In 1867, after women had been barred from both the Medical Department of Western Reserve College and the Cleveland Homeopathic Medical College, Dr. Myra King (Mrs. Charles H.) Merrick founded the Cleveland Homeopathic Hospital for Women, and in 1878, with her daughter-in-law, Dr. Eliza (Mrs. Richard L.) Merrick, and Dr. Kate Parsons, Merrick opened the Women’s and Children’s Free Medical and Surgical Dispensary. In 1913, when Cleveland hospitals denied women the internships required by new professional standards, Dr. Martha Canfield initiated the transformation of the tiny dispensary into Woman’s General Hospital. These careers illustrate the ingenious ways in which women created alternative routes into the professions through women-centered traditions, educations, and institutions. (See Figure 31.)

Most professions developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Americans sought to differentiate their occupations by establishing specialized and exclusive criteria for training and membership. The most established, most prestigious, and almost wholly male professions of medicine, law, and the ministry did not welcome women. In contrast, women moved easily into teaching and nursing, both identified as “women’s work.” Responding to new community needs, women created two new professions, librarianship and social work. In 1890, 5.7 percent of Cleveland’s working women were in the professions; in 1930, 11.9 percent.
Women were encouraged to enter the professions by growing opportunities for higher education. Although scarcely 3 percent of the nation’s eighteen- to twenty-one-year-olds attended college in 1890, more than a third of these were women. State universities admitted women, and several elite private women’s colleges opened in the last decades of the century.

By 1880 Cleveland’s growing economy and complex social structure supported several colleges: two Catholic undergraduate institutions for women, Ursuline and Notre Dame colleges; Spencerian Business College (later Dyke College), which prepared men for careers as bookkeepers and accountants; Case School of Applied Science, which trained men as engineers; and one coeducational school, Western Reserve University. (See Figure 32.) Because it was widely believed that women were physically and mentally unfit for higher education or, conversely,
that higher education would make them unfit women, getting a college degree was not easy, as illustrated at Western Reserve University. In 1872, under president Carroll Cutler, a former abolitionist and a spirited advocate of women’s education, Western Reserve University admitted women undergraduates to Adelbert College, and by the early 1880s, after the college’s removal from Hudson to Cleveland, women constituted 30 percent of the student body. Their numbers, however, appeared to threaten the male-dominated institution, and in 1884 the faculty voted to deny women admission. Cutler successfully defended coeducation, pointing out that of the nineteen women who had graduated from the college, eight were elected to Phi Beta Kappa. His victory was short-lived, and in 1886 Cutler resigned as president, his relationship with faculty and trustees strained by his stance on coeducation. Cutler was succeeded by Hiram Collins Haydn, the pastor of the First Presbyterian (Old Stone) Church. Haydn raised funds for a gymnasium for men and barred women from the school. His explanation, endorsed by his board of trustees, was that the college should return to the all-male tradition of its founders, and Haydn blamed the college’s feeble enrollment on its policy of admitting women. During

FIGURE 32. Nuns and a priest walk the grounds of the Ursuline Convent, ca. mid-1870s. The first classes for the college were held inside the convent itself. Western Reserve Historical Society.
Haydn’s installation, the four women who were members of the senior class left the room, and two left the college altogether, receiving their degrees elsewhere. Haydn was empowered to establish a coordinate facility, the College for Women, provided that it was financially self-supporting. The new college did become self-supporting, in part because Haydn persuaded male faculty members, most of whom had opposed coeducation, to teach women students without pay, and in part because of generous gifts from the Amasa Stone family, especially from Flora Stone Mather. The women’s college was named for her in 1931. The new institution offered a liberal arts curriculum but also courses in home economics, popular at other women’s colleges as well. Ten years after its founding, the enrollment of the College for Women rivaled that of Adelbert College. (See Figure 33.)

