for the emotionally disturbed child, the only such preschool facility in West Virginia.[3]

A decade ago Mrs. Robert McNamara conceived a program to put books in the hands of children too poor to otherwise own books of their own. Called Reading Is FUNdamental, the program tapped various educational and poverty funds available through state and local governments. In 1972, Mrs. McNamara urged all Junior Leagues to get involved in the RIF program, and many did. Most have been turned over to community control, but in 1981 Junior Leagues still conducted RIF projects in Boston, Greater Lakeland, Florida, Kingsport, Tennessee, Ogden, Pine Bluff, Roanoke Valley, St. Joseph, St. Louis, Sioux City, and Springfield, Illinois. In a typical program, selected Kingsport children could choose five books a year on three distribution days. Children in the League-funded St. Joseph program received tickets to a party at the public library, where they were entertained by a clown, a magician, a puppet show, and games before they chose their free books.

A sensitizing program of "humane education" developed by two members of the Ogden Junior League has been adopted statewide in Utah and borrowed by several other Junior Leagues. The project began in 1973 when Tookie Benning and Dr. Carol Browning of the Junior League of Ogden developed a school enrichment program designed to foster kindness and compassion. The Junior League of Salt Lake City joined as a sponsor, and the project evolved into a statewide elementary program. Developed with the Humane Society, the humane

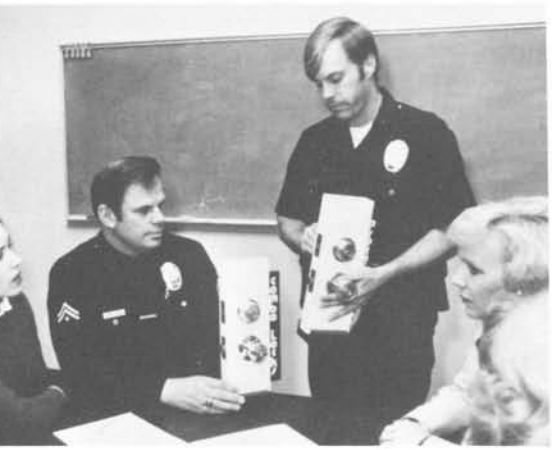
The Boston Junior League's Women's Van offers portable information and access to support services for women. courtesy, Junior League of Boston *Nero the Dachsund, a key part of a pet-facilitated therapy program at a rest home, top opposite*, courtesy Junior League of Boston.

education concept is described as ''fostering in children and adults kindness, sensitivity and compassion for all forms of life.'' Thus a component of the grade 2–4 curriculum in language arts uses cassettes, film strips, and teaching guides in language skills, but the theme is pets. In later grades, science projects focus on subjects such as Navy dolphins and honey bees. The Ogden and Salt Lake Leagues applied for and received grants of $37,000 and $61,000 from the National Institute for Education to measure effects of the program.

The Junior League of Champaign-Urbana introduced a related program in 1979 in both schools and nursing homes. With older people, it had been found that therapy was often made easier through the use of pets. The Illinois League joined the two Utah Leagues in presenting their projects to the 1980 Junior League conference. In 1982, these three Junior Leagues and that of Boston cooperated to publish a ''how-to'' handbook detailing the work of 20 Junior Leagues involved in humane ethic projects.[4]

Junior Leagues have been launching day care centers of various kinds for more than 70 years. As more mothers went to work in the 1960's and 1970's, the need for supervised child care became more urgent. Dozens of Junior Leagues sponsored new facilities or expanded old ones.

An old-style zoo became a modern nature center, complete with mini farm, right, thanks to the Asheville League. Bottom left, the Louisiana Nature center, project of the New Orleans League. courtesy Junior League of New Orleans.



Seattle's Volunteers Intervening for Equity (V.I.E.) (top), is part of a national demonstration using able elders to secure rights for other elderly. courtesy, Association of Junior Leagues. *Two projects of the Los Angeles League: (left) a crime prevention alert, and (right) transportation to a day care center for elderly.* courtesy, Junior League of Los Angeles

The Junior League of Summit, New Jersey, in 1979 underscored its long-standing commitment to day care by voting a $25,000 anniversary grant to the Summit Child Care Center, begun 25 years earlier by the League. "League support, both financial and through volunteer expertise, has helped the Summit Child Care Center grow from a program serving 21 children to a quality child care system in five separate sites serving over 400 children," said Nancy Deane Kreitler, president of the Board of Trustees and a member of the Junior League of Summit. She also mentioned a national conference on infants and toddlers held in 1979, 1980, and 1981 "under the direction of three Junior League chairmen and has not only become an opportunity for experts and care givers to meet and exchange views, but has become a fund raiser for the Summit Child Care Center. The story goes on and on and is a great tribute to voluntarism and a League's commitment to its community."[5]

In 1981, approximately 16 Junior Leagues ran day care centers or similar facilities. Many other centers begun by Junior Leagues in previous years had been turned over to independent community governing boards.

Some recent projects have not been traditional day care centers, but rather various kinds of support systems for children and families. Grand Rapids sponsored a Drop-In Center, a short-term child care facility that provides "part-time respite care." Milwaukee, too, offered a service called Respite Care, a "temporary relief to parents and foster parents of disabled children which gives parents a break from the confining responsibilities of caring for children who need round-the-clock attention." Respite Care recruited community volunteers who were trained and then matched with a family with a disabled child.

Projects in child health and welfare fill 63 pages of the Junior League 1980–81 projects summary and comprise 35 per cent of all 1981 projects. They range from adoption and child abuse to rehabilitation, screening, and training. Many are among the organization's most innovative endeavors and involve collaborations with government agencies as well as legislative drafting and lobbying.

Many Leagues in the 1970's became convinced that adoption was preferable to foster care or institutional care, even for hard-to-place children. Thus several Leagues supported activities to make adopting such children possible. Chicago Junior League members wrote an Adoption Referral Guidebook for statewide distribution. Pittsburgh's members supported the Three Rivers Adoption Council, a 33-member association of western Pennsylvania agencies and organizations.

San Diego's "Children in Placement" committee worked to reduce the number of children in foster care in the county. In a four-month period in 1981, the committee reviewed the files of 107 children and, if they found no permanent plan for the child, contacted the appropriate agency for information and clarification. "If necessary we then brought the matter to the attention of the court," said project co-chairmen, Penny Allen and Melody Petersen. They added that a social work supervisor had recently remarked of the San Diego project: "Where

have you been? We could have used something like this 10 years ago!''[6]

Many Junior Leagues have supported the work of a single agency in a variety of ways over a period of many years. The Children's Health Council of Palo Alto, which specializes in multihandicapped children, has turned several times to the Junior League of San Francisco and its spinoff, the Junior league of Palo Alto. The council asked for funds and volunteer help in 1960 to produce a documentary film that would 1) tell the story of the council to the community, help in 1960 to produce a documentary film that would 1) tell the story of the 2) encourage interest in forming similar agencies in other communities, and 3) attract volunteers.

The San Francisco Junior League not only agreed, it was able to draw from its membership a woman with extensive film experience to chair the project, former child actress Shirley Temple Black. She was no honorary chairman, accepting a title without responsibility. Mrs. Black recruited a committee of other members, supervised every step of the filmmaking, and narrated the finished product.[7]

When the council in 1978 asked for funding for its hyperactive children program, the Junior League contributed funds for a biofeedback machine and volunteers. ''The support of the Junior League was also good leverage for us in presenting this project to the S. H. Cowell Foundation for grants in 1979 and 1980, which were matched by local community support,'' says Kay Sprinkel Grace of the Children's Health Council.[8]

The evolution of North Carolina Junior Leagues as advocates for children can be traced to many earlier efforts, but specifically to a 1969 North Carolina Forum on the Emotionally Disturbed Child originated by the Junior League of Raleigh and co-sponsored by all other North Carolina Junior Leagues. The forum led to a Governor's Study Commission and report, which in turn produced the Governor's Advocacy Commission of Children and Youth Act. The Durham Junior League in 1971 formed a Child Advocacy Commission, which was incorporated as a tax-exempt state institution. Durham's rationale for child advocacy is an eloquent expression of why dozens of Junior Leagues have chosen to play this role:

> The child who is retarded or physically handicapped is easy to spot, but often nothing is done for him. The child who cannot concentrate in school, who is disruptive, whose family is in crisis, and who simply cannot cope with the very complicated world in which he finds himself—this child can easily be identified in school situations by the trained observer. All too often, however, the trained observer is not available or the requisite help is not at hand. . . . It is our task to make sure that danger signals are spotted and heeded.[9]

Research in the 1970's produced alarming statistics on the almost invisible problem of abused children. After Junior Leagues began to probe the issue, they responded with a battery of efforts to 1) prevent child abuse, 2) identify abused children, 3) provide treatment and counseling, and 4) provide family support counseling.

The Junior League of Boston helped found a day care center for abused

children in 1969–70, then went on to implement a community education program to prevent child abuse. The Phoenix Junior League in 1973 was among the first to develop a comprehensive program; it allocated $36,000 over three years to hire a coordinator for a Special Care Clinic for abused children and their parents at Maricopa County Hospital. The clinic used existing facilities and staff, training volunteers from the Junior League and community as staff of a hotline. The HELP hotline was a confidential, 24-hour service to parents under stress. A key part of the program was the use of Parent Aides, lay persons trained to function as "mothers" to abusing parents. Aides spent time with parents, acting as friends who listen to problems.[10]

The Junior League of Fresno served as catalyst in 1973 in creating a shelter home for abused children. That effort evolved into a Comprehensive Youth Services agency, which in 1982 operated five separate facilities and conducted extensive family counseling to prevent child abuse. Though the project involved numerous public agencies and has had the support of several community organizations in addition to the Junior League of Fresno, one woman has clearly been the unifying force throughout. Judith Andreen chaired the community research committee of the Junior League that launched the project, became the first president of the board of directors of the new agency, Comprehensive Youth Services, Inc., and in 1975 became the executive director.

Since the original shelter opened in 1974, the corporation has opened a therapeutic group home for adolescent girls and taken over operation of two additional homes (one for treating developmentally disabled adolescent boys, one for adolescents with emotional and behavioral problems.) "We have recently opened a Crisis Resolution Center in conjunction with the Probation Department and Department of Social Services to try to provide housing and counseling to children before they get into the public systems," said Judy Andreen in 1982. In addition, agency staff devotes extensive time to community counseling and in-home services for abusive or neglected families.[11]

In 1981 more than 60 Junior Leagues ran child abuse programs ranging from community education workshops to crisis nurseries and temporary shelters. Among the many Leagues that have founded facilities for battered or abused children are those of Atlanta; Bakersfield, California; Cobb-Marietta, Georgia; Eugene; Greensboro; Indianapolis; Lubbock, Minneapolis; Newport Harbor; and Palm Beaches.

In hopes of identifying families at risk and preventing child abuse before it begins, many Junior Leagues sponsored community education programs and family counseling services. The Fort Lauderdale Junior League formed a Speakers Bureau as well as a crisis intervention nursery. The Birmingham, Michigan, League contributed $55,000 and volunteers in 1980–81 to the Council for Children at Risk, a community-based coalition. Boston members train community volunteers to staff a parental stress hotline seven days a week in four shifts. In Evanston, the Junior League enlisted 150 community volunteers for a Parental

Stress Speakers Bureau begun in 1979. In collaboration with Parental Stress Services, the Speakers Bureau offered help to families through six hotline shifts and parenting workshops in the community. Similarly, the Flint Junior League sponsors "Warmline," a family support prevention program for parents of potential victims.

Members of the Wilmington Junior League developed Guardian Ad Litem, which provides representation for children in court cases of abuse and neglect throughout the state of Delaware. League volunteers researched cases, found an attorney to present the case in court if it could not be settled otherwise. Orlando-Winter Park developed a similar program with the Orange County Legal Aid Society. Brooklyn's Junior League invested $113,400 in a massive effort for a Court Appointed Special Advocate program. Charlotte's Junior League supported a Council for Children Case Advocacy by recruiting volunteers and funding a volunteer administrator. Volunteers were paired with families who need help dealing with "the system."

Listed en masse, such endeavors may seem effortless, even inevitable. In fact, every one entailed endless hours of work, organization, and, generally, a gifted chairman. Since most involved knowing and adhering to complex government regulations and funding guidelines, as well as complicated inter-agency cooperation, the time and skill involved were often full-time endeavors for volunteer Junior League project directors. Junior Leagues have compelling advantages as they undertake such complicated projects, for they have organizational staying power, a pool of skilled volunteers, a bank account to support their work, and the accumulated expertise of other Junior Leagues, Area Councils, and A.J.L. staff to draw upon.

The story of Atlanta's CHARLEE exemplifies how a Junior League can marshall those advantages to make a significant change in the community. (The following account draws heavily upon a narrative by Betty Owen in *Peachtree Papers,* a publication of the Junior League of Atlanta.)

Jewel Norman transferred to the Atlanta League from Raleigh in 1978 and joined the Community Research Committee, which was investigating problems of emotionally disturbed predelinquent or neglected children. The committee became convinced that Georgia needed a branch of a program called CHARLEE, pioneered in Topeka by the Menninger Foundation and the Junior League of Topeka. (Mrs. Roy Menninger is a member of the Topeka League). CHARLEE, Inc., is an acronym for Children Have All Rights—Legal, Educational, Emotional. The program runs homes for neglected, abandoned or abused children or for those who are predelinquent.

The committee learned that Atlanta had applied for a Menninger Home but had been turned down. Jewel Norman contacted the foundation; the reply letter said the foundation liked working with Junior Leagues and invited her to pursue the issue further.

She asked Kent Hayes of the foundation and Dr. Tobias Brocher to Atlanta in 1979 to address a meeting of volunteers and professionals. At the meeting, a Menninger task force was formed under Junior League leadership. However, the Menninger people said the foundation would not enter a community without a guarantee of state or local government funding. First attempts to secure such funds in Atlanta failed. In 1980, the Junior League of Atlanta voted seed money of $20,000, but the Georgia Department of Human Resources was unable to raise the needed additional funds. A request to the Community Services Agency of the Federal government was also rejected.

In the summer of 1980 the CHARLEE project seemed stillborn. Kent Hayes called Jewel Norman and told her she might as well give up. Instead, on a long shot she called a member of the State Crime Commission and told her that a quarter of a million dollars was needed to bring a Menninger Group Home to Atlanta. The long shot paid off; she said money was not only available, but that the Junior League could apply for it.

Meanwhile, other Junior League members contacted Rosalynn Carter and Jack Watson, President Carter's chief of staff, who applied pressure to the Community Services Administration to release Federal funds. Then an election intervened and the Georgians prepared to leave the White House. Nevertheless, in January of 1981 the Georgian Crime Commission awarded a $239,000 grant to the Junior League of Atlanta, and C.S.A. released $150,000 for down payments on houses.

League members began exhaustive hours of driving around the city to locate suitable houses in neighborhoods where a group home would be accepted. A Georgia CHARLEE office opened in the spring of 1981 with Jewel Norman as director. The first house was bought a week later, and seven days after that, house parents were in residence. Within a month the first children had arrived. By September 1981, three CHARLEE houses were operating, with plans for five by September 1982. Children range in age from six to eighteen. Most have had school or behavioral problems, and some have been sexually abused.

Meanwhile, the Menninger Foundation had expressed a willingness to work further with other Junior Leagues. The Atlanta League began planning a September 1981 conference on alternatives to institutionalization. Representatives from 17 Junior Leagues in eight states attended the two-day seminar presided over by Dr. Roy Menninger, and the two co-directors of the Menninger Youth Advocacy Project, Kent Hayes and Dr. Alex Lazzarino. Jewel Norman and two other League committee members also conducted workshops.[12]

The CHARLEE project utilized all the skills and methods of successful child advocates: mastery of government processes, grantsmanship, coalition-building, persistence, creativity. It represented the kind of achievements hoped for when the Association voted to adopt child advocacy as a long-term undertaking. The A.J.L. board began planning an Association-wide conference in 1973, and in

1974 established an ad hoc committee of advisers for a Child Advocacy Meeting.

A.J.L. recommended a four-year program in child advocacy. One suggested first step was a survey by interested Junior Leagues in five "focus areas": health and education, child abuse and neglect, day care, foster care, and adoption. The Association provided an overview of these service systems and model questionnaires for local communities. A second step was an Association-wide training conference on advocacy skills co-sponsored by the Junior League of Baltimore and the Association in October 1976.

Back home, delegates took leading roles in the legislative advocacy efforts discussed in Chapter 11 and spearheaded the child abuse and adoption programs discussed in this chapter. In the process, hundreds of Junior League women became experts on various phases of child welfare in the United States, Canada, and Mexico City. With this cumulative expertise, the Junior League itself became a resource on preventing child abuse. At the Fifth National Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect in Milwaukee, A.J.L. and the Junior Leagues of Dayton, Oakland-East Bay, and Springfield, Illinois, presented a workshop highlighting the pioneering work of these Junior Leagues. Springfield's film, *Because They Loved Me,* has been used extensively by other Junior Leagues and community groups as a springboard for community dialogue on family patterns that lead to the emotional abuse of children.

The project presented by Oakland-East Bay evolved in just two years, 1977–79, from an idea into a significant community resource. When a vice president of that League, Betty Shapiro, summarized the steps in retrospect, they sounded simple—which of course they were not: "The results of a survey indicated a need for a Stress Center to be located in Concord which would provide unduplicated needs for families in stress. Project and community members wrote a grant proposal for Revenue Sharing Funds, wrote Assembly Bill 2528, researched for a Stress Center site, developed and offered a Parenting Education and Advocacy Course, developed an auxiliary which would help support the Stress Center, and produced a 30-second TV spot about families in stress. In 1979 the doors of the Family Stress Center in Concord officially opened."[13]

Among the other Junior Leagues with projects aimed at stemming family violence and in helping its victims were Amarillo, Birmingham, Alabama, Columbia, South Carolina, Dallas, Fairmont, West Virginia, Fargo-Moorhead, Fort Worth, Grand Rapids, Greensboro, Lubbock, Milwaukee, Northern Westchester, Owensboro, Peoria, St. Petersburg, Savannah, Stamford-Norwalk, Toledo, Tyler, Waco, and Wichita.

Junior League projects for women, from the training seminars and workshops discussed in Chapter 10 to rape counseling services and shelters for battered women, indicate the breadth and continuity of Junior Leagues' involvement in women's issues. Topeka invested $84,000 to create Everywoman's Resource Center, an information clearinghouse. The center offers seminars, publishes

worksheets, and provides career and consumer counseling, support groups for mothers, day care services, and a displaced homemakers' program. El Paso's Woman's Resource Center provides similar services, with particular concern for battered women. The Junior League invested $336,948 in the YWCA Women's Resource Center, a support service for women and their families.

The location of My Sister's Place in Washington, D.C., is confidential to protect the women and their children who take temporary refuge there. However, My Sister's Place is well-publicized, and a 24-hour hotline makes it accessible round the clock. Though the Junior League of Washington was not the founding agency, its help has been instrumental in establishing the need for such a shelter, for funding it, for training and recruiting volunteers, and for innumerable other services. Between 1974 and 1982 the Junior League of Washington has granted more than $99,000 to various aspects of the project.

My Sister's Place evolved from work of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, formed in 1971 to combat sex discrimination. "Very soon after incorporating, however, the staff at the fund began to notice that they were receiving a distressingly large number of unsolicited phone calls from victims of domestic violence," said Mary Wells Vickery, chairman of the Junior League My Sister's Place committee. The Women's Legal Defense Fund created a task force in 1976 headed by Cindy Miller Scherr of the Junior League, and the League provided a grant to finance the study. One finding was that there were no facilities in the Washington area that could take in both a woman and her children in an emergency.

When My Sister's Place opened in January of 1979, it was geared to give medical care and counseling to women, and to provide day care and other services their children might also need. As described by Mary Vickery, My Sister's Place in 1982 aided victims of domestic violence through a 24-hour hotline, in-house advocacy programs, and resource referrals to aid in the search for housing, employment, medical help, legal advice, child care, and other services a woman who has fled an abusive spouse might need. Volunteers are an integral part of the setup. In addition to various committee functions, volunteers are fully responsible for My Sister's Place on weekends, and from 6 p.m. and until 8 a.m. each night.[14]

When abused women face a day in family court in Yonkers, N.Y. (as more than 50 do each month), they may have at their side a member of the Junior League of Bronxville. The volunteer does not testify; she represents both moral support and expertise on how the system works. It's part of a court assistance program to help abused women both understand and properly utilize their legal options. If a woman wants assistance, "her" volunteer from the Bronxville League will stay right with her throughout the often bewildering court process.[15]

Yet another type of help for women is offered by Junior Leagues of Billings, Waco, and Orland-Winter Park—projects for displaced homemakers, women who are divorced, widowed, or deserted and who have no employment history.

Impetus for the Waco program came from a 37-year-old newly divorced Junior League member who called the League Community Research chairman to ask where she could find a displaced homemaker program. The nearest one proved to be 80 miles away, and the wheels to begin such a service in Waco started to turn. The Waco League put up seed money of $20,000 and won from the Texas Education Agency a grant of $46,000. In its first year, the center counseled more than 400 individuals, with legal rights assistance and job development programs. While 90 per cent of these first clients were divorced women, 8 per cent were men described as "devastated by divorce."