FIGURE 33. Mather House Women’s Dormitory on the campus of Mather College, Western Reserve University, in 1935. The building now houses the History, Political Science, Art History, and Classics departments at Case Western Reserve University. Case Western Reserve University Archives

Although a college degree was not yet a prerequisite, teaching remained the most popular profession for women. They quickly became the majority of elementary and secondary schoolteachers but, as earlier, did not achieve top administrative posts or salaries. In 1867, when Andrew J. Rickoff became superintendent of the Cleveland school system, it employed 18 men and 139 women teachers for its 10,154 students. Rickoff appointed women principals of grammar schools, who were overseen by four male principals; the four men received $1,800 a year, the women $1,000. In 1875 Cleveland teachers earned an average of $659 a year, considerably less than teachers in Chicago and Cincinnati. At the close of Rickoff’s term in 1881–82, the number of students had multiplied to 52,401, and 93 percent of the 472 public schoolteachers were women. All had to be single since, according to school regulations, “the marriage of a female teacher

FIGURE 34. The Woodland Hills School Library in the early 1900s. Western Reserve Historical Society
will be considered equivalent to a resignation of her position.” Men continued to hold the highest-paid principals’ posts until the end of the century. (See Figure 34.)

In 1915–16 a Cleveland Foundation survey of public schools found that little had changed except the number of students, then more than 80,000. The city still paid its teachers less than did comparable cities ($900 per year for elementary teachers, $1500 for high-school teachers, and $1,650 for elementary principals); the teachers were earning less than skilled workers such as plumbers and bricklayers, and less than other public employees such as policemen and firemen. More women than men held school supervisory posts, but the women were clustered at the bottom of the salary ranges, the best-paid earning only $2,400 to the male superintendent’s $6,000.

Teaching became a viable profession for African American women as well. In 1906, the Cleveland public schools employed fourteen black teachers; in 1929, eighty-four. Seventy-eight taught elementary school, and the majority were probably women. Two who did not teach at the elementary level were the daughters of author Charles Chesnutt. In 1904 Helen Chesnutt, a graduate of Smith College, was assigned to Central High School, where she taught Latin. In 1919 Dorothy Chesnutt Slade was appointed to Willson Junior High School.

Women also taught in private secular and parochial schools. Among these were three college-preparatory schools for girls. The earliest, Miss Mittleberger’s School, was named after its founder, Augusta Mittleberger, a graduate of and former teacher at the Cleveland Female Seminary. Located originally in Mittleberger’s own home, the school expanded to include a boarding department and moved in 1881 to a large property donated by John D. Rockefeller at Case Street (East 40th) and Prospect Avenue. The school closed in 1908 when Mittleberger retired. Hathaway Brown School opened in 1876 as Brooks School for Ladies, an adjunct to a boys’ school, Brooks Academy. The school was renamed after its third owner and proprietor, Anne Hathaway Brown, who sold the school in 1890. In 1905 Hathaway Brown moved from Euclid Avenue to a new facility on East 100th Street, a gift from Flora Stone Mather, and in 1927 to its current location in Shaker Heights. (See Figure 35.) Laurel School began in the home of Jennie Warren Prentiss in 1896; after enrolling boarding pupils, it was known as Wade Park Home School for Girls. In 1900 the school moved to Euclid Avenue, and in 1904 it was acquired by Sarah E. Lyman and became Laurel School. From 1908 to 1927, when it moved to Shaker Heights, the school was located at East 97th Street and Euclid Avenue.

By the end of the century, the Sisters of St. Joseph and the Sisters of Notre Dame had joined the earlier orders of nuns and taught the swelling population of Cleveland’s Catholic elementary and secondary schools. Catholic immigrants continued to arrive from Germany, Ireland, Poland, and Italy. Those
FIGURE 35. The Hathaway Brown School class of 1898. The school’s early mission was twofold: to prepare upper-class women for a career in society, and to equip them with well-trained minds. Western Reserve Historical Society

who could afford the tuition sent their children to parochial schools to escape the Protestant atmosphere of the public and private secular schools. In 1890, seventy-five hundred students were enrolled in parochial schools; in 1909, twenty thousand.

Women also dominated nursing as it began to establish itself as a profession. The Civil War had dramatized the need for trained nurses when three thousand women, many of them nuns, volunteered their services at the front. Those services were as much menial and domestic as medical, and nurses, unlike doctors, were not required to have professional training. At the end of the century, as hospitals became less social-welfare than medical facilities, they also became training sites for both doctors and nurses. In return for their education, nursing students were required to live at the hospitals and provide free care to patients.

Cleveland had a variety of nursing schools. The city’s first was a homeopathic facility, the Cleveland Training School
for Nurses, opened in 1884. Some schools, like the hospitals with which they were affiliated, were sectarian—such as those at St. Vincent Charity Hospital and St. Ann’s Hospital. (See Figure 36.) When Cleveland City Hospital opened its training school in 1897, eight of its ten students were nurses already employed at the hospital. In 1898 Lakeside Hospital, having just affiliated with the Western Reserve University medical school, opened the city’s first collegiate nursing school. A high-school degree was considered desirable but not necessary for admission. The school had a three-year curriculum, with lectures provided by busy physicians and occasionally attended by even busier student nurses. When Lakeside Hospital moved to University Circle, the nursing school also relocated to a facility built with a $500,000 gift from Frances Payne Bolton, after whom the school of nursing was then named. (See Figure 37.)

FIGURE 36. The infant ward at St. Ann’s Hospital in 1912. Cleveland Public Library
Graduates of nursing schools more often sought work in private homes or in public health agencies than in hospitals. In 1901 a group of public health nurses, together with middle-class volunteers who had been visiting the homes of needy families, initiated the Cleveland Visiting Nurses Association. Its purpose was to provide medical services to homebound, indigent patients, and its staff was originally based in settlement houses. (See Figure 38.)

Women were encouraged to enter the low-paid, low-status profession of nursing, but they fought an uphill battle to become doctors. Throughout most of the century, students of medicine learned their trade by apprenticing themselves to practicing doctors, preceptors; medical school was the privilege only of wealthy men. After the Civil War, however, the numbers of medical schools grew as doctors and the young American Medical Association tried to upgrade the reputation of the profession by replacing preceptorship with formal education.

Women were seldom admitted to these medical schools. In 1852 the Medical Department of Western Reserve College graduated Mrs. Nancy Talbot Clarke, who then moved to Boston and opened a dispensary for women and children. Two years later the school graduated Emily Blackwell, sister of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to be graduated from an American medical college. The Blackwell sisters founded a dispensary for women and children in New York. Despite grumblings from the male faculty, in 1856 four more women received medical degrees from Western Reserve, including Dr. Elisabeth Grisell (listed in the 1857 city directory) and Dr. Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska. Zakrzewska, a German immigrant, had been urged to attend Western Reserve by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and received financial support from Cleveland women including Caroline Severance, later a prominent suffragist. After graduation, Zakrzewska joined the faculty at the New England Female Medical College in Boston and then founded the New England Hospital for Women and Children, the first hospital in New England to be staffed entirely by women.

In 1856, however, the American Medical Association recommended barring women from medical schools, advice then followed by most of the country's medical colleges through the 1860s. In 1879 the Medical Department of Western Reserve voted to readmit women, but few applied, and only three were graduated by 1884 when the school again closed its doors to women. The doors remained shut until 1918.

Women nevertheless continued to pursue medicine. Women constituted 10 percent of the country's medical students in 1900, and 6 percent of all doctors in 1910. Most probably received their training in institutions called "irregular" because they taught therapies unacceptable to the American Medical Association. Dr. Myra King Merrick practiced homeopathy but had graduated from Central Medical College, an
FIGURE 37. Nursing students at the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing in Bacteriology Class at Lakeside Hospital in 1924. Case Western Reserve University Archives

FIGURE 38. A visiting nurse from the University Nursing District shows a mother the process of milk modification in the 1920s. Case Western Reserve University Archives
eclectic school in Rochester, and had gotten her clinical experience in a hydropathic facility. Dr. Eliza Merrick, Dr. Kate Parsons, and Dr. Martha Canfield were also homeopaths.

Homeopathic teaching institutions were hospitable to women: some were committed to women’s rights; others were simply glad to enroll any paying student, male or female. Homeopathy, a popular alternative to the “heroic” therapies of regularly trained physicians, was practiced in Cleveland by several prominent doctors as early as the 1830s. The Cleveland Homeopathic Medical College, founded in 1850, admitted three women at its first session and had graduated eleven women by the end of the decade, two receiving a Doctor of Obstetrics and Gynecology by completing a shortened course. Following the advice of the American Medical Association and the example of Western Reserve University, however, the homeopathic medical school also barred women from 1864 to 1867. (See Figure 39.)

In response, Dr. Myra King Merrick and C. A. (Mrs. John) Seaman, also trained as a homeopath, opened the Cleveland Homeopathic College for Women. The women’s college graduated a small number of students before merging with the older institution, whose faculty was still on record as opposing coeducation but whose all-male student body was dangerously dwindling.