The Orlando-Winter Park League supplied funds and 25 volunteers to a displaced homemaker program begun by a community college. In 1978 the League sponsored a new aspect of the center's work, a job internship program that placed older women in six-month apprenticeships as stepping-stones to permanent jobs. League members canvassed the community to find potential employers. The Orlando-Winter Park project was featured in a 1982 telecast, "The 80's Woman," an ABC/Hearst cable program.

Several Junior Leagues began educational programs in the 1970's on rape prevention and developed counseling support services for victims. The Fresno League produced a rape booklet for teen-age girls. In 1981, the Junior Leagues of Amarillo, Evansville, Harrisburg, and New York all ran rape prevention or education projects. Trained Junior League volunteers in New York served as counselors to sex crime victims at a hospital and by telephone for those who wanted help afterward. Amarillo's Rape Crisis project offered support and counseling to victims of all types of sex offenses.

Jeannette Dunckel, a member of the A.J.L. Public Issues Committee, and Carolyn Levering, A.J.L. director of programs, prepared a study in 1980 on teen-age pregnancies for the organization. Their findings, distributed to all Junior Leagues and State Public Affairs Committees, underscored the dimensions of the problem: More than one million girls between 15 and 19 became pregnant each year; another 30,000 girls even younger than 15 became pregnant annually. More than a third of all teen-age births were out of wedlock. "Any group involved in advocacy for children and youth should be aware of the key issues presented by this study," said Mary DeKuyper, chairman of A.J.L.'s Child Advocacy Committee.[16]

In earlier decades, Junior Leagues worked to expand hospitals, clinics, and other health services, particularly for children. In the 1960's and 1970's, many Leagues worked to improve conditions for mobile handicapped people, creating guidebooks and directories of their communities that indicated where persons in wheelchairs could and could not go. In 1974, 67 Leagues ran projects for the handicapped. As government agencies and community organizations assumed responsibility for health facilities, Junior Leagues redirected their efforts to prevention and treatment of drug and alcohol abuse, and to the needs of an increasing elderly population.

As concerned parents, Junior League women have led innumerable alcohol and drug education programs in schools and communities. They have helped create Youth Councils and Narcotics Guidance Centers and have supported legislation to fund such services. Charlotte's Drug Education Center began in 1970 with a $75,000 pledge from the Junior League of Charlotte. The Junior League of Miami collaborated with an educational television station to produce "Drugs Are Like That," a film described in 1970 as the first media-mounted attack on drug abuse. The film was bought and distributed by many other local Junior Leagues.

Typically, Junior Leagues worked in coalition with schools and other agencies in school education programs and in community awareness efforts. There were 59 separate Junior League projects on substance abuse in 1981, almost all of them geared to children and teenagers. In a representative larger effort, the Junior League of Cedar Rapids contributed nearly $54,000 over several years to a community Substance Abuse Prevention Program that utilized 25 League volunteers. Leagues in Atlanta, Cobb-Marietta and DeKalb County pooled their resources for a $10,000 drug-prevention program targeted at preteenagers in four Georgia counties.

Other Leagues with prevention programs in 1981 included Boise, Butte, Charleston, West Virginia, Chattanooga, Chicago, Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Eugene, Evansville, Fargo-Moorhead, Galveston County, Great Falls, Greater Bridgeport, Greenwich, Jacksonville, Kingston, Lehigh Valley, Los Angeles, Lynchburgh, Nashville, North Little Rock, Odessa, Owensboro, Pelham, Phoenix, Racine, Richardson, Richmond, St. Paul, Santa Barbara, South Brevard, Florida, Spokane, Stamford-Norwalk, Tallahassee, Topeka, Tuscaloosa, Waco, and Wichita Falls.

In the 1970's, a great many Junior Leagues began to send members to Red Cross training sessions to become instructors of a technique called cardiopulmonary resuscitation. The process is a life-saving method that combines mouth-to-mouth rescue breathing with rhythmic chest pressure to restore breathing and force the heart to resume pumping. Ideally, two rescuers apply CPR, one doing the breathing, one the chest pressure.

Usually in conjunction with the Red Cross, Junior Leagues in many cities conducted training courses to educate League trainers as CPR instructors who could then spread CPR into the community. In a typical community, the Junior League bought the necessary mannequins and training manuals from the Red Cross; then League volunteers conducted classes for firemen, public school teachers, police and others who are likely to be on hand when someone collapses. San Francisco extended its original CPR training to include choke-saving classes that taught the Heimlich maneuver to restaurant personnel.

Among the Leagues with CPR projects in 1981 were Amarillo, Beaumont, Denver, Galveston County, Hampton Roads, Houston, Montgomery, Odessa,

Palo Alto, Pelham, Richardson, Rockford, St. Joseph, San Francisco, Tulsa, Tyler, and Youngstown.

In 1973 A.J.L. embarked on an Association-wide effort to improve the system of criminal justice that involved the National Commission on Crime and Delinquency and the Justice Department. Impetus for the criminal justice project came from Mary Whyte, former president of the Mount Kisco Junior League (now the Junior League of Northern Westchester). Her concern with the justice system began as a volunteer with the National Council of Crime and Delinquency in the late 1950's, continued during a term as a director of A.J.L., then during eight subsequent years on the A.J.L. staff. (She was elected to chair the NCCD in May of 1981.) As consultant to the A.J.L. program committee, Mary Whyte "threw the idea of a Crime and Delinquency Seminar into the hopper," and the board picked it up. The resulting five-day 1973 seminar in Houston was sponsored jointly by A.J.L. and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. While 205 Junior Leagues sent 600 delegates to the conference, about a third of those attending were nonmembers, professionals, and lay persons interested in the topic.

Delegates returned to their home communities trained to survey local criminal justice systems as a prelude to further action. One month after the conference, 61 Junior Leagues were involved in crime and delinquency programs. In the fall of 1974, A.J.L. conducted six follow-up meetings in various regions at which consultants from the Crime Commission offered technical advice to Junior Leagues that were encountering problems.[17]

Criminal justice is gritty and intractable, not easily amenable to change. Police and court systems often are not particularly receptive to amateur efforts to improve their operations. Junior Leagues often encountered multiple obstacles to their efforts, not least of which was some members' reluctance to get involved. Impact was a multifaceted effort, with specific focus areas, including delinquency, prevention and rehabilitation, court reform, prisoners' self-help programs, runaway shelter and return services, rape prevention and community education. Two years after the Houston conference, 114 Junior Leagues ran 168 criminal justice programs. By 1980, without the direct impetus of an association-funded program, the number had dropped to about 50. Of the remaining programs, about half concerned juvenile justice systems.

However, one anticrime program that a Junior League helped start has succeeded beyond the fondest hopes of its founders. This is Crime Stoppers, an idea conceived by Greg McAleese of the Albuquerque Police Department and implemented with help from the Junior League of Albuquerque. This much-copied idea is run by the police in cooperation with community groups. Crime Stoppers offers cash rewards to citizens who furnish anonymous information that leads to the arrest and indictment of felony-crime offenders. The police department chooses a crime to be publicized, often through a television reenactment. There

are tales of criminals so entranced by seeing "their" crime on TV that they boasted of it to acquaintances—who called Crime Stoppers to collect the reward.

"The city recently ended a period of 28 consecutive months of declining crime rate," said the Albuquerque *Tribune* in 1978. "The plunge began when Crime Stoppers started in December, 1976."[18]

The Albuquerque League not only helped begin the program, it also sponsored and helped plan the first national Crime Stoppers Conference in 1978. One of the five objectives the Albuquerque League stated for its participation in 1979–80 was "20 new Crime Stoppers programs established by November, 1980." The project has more than met its target. In the fall of 1981, H. Coleman Tily, chairman of the national Crime Stoppers-USA board, estimated that there were more than 200 similar programs around the country. In a letter to Judy Chreist, president of the Albuquerque League, he estimated that these programs had solved more than 11,000 felonies, with a conviction rate of 98.8 per cent.[19]

When the first Junior League was formed in 1901, an average American could expect to live only 47.3 years. In 1980 the average life span stretched 26 years longer, to nearly 74. For women, life expectancy was even longer, 77.8 years. As the population aged, more and more Junior Leagues turned their attention to the problems and the potential of older citizens.

In earlier decades, Junior Leagues helped start innumerable agencies that are now embedded in the social service network: Visiting Nurse Services, Visiting Homemakers, Senior Citizens Centers, Nutrition Centers. In the 1960's and 1970's many Leagues founded "Meals on Wheels" services, usually in cooperation with a local hospital or nutrition center. The institution prepared a hot meal at lunch for shut-ins, most of them elderly, and volunteers delivered the food. For many shut-ins, arrival of a Meals on Wheels volunteer with a hot lunch was their only daily visit and their only substantial meal.

In addition to these types of programs, individual Leagues have offered services to older people in a variety of ways. Dallas members stage a yearly Senior Citizen's Craft Fair to provide a market for items made by the elderly. A similar venture in Pittsburgh, which has been running for 28 years, showcases the handiwork of senior citizens in a three-state area. Instead of focusing on the elderly themselves, the Evanston Junior League has concentrated on the in-between generation, which must often make decisions about aging parents. In 1980 Evanston produced a community seminar, "The Middle-Aged and Their Aging Parents." A task force in the El Paso League compiled a Directory of Services for Older Adults, a 25-page large-print book. Greenwich publishes a quarterly *Senior Communications* with information needed by elders in the community. The Junior League of New York publishes an award-winning newsletter for senior citizens.

The Junior League of Elizabeth-Plainfield produces a series for cable television, "Up to You," a program for senior citizens that is aired twice weekly

in central New Jersey and on various public access channels. "Apart from technical guidance from the studio's director, Tom Fagan, League members are responsible for all aspects of the production. We produce the shows, man the cameras, write the scripts, act as stage managers and research the guests, as well as appearing on camera," says the show's on-camera hostess Harlene Tancred. "Up to You" uses a magazine format and is divided into segments such as cooking demonstrations, exercises for the elderly, book reviews, consumer tips, and interviews on topics such as coping with stress and the Retired Senior Volunteer Project.[20]

Special problems of the elderly who are not institutionalized but who are too frail to be left alone all day are addressed by the Montclair-Newark Junior League through a Senior Care and Activities Center. The Westchester-on-Hudson League, in coalition with community agencies, in 1981 committed itself to developing a housing program for frail elderly.

One of the Association's most ambitious undertakings originated in the fall of 1975 from an outside group. Merrell Clark, then vice president of the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation (he is not related to the foundation donors), was seeking ways for able retired people to help other less able elders. "Our country, which has generated the largest population of healthy, educated elders to be found in any nation on earth, has been preoccupied with the legitimate needs of a small dependent minority of older people," he said. "As a result, we have ignored the potential contribution of capable life-experienced and frequently wise older people."[21]

"Having developed relatively obvious experiments in school districts, hospitals, and homecaring agencies to demonstrate the effectiveness of older volunteers, particularly 'professional level' elders, I was casting about for a systematic approach to use of elders in legal services," said Clark. The foundation had sponsored an American Bar Association survey of legal needs, which showed that lower and middle-class older groups were mostly ignored by the legal profession. Clark wanted to find specific roles that could be developed for able elders with or without legal training who could help extend legal service to middle- and lower-class consumers.

A search unearthed a promising program in England, a system of "senior community advisers," who Clark describes as "equivalent to China's barefoot doctors." Senior community advisers are people "wise about the community and about how things get done, who can take up a case and get it resolved without resorting to any special technical knowledge," says Clark.

To develop the concept for American usage, the Clark Foundation hired a gifted elder, Gordon Manser, retired executive director of the National Assembly and a leader in the social welfare field. Manser and Clark reviewed various national organizations that might undertake a demonstration project, and isolated the Junior League as the one they hoped would do so. Merrell Clark is no stranger

to the Junior League, however, for his wife has been president of the Scarsdale League. "Through Lynne Clark I have developed a partisan view of the importance of Junior Leagues as trainers of sophisticated community leaders,"[22] he explained.

With A.J.L., Manser drafted a position paper in 1975, "The Older Volunteer as Advocate," which sketched a rationale for utilizing the increased number of able older people who have retired but who still have many productive years. In 1975 there were approximately 21 million Americans 65 and over; by the year 2000 the figure is expected to be 30 million. They will be different in at least one significant way: The average 65-year-old in 1975 had attended 8.7 years of school. By the year 2000, the average is expected to be 12.4 years of education.

The plan for a demonstration project, Volunteers Intervening for Equity (V.I.E.), developed by the Association and Gordon Manser, requested $790,000 from the foundation, which duly made the grant to A.J.L. for a pilot program in 10 Junior League cities.

The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation considered a paid project director, experienced in the law, to be essential to the success of the project. They also wanted an attorney who knew how to work with volunteers. The choice was Deborah Seidel, who had been an attorney on the New York City legal staff and co-founder of a group of volunteer lawyers.

Eighty Junior Leagues submitted proposals for pilot projects in V.I.E. The 10 selected were Minneapolis, Omaha, Seattle, Orlando-Winter Park, Grand Rapids, Cincinnati, Rochester, Providence, and the two Kansas City Leagues across the river from one another in Kansas and Missouri. The pilots began in 1977.

During the demonstration phase, more than 600 men and women ranging in age from 55 to 89 were recruited, organized, and trained as V.I.E. volunteers. They served as intermediaries for individuals, helping them to get Social Security benefits or other services to which they were entitled. In most cases, the project worked in donated office space on low budgets.

In Seattle's Senior Rights Assistance project volunteer teams specialized in one of seven specific areas, among them health insurance, small claims court, and burial and funeral information. Each is an area that can baffle the uninitiated. Monte Utter, who chaired the Social Security volunteer team, typified the kind of retiree that V.I.E. hoped to activate. Retired from a varied career that spanned jobs as a salesman, assistant manager, and banker, Utter found his work as an advocate for other seniors so rewarding that he recruited his wife to volunteer as well. With 25 years' experience in insurance, she joined a V.I.E. team that helped the elderly with Supplemental Social Security health insurance.[23]

The Grand Rapids program set up several mechanisms to provide home health care as an alternative to institutionalization for the elderly infirm. As one part of the effort, businesses were encouraged to offer insurance coverage to employees at a rate equal to institutional coverage. In Omaha, V.I.E. established

27 counseling locations around the city, mainly at nutrition and senior housing facilities.

A.J.L. considers V.I.E. one of its most successful programs, and with the end of the demonstration phase in 1980 urged replication of the V.I.E. design by other voluntary groups. "Years from now," said 1981 V.I.E. chairwoman Nancy Skinner, "V.I.E. will be even more relevant. Every year there is an increasing number of older people who are healthier and better off than before . . . The volunteer world offers a lifeline to the older citizen."[24]

As people live longer, the process of dying often becomes a long and bewildering one, difficult for both patient and family. Twenty-six Junior Leagues in 1981 were involved in founding or supporting hospices, a relatively new concept in care of the dying. The word comes from the Latin *hospes,* root of both "hospital" and "hotel". In the Middle Ages, hospices accepted wayfarers, well or sick. The modern hospice developed in England when a nurse-turned-physician parlayed a small bequest from a dying patient into the founding of the first facility designed solely for terminally ill patients. As they have evolved both in England and North America, hospices are not necessarily places; they may be a team of doctors, nurses, and counselors who work with dying people and their famlies to help them deal with death as a natural part of the living process.

The Austin Junior League supported with funds and volunteers the Austin Comprehensive Hospice program, which combined both acute hospital treatment and home health care for the terminally ill. The Junior League of Canton acted as catalyst in bringing together "care providers" in the community to establish Hospice of Stark County. The Elmira Junior League sponsored training workshops and a continuing in-service education program to establish a "hospice without walls."

The Des Moines League contracted to pay the 30-hour weekly salary of an office manager for 15 months, and to begin a Hospice Guild to support the work of Hospice of Central Iowa. The League published a newsletter and established a speakers bureau for the hospice. Volunteers enrolled in a 20-hour training course before being assigned to a patient-care team, which worked under the supervision of hospice staff.

Among the Junior Leagues with hospice projects in 1981 were Albany, Amarillo, Augusta, Austin, Bakersfield, Columbus, Dayton, Fort Wayne, Greater Utica, Huntsville, Kansas City, Missouri, Montgomery, Parkersburg, Pasadena, Sacramento, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Barbara, South Bend, Springfield, Missouri, Topeka, and Winston-Salem.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ARTS, THE PAST, AND THE LIVING CITY

From time to time, hostesses from the Junior League of Monterey County give a picnic on the grounds of League headquarters, a restored adobe building in the old harbor district. Their guests are convicts from the Soledad Correctional Training Facility, and the picnics are a grateful "thank you" for work Soledad volunteers have done to restore and maintain the Old Whaling Station. Collaboration between the Monterey League and the correctional facility entered its fourth year in 1982, with no immediate end of the partnership in sight, for another house is boarded up next door awaiting restorative attention. Both Junior League and prison officials are enthusiastic about further joint efforts.

The restored adobe house was begun in 1847 by David Wight, a master carpenter of Scots descent. At about the same time, a friend started the town's first brick house next door. After Wight left Monterey to follow the gold rush, his home became a sailor's rooming house. In 1855 a group of 17 Portuguese whalers formed the Old Monterey Whaling Company, with headquarters in the Wight house. From second-story windows, lookouts were said to have been able to keep watch for whales entering Monterey Bay. One of the Portuguese carved whale vertebrae into diamond-shaped paving for an intricate sidewalk at the Whaling Station. Whale fat was rendered into oil in shacks on the beach below.

The age of whaling passed, Monterey grew and changed, and both the adobe Whaling Station and the adjoining "first brick house" passed through various uses, as roominghouses, summer homes, inns, and private homes again until the owners were forced to sell to the city's urban renewal agency in 1964. The state of California bought both parcels and contracted in 1979 with the Junior League of Monterey to manage them. The task was not only to restore the buildings to

their 19th-century appearance, but also to create uses for them as part of Monterey State Historic Park.

Junior League members moved a folding table and some chairs into an upstairs room of the Whaling Station and declared the room the new headquarters of the Junior League of Monterey, although there was no heat and sewer lines had been disconnected. While workmen repaired such immediate defects, archaeologists were brought in to ascertain that nothing of historical value would be disturbed if work began immediately to restore the gardens. Groups of Junior League and community volunteers began planting, pruning, and excavating the gardens, while others began to refurbish the building itself.

Even though a number of skilled tradesmen donated their services, and Junior League husbands and other community volunteers rallied in support of the effort, the League committee found the sheer physical task somewhat overwhelming. Karen Day, who chaired the League Heritage Committee, got in touch with the Community Awareness Group at Soledad Correctional Training Facility, which does volunteer work for various nonprofit organizations in and around Monterey. Lt. Herbert Matthews, a correctional program supervisor at Soledad, readily agreed to supervise work parties of five to seven carefully screened prison volunteers at the Whaling Station.

To date, Soledad volunteers have sanded and painted the entire building, inside and out. Once a month a group of prisoners does whatever heavy gardening is needed. When extra work is planned, Heritage Committee chairman Judy Kennedy calls Lt. Matthews to outline the task and schedule a prisoner visit. Thus in April of 1982, she phoned Lt. Matthews to arrange for a prisoner team to lay a brick patio the following Saturday. Judy Kennedy credits Lt. Matthews with the success of the program. He, in turn, says it is not unusual for a convict who has served out his term or been paroled to take his family to the Whaling Station to point with pride to work he did there.[1]

Heavy labor by Soledad inmates is only a small segment of the task of turning the Whaling Station into an active museum. Long before restoration of the house was completed, League members researched Monterey history, whaling in California, adobe construction techniques, and related subjects to prepare volunteer tour guides once visitors began to arrive. Plans for special exhibits on themes such as whaling began. Meanwhile, the committee began to rent parts of the building for various community activities to help underwrite the cost of operating the facility.[2]

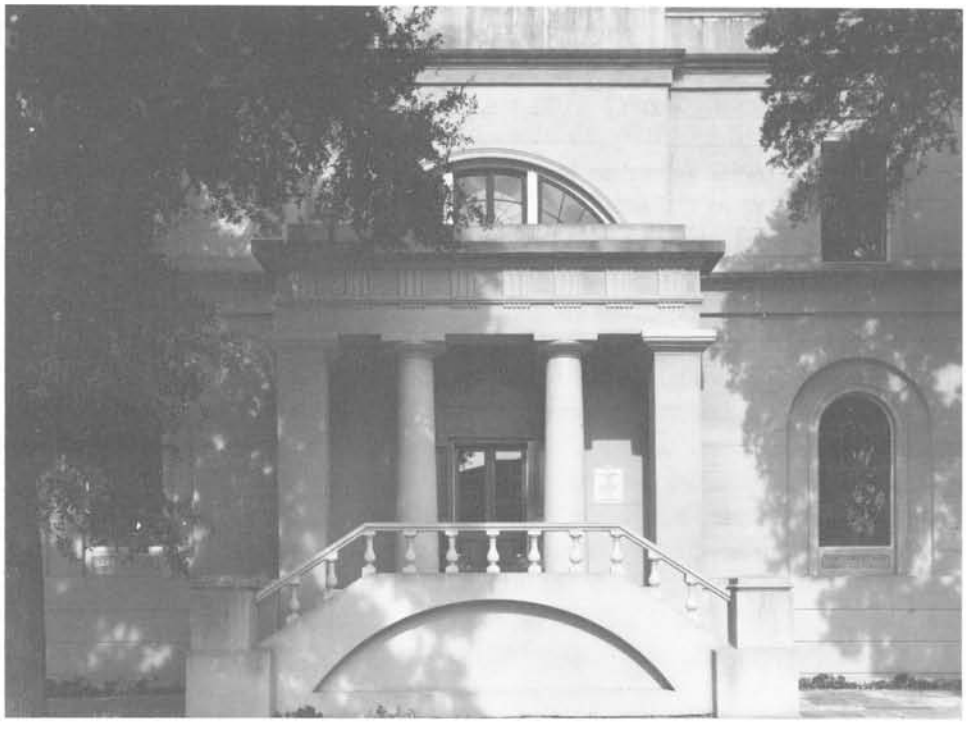
The Whaling Station is just one of dozens of historic buildings that Junior Leagues have rescued and lovingly restored in recent decades. These restorations have brought Leagues into the old and often rundown downtown areas of their cities, and have helped focus organizational interest and enthusiasm on the broader task of downtown revitalization.