From 1852 to 1914, about 260 women received medical degrees from Cleveland homeopathic colleges. Only 64 women graduated from “regular” medical colleges. These included the Medical Department of the College of Wooster, located in Cleveland from 1874 to 1896, and the Medical Department of Ohio Wesleyan University, also in Cleveland prior to its merger with the Medical Department of Western Reserve University in 1910, as well as the Medical Department of Western Reserve University.

One of those regularly educated women was Dr. Lillian Gertrude Towslee, who succeeded Dr. Martha Canfield as director of Woman’s Hospital. While pursuing her first career as a music teacher, she also enrolled in the Medical Department at Wooster, where she received her medical degree in 1888. She practiced general medicine but specialized in gynecology, which she taught in the medical schools of both Wooster and Ohio Wesleyan. Active in many women’s organizations such as the Sorosis, Towslee encouraged other women to enter medicine: “Women are especially adapted to care for the sick. The same qualities that make women good nurses help to make them good physicians.” (See Figure 40.)

Women also worked as midwives, who had to be licensed by the city but did not require professional training. Until the end of the 1920s, most women in Cleveland bore their children at home, but middle-class women had come to prefer male physicians to midwives, who had historically attended home births. Because of Cleveland’s large immigrant population,
however, midwives continued to deliver significant numbers of children: in 1916, 7,041 babies (almost 40 percent of all births), most to foreign-born women. Seventy-one midwives were listed in the 1915 city directory, many on the city’s near west side, serving its immigrant neighborhoods. In 1926, because of pressure

FIGURE 39. A detailed drawing of the Cleveland Homeopathic Hospital College in the 1870s. Western Reserve Historical Society

FIGURE 40. Woman’s General Hospital, founded in 1878 as the Women’s and Children’s Free Medical Dispensary by Kate Parsons and Myra King Merrick, ca. 1900. Courtesy of the Howard Dittrick Museum

WOMAN’S GENERAL HOSPITAL was the only hospital in Cleveland founded entirely by women. Beginning as a small homeopathic dispensary for women and children, the facility became a full-fledged hospital under Dr. Martha A. Canfield and in 1918 moved to its permanent location at E. 101st St. and Chester Ave. In 1921–22, the hospital staff included nine women physicians (and eleven men), and two other women physicians who served in the clinic department. By 1929 Woman’s Hospital had become the third-largest maternity hospital in Cleveland. In the post-World War II decades, the hospital provided a full range of medical services, but it closed in 1984 because of financial difficulties.

from male obstetricians and the growing popularity of hospital childbirth, midwives attended barely 14 percent of all births in Cleveland. In 1928, 160 midwives were still licensed to practice in Cleveland, but the city directory listed only 57, several, including Mrs. Mary Wypychowski, Mrs. Pearl Ciezkowski, and Mrs. Victoria Ruchay, on Fleet Avenue in the Czech neighborhood. (See Figure 41.)

The legal profession was even less accessible to women. In 1873 the U.S. Supreme Court argued that “the natural and proper timidity and delicacy” of women rendered them unfit for the law. Most lawyers, like doctors, had historically learned their trade through apprenticeship, and like medical schools, law schools were for wealthy male students. Most state bar associations did not admit women, and most legal firms would not employ them. The few women trained as lawyers, therefore, often did not practice.

In Cleveland only one woman lawyer, Mary (Mrs. Spargo) Fraser, 315 City Hall, was listed in the 1893 and 1901 city directories. (Although first names of lawyers are sometimes ambiguous, the directory enumerated a woman as “Miss” or “Mrs.”) A decade later, Mrs. Spargo having retired or died, there was still only one woman lawyer: Miss Elizabeth Williams, 1206 Williamson Building. The Western Reserve University School of Law did not admit women until 1918, although Cleveland Law School, affiliated with Baldwin Wallace College, did.

Despite their crucial numbers in conventional churches and their important roles in sectarian charity, women were even less welcome in the ministry than in medicine or law. Neither

FIGURE 41. A Cleveland-area midwife, ca. 1910, as featured in an article entitled “Midwifery and Infant Mortality” in the July 1911 edition of the Visiting Nurse Quarterly of Cleveland. Courtesy of the Howard Dittrick Museum

the Catholic Church, the Jewish denominations, nor the Protestant mainstream congregations permitted women ministers. Only a tiny handful of women had managed to be ordained by the end of the nineteenth century.