Despite suburban dispersal, Junior Leagues are predominantly urban orga-

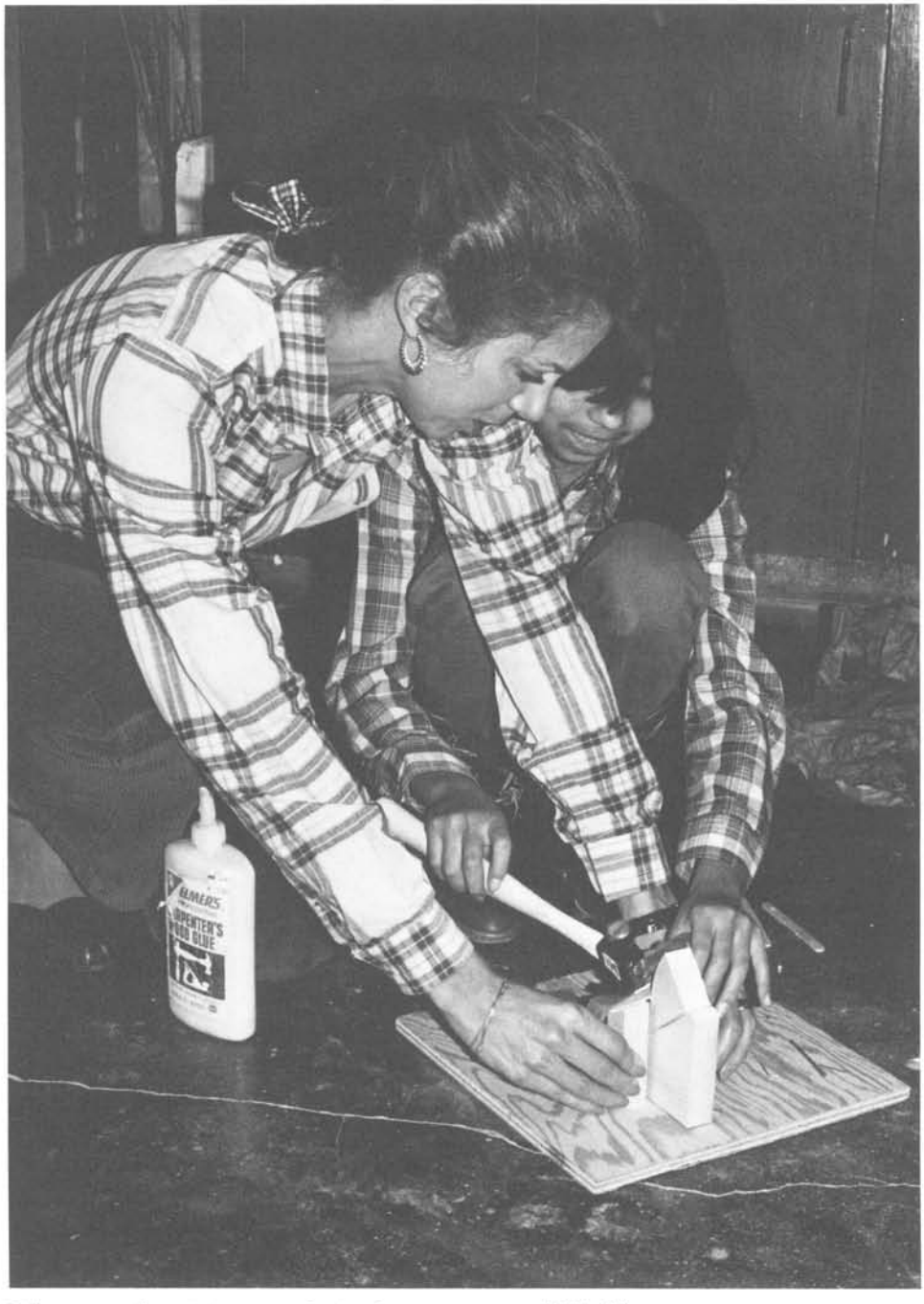
For help restoring the adobe Whaling Station the Monterey League recruited male convict volunteers who do heavy work under League direction. courtesy, Junior League of Monterey

nizations, and members have shown a persistent penchant for enhancing the quality of urban life. During the social upheavals of the 1960's and 1970's, official Junior League priorities tended to emphasize social action projects such as those discussed in the previous chapter. As in Depression years, it seemed somehow frivolous in an era of civil rights, urban riots, war on poverty, and Vietnam to devote excessive attention to aesthetic or cultural ventures. Officially Junior Leagues de-emphasized cultural concerns. As one League commentator remarked in 1979, the arts just didn't seem to be the place to make a substantive difference in the 60's and 70's.[3]

That's what happened on paper. Unofficially and often informally, and in addition to other more "serious" projects, members went on being passionately committed to museums, historic preservation, music, theater, and the whole spectrum of amenities that make a place alive and stimulating and not merely inhabitable. Even while they created day care centers and drug hotlines, Junior Leagues in the past two decades continued to expand museums, create arts councils, sponsor new science and environmental centers, preserve and document historic neighborhoods, and prod schools to teach the arts as an everyday part of the curriculum.



The Great Falls Junior League led efforts to convert an unused school (above) into community center. courtesy, Junior League of Great Falls *Tripp Family Homestead (opposite, above) before restoration by the Scranton League.* courtesy, Junior League of Scranton *The Savannah League, a catalyst in city-wide preservation, is headquartered in historic Scarborough House (left).* courtesy, Historic Savannah Foundation



Volunteer and participant at a Junior League-sponsored "World of Art" at the San Antonio Art Institute. courtesy Junior League of San Antonio

The Pelham League was one of several that formed coalitions to promote environmental awareness.

The 1976 Bicentennial helped legitimize the loving attention many Junior Leagues and thousands of members were already giving the arts, the past, and the way their cities looked and functioned. In 1965 there were 194 Junior League arts projects, not counting the puppet and children's theater undertakings. Ten years later, as Bicentennial plans firmed up, Leagues in 1975 reported more programs in the arts (294) than in any other category. Many of these ventures linked local history and the arts.

There were too many Bicentennial arts and history projects to detail here, but one can serve to show the cumulative impact of the work of a single Junior League. Point Counterpoint II was the city of Pittsburgh's Bicentennial gift to the nation, a floating cultural center for riverside communities. Space was planned aboard for the American Wind Symphony as well as for dancers, poets, and art exhibitions. As the barge was being designed, representatives from the Junior League of Pittsburgh met with the planners and agreed to contribute $30,000 for construction of a children's theater and to research the types of performance most suited to it. The Saginaw League arranged for Point Counterpoint II to travel up the Saginaw River for a two-day visit and festival. Junior Leagues in Lake Charles and Peoria also sponsored visits by the cultural barge to their riverfront communities.[4]

The Bicentennial underscored the considerable expertise in historic preservation and local history acquired by many Junior Leagues. By the time preservation became trendy in the 1970's, Junior Leagues had almost 50 years of accumulating experience in restorations, a background dating to the work of the San Antonio League in the 1920's described in Chapter 5.

During the 1960's the Junior Leagues of San Francisco and Savannah pioneered in this area. Even today the work done then in surveying and documenting historic buildings is considered by current San Francisco Junior League president Carol Ann Rogers to be the single project that has had the most impact on the Bay area. The architectural survey revealed in particular what a treasury of Victorian architecture existed in the Bay Area and led in 1968 to publication by the Junior League of *Here Today*. In 1982 *Here Today* was in its ninth printing and still selling well, both in hardcover and paperback.[5]

When preservationists need inspiration for their ongoing struggle against bulldozer and wrecking ball, one of the places they like to think about is Savannah, a city that is the beneficiary of nearly three decades of sophisticated and determined preservation. A city of planned residential squares, Savannah is a repository of outstanding 18th- and 19th-century urban architecture, with fine examples of Georgian, Regency, Greek Revival, and other styles.

As in other cities, many of these marvelous buildings had fallen on hard times in the 1950's. In 1955 the owners of a funeral home decided to demolish Davenport House next door to make way for a parking lot. Today Davenport House is a city showplace, but in 1955 it was a seedy roominghouse. Neverthe-

less, the demolition threat galvanized a group of seven women that included Mrs. Frank McIntire, first president of the Junior League of Savannah. They formed an organization to save not just Davenport House, but the old city itself. Their creation, Historic Savannah, set for itself the formidable task of saving and restoring whole districts of the downtown area.

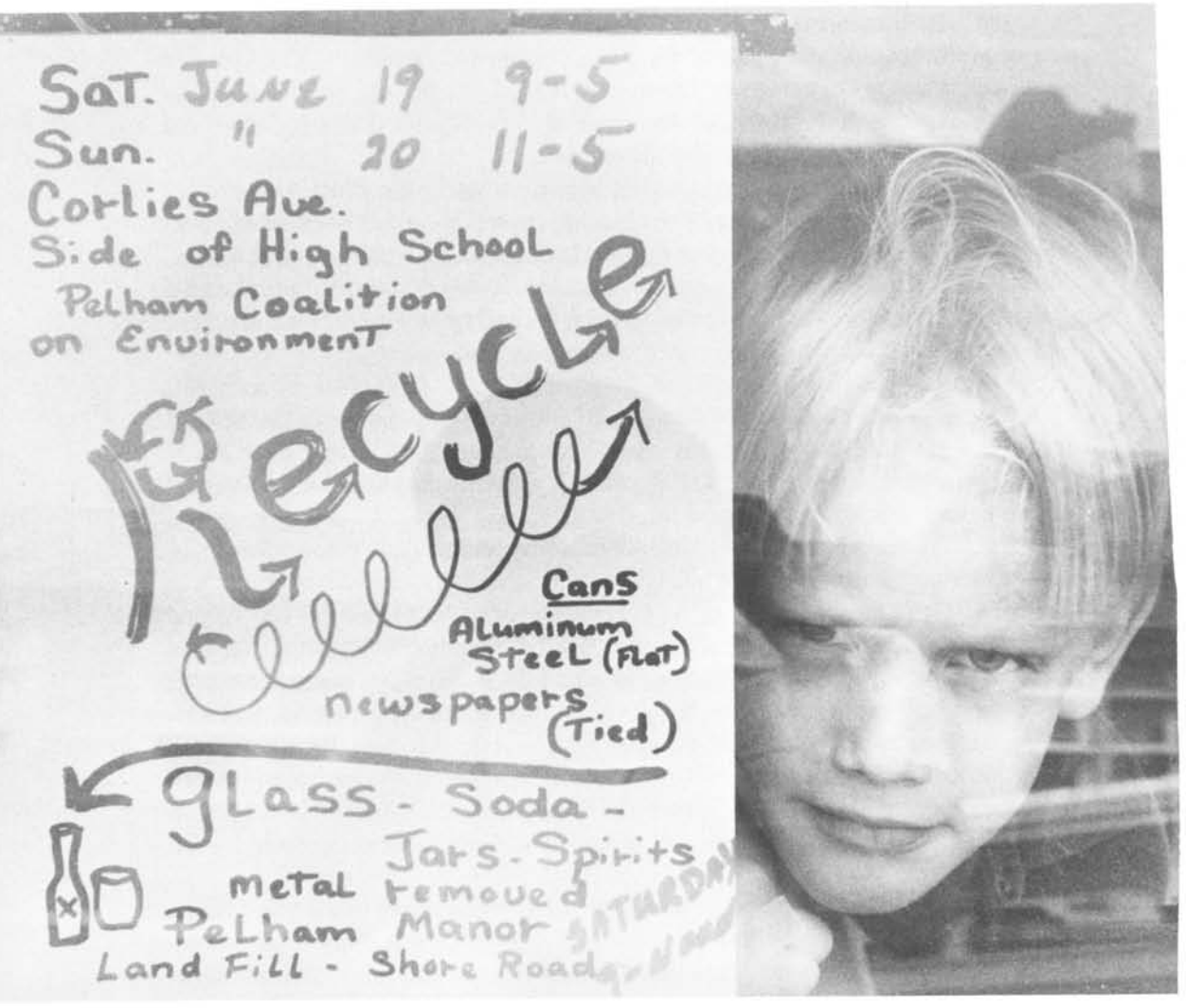
From the first, the Junior League has been a partner in the effort, a guaranteer that needed work would go forward. Historic preservation has been an ongoing project of the Savannah League since 1956. In cooperation with the newly formed National Trust for Historic Preservation, Historic Savannah and the Junior League sponsored a survey of the city's buildings, supervised by an architectural historian and carried out by Junior League and community volunteers.

An article in *Travel* magazine said of Historic Savannah Foundation, ". . . they drew a magic circle around the entire old city and with the help of the Junior League, they began the slow, painstaking job of rating over 2,500 buildings in order to single out 1,100 as either notable, excellent, or exceptional and therefore worthy of preservation."[6]

The foundation in 1968 published a handsome book called *Historic Savannah* that both documented and publicized the city's architectural heritage. It was dedicated to the Junior League of Savannah. By 1982 the foundation had helped save almost 1,000 buildings in a two-and-a-half mile historic district. It is a community achievement for which the Junior League does not claim the credit. Yet the League's role appears to have been indispensable. A report on the foundation's efforts in 1968 noted that Junior League members had filled key foundation posts throughout the critical first decade of its work and had continuously held the chairmanships of five important foundation committees, among them public relations, tours, programs, volunteers, and Georgia Day (initiated by the Junior League).[7]

Even today, the two organizations have their headquarters in the same building, Scarborough House. Three presidents of the foundation, Kay Cobb, Betty Lee, and Elizabeth Sprague, have been Junior League members. According to the current Junior League liaison to the foundation, Melinda Deriso, the Junior League has contributed $61,560 over the years to Historic Savannah. She says, too, that in 1977 the Junior League initiated a Designers Showcase house as a fund-raiser for the foundation and that both of the recent chairmen for this event have been Junior League members.[8]

The Savannah and San Francisco surveys both were models for the inventory of historic neighborhoods done by the Junior League of Denver. Working through a community organization, Historic Denver, League volunteers moved through all the city's older neighborhoods cataloguing and noting structures that merited further study. One outgrowth of this work has been walking tours and a history program for third graders. Another has been to interest the Junior League in an old stagecoach stop outside of town that is owned by the Denver Parks Department. At "Four Mile House" the Junior League is not only restoring the build-



A Junior League child waits in car while volunteers sort glass for recycling.

ing, it is also working with the parks department to turn the grounds and house into a living museum of western life in the 1860's.[9]

San Francisco's *Here Today* also helped inspire Mrs. Worth Sprunt, a past president of the Junior League of Washington, D.C. In 1972 she gathered a group of former League presidents and others to propose putting together a picture book on the history of the capital city. The resulting book, *The City of Washington, An Illustrated History,* published in 1977 by Alfred A. Knopf, was entirely the product of sustaining members of the Washington League.

The same year the Washington illustrated history appeared, a Junior League committee in Tulsa began to study the city's architectural heritage. They found that during the oil boom of the 1920's and 1930's, some exceptional examples of the art deco architectural style were built in Tulsa. From interviews, scrapbooks, and dozens of sources, League members assembled a book, *Tulsa Art Deco,* that was handsome enough and authoritative enough to appear on the bookshelves of such prestigious outlets as the Smithsonian Institution and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Like many Junior Leagues that have salvaged buildings, the Savannah and Monterey Junior Leagues use historic houses as their headquarters. The Jacksonville League refurbished the state's first Mormon Church as its headquarters. The Albuquerque League adopted a 1940 airport terminal, turned the barbershop into Junior League offices, and rented out the rest of the space to the University of New Mexico and other community organizations. For its headquarters, the Worcester Junior League in 1979 bought a stately house that had gone the way of so many mansions in so many downtowns—it had become a funeral home. The storefront offices of an old sawmill are headquarters for the Junior League of Long Island. The Junior League of Scarsdale occupies a pre-Revolutionary drovers inn, Wayside Cottage.

While some Junior Leagues use buildings they have restored as League headquarters, and some have created house museums, a more recent trend has been to seek adaptive use that puts the building back into circulation and does not freeze it into museum status. The Charlotte League bought a dilapidated house in a rundown area and created Berryhill Preservation, Inc., in 1975 to restore it. After three years of work and expenditures of about $30,000, the League sold the house to a private owner and returned the profits to the Community Trust Fund for other projects. In the meantime, the Berryhill restoration had attracted the interest of private investors in the neighborhood, thus providing a catalyst for additional restorations.[10]

In 1975 the Junior League of Corpus Christi took over two decayed but interesting buildings owned by the city. Since the houses adjoin the Bayfront Arts and Sciences Park, a downtown cultural center, the League decided to transform one of them into an arts center for children. One of the newest Junior Leagues, Quad Cities (Davenport and Bettendorf, Iowa, and Rock Island and

To mark 200 years of the city's history, the Los Angeles League produced a Bicentennial Map and guide to historic downtown architecture for use by school children. courtesy, Junior League of Los Angeles

Moline, Illinois) renovated an apple warehouse for the Allied Arts Council.

The Sioux City Junior League had already given the city a museum, which members support with docents and other volunteers. For the Bicentennial, the Sioux City group decided to restore a typical 1890's one-room school for actual use by visiting classes. Third and sixth graders now spend a day studying from McGuffey readers, sitting at 19th-century desks, and otherwise experiencing first-hand what school was like almost a century ago.

Cleveland's Junior League helped through money and volunteers to save Playhouse Square, a complex of four downtown theaters. Then, combining fund-raising and preservation via a Decorator Showhouse, the League focused attention on a section of architecturally interesting but deteriorated rowhouses. Continuing to salvage fine old buildings, the Cleveland group also helped rescue Mather Mansion as a downtown conference facility.

In some cities, old structures have been donated outright to a Junior League as a group capable of caring for them. When the owners decided to give up the magnificent Schnull-Rauch mansion, the last private residence in downtown Indianapolis, the Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana was commissioned to find appropriate uses for the building. The recommendation was to give it to a nonprofit organization, and in 1979 the Junior League accepted title.

Collaboration between the Indianapolis Junior League and preservationists dates to the Bicentennial. The Indianapolis League in October of 1975 formed an ad hoc historic preservation committee, whose first effort was to help research a district of Victorian cottages. The League worked with Historic Landmarks

Foundation to restore one house and begin a revolving fund for purchase of other properties in the Lockerbie Square Victorian neighborhood.

When Landmarks turned to the Old Northside neighborhood, the Junior League went along with volunteers and funding. The League agreed in 1976–77 to pay half the salary of a preservation coordinator who would supervise citywide efforts. As the project matured, various structures were restored, a preservation newssheet begun, training offered for volunteers, a taped interview collection with older residents begun, a photo file assembled, and tours started. Thus, when the Junior League accepted title to the Schnull-Raunch mansion in 1979, its members had several years of preservation background. The League launched a $650,000 preservation and restoration project for the mansion; by 1982, several nonprofit groups were operating out of the downtown facility.[11]

When a vast old school was vacated by the school system, the Junior League of Great Falls, Montana, knew that years of planning and preparation were about to pay off for the community in a new activities center. League members had worked for many years as art docents at the C. M. Russell Museum, and in 1965 the League began a small science program as well. The science project snowballed into a major ongoing undertaking with films, exhibitions, science fairs and "Rural Days," but there was no place to house all the exhibits and activities for which people had ideas. The League decided to merge its art and science committees into an umbrella group that would devise a 10-year plan to create an activities center for the city.

"A League Ad Hoc Committee was formed to investigate a Cultural Center for our community, the base was broadened and a community task force researched the cost, programs, locations, etc.," said Great Falls League member Connie McCabe. When the school board decided to vacate a massive old school, the task force was ready with preliminary proposals. A year after classes left the 1896 building, Paris Gibson Square reopened as a cultural center for Cascade County.[12] The building provides working space for artists, as well as exhibition and performance facilities. The Junior League and eight other community organizations have offices there. In 1981 there were two artists-in-residence to work with mentally and physically handicapped.

The Junior League of Galveston sparked the renewal of the downtown Strand section by restoring and occupying a three-story Victorian fantasy of multicolored brick, the Adriance-Trueheart Building. At a ceremony rededicating the building, Rita Clements, wife of the Texas governor, called the Galveston County League "the leader in the state in historical restoration."

"Many Leagues seek our advice in historical preservation," said former Galveston president Lana Swift. "We are proud of this achievement and consider it a major contribution because it completely changed the downtown Galveston area to a revitalized urban center . . ."[13]

Will Rogers called the Mission Inn in Riverside, California, the "most unique hotel in America." "Presidents, princes, actors and artists have all stayed

there,'' according to Barbara Shackelton, who chairs a Junior League project to restore the old mission wing of the hotel. The three-year effort to restore 10 rooms of the Cloister Wing marshaled the support of about 20 other community groups.[14]

Since Hawaii once had a monarchy, the Junior League of Honolulu was able to undertake preservation on a royal scale. In the 1960s the Honolulu League hired the noted architectural historian Charles E. Peterson to plan restoration of Iolani Palace, home of Hawaii's kings and queens. His work was followed up by a League-produced documentary film on the palace and Hawaiian history. Next, League representatives joined the Mayor's Historic Buildings Task Force to create exhibitions and a television documentary on historic buildings on the island of Oahu.

In New Orleans and Portland, Oregon, Junior Leagues have gone beyond efforts to save a single building in favor of acting as information resources and catalysts for community-wide preservation. The New Orleans League started a Preservation Resource Center and provided $60,000 to fund its first five years of operation. Portland members opened a storefront Architectural Preservation Gallery in the heart of the Old Town District in 1977. Rotating exhibits illuminate local architecture from the pioneer period through the present, and the gallery's focus is on showing ways to recycle landmark buildings for contemporary uses.

Seventy-one Junior Leagues had historic preservation projects underway in 1981, a figure that does not include many that are no longer listed because the facilities are in use as independent museums, Junior League headquarters, or some other community use. In addition to preservation, another 30 Junior League projects dealt with local history. These ranged from walking tours and historic coloring books to Miami's highly praised film, *Miami the Magic City,* which traces the city from 1926 to 1980.

On important anniversaries of their own history, Junior Leagues often give their cities a lasting gift, most often involving the arts, the downtown, or community history. For an anniversary gift, the Fort Worth Junior League in 1979 bought and began work on McFarland House as a community museum. In 1978 the Winnipeg League published a 50th-anniversary book on the community's historic houses, *Stories Houses Tell.* As its 50th-anniversary gift to the city, the Wichita League created a Victorian-era park, Heritage Square, adjoining the city's historical museum and planetarium. A joint effort of the Junior League, the city, and community agencies, the park was the 1981 winner of the National Landscape award. As a joint Bicentennial and 50th-anniversary gift to the city, the Houston League sponsored a design competition for a park on the site of Old Market Square and donated $60,000 toward creating it.

''The museum is used to calling on us when they need something,'' said Atlanta League member Becky Amos, current Junior League representative to

Atlanta's High Museum.[15] Her comment is equally valid in many other communities. All three of the largest Junior Leagues—Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston—have long-standing partnerships with the art museums of their cities.

In Atlanta the partnership began in the 1920's. In its infancy, the art museum occupied a house donated by Mrs. Jones Madison High, and League volunteers helped staff it. As the High expanded, Junior League ideas, volunteers, and funds were involved at every step. For years the Junior League provided prize money for a Southeastern Art Exhibit that established a tradition of encouraging regional artists. The League contributed to a 1956 building campaign, set up a picture fund for acquisitions, and provided a grant for professional study to reorganize the Art Association. This grant provided the groundwork to create the Atlanta Arts Alliance, which has sponsored construction of a new arts center. With plans underway for a multimillion-dollar expansion at the High, the Junior League in 1982 was deeply involved in committee work and had pledged $50,000 toward the building fund.

Junior League of Dallas has a similar long-standing volunteer/financial linkage with local museums. Many years ago the Dallas League started the docent program at the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. More recently, League researchers documented the need for an expanded program of children's education at the museum. The League has pledged $300,000 toward an expanded children's wing. When the Health and Science Museum's planetarium needed additional equipment for children's shows, it was the Junior League of Dallas that provided funds. League volunteers learned to operate the planetarium's complicated machinery to present nine different shows on such space themes as black holes, space shuttles, and quasars.

As individuals, Junior League members do whatever suits their fancy and their talents to support and expand museums, art centers, nature and science facilities. However, as organizations, Junior Leagues tend to focus their energies on programs that relate to children. As we noted in Chapter 8, Junior Leagues since the 1940's have helped in the establishment of junior museums and nature centers.

Many of the newest League-initiated facilities are participatory, hands-on places where young people are encouraged to touch and do rather than just look. Even the names reject the old "Don't touch, don't talk" museum atmosphere. In Nashville the Junior League sponsored a Curiosity Corner, in Monmouth County a Wonder Warehouse, in Pasadena a Kidspace, in Rockford, Illinois, a Discovery Room, in Richmond a Science Museum Discovery Room, and in Mobile an Explore Center. The Fresno League in 1977 created a Discovery Center that is modeled on San Francisco's famous Exploritorium.

In 1978 a Junior League task force headed by Mary Lynch began studying the idea of a participatory science museum for El Paso. The group decided not to wait to find a permanent location, but to start operations and thereby publicize

the concept of a hands-on facility with a traveling exhibition. Shortly after the science road show began touring, League volunteers in search of corporate funding for exhibitions called on the head of the local electric company. Instead of money for a single exhibition, he offered the rent-free use of the basement of a historic downtown building for the museum's permanent home. INSIGHTS, the new participatory El Paso Science Center, moved in. Every exhibit invites participation by visitors. By 1981 the fledgling institution had a budget of $141,000, administered by an all-volunteer staff headed by a full-time volunteer director.

Throughout the 1960's and 1970's Junior Leagues continued to promote community coalitions to form umbrella arts councils in cities and counties not already served by such groups. By 1980, few communities where there was a Junior League did not also have a coordinating arts agency. Some large Leagues refined the process a step further. The New Orleans League sponsored the creation of a specialized Council for the Arts for Children.

The Junior League of Vancouver, which launched the first North American arts council, has one of the most varied and impressive records of creating new arts facilities and opportunities. The list of earlier projects includes art appreciation classes, a puppet theatre, and a children's gallery. The Vancouver League was the catalyst for a Children's Arts and Science Center. As part of the Canadian Centennial Celebration, the Vancouver group furnished a children's participation area in the Museum of Natural and Human History. And as a 50th-anniversary gift to the community, the Vancouver League established a $50,000 trust fund for a permanent volunteer facility in a proposed new Arts and Science Center.[16]

The Junior League of Baton Rouge has also promoted the arts over several decades, beginning with an exhibition of historical dolls made by League members. This led to an annual Junior Museum exhibition, which in turn pointed out a need for added gallery space in the community. The League voted $5,000 a year for five years to consolidate cultural activities at a Baton Rouge Arts and Science Center. The new organization opened in the Herget home, then moved to the Old State Capitol. By 1962 the Baton Rouge Junior League was paying the salary of a professional director and seeking legislative approval for use of the Old Governor's Mansion as an Arts and Science Center. This dream became reality in 1964. In 1970, with Junior League assistance, the Arts and Science Center acquired a strategically located railroad depot called Riverside, enabling further expansion of its efforts. In the meantime, the Baton Rouge League had also sponsored creation of an Arts and Humanities Council, various arts projects for children and the elderly, a series of arts lectures, a puppet theater, humanities concerts, and an archaeological excavation at a nearby plantation kitchen.[17]

As a logical extension of member interest in both children and the arts, Junior Leagues in Oklahoma City, Minneapolis, Pensacola, and several other communities pioneered efforts to make the arts not a sidelight, but an integral

part of school curricula. The culmination of many of these efforts was a national Symposium on Art Education in 1977, co-sponsored and organized by the Junior League of Oklahoma City. A.J.L. president Susan Greene told delegates that Junior Leagues had been in the advance guard of a movement to build the arts into school curricula.

The ability of each Junior League to benefit from the experience of other Junior Leagues has been a recurring theme in this book. As an autonomous group, each Junior League can undertake activities of particular interest to its own members or those that address a specific local need. Yet links between Junior Leagues and expertise available through the Association provide resources no individual group could duplicate. In no area has this been more evident than in the evolution of Junior League projects to protect the environment.

As awareness of the dangers of water and air pollution became more widespread in the 1960's, first one and then another Junior League developed educational programs on environmental issues. One of the most effective early efforts was a 1965 film by the Junior League of Toledo, *Fate of a River,* documenting pollution of the Maumee River. This highly praised film was only a fragment of the work done by Toledo members in educating themselves and the community on water pollution. So knowledgeable had some members of the Toledo League become that in 1966 they were invited to testify before a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives that was studying pollution of the Great Lakes.

To galvanize those Junior Leagues not already involved in the environmental movement and to assist those that were, the Junior League of Chicago and the Association of Junior Leagues in 1971 co-sponsored a special national conference, "Environmental Strategies." Representatives of 203 Junior Leagues attended. The conference proved to be one of those events that sends nearly every delegate home fired up to take action. Before the Chicago conference, less than 40 percent of the Leagues were involved in environmental issues. Six months after the meeting, 92 percent were running environmental programs of some kind.

Many forged community coalitions. Conference delegates from the Junior Leagues of Montgomery, Mobile, and Birmingham went home and created the Alabama Conservancy, an umbrella organization with headquarters in Montgomery. The Junior League of Buffalo organized the Environmental Clearing House Organization (ECHO), an information exchange and action organization to coordinate efforts of various community groups.

More recently, many Junior Leagues have addressed themselves to restoring and enhancing the urban environment—parks, riverfronts, and other potentially attractive outdoor areas overwhelmed by urban blight. The Birmingham, Michigan, Junior League began as a suburban offshoot of the Detroit League, and in the late 1960's the two groups looked around for a joint project. They decided upon the restoration of Belle Isle Park, designed by the great landscape architect

Fridereck Law Olmsted. Once one of the finest urban parks in America, Belle Isle had deteriorated woefully by 1970. The Detroit and Birmingham Leagues agreed to work through a group created by Harry Firestone, the Friends of Belle Isle, on a master plan for salvaging the park. The plan became the mechanism through which other community groups could be approached for help in restoring the park. Under the chairmanship of Detroit members Andy Weyhing and Nancy Smith, the Junior League of Detroit contributed a $50,000 Playscape, a wood, chain and tire structure for the park. As a follow-up, Diane Hicks of Detroit chaired a project to create a Handicapped Trail on the Isle.[18] Belle Isle was once again a showplace by the time the Detroit and Birmingham Leagues sent delegates to the first annual conference for groups dedicated to preserving and restoring the 175 urban parks designed by Olmsted and his associates. The 1980 conference was co-sponsored by the Junior League of Buffalo.

Efforts like those of Historic Savannah and the Friends of Belle Isle represent intricate urban coalitions. They do not always have clear beginnings and endings. As Junior Leagues become more involved in the process of encouraging such coalitions and collaborations, it is more difficult to say specifically that the Junior League did this and this and this. The success of such ventures requires that they be genuinely broad-based community efforts. No one group can or should claim credit. Yet in many instances, it has been a Junior League research committee, a Junior League task force, and Junior League seed money in the crucial planning and research phase that has launched an important community project in restoration, revitalization, and renewal.

One such place is Norwalk, Connecticut, where the waterfront had deteriorated into an eyesore. In 1982 there were elaborate plans for a Maritime Center, the centerpiece of the South Norwalk Historic District. It was to include an aquarium, theater, and places for exhibits that could lure great numbers of people to the downtown shorefront. Fourteen members of the Junior League of Stamford-Norwalk worked on the initial feasibility study for the center, and the League contributed $20,000 of the $67,000 needed to fund the study.[19]

In Springfield, Massachusetts, the Junior League provided the mechanism for getting community input for a program to revive the riverfront. In 1979 Springfield Central, a nonprofit organization involved in downtown redevelopment, asked the Springfield Junior League for help in developing a master plan for the riverfront acceptable to the community. The League planned a three-month blitz both to inform the community of ideas developed to date and to invite suggestions.

With city support, an architectural firm was hired, and a storefront center opened—a walk-in facility where citizens could talk directly with those who were trying to shape the city's future. League volunteers staffed information desks while architects and draftspeople worked in full view of drop-in visitors. League volunteers also staffed "idea tables" at shopping malls, schools, and other community gathering spots. Then they sifted and catalogued every idea submitted.

A local television station agreed to donate three hour-long "Design-a-thons" at which architects presented ideas while volunteers took telephone calls with viewer suggestions.

In the follow-up phase, the mayor appointed a commision to oversee implementation of the riverfront design plan. League member Barbara Adornato, co-chairman of the League project and a member of the mayor's commission, indicated that as far as the Springfield League was concerned, the work to date was only a beginning.[20]

Junior Leagues around the country would agree. Most no longer expect to work on solo efforts, but to submerge their work in broad community coalitions as they try to preserve the past and enhance the quality of the living cities in which they function.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THROUGH THE PLATE GLASS WINDOW

The following editorial appeared in a 1927 issue of the *Junior League Bulletin:*

Pro the Pro

> Fifty years from now. . . . Will women be considered as a class separated from men in their habits of money-making?
>
> Face the music, watch the trend of the last fifty years, notice the tide of taxation that is sweeping all classes and sexes into economic unity and answer: NO! NO! NO!. . .
>
> . . . dimly we envy the Job-worker. She 'belongs' as Eugene O'Neill would say, and we watch her from the other side of the plate glass window. Someday it will be our turn to join her.[1]

omeday arrived a while back; every year a higher percentage of Junior League members is employed. Nearly half of all incoming members either work or attend school, a statistic with profound implications for the organization. Every recent membership survey has underscored the trend: Among older sustaining members of the League, fewer than one in 10 (9.7 per cent in 1981) were employed, while one of every three active members was in the labor force. Among incoming provisionals in 1981, one of every two (47 per cent) either worked or attended school. In other words, women who are not employed still dominate the Junior League, but their numbers are shrinking while the number of working women increases. One very tangible sign of the change is Anne Hoover, who became A.J.L. president in 1982. A member of the faculty of Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne, she is only the second employed woman to head the Association in its 61-year history.

Individual Junior Leagues and the Association as a whole have been forced to rethink the organization's way of doing business and to revise training programs to accommodate the increasing number of working women. A member who already has a master's degree does not need or want the same training her mother received in 1940.

In many ways, the fact that the organization is a *Junior* League has eased the transition to new attitudes and fresh approaches. Although more than 70,000 women on the far side of 40 pay sustainer dues, they do not vote on organizational policy. They may attend meetings or work on projects, but they do not vote on policy. The shift from active to sustaining status somewhere between the ages 40 and 45 means that a policy-making member of the Junior League was born sometime after 1940 and attended college in the turbulent 1960's or 1970's. Exposed through adolescence and young womanhood to social upheaval and women's consciousness-raising, she tends to perceive woman's ''place'' in different ways from many older members. Each new crop of provisionals brings more young and often career-minded women into the organization. The shift represents a significant challenge to the Junior League, a challenge to create a program and structure valid both for employed women and for those who choose a more traditional nonemployed path.

As noted in Chapter 9, the need to revamp the organization to make it relevant to the contemporary world was clear by 1970. Societal trends affecting women had merged to create a cluster of new realities: higher levels of education, later marriages, smaller families, high divorce rates, and the continuing surge of women into the work force.

Between 1968 and 1978 the number of families in which only the husband worked dropped by some 4.1 per cent nationally, while two-earner families rose nearly 25 per cent—about 4.5 million. The Labor Department noted that the age of two-income families was significantly lower than that of families in which only the husband worked, and that the most rapid increase in working wives was among those who were under 35.[2]

By 1982, more than half—nearly 52 per cent—of all American women worked at least part time. Sarah Weddington, chairman of President Carter's Interdepartmental Task Force on Women has predicted that by 1990 some 67 per cent of all adult women will work outside the home. She suggested that nine of every 10 women alive will work for pay at some time in their lives.[3]

In 1982, the Association of Junior Leagues and the Hunter College School of Social Work co-sponsored a conference, ''Women, Work and the Family,'' which explored the ''dual work role'' assumed by women at home and in the work place. Dr. Lenora Cole-Alexander, director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, told the conference that the number of women in the labor force had grown from 32 million in 1970 to nearly 46 million in 1982. Yet our society still thinks the typical family is one with two children under 18, father

A trail blazer in high-level business careers for women, Catherine Cleary is the retired chairman of a Wisconsin bank, was first woman director of General Motors and AT&T. UPI

in the paid labor force and mother at home, she said. Such families constitute only 5 per cent of all American families.[4]

Yet while they represented only 5 per cent nationally, such families were still fairly typical among Junior League members. The organization is therefore involved in an intricate balancing act as it tries to provide a supportive environment both for the woman who works for pay and for the woman who does not.

The role of employed women has perplexed the organization almost from its birth. Although ''young women of leisure'' were the *raison d'être* of the Junior League in its first decades, almost from the start some members entered the work force, and any number took college or post-graduate degrees. Mary Harriman carried a full schedule at Barnard during the years she headed the Junior League of New York.

Statistics on employed and student members are incomplete and quite unreliable before the 1940's, but frequent references to ''professionals'' in League publications and minutes reflect chronic uncertainty about the mesh between the Junior League and working women. Until 1975, any employed member was called a ''professional'' whatever her job, be it secretarial, sales, or what would today be recognized as a profession. For historical consistency, we have used the term ''professional'' as the Junior League used it for more than 70 years, however imprecise it may have been.

There was no systematic attempt to collect and categorize membership statistics before the 1940's, so it is impossible to say with any accuracy what

percentage of League members were employed in the first four decades. However, the place of working women in the group was discussed intermittently, giving some clues both to their numbers and their impact in the organization.

One of the earliest comments on employed members appears in minutes of the third informal conference of Leagues in 1916. Grace Henry said the New York League had several working women in its membership, most of them teachers who had joined when they were younger. The Oranges reported several social workers in its ranks.[5]

Each local League set its own requirements of the amount of League work required of employed members. A 1923 *Bulletin* noted, ". . . while a few Leagues still require their professional members to do some specified Junior League work, most of the Leagues are proud of their professional members and felt they had a real contribution to make."[6] Baltimore reported in 1924 that it had decided that those who work all day "may remain in the League, [and] those with part time jobs will be asked to do half the required amount of work, or 1¼ hours a week."[7]

The *Bulletin* queried its correspondents several times in the 20's and 30's about employed women in their groups. "With a few exceptions every League has professional members," the *Bulletin* reported in 1924.[8] A follow-up report suggests the type of jobs open to League women in the 20's, a decade of expanding opportunities for women. Of 18 professionals in the Albany League, 15 were teachers. Birmingham, Alabama, reported 16 professionals, among them a Girl Scout official and a YWCA employee. Chattanooga reported 15 professional members, including one who worked in the Paris office of *The New York Times.* Dallas said it had only one working woman, a bookstore owner, and said the lack of employed members probably represented "the tradition of the 'sheltered' woman of the South." Milwaukee said it had only four or five working women, among them a landscape architect. St. Louis was among the Leagues reporting no employed members, while Montreal seemed to have one of the highest percentages, about 10 per cent of a total membership of 300.[9]

Most working members were young and single. As William Chafe has pointed out, before World War II it was not common for a middle-class wife or mother to work.[10] The vast majority of League women were still on the sheltered side of the plate glass window, peering through with a mixture of curiosity and astonishment. The range of attitudes may be guessed at from two reports in a 1927 League publication. Milwaukee said it did not invite working women into membership because such women did not need the organization. "They are already responsible individuals, else they would not hold jobs." Yet in the same issue Santa Barbara's correspondent observed that many of its professional members gave more time to League work than did their nonemployed colleagues.[11]

The New York League went beyond merely tolerating working women; it set up a Professional Bureau to find jobs for members who wanted them. Established in 1928, the Bureau was headed by Helen Throop, a member of the Junior

League of Brooklyn. Trenton may have been the first League to schedule some meetings in the evening so working members would be free to attend.

The women's movement was still a vibrant reality in the 20's, and women's employment seemed to be increasing significantly. The 1927 conference of Junior Leagues discussed professional members and concluded that their numbers would undoubtedly increase. And, said the conference report, "The League cannot afford to lose them."

The 1930's Depression eroded many of the gains in women's employment made in the previous decade. Women who did not need the money faced fierce pressure not to seek employment. The number of employed women in the League apparently shrank significantly, and there was considerably less dialogue among members about working women in the organization.

The 1936 A.J.L.A. board discussed the role of professionals and how much League work employed members could be expected to do. From these discussions, a 1937 policy statement eventually emerged: "Junior League members who spend a large part of their time in training for a profession or in independent performance of it should not be held responsible to an unreasonable extent for participation in regular Junior League activities."

As the intensity of the Depression eased, and the numbers of college-educated members grew, issues affecting employed members reappeared with more frequency. "As no precise information seems available concerning incidence of professional members in Junior Leagues, or the attitude of various Leagues toward them it is easiest to discuss them by assuming that in every League there is a small percentage, and every League finds them a problem," summed up Winnipeg member Frances Douglas for a 1940 *Junior League Magazine*. She noted trends toward more education for women, more careers for women, and predicted problems for the Junior League. For instance, she said, most Leagues met in the afternoon, precluding participation by working women. She also found that in many Leagues working women were not eligible to hold office.[12]

Directors of the various Junior League regions were asked in 1940, "are professional members an increasing problem in your Leagues? If so, how is it affecting your program?" Their responses show an amusing variety of attitudes toward working women, ranging from hostility to positive support. The Region 1 director said professional members were even more troublesome than transfers among Leagues. Several directors said that some of the Leagues in their regions no longer accepted working women.