Two women, the Reverend Florence Buck and the Reverend Marion Murdock, served as co-ministers at the Unity (Unitarian) Church from 1893 to 1899. Murdock led the opening prayer at the 1897 ceremony when the Centennial Commission’s Woman’s Department sealed the casket of documents to be opened in 1996. She was the first woman to receive the Bachelor of Divinity degree from the Unitarian seminary at Meadville, Pennsylvania. During Buck and Murdock’s ministry, Unity Church established a free kindergarten and classes in cooking and domestic science. Buck later became head of the Religious Education Department of the American Unitarian Society. After their departure, the city directory listed no women as ministers of churches for the next several decades.

Women did organize and lead various “irregular” religious organizations in which ordination was not required. In 1895 Mrs. M. S. Lake was the pastor of the People’s Spiritual Alliance (Spiritualist), and other women served as administrators of various missions and Bible societies. Many were listed in city directories as Christian Science readers.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, women led in the creation of the new profession of librarianship. As public libraries and especially their services for children expanded to keep pace with the growing urban population, so did the need for an educated but low-paid staff. Women, long regarded as the genteel caretakers of culture and children, filled that need.

Cleveland’s first public library opened in 1869 on Public Square. Under the direction of head librarian William Howard Brett, who served from 1884 to 1918, it opened several new branches. Brett’s staff was almost completely female. (See Figure 42.)

In 1918 Linda Anne Eastman, vice-librarian under Brett, succeeded him and became the first woman to head a major urban library. (See Figure 43.) She had planned to become a teacher but instead joined the staff at the Cleveland Public Library (CPL) in 1892. In 1897 she and children’s librarian Effie L. Power formed the Children’s Library League, which encouraged children to become enthusiastic and responsible book-borrowers. In 1908 CPL became the first public library in the country to open a branch just for children, Perkins House, in a small home donated by the Cleveland Day Nursery and Free Kindergarten Association. (See Figure 44.) During Eastman’s twenty-year tenure as head librarian, her staff grew to twelve hundred, and the library developed a travel section, a business information bureau, and special services for the blind and to hospitals. Eastman also oversaw the library’s move in 1925 to its multi-million-dollar building on Superior Avenue, its current location.
FIGURE 42. William Howard Brett conducts one of the first classes at Western Reserve University’s School of Library Science, ca. 1900. Case Western Reserve University Archives

FIGURE 43. Linda A. Eastman was the first woman in the world to direct a major urban library. Shown here with President Herbert Hoover in 1929, Eastman also served as the president of the American Association of Librarians. Cleveland Public Library

LINDA ANNE EASTMAN (17 July 1867–5 Apr. 1963) Among Eastman’s great accomplishments was her maintenance and administration of Cleveland Public Library’s services during the Great Depression, when the library’s use dramatically increased and its funding just as dramatically diminished. Appointed director in 1918, she retired in 1938. In Eastman’s honor, the garden between the main library building and the Business and Science building was given her name.
Two other women gained prominence during Eastman’s administration. Effie L. Power became supervisor of the children’s room and then supervisor of children’s work at the library from 1920 to 1937. She introduced the Book Caravan, which took books to children in neighborhoods, parks, and playgrounds, an early version of the bookmobile. Marilla Waite Freeman, trained as both a librarian and a lawyer, served as director of the main library from 1922 to 1940. Freeman created posters and displays to encourage use of the library and designed and distributed bookmarks which provided bibliographies about plays or movies currently in performance. She brought several poets, including native Clevelander Langston Hughes, Robert Frost, and John Masefield, for readings at the library and the Women’s City Club.

Responding to the need for professional library personnel, Western Reserve University established its Library School in 1904. Brett was its first dean, and other library staff, including Eastman, served on the faculty. (See Figure 45.)

The career of librarian Eleanor Edwards (Mrs. Dancy) Ledbetter illustrates both the growing professionalization of librarians and the specialized services provided by public libraries. A graduate of New York State Library School, Ledbetter was appointed in 1909 the librarian at the Broadway Branch of CPL, located in a neighborhood of Czechs and Poles. She initiated the acquisition of Polish and Czech collections at the branch and wrote several books on Cleveland immigrant communities, including The Jugoslavs of Cleveland (1918), The Slovaks of Cleveland (1918), and The Czechs of Cleveland (1919). During World War I she taught citizenship classes to immigrants, and she remained a leading authority on local immigrant communities after her retirement in 1938. (See Figure 46.)