Even when a provisional class entered the League quite unemployed, there was no guarantee its members would remain so. Spokane took in 10 provisionals in 1939, and by 1940 eight of them held paid jobs. The San Francisco League decided that too many members were claiming to be professionals, and therefore exempt from various League duties. San Francisco redefined "professionals" as those who worked at least five and a half days a week. "This has reduced the number."[13]

One section of each annual conference was called Town Forum and consisted of a free-ranging dialogue on issues before the forum. A verbatim transcript of the 1940 forum discussion on working women offers the researcher a rare undoctored insight into what leaders of various Leagues thought about working women. The discussion foreshadowed issues that would concern the organization for the next 40 years and showed once again the enormous variety among individual Junior Leagues.

Charleston, South Carolina, said it had about 75 working women in a total membership of 187, but that it did not admit professional women into provisional membership because they were not available during the day to take the training course. Houston said it had only one working woman (Oveta Culp Hobby) in its rolls and that she was so experienced in public affairs that she had taught part of the provisional course instead of taking it. By contrast, Richmond noted that at least six of its past presidents were professional women. Both Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Augusta, Georgia, said they held night sessions for employed members.

Summing up, Association executive secretary Katherine Van Slyck said, "The presence of full-time employed members does not seem to be a problem sufficiently universal to indicate any necessary change in the general League program."[14]

A.J.L.A. voted in 1941 to "index" or survey its membership profile, a decision that yielded the first reasonably complete tabulation of members' ages, marital status, and employment status. In 1941, 12 per cent of Junior League members were employed; and of these working women, nearly half were under the age of 30. About one-third did clerical work, nearly a third were in trade or business, and slightly more than a third were either in the professions or the arts.[15]

Membership surveys were discontinued during World War II and not resumed until 1951. The first postwar tally in 1951 showed a decline from 10 years earlier in the percentage of working women, a reflection of the postwar "return to domesticity." Only 9 per cent of active members listed themselves as professionals, and this figure included college students. Yearly surveys from 1951 to 1956 showed this percentage fluctuating between 9 per cent and 12 per cent. Then, for unexplained reasons, no question about employed members was included in membership surveys from 1957 to 1972. Thus there is little statistical data for working women in the Association as a whole for the 1960's.

However, records of special meetings held for the largest Junior Leagues yield some informal data. Since the big metropolitan area Leagues typically had more working members than Junior Leagues in suburbs or smaller cities, discussion at meetings between such Leagues frequently turned to the role of employed members. A 1966 meeting indicated that employed women made up anywhere from about one-fifth to nearly half of all active members in the largest Junior Leagues. Similar findings were reported at a 1967 meeting of the big

Leagues. New York said half of its active members were professionals, Philadelphia one-fourth, San Francisco one-third.

Despite these numbers, the percentage of employed members at the start of the 1970's was not much different from 1941 for the organization as a whole. In 1973, when the Association again queried Leagues for employment statistics, 14 per cent of all actives were classed as professionals. It should be noted, however, that this figure is unreliable as a measure of employed members since the "professional" category also included anyone who attended college. Further, not all members who worked part time chose to list themselves in the professional category.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the large metropolitan Leagues not only had a different membership profile from other Junior Leagues in terms of working women; they were also in the forefront of the demand that the organization rethink its purpose and structure to suit the times. Some of this pressure came from the working women within the ranks.

In a brief history of its first 65 years, the chronicler of the Washington, D.C., League said of the mid 1970's: "Provisional classes consist of attorneys, accountants, investors, architects . . . you name it and their expertise has both enriched the League and put it under stress to accommodate their busy work schedules and utilize their skills." Judy Hutchins, historian of the Washington group, also noted that daytime actives, or nonworking members, still comprised 50 per cent of all the members, "so the League has two very determined groups of women to please, keeping a delicate balance between night and day meetings, enabling high powered volunteer careers, but still providing the sweet, simple service voluntarism of the past."[16]

In February of 1973, 50 of the largest Junior Leagues sent delegates to the first Junior League conference on working women. The conference was a clear recognition of the shift in membership, and underscored a need for changes if the organization was to be a viable vehicle for career women. A follow-up "Awakening Majority" conference in Los Angeles in November of 1974 passed a resolution asking the Association to take an in-depth look at how employment trends would affect the Junior League.

In response, A.J.L. created a Professional Task Force in 1975 chaired first by Nancy Anderson and later by Alann Sampson. The final report, issued in 1977, was brief but cogent. To support its findings, the task force identified several national trends of particular relevance to the pool of women from which Junior League members were drawn:

- Labor force participation by mothers of preschool children increased 200 per cent in the preceding 25 years. More than half of all married women with school children held jobs outside the home.
- Generally, as the husband's income rises, the wife's participation in the labor force diminishes.

• College graduates enter the labor force in larger numbers than nongraduates, regardless of their husband's income.

• There has been a marked trend of adult women returning to school.

The task force asked every Junior League in 1976 for data on its working and student members (then 28 per cent of all actives). The committee also had access to an in-depth analysis of member attitudes and orientations developed for the Association by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health. (This study is discussed more fully in the next chapter.) The task force noted that the study showed employed women to be the least satisfied members of their local Junior Leagues. The Hogg study found that nearly half of all evening or employed members in the Leagues sampled thought occasionally of dropping their Junior League membership.

"It is clear that in most Leagues," said the Professional Task Force, "professionals do not experience the same rewards from membership as do daytime members."[17] There was a flip side to that coin, however. Some of the Leagues the preliminary Hogg study analyzed had made significant changes to accommodate their working members. Professionals in these Leagues were indeed happier with the organization, but the rest of the membership showed a corresponding rise in dissatisfaction. Points at issue were such things as day meetings versus night meetings, scheduling of training seminars, utilization of professional expertise.

The Professional Task Force recommended dropping the term "professional" in favor of some phrase such as "evening active," and procedures to ensure equal voting privileges for all members. There were detailed suggestions for using the skills of employed and student members, and for scheduling training at night and on weekends to make them available to people busy during the day.

In its summary, the Professional Task Force argued that membership in the Junior League was a vital and viable option for young women. "We must recognize, however, that voluntarism is competing with paid career and education options for the time and resources of young women. . . The Leagues should consider why League membership is not appealing to more of these women. The impact of the women with highly developed professional skills has yet to be realized fully in the voluntary sector."[18]

However imprecise the measurements, the number of League members in the work force climbed steadily through the 1970's and continued to rise in the 1980's. In 1981, one-third of all actives were in the labor force, although only two-thirds of those who were employed held full-time jobs.

While an influx of employed members represented one kind of challenge to the Junior Leagues of the 1970's, feminists raised others that questioned the fundamental purpose of the organization. A central issue was the relative merit of paid work versus voluntary work. Some feminist spokeswomen insisted that volunteer work demeaned women. Since a significant part of the Junior League's

stated purpose was "to promote voluntarism," the League was committed to support of unpaid, voluntary work. Barbara Yalich of Colorado Springs, A.J.L.A. president from 1968 to 1970, recalls a "frenzy of doubt" that rocked Junior Leagues in this period. "There were real questions about the worth and direction of such an organization."[19]

The gauntlet went down publicly at the Fifth National Conference of the National Organization for Women in September of 1971 in a resolution that challenged the very concept of volunteering. The NOW resolution called volunteer work for social services an "extension of unpaid household work." Further, said NOW, the volunteer system "reinforces the economic dependence of a woman by preventing her from earning money." The statement said volunteerism had greatly reinforced the "feminine mystique." NOW drew a distinction between "service" volunteering and "change-oriented" voluntering. Service-oriented work was labeled "volunteerism" and roundly condemned, while change-oriented unpaid work was applauded as a way of altering society.[20]

The NOW position generated a great deal of publicity and debate, as well as much soul-searching within Junior Leagues. In virtually every League there were members who derived great personal satisfaction from service-type voluntering, just as there were other members who were interested only in change-oriented community work. League placement advisers worked very hard to steer members into what were considered quality volunteer jobs. Still, the gift of one's time is just that, and many women felt it was no one's business to announce what kind of volunteer work was worthy and what was not. Nevertheless, some Junior League members tended to agree with NOW and to urge the organization to become more change-oriented.

To help defuse the conflict, clarify mutual goals, and explore larger issues affecting volunteers, the Junior League of Minneapolis celebrated its 50th anniversary by sponsoring a "People Power Conference on Voluntarism" in April 1974. The gathering was the first of its kind and attracted so much interest that reservations had to be cut off after about 600 had signed up. More than 50 national organizations sent representatives, along with local groups from 30 states and Canada.

Conference chairman Marilyn Bryant told the delegates that the image of the volunteer had not kept pace with reality. "New segments of the population, such as the young, the minorities, and the aged, have entered the volunteer movement in greater numbers, thereby both enlarging and diversifying the total." Consumer activist Ralph Nader equated volunteers with citizenship. "How can we restructure the social system so many careers could be labeled "full-time citizen?" he asked. "We must learn to shift allocation of time and make the role of full-time citizen vital enough to attract the young."[21]

Despite such efforts to broaden the dialogue, it was the feminist challenge to women volunteers that produced the sharpest debates of the conference. NOW coordinator Doris Gold again differentiated between service volunteers and ac-

tivist volunteers. Patricia McCormick of NOW charged that volunteering was the privilege of white middle-class women who were therefore depriving less well-off women of needed paychecks. By working free at hospitals, schools, libraries, and other institutions, she said, they were taking work from those who needed the money.[22] Further, she said voluntarism was a "way of channeling educated women off into a special world of non-competition with men."[23]

Joyce Black, a Junior League member who was then on the executive committee of the National Center for Voluntary Action, said the basic goal of both NOW and the voluntary movement was for women to have a say in making decisions and policy. "We must work with NOW. We will not change their position, but must complement it. We must work jointly—not only for women to obtain paid decision-making positions, but also unpaid decision-making positions. It doesn't matter which path one takes—the paid worker or the volunteer. What matters is the end result."[24]

As part of its response to issues raised by the feminist charges, the Association of Junior Leagues has tried to differentiate between "volunteerism" and "voluntarism," a distinction it has bravely espoused for nearly a decade but which seems doomed to semantic confusion. The general public tends to use the terms quite interchangeably.

William Safire, who writes regularly on English usage for *The New York Times Magazine* tried to clear up the definitions of volunteerism and voluntarism in a 1981 column and concluded, "Both isms are good. When it comes to correcting your friends on this usage, however, the old Army sergeant's advice may well be taken: Keep your mouth shut and don't."[25]

During her term as Association president from 1974 to 1976, Mary Poole of Albuquerque defined voluntarism as "working without pay, individually or through an organization to help solve society's problems."[26] In a position paper she said the focus of the Junior League was on "developing individual women who have the potential for leadership in order that they may become policy or change-oriented volunteers . . . The practice of volunteering is not what reinforces economic dependency, but the fact that so far the labor market does not recognize skills acquired in voluntarism as valid work experience as preparation for a job . . . We feel that NOW could better spend time and energy working with us on the challenge of blending the unique contributions that both volunteers and professionals can make to a program or a problem."[27]

With the passage of time—and the maturing of both the women's movement and the Junior League—this particular controversy has largely evaporated. NOW founder Betty Friedan told a *New York Times* interviewer in 1981 that the women's movement itself was the best volunteerism she had ever seen, "and yet the first stage of feminism sneered at volunteerism of any kind."[28]

"When NOW and the Junior League had their dialogue going, and NOW was very militant, and the Junior Leagues very resistant, the League could have

been more forward-looking,'' says a League sustainer who is a high-level corporate executive. ''The Leagues are now doing what NOW told them to do, though they won't admit that . . . and are now taking stands on issues.''[29]

For several years, the Junior League has concentrated not on the limited issue of paid work/unpaid work, but on the broader challenge of intelligent life planning. Consultant Alene Moris, who created A.J.L.'s Career Development program, articulated the theme at the 1974 Minneapolis conference on voluntarism. ''All people need meaningful work to be psychologically healthy. This work may be paid or unpaid, but should be continually challenging.''

In a speech Mary Poole gave several times in 1975, she drew attention to the multiplicity of choices open to women, particularly the expanding options in education and employment. She commented that a third option, that of housewife and mother, had been almost the only option for a woman of 45–50 or older. And she warned that the ''feminist movement is very threatening to the woman who makes this choice; we have to watch that we don't throw out an option for some women just because it isn't the choice of all women anymore.'' She argued, too, that in its concern for educational and occupational opportunities for women, the feminist movement endangered what she termed a fourth option for women, voluntarism. If volunteering degrades women, it must also degrade men, yet no one so argues, she said.

She also pointed out that a woman who chooses the voluntary option is not necessarily a dilettante or sometime worker. Voluntary responsibilities can easily assume the nature of a full-time job once a person's children are nearly independent, she said. ''I can honestly say I could work no harder nor spend more time on the Association of Junior Leagues if I were earning $50,000 a year.''

She touched on a theme that the Junior League has developed with increasing clarity since the mid-1970's, the concept that a ''career'' is not simply the work for which a person receives money. It is, rather, the sum of one's lifework and experience, whether for pay or not for pay. This philosophy underpins the enormously successful Volunteer Career Development training seminars discussed in Chapter 10, as well as the Association's V.I.E. project to encourage able elders to volunteer. ''Voluntarism,'' said Mary Poole, ''can be a lifetime career, or a part-time career, or a sometime career. It is an option that can be combined effectively with many of the others: home, education, or employment.''[30]

One of the few books on the subject, *Women, Work, and Volunteering* by Herta Loesser, argued that ways must be found to facilitate the transition from volunteer work to paid work and back again. ''At different stages in their lives, people will want, and should be able, to gravitate between different kinds of work, paid and unpaid, as their circumstances require.''[31] She said that for the many women who have either never had a career, or who interrupted a career for child-rearing, volunteering can be a transition into part-time or full-time careers. She suggested that weaving back and forth between volunteer and profes-

sional roles can produce a satisfying and interesting lifestyle.

A significant number of Junior League women who began as Junior League trainers have moved into professional careers as consultants doing the same thing. One of the 1981 workshops offered by the Council of Junior Leagues of Westchester was a seminar for executive wives conducted by Kathe Rhinesmith of Pelham. For her, it represented a full cycle of volunteer to professional to volunteer, for it is the same type of workshop she conducts professionally through a group she encountered when accompanying her husband to an American Management Association's Management Course for Presidents. At a concurrent "Program for Spouses" she told the seminar leader that what they were doing was very similar to her work as a Junior League career development trainer. Discussions followed, she joined the firm and, like many other League women, works both as a Junior League volunteer trainer and as a professional consultant. At least 10 of the Boston Facilitators have become paid consultants.

A number of women who have committed themselves to full-time volunteer careers prefer to use the term "volunteer professional." By this they mean that they treat their unpaid work very seriously and commit to it full-time professional-quality attention. The Junior League of San Antonio annually honors one member as a Volunteer Extraordinaire. Of the 1982 recipient, Jocelyn Straus, columnist Blair Corning of the *Sunday Express-News* wrote, "Straus, like her predecessors, is the equivalent of a high-ranking officer in the Marine Corps of Volunteerism. Another similarity to those who received the award in years past is that her focus has been multifaceted. Her primary interests have been politics, the arts and health organizations."[32]

When such women wish to do so, they rarely have difficulty shifting to paid employment, for they generally have become so well known in their communities that potential employers need have no doubts of their ability to handle complex jobs with aplomb. Such a person is former A.J.L. president Alice Weber of Toledo, whom no one could mistake for an amateur or dilettante. Before assuming the presidency of the Association, she had been president of the Toledo League, president of a YWCA, and a member of the school board. After two years as an A.J.L. director, another as vice president, and two as president, she felt she had reached the top of the volunteer ladder but still wanted to gain new skills. She shifted easily to a paid position as exectuve director of the Toledo Community Hospital Oncology Program.

Each of her immediate predecessors in the Association made similar shifts. Mary Poole (1974–76) went to work as a developer for a consortium of hospitals in New Mexico; Susan Greene of Buffalo (1976–78) worked in Washington on a foreign exchange program for teen-agers; and Nella Barkley of Charleston (1972–74) became a management consultant.[33]

Untold numbers of women who chaired a Junior League project to establish some new facility have in turn become the paid director of that facility—simply

because no one else could offer as much interest, experience, and expertise. San Antonio member Candes Chumney headed a committee to develop a Funding Information Library, a project that has become a model for other Junior Leagues. As the effort grew, she finally became the salaried executive director, just as Jewel Norman came to head the CHARLEE homes in Atlanta.

Yet there are still significant obstacles to women who hope to translate volunteer experience into the work place. Anne Hoover, the new A.J.L. president, says that the problem for those who want to shift to paid employment is to translate their skills into specialties recognized and accepted by prospective employers. To address this problem, the Association in 1982 began working on a program to design a national test to measure skills acquired as a volunteer. It is just one more part of the organization's effort to give work for the community as much credit as similar work for pay.

At the same time, many individual Junior Leagues have gone on to plan workshops and training programs for women who want not just to work but to manage. According to the Stanford University Center for Research on Women, fewer than one of every 25 top decision-makers in the United States is female.[34] Junior Leagues have provided leadership training for presidents and directors of the organization for many years. In the 1980s variations on this training were being offered to women who wanted to acquire management skills applicable either to business or a voluntary organization.

One of the pioneers in this area has been the Junior League of St. Louis, which developed a Women in Leadership program with the CORO Foundation in 1978 to help women secure decision-making positions. The Junior League provided the administrative support, while the foundation helped conduct and staff the program. Early results were impressive: Of the first 20 women to take the five-session training program, 12 received subsequent on-the-job promotions. All 20 said that six months of training and exposure to top business leaders helped them create their own support network.[35]

The Junior League of San Francisco also worked with the CORO Foundation in a program targeted for women past the age of 30. The San Francisco program used self-assessment and field explorations with community organizations to sharpen the skills of mature women.

On a national level, the Association of Junior Leagues and the National Association of Bank Women have teamed up to create a leadership training program to help women overcome obstacles to senior management positions both in business and volunteer work. The project will give women who are already middle-level managers the additional skills they need to become top-level managers. Principal consultant for the programs is Alene Moris. Leadership for Change will be pilot-tested on League representatives, then made available through video tapes, cassettes, and training manuals to both professional and voluntary women's organizations.[36]

Programs like Leadership for Change illuminate the metamorphosis of the Junior League since 1970. No longer content simply to train its members for ladylike community work, the League has quietly transformed itself into a complex support system for able women. In an unspoken way, it has offered some of the same benefits the "old boy network" gives men moving up the career ladder. A recent piece in the *Junior League Review* carried the title, "Women in the Public Arena: How they Handle Power."[37] An article in the next issue was on women in business and carried the subtitle, "Five Junior League Members Discuss the Paths to Power."[38]

There are numerous examples of the invisible network nationally and locally. Marilyn Bryant of Minneapolis, who chaired the 1974 conference on voluntarism, currently heads an appointments project for the National Republican Women's Task Force, which she calls the "feminist arm of the Republican Party." Her mission has been to get women appointed to top political jobs."[39]

One of the people she has worked with in Washington is Wendy Borcherdt, past president of the Los Angeles Junior League and former A.J.L. board member. In 1982 she was Special Assistant to the President of the United States for Public Liaison. She began with the Reagan Administation as associate director of Presidential Personnel charged with recruiting women. She freely credits her volunteer work—with symphonies, hospitals, school boards, and the State Public Affairs Committees of the Junior Leagues of California—with leading to her present job. Lobbying for stronger legislation on criminal justice taught her the political system, she says.[40]

Graduates of the Junior League process can be found in any number of major voluntary and women's programs that are not Junior League-initiated. Joan Smith, former A.J.L. treasurer and past president of the Portland, Oregon, League, serves on the 23-member National Voluntary Service Advisory Council, advisory group to the President and ACTION. Mary Gates, past president of the Junior League of Seattle, chairs the national Volunteer Leadership Development program begun in 1978 for the United Way. Head of the program evaluation committee is Mary Tomb of Cincinnati, a former A.J.L. director.

With less and less diffidence, the Junior League has acknowledged that it seeks as members women with leadership ability. Once they join, the Junior League offers both training and management opportunities, as well as an invaluable female support system. In the process, the Junior League has attached hinges on the plate glass window, so members can pass through in either direction.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE VOLUNTEER POWERHOUSE: WHERE IS IT HEADING?

he number one item on the agenda for the A.J.L. board is to expand the base of membership across racial lines and from all walks of life,'' said Association president Alice Weber in a 1980 speech to the assembled boards of six Junior Leagues of Westchester County.[1]

''Voluntarism by all people would have been applauded by our founding members . . . Isolation and turf-protecting are not viable attitudes,'' her successor, Meg Graham of Washington, D.C., told the Westchester membership in 1981. She said diversity of membership would enrich and enliven the Junior Leagues.[2]

''I am proud of the fact that our Leagues are addressing this issue and making drastic changes in admissions policies and procedures,'' said Amy Adams in 1982. A former president of the Junior League of Mexico City, she had just completed a term as A.J.L. chairman of Membership Practices.[3]

As we noted in Chapter 9, some Junior Leagues began to loosen their admissions processes in the early 1970's, and the Association adopted an affirmative position on nondiscrimination in 1977. By 1982 a significant number of individual Junior Leagues had eliminated secret admissions. A few Leagues allowed women to apply for membership; after explanations of the organization's procedures and expectations, those who applied were invited to join the next provisional class.

One of the trend-setters in the shift to more open membership policies has

been the Junior League of Brooklyn. Even there, the transformation has taken time. Harriette Heller, former president of the Brooklyn Junior League, said that despite open admissions, members still came almost entirely from two brownstone neighborhoods. The Brooklyn League therefore set for itself an explicit goal of expanding membership into the rest of Brooklyn.[4]

The membership development committee of the Junior League of Scarsdale, which serves five communities in Westchester County, set up an information booth at the YWCA in the city of White Plains in the spring of 1982. Members handed out informational materials and membership application blanks. The incoming membership chairman, Linda Daily, said similar information days were to be held at local libraries, churches, and synagogues. The Junior League of Boston publishes a community newsletter on Junior League activities. Readers are encouraged to inquire for membership information.

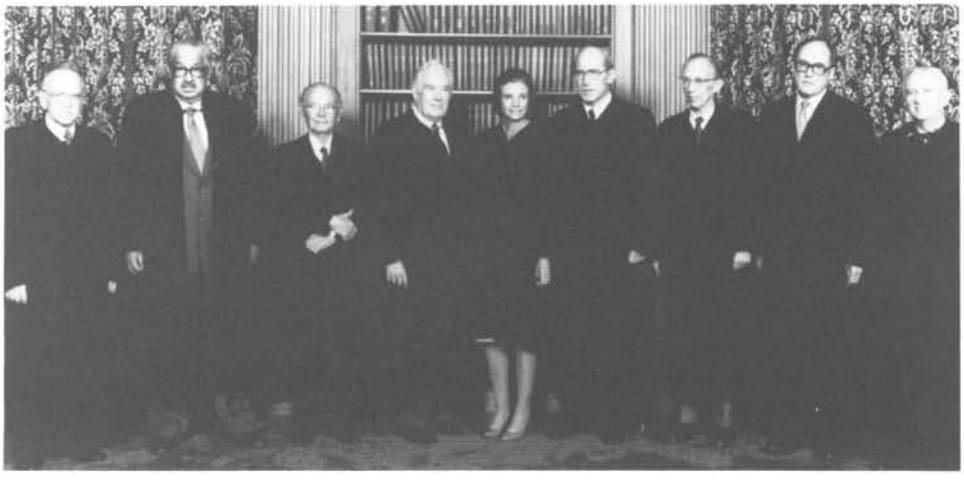
As we have pointed out throughout this book, every generalization about "the" Junior League is subject to the caveat that there are 250 autonomous Junior Leagues. Each charts a separate and individualistic path. Nevertheless, the current Membership Practices Portfolio of the Association encourages all member groups to adopt inclusive attitudes in seeking new members. The leadership of the organization is committed to broadening membership even further. At the same time, much of the pressure to open up membership has come from the grassroots of dozens of individual Junior Leagues.

Changes are rarely unchallenged in any organization, and some within the League have wondered whether, as the Junior League becomes more egalitarian—as it most certainly is doing—whether anything valuable is lost. This tends to be said privately and among friends, but it is the unspoken center of resistance to further opening of the ranks. Most of the movers and shakers in the Junior League vigorously and publicly endorse the belief that the organization *must* sacrifice remnants of the old society link if it is to be effective in the future.

"We still have pockets of members who do not understand that diversity of members—racial, ethnic, social, economic, religious, residence—is what gives the League its strength and its future," one prominent Junior League member told us. Her comment was in response to a questionnaire sent by the authors in February 1982 to about 100 current leaders of the Association—23 A.J.L. directors, presidents of the largest Leagues, and a handful of others. About 40 percent responded, many of them at length. We found that while these women were fervent supporters of the organization, they were also realists about problem areas. Feminist issues and membership practices appeared to be flash points of disagreement, areas in which it is still difficult for all members and all individual Junior Leagues to reach a consensus.

As it moves into the future, the Junior League therefore does a balancing act to retain the support of some members who cherish the old white glove mystique, while at the same time attracting pragmatic young women who are

Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Sandra Day O'Connor *was president of the Phoenix Junior League*. UPI *Another Phoenix member: Mayor Margaret Hance (left), election night, 1975*. UPI



more interested in what the organization can achieve and in the training it offers. The Junior League also tries to offer a program meaningful both to employed women and to those who choose not to work for pay during child-rearing years—the choice made by about two-thirds of current Junior League actives.

To chart a future, the League first has to know itself, and for that the most valuable single tool is a sophisticated instrument that allows the organization to study itself in a systematic and continuous way. This organizational self-assessment was developed in 1975-76 by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health of the University of Texas. The Foundation and A.J.L. agreed to a three-year study of A.J.L. structure, membership satisfaction, and perceptions of community impact. For the foundation, it was an opportunity to find ways to make voluntary groups more effective; for the Association, an analytic mirror.

A 198-page report in 1977 summarized results of the original study by foundation staff. Perhaps the most salient finding was that diversity was the hallmark of Junior Leagues. It was noted that members tended to have widely differing orientations, attitudes, aspirations. The study found, too, that the expectations of upper-echelon leadership, A.J.L. board and Area Council members, differed a great deal in some ways from the expectations of local members. As we noted in Chapter 14, the Hogg Foundation study also showed that younger employed members often had quite different interests from older or nonemployed women.

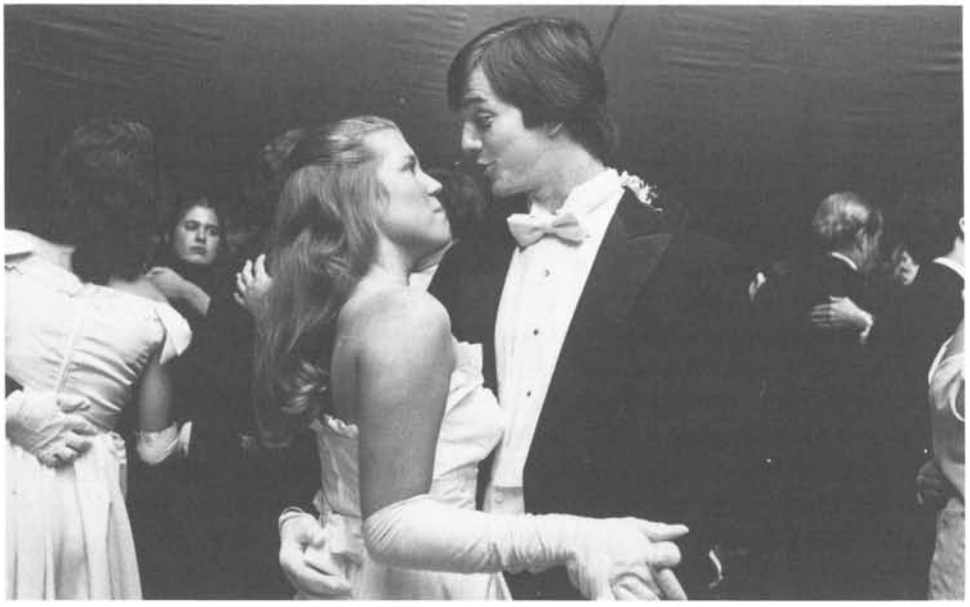
The study isolated five general reasons a woman might choose to participate in one voluntary association—the Junior League—rather than another. In descending order of importance to the members surveyed, they were organizational flexibility and efficiency, sociability and friendship, self-development, community impact, and personal gain. Members indicated that they wanted to work with congenial, interesting women and to choose the activities and/or time they spent on them.

Not surprisingly, the study also found that those who put the most into the Junior League liked it most. A.J.L. board members spent an average of 24 hours a week (or three full working days) on Junior League business. Area Council members put in 17 hours, local board members nine hours, and rank and file members an average of five hours a week on Junior League and volunteer work combined. Board members at all levels were most satisfied with the Junior League; those who had never served on a board the most dissatisfied.

Since the original study, individual Junior Leagues received a packet for organizational self-analysis. These allowed each League to systematically pinpoint member satisfaction, as well as to clarify the types of community activities and training opportunities considered most relevant.[5] The results provided the organization at all levels with a tool for reshaping and redirecting the efforts of the Junior League.

The current leaders we surveyed or interviewed rated "friendship and support from women with similar values and concerns" as a primary reason for joining the Junior League. They described it as a "great support system—I work

Reviving a tradition after a 14-year lapse, the Junior League of Greenwich in 1982 gave a traditional society benefit—a debutante's cotillion. Greenwich Times



with women who are committed, I can count on them.'' Another called the Junior League ''a place to learn in a nurturing environment, develop skills and make friends.'' Another said the Junior League enabled those who joined to ''work with some of the outstanding leaders in the community in a unique and special organization.''

These same women said that when they had joined the Junior League—in the 1960's and 1970's—it was a somewhat different organization, and the reasons for joining were somewhat different as well. The most frequent incentive was that friends belonged. One woman admitted that ''My mother made me do it.'' Most of the current leaders did not think that social or family reasons had great relevance today in the decision to join or not join the League, though the rationale one woman gave is certainly as relevant today as in the past: ''to extend my relationships with other women, I felt isolated at home, to stretch my knowledge and understanding of the community, to keep my interests alive and growing outside the home. The League has provided me with a professional volunteer career—given me a focus, a purpose.'' Several of the respondents said that being president of their Junior League, or a director of the Association, was a high point of their lives.

Former A.J.L. president Mary Poole used to urge members to plan the Junior League for their daughters ''instead of trying to preserve it for our mothers.'' With this in mind, we asked the women in our questionnaire whether they thought their daughters would join the Junior League. About a third said they doubted it, both because daughters may reject out of hand anything their mothers do, or because ''she is too busy with her career and has no time.'' By contrast, the majority who thought their daughters would follow them into the organization

invariably gave as the main reasons Junior League training and friendships. "I don't know any women who don't enjoy and/or crave the opportunity to expand their interests, expertise and friendship," said one.

We asked these current leaders to describe the young woman who was joining the Junior League in 1982. Four responses to this query were particularly interesting, for they show diversity, the impact of career women, and a persistent human need to find congenial colleagues.

"[She is] a college graduate with a strong possibility of having a masters; working; interested in becoming involved in community affairs and using the League as a vehicle; also she is very interested in the training the League provides."

From another: "[She is] about 30 years old, about 50 percent chance she is employed, wants to join the League to meet women like herself, benefit from League training programs and make a contribution to her community—more and more as a direct service volunteer."

Said another: "[She is in her] late 20's, early 30's—usually a young mother—about half of them are professionals, but many also have young families. They are people who want to do something for their community, make an impact."

And finally: "She is usually employed and therefore brings professional skills with her. She is often single, but if married she is waiting to have children. She wants the additional skills, outside of her profession, that the League can give her; but she also wants the camaraderie of working with others who have similar goals. The 'social aspect' seems very important. In a League I visited recently, made up of a majority of employed members, they were considering having a follies because they missed that sort of thing."

Asked what was most important about the Junior League to prospective members, the women we surveyed and interviewed consistently mentioned the contacts and resources of a national organization, friendship with like-minded women, training, and opportunity for personal growth. Nearly all mentioned, one way or another, the value of a women's support system. "The conglomeration of talent is awesome," said one respondent.

We asked these women, "What was your biggest disappointment in the Junior League?[11] Many mentioned procedural problems or organizational overlaps. Two responses, however, serve as reminders of the great range of opinion on women's issues within the membership of the organization.

"I was disappointed that A.J.L. did not take a stand on pro-choice in the abortion question, and also take a stand in favor of ERA," said one.

Another wrote that the "biggest disappointment in my League experience was attending a general meeting where the speaker was pro-ERA."[6]

Again and again the members we interviewed or surveyed for this book mentioned how much the Junior League had changed in the past 10 to 15 years, in terms of membership, training, programs, outlook, and focus. "The Junior

League of the 1980's is reaching out instead of keeping out,'' said one sustainer who had encouraged her home League to abandon the secret admissions process. Part of that effort is to invite a more representative cross-section of the population into membership. Another is to create more Junior Leagues as centers of the voluntary ethic.

The eight Canadian Junior Leagues have a particularly strong membership program, both to expand the number of Junior Leagues and the membership of existing groups, according to Susan Hallas of Hartford, A.J.L. Future Planning chairman. As part of its outreach program, the Association began an unprecedented ''seeding'' operation in Canada in 1976 in which Junior Service Leagues have been formed and nurtured by Junior League representatives working through an Association Membership Development Committee. The Federation of Junior Leagues of Canada surveyed 10 major Canadian cities not served by Junior Leagues to identify those most likely to provide fertile ground for a voluntary organization of young women. Since then, Junior League representatives have helped organize Junior Service Leagues in Ottawa, Ontario; Regina, Saskatchewan; Victoria, British Columbia; London, Ontario; and St. John, New Brunswick.

According to Barbara Whitney, A.J.L. staff liaison for the Canadian development effort, each of the five Junior Service Leagues has been teamed with a nearby Junior League, which acts as collective godmother. The new groups have been provided with League trainers and workshops in community awareness and organizational development. Susan Scace of the Junior League of Toronto, former chairman of the Canadian development effort, visited the fledgling Junior Service Leagues regularly.[7]

In another part of its program for growth, A.J.L. reached a decision in 1981 that may at long last make the Junior League transatlantic. As noted in Chapter 4, groups in foreign cities have petitioned the Association since the 1920's for affiliation with the Junior League. The issue of foreign admissions, reopened in 1965, revealed that between 1955 and 1965 the Association was approached by groups in at least 22 countries. During the 1950's, Queen Frederika of Greece consulted several times with Association staff and board about an organization along Junior League lines that she sponsored called Omilos Ethelonton. Representatives of the Greek group attended the 1959 conference as observers.[8] Despite these various efforts, the 1965 study recommended no expansion outside North America.[9]

In November of 1978, Sandy Hamilton, formerly of the Junior League of Lafayette, Louisiana, invited Junior League members who were living in London to a brunch. One of the 11 women at the brunch, Vicki Ford, recalls that some of the women were married to Englishmen, and some were corporate wives temporarily living overseas. ''We shared anecdotal stories which revealed that something we valued was missing from our lives. Everyone agreed on the value

of creating a high level training organization'' in London, she said. A core group was formed that afternoon. Ms. Ford chaired a steering committee of five women that structured the new organization, drafted bylaws, and set the tone for the London Service League.

A particularly valuable member of this group, Ms. Ford recalled, was Jackie Nims, a provisional in the Junior League of Atlanta, who had moved to London before completing her provisional work. The Atlanta League agreed to give her credit for any work she did in launching a Junior Service League in London. By chance, she had returned to Atlanta in time for the 1979 A.J.L. conference, which was held there, and she reported on the work of the London group.[10] In 1980 the London group had 40 members, and by 1981 more than 100. More important, members of A.J.L. board and staff on visits to London looked in on the group and agreed to maintain close contact.

The A.J.L. board recommended in 1981 that the London Service League serve as a pilot for a new concept in the organization, that of ''affiliate status.'' In making the recommendation, A.J.L. said inquiries had been received in past years from 45 cities in Europe, South America, Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, Bermuda, and the Virgin Islands. ''Therefore it now seems appropriate to reexamine our purpose and ask ourselves this question: Does the Junior League purpose imply the promotion of voluntarism in the North American continent *only*—or does it suggest that the fulfillment of this purpose be extended throughout the world.''[11]

Delegates to the 1981 conference agreed to the concept of offering affiliate status of Association membership to groups outside North America. The London Service League was picked to test the concept for a three-year period.

The Canadian experiment in sponsoring Junior Service Leagues, the pilot status conferred on the London Junior Service League, and a generally more expansive approach to membership all indicate directions in which the Junior League is moving. Other evidence comes from the work of the Association-wide planning committee.

''How can an organization of [250] member Leagues, located throughout the North American continent, meeting together only once a year, work collectively in a planning process?'' asked Susan Hallas of Hartford, whose assignment as current chairman of the A.J.L. planning committee is to do just that. The question was rhetorical, and her answer was twofold. First, ''It's not easy,'' and second, ''Any plan for A.J.L. must involve two elements: membership participation and clear mandates for action.''[12]

Earlier A.J.L. planning committees had tried to chart a long-term future, and while they gathered a great deal of valuable information, they showed most clearly a need to ''turn back to the immediate,'' said Ms. Hallas. Current planning for the Association works on a five-year cycle and involves almost continuous grassroots input and evaluation.

For a design model the A.J.L. Future Planning Committee turned to one prepared for volunteer groups by Thomas Hatcher, president of Futures Unlimited of Minneapolis. A key feature of his design was strong input from members throughout the process, which the committee felt was essential to any Junior League plans.

The A.J.L. planning committee in 1981 prepared a draft forecast for the organization and sent it to all League presidents, Area Councils, the A.J.L. board and staff for comment. After evaluating the returns, the committee prepared its first set of five-year goals for the Association. These were submitted to the A.J.L. board in February 1982. After some changes by the board, the goals were submitted to delegates at the 1982 conference. As finally approved by the conference, the plan set five goals for the Association of Junior Leagues:

Goal 1 called on A.J.L. to "direct its community efforts to respond to diminishing resources." This goal refers to both public resources, such as government funding, and people.

Goal 2 called on A.J.L. to strengthen its capacity to address community needs "by increasing membership, both the number of individual Leagues and the number of people in Leagues."

Goal 3 said "A.J.L. will promote flexibility to insure effective volunteer participation by a diverse membership, members who are employed, those who do not work, and members who reflect racial and ethnic diversity."

The other two goals related to organizational procedures, duplication of effort, and financial cost-saving measures.[13]

When A.J.L. leaders describe their vision of the organization's future, a phrase often used is "catalyst and convener." This concept was explained at some length in a 1979 article by Alice Weber in the *Junior League Review:*

> In many cases the League's custody of what was originally intended to be a short-term demonstration project stretches into many years, draining resources that might have been channeled into other areas of need.
>
> The problem suggests the ultimate—and I believe the most logical—partnership role for the Leagues: to serve as catalyst and convener, getting groups to come together for the purposes of sitting down to identify pressing needs, setting priorities, and pooling their respective resources to see that those needs are effectively met . . .
>
> Adding more layers to the system is no longer a viable solution; the solution lies in working with existing institutions and agencies in an effort to make all parts of the system more responsive to human needs.[14]

A recent study by Dr. Eva Schindler-Rainman and Ronald Lippitt, *Building the Collaborative Community, Mobilizing Citizens for Action,* analyzed collaborations over a seven-year period from 1970 to 1977. "The Junior League initiated or co-sponsored more meetings than any other organization in the 82 communities studied," said the authors.[15]

Nearly every issue of *A.J.L. Newsline,* a newssheet issued six times a year, carries listings of contact names and addresses of upcoming national meetings

of other organizations with which Junior Leagues or A.J.L. is cooperating or in which many member Leagues have an interest. The listings are further evidence of a trend to joint efforts. League publications and training seminars over the past decade have offered advice and techniques for the complicated task of forging community networks. Scarcely an issue of the two A.J.L. publications, *Newsline* and the twice-yearly *Junior League Review,* fails to document another successful collaborative effort.

These joint efforts fall mainly in three areas: training workshops, social welfare projects, and public affairs advocacy. On a local level, a great many Leagues have allied themselves with other women's groups in an informal information and support network on women's issues. Dedee Bowers, president of the Junior League of Boston, convened representatives from women's groups including NOW, the Brandeis University National Women's Committee, the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts, Hadassah of Boston, the National Council of Jewish Women, LINKS (a black women's group) and the American Association of University Women of Massachusetts to form a network of women's voluntary agencies. The first sessions in the spring of 1981 produced high enthusiasm for further linkages.

Junior Leagues are pivotal co-sponsors of any number of conferences on women's issues, social welfare concerns, grantsmanship, and the voluntary sector. For instance, the Junior League of Spokane, the American Association of University Women, and the Washington Commission for the Humanities cosponsored a conference, "Voluntarism: Should Government Have a Role?"

When she took office as president of the Association in 1982, Anne Hoover underscored her personal commitment to issues affecting women: "I believe that it is the responsibility of women's organizations to be responsive to the multiple roles women are playing today and to provide the support women need in adapting to changing lifestyles." Asked her personal goals for her two years as president, she zeroed in on making it possible for working women to take top jobs in the Association: "With so many of our members employed, we need to make positions on the board of directors or as an officer a possibility for any woman who is qualified, whether she is in addition working for pay or very involved in the community."[16]

Catalysts, conveners, advocates—these are the roles most foresee for a Junior League of the future. To these should be added, at the front of the list, trainers. Junior League training is considered by most the organization's strongest point, and it is getting better.

Successive Junior League leaderships for the past 10 or 20 years have struggled to shift the organization from its society moorings, to make it more professional and businesslike. Those who know the organization well believe that they have succeeded. Yet there clings to the Junior League that old silk stocking afterimage.

In her introduction to *Women, Work, and Volunteering,* Herta Loesser wrote

that ". . . the Association of Junior Leagues is, even now [1974] too often viewed as a group of privileged women trying 'to do good'. Yet today Junior League members serve as trained and supervised volunteers who will take on difficult projects and will pitch in and stick with even the most demanding tasks. We must be very careful, then, to insure that our image of such organizations is not stereotyped but truly accurate."[17]

Increasingly, there are moments of sheer joy for members, when a Junior League or the Association receives the recognition that many of its leaders believe it merits. One of the women who answered our 1982 questionnaire wrote that the best thing that had happened to her in her Junior League experience was "having the county executive proclaim that if you want something done, ask the Junior League."