The profession of social work emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century but was rooted in the tradition of women’s sectarian charity, dating back to the Martha Washington and Dorcas Society and Rebecca Rouse’s visits to the homes of Cleveland’s poor in the 1840s. In 1867 Clevelanders had organized the Bethel Union, a missionary and relief organization, and in 1871 its Ladies Bethel and Mission Aid Society reported that in a two-year period its members had visited more than six hundred poor families and distributed more than seventy-eight hundred articles of clothing.

In the 1880s, the charity organization movement attempted to make the distribution of such outdoor relief more “scientific” and more efficient by systematic inquiries into the lives of the poor to determine who deserved charity and who did not. The inquiries were to be conducted by “friendly visitors,” who often were women.

Cleveland’s charity organization society was established in 1884 as Bethel Associated Charities. The society ran a soup kitchen, tried to provide jobs for the unemployed (men chopped...
wood, women sewed), and raised its own funds and relief supplies. But its chief purpose was to investigate the worthiness of the needy. It checked its own applicants for relief against those receiving public relief from the city, so that no family would be aided twice. In 1885 the organization hired a male superintendent to oversee the work of the several committees of visitors. All were volunteers, and most of them were women, who recommended—but did not distribute—relief in kind to deserving families. In 1900 Bethel Associated Charities changed its name to Cleveland Associated Charities (CAC). It expanded and strengthened its connections with the public Infirmary and various private agencies such as the Visiting Nurses Association, but its visitors remained female, for the most part unpaid and untrained. (See Figure 47.)

However, as the numbers and needs of Cleveland’s poor grew—for example, during the depression of 1893—it became apparent that greater expertise was needed in both the raising and the distribution of relief funds. In 1905 CAC director James F. Jackson began a seven-month series of training classes for college graduates, mostly women, who wanted to develop professional expertise in charitable activities. Scholarships were provided by the Cleveland Day Nursery Association

FIGURE 44. Children listen quietly to storyteller Georgiana Mineau at the Perkins Branch Library of the Cleveland Public Library in 1908. Cleveland State University Archives

FIGURE 45. Alice S. Tyler, dean and director of the Western Reserve University Library School from 1913 to 1929, ca. 1920s. Case Western Reserve University Archives

ALICE S. TYLER (27 Apr. 1859–18 Apr. 1944) became the director of Library School of Western Reserve University in 1913 and from 1925 to 1929 served as its dean. Tyler received her professional training at the Armour Institute in Chicago, today the Library School of the University of Illinois, and also worked for the Cleveland Public Library and the Iowa State Library Commission. When she began her tenure at WRU, it offered only a certificate for a one-year course. By 1929 the student body had grown significantly, and the school offered a Bachelor of Science in Library Science for completion of a four-year program. Tyler initiated and taught many of the courses herself.

FIGURE 46. Author and librarian Eleanor Edwards Ledbetter, ca. 1938. Ledbetter was known for her pioneering work with immigrant groups and ethnic literature. Cleveland Public Library

ELEANOR EDWARDS LEDBETTER (1870–19 July 1954) received honors from both the Polish and the Czech governments for her publications on Cleveland’s immigrant communities.
and Goodrich House (to a young woman who would then work at the settlement). Jackson also urged Western Reserve University president Charles F. Thwing to found a school of social work.

The School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University (SASS) opened in 1916. Its first significant programs were in public health nursing, family welfare, and social service, fields in which women had long been active as volunteers. SASS soon trained the workers for CAC, who did their field work there. Jackson became head of the family welfare division at SASS, and two other CAC staff joined the faculty. SASS also trained staff for the Visiting Nurses Association.

An early specialty at SASS was child welfare, which prepared workers, mostly women, for the many public and private child-care agencies and institutions such as the orphanages. In the early 1920s, SASS began to train group workers for settlements such as Hiram House and the Council Educational Alliance, and in 1926 it founded its own settlement, the University Neighborhood Centers (now University Social

FIGURE 47. Children of families on relief gather outside Bethel Associated Charities, ca. 1895. Western Reserve Historical Society
Settlement), as a training site for its students. Much of the funding for the latter came from Elizabeth Bingham Blossom, wife of wealthy Cleveland businessman Dudley S. Blossom, who was also a philanthropist and city welfare director 1919–1921 and 1924–32.

Using conventional ideas and new institutions, women slowly gained a foothold in the professions. They would do the same in the arts.