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson dropped in unexpectedly at the national A.J.L. conference in that city in 1979 to welcome delegates and compliment the Junior League of Atlanta. He called the Association a positive force for change. "You represent power, you represent the power to influence. Your movement more and more to the guts of the problems afflicting our nation is a movement which we have to applaud."[18]

"The Junior League cannot be for everyone—no organization can," said Susan Hallas. "It will continue to attract well-educated, intelligent women interested in personal training and community service on a high level if it continues to satisfy their interests."[19]

"The League needs to be bifocal," said one of our respondents. She referred to the fact that membership will continue to include both "traditional married women and those juggling career, home, and family."

"It will continue to offer the training and education opportunities and will become a more important networking group," wrote another. "Perhaps it will be more of a catalyst, leader and advocate group rather than so much of a direct-service-oriented group."

A former Junior League president, now a senior corporate executive in her 50's, told us that she is convinced the Junior League will continue to attract young women. "It attracts intelligent and well-educated women because of its excellent training programs. The League should continue to do what it does best, train women for positions of community leadership. It is selective, and rightly so, because it attracts the committed volunteer and also recognizes the importance of compatibility."

And from another respondent, a comment that sums up as well as any the hopes of those who lead and plan for the Junior League of the 1980's and beyond: "The Leagues will be coordinators, catalysts, monitors of government agencies, and how public monies are spent; trainers, advocates."

Chapter 1 / Footnotes

1. Carl Degler. *Out of Our Past.* Harper and Row. 1970 revised edition, p. 353.
2. Robert E. Riegel, *American Women: A Story of Social Change.* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970, p. 240.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
4. Ashley Montagu. *The Natural Superority of Women.* Rev. Ed. New York: Collier Books, 1968, p. 4.
5. Carl Degler. *At Odds: Women and the Family from the Revolution to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 332.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Thomas Woody. *A History of Women's Education in the United States.* Vol. II. New York and Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press, 1929, pp. 154–55.
8. Mabel Newcomer. *A Century of Higher Education for American Women.* Harper and Brothers, 1959, p. 5.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
11. *Junior League Magazine,* January/ February 1961, p. 8ff.
12. Degler, *At Odds.* p. 281.
13. Telephone interview with Maude Hulse, November 1, 1981.
14. Reigel, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
15. Degler, *At Odds,* p. 384.
16. Reigel, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
17. Jane Cunningham Croly. *History of the Woman's Club Movement in America.* New York: Henry G. Allen, 1898, p. 18.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–37.
19. Degler, *At Odds,* p. 325.
20. Frank Freidel. *America in the Twentieth Century.* Knopf, pp. 54–55.
21. *Literary Digest,* May 1904, p. 614.
22. William O'Neill. *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America.* Quadrangle, 1969, p. 103.
23. Degler, *Out of the Past,* p. 360.
24. Mary P. Ryan. *Womanhood in America.* 2nd ed. New Viewpoints/Franklin Watts, 1979, p. 119.
25. Blanche Coll. *Perspectives in Public Welfare.* U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969, p. 64.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
27. Bailyn, and others. *The Great Republic* Little Brown, 1977, p. 894.
28. O'Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Chapter 2 / Footnotes

1. Nathalie Henderson Swan. "Genesis, 1901." *Junior League Magazine,* September 1939, p. 22.
2. Nathalie Henderson Swan. "The Time Was Ripe." *Junior League Magazine, January/February* January/February 1961, p. 8.
3. *The Golden Book,* a history of fifty years. Junior League of New York, 1961, p. 2.
4. Swan, "The Time Was Ripe," p. 8.
5. Mrs. R. Alfred Steinberg. *The Life of Eleanor Roosevelt.* G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1958, p. 43.
6. Swan, "The Time Was Ripe," p. 8.
7. Note on draft mss. by Katharine Tweed, September 1981.
8. Swan, "The Time Was Ripe," p. 8.
9. *Junior League Bulletin,* May 1924.
10. *Junior League Bulletin,* May 1924.
11. *Junior League Magazine,* Jan/Feb. 1961. Corinne Robinson Cole. "The Time Was Ripe." p. 8+.
12. Minutes, Junior League of New York, 1905–10.
13. Minutes, 1912 conference of Junior Leagues, p. 40.
14. *New York Times,* May 16, 1911.
15. *Junior League Bulletin,* undated photocopy 1911.
16. Parks and playgrounds committee report, Junior League of New York, 1907.
17. *Junior League Magazine,* May 1923 reprint of 1911 original.

Chapter 3 / Footnotes

1. Minutes, 1912 conference of Junior Leagues, pp. 32–34.
2. *Junior League Magazine,* Spring 1971, p. 8.
3. *Junior League Magazine,* February 1927.
4. "Seventy Significant Years." Junior

League of Portland, Oregon, anniversary publication, 1980, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Minutes, 1914 conference of Junior Leagues, p. 34.*
7. *Letter dated Jan. 22, 1962 from Juliana Keyser Clark.*
8. *Undated photocopy from Junior League of Washington, D.C.*
9. *Junior League Bulletin,* April 1926, p. 72; and transcript, 1914 conference of Junior Leagues.
10. *Junior League Magazine,* 1971 anniversary issue, p. 7.
11. Minutes, 1914 conference of Junior Leagues.
12. Sally Cary Wolff. "Baltimore Towne." Undated photocopy from Junior League of Baltimore, p. 7.
13. Minutes, 1912 conference of Junior Leagues, p. 38.
14. *Junior League Bulletin,* February 1927, p. 36.
15. Undated photocopy from Junior League of Chicago by Celia Hilliard.
16. Wolff, *op. cit.*
17. "Seventy Significant Years," *op. cit.*
18. Letter dated March 17, 1925 from Hankow, China, from Elizabeth Noyes Hempstone.
19. *Junior League National Bulletin,* February 1927, p. 21.
20. Minutes, 1912 conference of Junior Leagues, p. 4.
21. *Junior League National Bulletin,* October 1914, p. 7.
22. Minutes, 1914 conference of Junior Leagues.
23. *Junior League Bulletin* supplement, October 1914, by Grace Henry, p. 4.
24. *Junior League Magazine,* February 1927, p. 46.
25. Minutes, 1914 conference of Junior Leagues, p. 57.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
27. *Junior League Bulletin* supplement, October 1914, p. 4.
28. Minutes, 1916 conference of Junior Leagues, pp. 91–94.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–94.
30. Minutes, 1914 conference of Junior Leagues.
31. *Junior League Magazine,* April 1926, p. 72.
32. *Junior League Bulletin,* October 1916.
33. President's report, Junior League of New York, 1916–17.
34. "Seventy Significant Years," *op. cit.*, p. 11.
35. *Junior League Bulletin,* May 1918.
36. *Junior League Bulletin,* February 1920.
37. *Junior League Magazine,* 1971 anniversary issue, p. 17.
38. William H. Chafe. *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920–1970.* Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 53.
39. Minutes, 1916 conference of Junior Leagues.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Chapter 4 / Footnotes

1. *American Society Since 1945.* Introduction by William O'Neill. Quadrangle Books, 1969, p. 14.
2. Mary P. Ryan. *Womanhood in America from Colonial Times to the Present.* 2nd ed. New York: New Viewpoints/Franklin Watts, p. 141.
3. William H. Chafe. *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920–1970.* Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 56.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
5. Carole Nichols, comments on draft manuscript, November 1981.
6. O'Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 16.
7. Chafe, *op. cit., pp. 56–57.*
8. *Ibid., p. 99.*
9. *Chafe, op. cit.*, p. 100.
10. Lois Banner. *Women in Modern America: A Brief History.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 146.
11. Barbara Sinclair Deckard. *The Women's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic, and Psychological Issues.* 2nd ed. Harper & Row, p. 317.
12. Minutes, special meeting of Junior League representatives, 1921.
13. *Junior League Magazine,* obituary, January/February 1969, p. 29.
14. A.J.L. files, 1921.
15. *Junior League Magazine,* article by Dorothy Parr, anniversary issue January/February 1961, p. 5.
16. *Junior League Bulletin,* June 1926, p. 23.
17. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1928.
18. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1928 and 1929.

19. *Junior League Magazine,* June 1928, pp. 6–7.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. "The First Decade." Junior League of Raleigh, 50th anniversary booket, 1980, p. 5.
24. A.J.L.A. board minutes, May 21, 1929, p. 95.
25. Junior League of Asheville, 50th anniversary booklet, 1977, unpaged.
26. A.J.L.A. yearbooks, 1927 and 1928.
27. Junior League of Jacksonville, Florida, newssheet, May 1956.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Junior League Magazine,* 1971 anniversary issue, p. 26.
30. *Junior League Magazine,* July 1929, p. 94.
31. Address, April 1922, typed carbon copy, A.J.L. files.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Junior League Bulletin,* 1926.
34. A.J.L.A. board mintues, 1929, p. 8.
35. *Junior League Bulletin,* May 1926, p. 22.
36. *Junior League Bulletin,* April 1926, p. 19.
37. *Junior League Bulletin,* June 1926.
38. *Junior League Bulletin,* March 1924.
39. List of delegates, 1927 conference minutes.
40. *Junior League Magazine,* 1971 anniversary issue, p. 20.

Chapter 5 / Footnotes

1. Lois Banner. *Women in Modern America: A Brief History.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 141.
2. Wyatt Jones. *The Junior League Story.* Reprinted from *Town and Country.* Association of the Junior Leagues of America, 1958, pp. 35–36.
3. Undated photocopy from Junior League of Chicago by Celia Hilliard.
4. *American Women Writers—from Colonial Times to the Present.* Vol. 2. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., pp. 118–19.
5. *Junior League Bulletin,* article by Alice Gerstenberg, February 1923.
6. Michael Drury. "Junior Leagues: On the Job for Junior." *Theatre Arts,* June 1959, pp. 57–59.
7. *Junior League Magazine,* 1971 anniversary issue, p. 30.
8. *Junior League Bulletin,* April 1927.
9. *Junior League Magazine,* 1971 anniveraary issue, p. 29.
10. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1929.
11. *Junior League Magazine,* reprinted (undated) of *Herald-Examiner* review, December 1930.
12. A.J.L.A. board minutes, March 2, 1931, report by Helen Adamowska.
13. Undated photocopy from Junior League of Chicago of article by Celia Hilliard.
14. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
15. *Junior League Magazine,* April 1938.
16. Minutes, 1931 A.J.L.A. conference.
17. Folder at A.J.L. headquarters, including typed proposal for Enchanted Island, plus program of plays.
18. *Theatre Arts, op. cit.*, p. 57ff.
19. *Contemporary American Playwrights,* pp. 266–67.
20. *Junior League Magazine,* January 1940, pp. 36–37.
21. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1932, p. 75.
22. *Junior League Magazine,* January, 1940, pp. 36–37.
23. *Junior League Bulletin,* February 1924. Reprint of article by Forbes Watson, *New York World,* January 13, 1924.
24. *Ibid.*, May 1924.
25. A.J.L.A. yearbook, 1927.
26. *Bright Shawl.* Junior League of San Antonio, October 1979, p. 9.
27. *Junior League Magazine,* February 1928.
28. *Junior League Magazine,* April 1929, p. 98.
29. *Junior League Magazine* January 1929, p. 101.
30. A.J.L.A. 1927 conference minutes.
31. A.J.L.A. 1930 conference minutes.
32. *Junior League Bulletin,* April and May, 1926.
33. *Junior League Magazine,* January 1927, p. 82.
34. Telephone interview, Junior League of Buffalo, September 29, 1981.
35. Photocopy of a history written sometime in the 1920's, Junior League of Montreal.
36. A.J.L.A. 1929 board minutes.
37. *Junior League Bulletin,* March 1923.
38. A.J.L.A. 1930 conference minutes.
39. A.J.L.A. 1931 conference minutes.
40. Junior League of Winston-Salem, 1975 anniversary issue.

Chapter 6 / Footnotes

1. *Junior League Magazine,* November 1936, quoting Mrs. Herbert Spencer, p. 43.
2. Anabel Paxton. *Women in Congress.* Dietz Press, pp. 10–11.
3. A.J.L.A. 1935 board minutes, p. 56.
4. *Welfare Work.* A.J.L.A. booklet by Emily Anderson, May 1930.
5. A.J.L.A. 1931 yearbook, p. 16.
6. A.J.L.A. board minutes, March 1931, pp. 28–29.
7. A.J.L.A. 1931–32 yearbook, p. 12.
8. Junior League of Providence, yearbook, history section.
9. Junior League of Detroit, yearbook, history section; A.J.L.A. 1927–28 yearbook; and *Junior League Magazine,* January 1931.
10. *Junior League Magazine,* October 1936.
11. Letter from president, Junior League of Cleveland, dated November 29, 1979.
12. *Peachtree Papers.* Junior League of Atlanta, 1977 anniversary issue reprint of 1959 history by Nell Felix Kirkland.
13. A.J.L.A. 1936 board minutes, p. 62; *Junior League Magazine,* March 1931.
14. *Junior League Magazine,* January 1931.
15. *Junior League,* Spring 1971 anniversary issue, p. 44.
16. Mary Ryan. *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present.* 2nd ed. New Viewpoints, 1979, p. 186.
17. *Junior League.* Spring 1971 anniversary issue, p. 44.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Junior League Magazine,* 1940.
20. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1933.
21. *Readers Digest,* March 1938, p. 53ff.
22. Burt Struthers, *The Forum,* June 1938, 99:323–7.
23. A.J.L.A. yearbooks.
24. A.J.L.A. 1934 conference minutes.
25. Peggy Ewing Waxter, telephone interview, September 15, 1981.
26. *Junior League Magazine,* August 1943, p. 12.
27. *Junior League Magazine,* January 1938, p. 2.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Junior League Magazine,* March 1934.
30. *Ibid.*
31. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1935, p. 2.
32. Minutes, 1940 A.J.L.A. conference, p. 134.
33. *Junior League Magazine,* June 1940, p. 14.
34. Minutes, 1940 conference; *Junior League Magazine,* June 1940, p. 24.
35. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1932.
36. *The Observer,* publication of the Junior League of New York, 60th anniversary issue, by Mary Moore.
37. Minutes, 1940 conference, p. 134.
38. Associated Press dispatch, *Washington Post,* February 11, 1934, from scrapbooks of Washington League.
39. *The Atlanta Journal,* December 15, 1939, p. 52; *Junior League Magazine,* February 1940.

Chapter 7 / Footnotes

1. *Junior League Magazine,* September 1940, pp. 22–23.
2. A.J.L.A. 1939 board minutes; letter dated September 13, 1939, A.J.L.A. files.
3. *Junior League,* Spring 1971 50th anniversary issue, p. 61.
4. Letter from Mary Ferguson, dated August 1, 1941, A.J.L. files.
5. Memo from Katherine Van Slyck, dated January 16, 1942.
6. Letter from Katherine Van Slyck, dated September 23, 1941.
7. Memo dated August 30, 1941, A.J.L. files.
8. *Junior League Magazine,* November 1941, p. 50–1.
9. *The Junior League in World War II,* booklet, 1946, p. 10.
10. *Junior League Magazine,* September 1941, p. 15.
11. Memo from Katherine Van Slyck, dated June 24, 1942, A.J.L. files.
12. New York *Herald Tribune,* obituary, April 14, 1965.
13. *Junior League Magazine,* June 1942.
14. Mary Laurens Richardson. "The Second Decade." Junior League of Raleigh, 50th anniversary issue, p. 3.
15. A.J.L.A. 1941 board minutes.
16. Letter from Clarice Pennock in 1944, A.J.L.A. file to BUR/Pers/Navy, and to Col. Hobby, WAC's.
17. *Junior League Magazine,* August 1943.
18. *The Junior Leagues in World War II,* p. 21.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6; A.J.L.A. memo dated February 18, 1946.
20. *Junior League Magazine,* 1944, p.

21. *Junior League Magazine,* May 1943, p. .
22. *The Junior Leagues in World War II.* p. 21.
23. *Junior League Magazine,* December 1941, p. 35; *Current Biography,* 1953, pp. 267–68.
24. Typed ms. for booklet, *The Junior Leagues in World War II.*
25. *Junior League Magazine,* February 1942.
26. Richardson, *op. cit.,* p. 6.
27. *Junior League Magazine,* November 1940, pp. 13–4.
28. Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman. *A History of Women in America.* Bantam, 1978, p. 312.
29. Lois Banner. *Women in Modern America: A Brief History.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, pp. 202–3.
30. Hymowitz and Weissman, *op. cit.,* pp. 313–4.
31. Caroline Bird. *Born Female.* David McKay Co., Inc. 1968, p. 40.
32. *New York Times,* October 2, 1944, 16:1. (There do not appear to be any records of the study in the files of A.J.L.).
33. Minutes, 1943 conference of Junior Leagues.

Chapter 8 / Footnotes

1. Lois Banner. *Women in Modern America: A Brief History.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 217.
2. *American Society Since 1945.* William O'Neill, ed. Quadrangle Books, 1969. From introduction by William O'Neill, p. 13.
3. Banner, *op. cit.,* p. 219.
4. William Chafe. *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920–1970.* Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 230–31.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 182.
6. *The Washington Dossier,* April 1981, p. 24.
7. Stephen Birmingham. "The Junior League: Less Noblesse, More Oblige." *Holiday,* August 1975, pp. 474–9ff.
8. Cleveland Amory. "The Junior League Gets Tough." *Saturday Evening Post,* February 7, 1948, pp. 32–33.
9. Vance Packard. *The Status Seekers.* David MacKay, 1959, pp. 187–88.
10. A.J.L.A. board minutes, September/ October 1952, pp. 30–31.
11. Undated memo, A.J.L. 1949 files.
12. A.J.L. files, letter dated January 27, 1953 from Junior League of New York to A.J.L.A. board of directors; memo dated July 18, 1952, A.J.L. files.
13. Letter from Mrs. Ralph Jones to Mrs. John Pratt of New Orleans dated June 2, 1947, referring to Pratt letter of April 23, 1947, A.J.L. files.
14. A.J.L. file memo and letters *re:* "destructive criticism by League members and disgruntled former employees," July 18, 1952. Letter, January 27, 1953.
15. A.J.L.A. board minutes, February 1935, p. 24.
16. A.J.L.A. board minutes, committee report on metro problems, February 1936, p. 103ff.
17. A.J.L.A. board minutes, report of Westchester committee, October 1937.
18. A.J.L.A. board minutes, October 25–29, 1937.
19. A.J.L.A. board minutes, October 1946, review of suburban question, p. 11.
20. Wyatt Jones. "*The Junior League Story,*" reprinted from *Town and Country.* The Association of Junior Leagues, 1958, pp. 67–68.
21. *Mademoiselle* Magazine, Gift of Service series by Elizabeth Moulton, 1953.
22. *Junior League Magazine,* May 1947, p. 20.
23. Curtis Mitchell and Mary Louise Mendiones "63,000 Junior Leaguers." *Coronet,* June 1954, p. 38.
24. Junior League of Mexico City, anniversary supplement of *The News,* Mexico City, January 12, 1980.
25. *Junior League Magazine,* March 1946, pp. 2–3.
26. *Junior League Magazine,* April 1946, pp. 2–3.
27. Mitchell and Mendiones, *op. cit.,* pp. 39–40.
28. Telephone conversation with Henrietta Gaillard, Junior League of Charleston, November 11, 1981.

Chapter 9 / Footnotes

1. "Recap of Study, Phase I and II," speech by Mary Poole, September, 1971, p. 2.

2. Barbara Sinclair Deckard. *The Women's Movement: Political Socioeconomic and Psychological Issues.* 2nd ed. Harper & Row, 1979, p. 341.
3. William Chafe. *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920–1970.* Oxford University Press, Paper. 1972, p. 231. Chafe quotes a *Saturday Evening Post* article by George Gallup and Evan Hall, December 22, 1962.
4. Betty Friedan. *The Feminine Mystique.* 10th anniversary ed. W. W. Norton, 1974, p. 15.
5. *Women and Society.* Diana Reische, ed., The Reference Shelf, H. W. Wilson Co., 1972, p. 112.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
7. "65 Years in the Junior League," Junior League of Washington, anniversary booket. Quotes 1967–68 president's report by Jane Blair.
8. *Junior League Magazine,* May/June 1961, p. 5.
9. *Holiday* Magazine. November 1962, 32:76–7ff.
10. *Newsweek,* May 18, 1964, p. 70ff.
11. Special Report of the Planning Committee, Association of Junior Leagues of America, December 29, 1964.
12. "A Strategy for Moving Ahead," report of R. H. Schaeffer & Associates, April 10, 1965.
13. "Proposal for Change," Association of Junior Leagues of America, 1970.
14. Mary Poole, *op. cit.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Factsheet, Area III Council of Junior Leagues, Summer 1980.
17. Minutes of the 1968 meeting of big city Leagues, p. 2.
18. *Holiday, op. cit.*, p. 140.
19. Admissions files, Association of Junior Leagues.
20. A.J.L. president's folder, 1976–77.
21. A.J.L. Membership Practices folder.
22. Washington *Post,* April 22, 1977.
23. A.J.L. admissions files.
24. A.J.L. annual questionnaire, 1976.
25. Junior League of Grand Rapids, letter dated November 1979 in response to author's questionnaire.
26. Interview, September 15, 1981.
27. Telephone conversation, December, 1981. Letter dated December 12, 1981.

Chapter 10 / Footnotes

1. Telephone interview, November 2, 1981.
2. *AJL Newsline,* March, 1981, p. 3. Reprint of Chicago *Tribune* article dated January 11, 1981.
3. *Focus,* Council of Junior Leagues of Westchester, Spring 1977.
4. Interview, October 15, 1981.
5. Telephone interview with Leslie Seabury, Junior League of Boston, October 22, 1981.
6. *Volunteer Voices,* Junior League of Memphis, September, 1980.
7. "Consultants, Facilitators, Trainers," brochure of the Junior League of Boston.
8. Letter and notes from Dedee Bowers, president, Junior League of Boston, November, 1981.
9. *Community Model of AMP,* Association of Junior Leagues, 1977.
10. *Junior League Review,* December 1977. Reprint of *Chicago Sun Times* article of September 21, 1977.
11. A.J.L. annual questionnaire, 1978, 1979, 1980.
12. Telephone interview November 2, 1981.
13. *Junior League Review,* December 1977, pp. 14–15.
14. *Junior League Review,* July 1977, pp. 2–3.
15. Volunteer Career Development Annual Report, February 1, 1977–January 31, 1978, p. 3.
16. Volunteer Career Development Final Report.
17. *Ibid.*, quoting letter dated October 8, 1979.

18a. *Ibid.*

19. Gannett Newspaper, Westchester County Lifestyles section, March 15, 1981, p. 1.
20. Junior League of Kansas City yearbook.
21. Junior League of Austin yearbook.
22. Junior League of Asheville yearbook.
23. *Junior League Review,* December 1979, p. 7.
24. *Ibid.*

Chapter 11 / Footnotes

1. Transcript of telecast, "Lobbyists and the Junior League," WNBC-TV4, July 24, 1981.
2. *Congressional/Record-Senate,* March 31, 1982, pp. S3218–9.

3. *Let's Look at Legislation,* booklet published by the Association of Junior Leagues of America, 1945, p. 8.
4. *Ibid.*
5. A.J.L. files, 1945.
6. A.J.L.A. board minutes, January 1946, p. 35.
7. *Junior League Magazine,* April 1945, p. 21.
8. Minutes, 1946 A.J.L.A. conference.
9. Minutes, 1948 A.J.L.A. conference.
10. Wyatt Jones, *The Junior League Story,* reprinted from *Town and Country* Magazine, 1958, pp. 100–1.
11. A.J.L. State Public Affairs Committee files, report of the Junior League of Austin, January 1965.
12. Response to 1979 questionnaire from authors, Junior League of Amarillo.
13. A.J.L. PASC files.
14. A.J.L. orientation sheets, PASC files, undated (probably 1972).
15. *Junior League Magazine,* September/October 1969.
16. A.J.L. public affairs files. Memo from Dorothy Weston, Junior League of Jacksonville, April 1, 1970.
17. Minutes, 1967 conference of Junior Leagues, p. 45.
18. Minutes, 1971 conference of Junior Leagues, pp. 93–94.
19. Response to 1979 questionnaire by authors, Junior League of Stamford-Norwalk.
20. Memo from A.J.L. board to Public Issues Committee *re:* SPACS, April 21, 1980, pp. 2–5.
21. *Junior League Review,* May 1978, p. 4.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
23. Response to 1979 questionnaire by author, Junior League of Wilmington.
24. *Junior League Review,* Winter 1980, p. 4.

Chapter 12 / Footnotes

1. *Junior League Review,* May 1979, p. 23; Houston *Chronicle,* September 12, 1971.
2. Letters May 1981 and February 2, 1982 from Nancy Moore, first vice president, Junior League of Houston.
3. Junior League of Parkersburg. Response to Nov. 1979 questionnaire by the authors.
4. Letter and packet of background materials from Dr. Carol Browning, October 9, 1981, including materials from the 1980 conference; letter from Dr. Browning, April 8, 1982; telephone interview March 3, 1982.
5. Letter and supporting documents from Nancy Deane Kreitler, president, Summit Child Care Center, February 8, 1982.
6. *The Beacon,* Junior League of San Diego, November 1981, p. 13.
7. *Junior League Magazine,* July/August, 1963, p. 110.
8. Letter October 23, 1981 from Children's Health Council of Palo Alto.
9. Undated, unsigned report by the Junior League of Durham, in the A.J.L. files on Child Advocacy, p. 2.
10. Junior League of Phoenix, October 1971 news release.
11. Letter and supporting data from Judith Andreen, executive director, Comprehensive Youth Services, Inc., February 9, 1982.
12. *Peachtree Papers,* Junior League of Atlanta, October 1981; telephone interview with Jewel Norman, November 19, 1981.
13. Letter from Betty Shapiro, Junior League of Oakland-East Bay, November 15, 1979.
14. Telephone interview with Mary Wells Vickery, April 6, 1982; letter and supporting material from Mary Wells Vickery, March 31, 1982; draft article for *Junior League Review* from Mary Wells Vickery.
15. Junior League of Bronxville, project report and clippings, A.J.L. files.
16. *A.J.L. Newsline,* March 1981, p. 3.
17. Telephone conversation with Mary Whyte, December 3, 1981; A.J.L. folder summarizing Impact.
18. Brochure for 1978 Crime Stoppers conference in Albuquerque, quoting a September 8, 1978 article.
19. Letter to Junior League of Albuquerque dated October 23, 1981 from H. Coleman Tily.
20. Letter from Harlene Tancred, Junior League of Elizabeth-Plainfield, June 10, 1981.
21. *Junior League Review,* May 1979, p. 21.
22. Letter from Merrell Clark, November 17, 1981.
23. *Junior League Review,* May 1979, p. 8.
24. *A.J.L. Newsline,* February, 1981, p. 3.

Chapter 13 / Footnotes

1. Telephone conversation with Lt. Herbert Matthews, Soledad Correctional Training facility, April 9, 1982.
2. Packet of informational materials from Junior League of Monterey County; letter March 18, 1982 from Mary Schrady, president Junior League of Monterey; sheet titled Progress and Plans, March 16, 1981; telephone conversation with Judy Kennedy, Junior League of Monterey, April 10, 1982.
3. *Focus 1,* published by Area Council 1, Association of Junior Leagues, March 1979.
4. *Junior League Review,* July 1977. p. 6.
5. Telephone conversations with Carol Ann Rogers, president, Junior League of San Francisco, April 27 and 30, 1982.
6. "Savannah—The South's Greatest Comeback." *Travel,* July 1974, p. 29.
7. *Junior League Magazine,* November/ December 1968.
8. Interview with Melinda Deriso, Junior League liaison to Historic Savannah, April 20, 1982; letter from Marilyn Compton, Historic Savannah Foundation, April 22, 1982.
9. Telephone interview with Betsy Stettner, archivist for the Junior League of Denver, February 9, 1982; March 1976 project proposal for survey.
10. Charlotte *News,* May 18, 1981.
11. "History of the Historic Preservation Project of the Junior League of Indianapolis," Junior League of Indianapolis.
12. Junior League of Great Falls, response by Connie McCabe to 1979 author's questionnaire.
13. Response by Lana Smith, president of the Junior League of Galveston County, to 1979 author's questionnaire.
14. Letter and information packet from Barbara Shackelton, Junior League of Riverside, July 7, 1982.
15. *Peachtree Papers,* Junior League of Atlanta, October 1981, p. 19.
16. Junior League of Vancouver, 1981 anniversary booklet.
17. Junior League of Baton Rouge, letter dated November 1979 from Susie Hotard; Baton Rouge yearbook, history section.
18. Telephone conversation with Diane Hicks, Junior League of Detroit, April 13, 1982; Junior League of Birmingham newssheet., September 1980.
19. Junior League of Stamford-Norwalk, 1980 newssheet.
20. *Junior League Review,* Fall 1980, p. 36.

Chapter 14 / Footnotes

1. *Junior League Bulletin,* January 1927, by M.E.O.
2. *Monthly Labor Review,* February 1981. pp. 46ff.
3. *Junior League Review,* Fall 1980. p. 43.
4. *New York Times,* February 6, 1982.
5. Minutes, 1916 conference of Junior Leagues, pp. 94–95.
6. *Junior League Bulletin,* May 1923, report of 1923 conference.
7. *Junior League Bulletin,* February 1924, p. 23.
8. *Junior League Bulletin,* October 1924.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *William Chafe. The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920–1970.* Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 247.
11. *Junior League Bulletin,* January 1927.
12. *Junior League Magazine,* March 1940. p. 23.
13. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1940.
14. A.J.L.A. conference minutes, 1940. pp. 80–89
15. A.J.L.A. board minutes, 1941.
16. Judy Hutchins, "Coming of Age; 65 Years in the Junior League." Junior League of Washington, D.C., p. 13.
17. A.J.L. Professional Task Force Report, September 1977.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
19. *Junior League Review,* Fall 1981. p. 11.
20. *Junior League Magazine,* May 1972. Reprint of NOW resolution.
21. Report of the Proceedings; People Power, A Conference on Voluntarism, April 22–5, 1974, Junior League of Minneapolis.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Stephen Birmingham. "The Junior League: Less Noblesse, More Oblige". *Town and Country,* August 1975, p. 100.
24. Report of the Proceedings; People Power, *op. cit.*,

25. *New York Times Magazine,* December 6, 1981, p. 24.
26. Mary Poole, A.J.L. position paper, April 1975.
27. *Junior League Magazine,* December 1974.
28. *New York Times,* October 19, 1981, p. B10.
29. Interview with Katherine Niles, November 1981.
30. Mary Poole, *op. cit.*
31. *Herta Loesser. Women, Work, and Volunteering.* Beacon, 1974, pp. 23–24.
32. Blair Corning. "Junior League to Honor Volunteer Extraordinaire." *Sunday Express-Times,* February 21, 1982. p. 3-E.
33. Telephone interview with Alice Weber, April 14, 1982.
34. *Junior League Review,* Fall 1981.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *A.J.L. Newsline,* March 1981.
37. *Junior League Review,* Summer 1981.
38. *Junior League Review,* Fall 1981.
39. Telephone interview with Marilyn Bryant, April 19, 1982.
40. Telephone interview with Wendy Borcherdt, May 3, 1982.

Chapter 15 / Footnotes

1. Speech by Alice Weber to the six Junior Leagues of Westchester County, Scarsdale, New York, March 24, 1980.
2. Speech by Margaret Graham to the six Junior Leagues of Westchester County, White Plains, New York, October 27, 1981.
3. Letter from Amy Adams, January 27, 1982.
4. Telephone conversations with Harriette Heller, February and May, 1982.
5. The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health of the University of Texas, "The Association of Junior Leagues: a Profile of Member Attitudes and Orientations." Charles Bonjean, Bernice Milburn Moore, Patrick Macken. August 1977.
6. Janet Gordon & Diana Reische, responses to questionnaire sent February 1982 to 100 directors of A.J.L., leaders of the largest Junior Leagues, and others.
7. Interview with Barbara Whitney: interview with Susan Hallas; *Junior League Review,* Fall 1981.
8. Minutes, 1965 conference of the Association of Junior Leagues of America; undated photocopy from A.J.L. files detailing contacts with Greek group from 1933 to 1965.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Telephone interview with Vicki Ford, May 12, 1982; letter May 21, 1982.
11. Memo from A.J.L. board to presidents, June 29, 1981.
12. Updated Area 1 Newssheet, A.J.L. Future Planning, supplied by Susan Hallas.
13. Interview with Susan Hallas, February 2, 1981; Hallas comments on draft mss.
14. *Junior League Review,* February 1979, p. 3.
15. *A.J.L. Newsline,* February 1981.
16 Telephone interview with Anne Hoover, May 26, 1982.
17. Herta Loesser. *Women, Work, and Volunteering.* Beacon, 1974, p. 6.
18. *Junior League Review,* September 1979, p. 5a.
19. Interview with Susan Hallas, February 2, 1981.

ASSOCIATION OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUES OF AMERICA, INC.

Chronological List of Member Junior Leagues

(By year of founding or, from 1921 on, year of acceptance into the Association)

New York, New York	1901
Boston, Massachusetts	1907
Brooklyn, New York	1910
Portland, Oregon	1910
Baltimore, Maryland	1912
Chicago, Illinois	1912
Cleveland, Ohio	1912
Montreal, Quebec, Canada	1912
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1912
San Francisco, California	1912
Oranges & Short Hills, New Jersey	1913
Washington, D.C.	1913
Detroit, Michigan	1914
Kansas City, Missouri	1914
St. Louis, Missouri	1915
Atlanta, Georgia	1916
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	1916
Racine, Wisconsin	1916
Albany, New York	1917
Chatanooga, Tennessee	1917
St. Paul, Minnesota	1917
Utica, New York	1918
Wilmington, Delaware	1918
Buffalo, New York	1919
Denver, Colorado	1919
Omaha, Nebraska	1919
Poughkeepsie, New York	1919
Bridgeport, Connecticut	1920
Cincinnati, Ohio	1920
Dayton, Ohio	1920
Duluth, Minnesota	1920
Hartford, Connecticut	1921
Knoxville, Tennessee	1921
Lincoln, Nebraska	1921
Louisville, Kentucky	1921
Montclair, New Jersey	1921
Providence, Rhode Island	1921
St. Joseph, Missouri	1921
Sioux City, Iowa	1921
Syracuse, New York	1921
Tacoma, Washington	1921
Trenton, New Jersey[1]	1921
Birmingham, Alabama	1922
Dallas, Texas	1922
Indianapolis, Indiana	1922
Kingston, New York	1922
Little Rock, Arkansas	1922
Memphis, Tennessee	1922
Nashville, Tennessee	1922
Newburgh, New York[2]	1922
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	1922
Portland, Maine	1922
Springfield, Massachusetts	1922
Charleston, South Carolina	1923
Charleston, West Virginia	1923
Columbus, Ohio	1923
Fall River, Massachusetts	1923
Honolulu, Hawaii	1923
New Haven, Connecticut	1923
Plainfield, New Jersey[3]	1923
Stamford, Connecticut[4]	1923
Tulsa, Okalhoma	1923
Waterbury, Connecticut	1923
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1923
Colorado Springs, Colorado	1924
Evanston, Illinois	1924
Jacksonville, Florida	1924
Lancaster, Pennsylvania	1924
Lexington, Kentucky	1924
Minneapolis, Minnesota	1924
New Orleans, Louisiana	1924
Reading, Pennsylvania	1924
San Antonio, Texas	1924
Seattle, Washington	1924
Columbia, South Carolina	1925
Elizabeth & Cranford, New Jersey[5]	1925
Erie, Pennsylvania	1925
Grand Rapids, Michigan	1925
Norfolk, Virginia	1925
Parkersburg, West Virginia	1925
Santa Barbara, California	1925
Spokane, Washington	1925

Wichita, Kansas	1925
Worcester, Massachusetts	1925
Akron, Ohio	1926
Charlotte, North Carolina	1926
Houston, Texas	1926
Los Angeles, California	1926
Montgomery, Alabama	1926
Pasadena, California	1926
Savannah, Georgia	1926
Toronto, Ontario, Canada	1926
Asheville, North Carolina	1927
Fairmont, West Virginia	1927
Miami, Florida	1927
Newark, New Jersey	1927
Richmond, Virginia	1927
Boise, Idaho	1928
Flint, Michigan	1928
Greensboro, North Carolina	1928
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1928
Roanoke Valley, Virginia	1928
Tampa, Florida	1928
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada	1928
Augusta, Georgia	1929
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	1929
Lynchburg, Virginia	1929
San Diego, California	1929
Troy, New York	1929
Williamsport, Pennsylvania	1929
Fort Worth, Texas	1930
Mexico City, Mexico	1930
Raleigh, North Carolina	1930
Rockford, Illinois	1930
Des Moines, Iowa	1931
Elmira, New York	1931
Mobile, Alabama	1931
St. Petersburg, Florida	1931
Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	1931
Binghamton, New York	1932
Schenectady, New York	1932
Youngstown, Ohio	1932
El Paso, Texas	1933
Englewood-Ridgewood, New Jersey[6]	1933
Halifax, N.S., Canada	1933
Huntington, West Virginia	1933
Pittsfield, Massachusetts[7]	1933
Rochester, New York	1933
Shreveport, Louisiana	1933
Toledo, Ohio	1933
Tuscon, Arizona	1933
Austin, Texas	1934
Cedar Rapids, Iowa	1934
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada	1934
Saginaw, Michigan	1934
Salt Lake City, Utah	1934
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania	1934
Oakland, California	1935
Phoenix, Arizona	1935
Columbus, Georgia	1936
Morristown, New Jersey	1936
Peoria, Illinois	1936
Canton, Ohio	1937
Macon, Georgia	1937
Topeka, Kansas	1937
Butte, Montana	1938
Durham, North Carolina	1938
Great Falls, Montana	1938
Scranton, Pennsylvania	1940
Wheeling, Pennsylvania	1940
Ft. Wayne, Indiana	1941
Jackson, Mississippi	1941
Pelham, New York	1941
Sacramento, California	1942
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania[8]	1944
Corpus Christi, Texas	1944
South Bend, Indiana	1944
Holyoke, New York	1945
Amarillo, Texas	1946
Beaumont, Texas	1946
Waco, Texas	1946
Greenville, South Carolina	1947
Orlando, Florida	1947
Scarsdale, New York	1947
Texarkana, Arkansas-Texas	1947
Albuquerque, New Mexico	1948
Battle Creek, Michigan	1948
Bronxville, New York	1948
Lansing, Michigan	1948
Long Beach, California	1948
Galveston, Texas	1949
Kansas City, Kansas	1949
Larchmont, New York[9]	1950
Springfield, Illinois	1950
Tarrytown, New York[10]	1950
Spartanburg, South Carolina	1951
Birmingham, Michigan	1952
High Point, North Carolina	1952
Wilmington, North Carolina	1952
Bangor, Maine	1953
Mount Kisco, New York[11]	1953
Odgen, Utah	1953
Lubbock, Texas	1954
Abilene, Texas	1956

Baton Rouge, Louisiana	1956
Calgary, Alberta, Canada	1956
Hampton Roads, Virginia	1956
San Angelo, Texas	1957
Kingsport, New York	1958
New Britain, Connecticut	1958
Fort Lauderdale, Florida	1959
Greenwich, Connecticut	1959
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada	1959
Fresno, California	1959
Fort Smith, Arkansas	1960
Tyler, Texas	1960
Tallahassee, Florida	1960
Evansville, Indiana	1961
York, Pennsylvania	1961
Palm Beaches, Florida	1962
Riverside, California	1962
Eugene, Oregon	1962
North Shore, Long Island, New York	1963
Monterey Peninsula, California	1963
Albany, Georgia	1964
Midland, Texas	1964
Bakersfield, California	1965
Palo Alto, California	1965
Summit, New Jersey	1965
Monmouth County, New Jersey	1966
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota-Minnesota	1966
Lake Charles, Louisiana	1967
San Jose, California	1967
Pensacola, Florida	1968
Waterloo, Iowa	1968
Wichita Falls, Texas	1969
Billings, Montana	1970
Newport Harbor, California	1971
Clearwater, Florida	1972
Champaign-Urbana, Illinois	1972
Pine Bluff, Arkansas	1972
DeKalb County, Georgia	1973
Lafayette, Louisiana	1974
Greater Lakeland, Florida	1974
Owensboro, Kentucky	1974
Montclair-Newark, New Jersey (merger)	1974
Alexandria, Louisiana	1975
Gainesville, Florida	1975
Orlando-Winter Park, Florida (merger)	1975
Huntsville, Alabama	1975
Cobb-Marietta, Georgia	1976
Sarasota, New York	1976
Tuscaloosa, Alabama	1976
Elizabeth-Plainfield, New Jersey (merger)	1976
Springfield, Missouri	1976
Odessa, Texas	1977
Pueblo, Colorado	1977
Greater Alton, Illinois	1977
Fayetteville, North Carolina	1978
North Little Rock, Arkansas	1978
Gaston, County, North Carolina	1978
Reno, Nevada	1978
Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee	1980
South Brevard, Florida	1980
Kalamazoo, Michigan	1980
Richardson, Texas	1980
Athens, Georgia	1980
Longview, Texas	1981
Quad Cities, Iowa-Illinois	1981
Yakima, Washington	1981
Charlottesville, North Carolina	1981
Arlington, Texas	1982
Monroe, Louisiana	1982
Annapolis, Maryland	1982

[1] Became the Central Delaware Junior League, New Jersey, in 1972.
[2] Became part of Orange County Junior League, New York, in 1973.
[3] Merged with Elizabeth Junior League to become Elizabeth-Plainfield, New Jersey, in 1976.
[4] Became Stamford-Norwalk Junior League, Connecticut, in 1966.
[5] Became Elizabeth-Plainfield Junior League, New Jersey, in 1976.
[6] Became part of Bergen County Junior League, New Jersey.
[7] Became part of the Junior League of Berkshire County, Massachusetts.
[8] Became the Lehigh Valley Junior League in 1969.
[9] Became Westchester on the Sound Junior League in 1975.
[10] Became Westchester-on-Hudson Junior League in 1966.
[11] Became Northern Westchester Junior League in 1968.