# Uniforms make the woman

Shortly after the Great War ended, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America assembled an extraordinary collection of the uniforms American women had worn during the war. The Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC accepted the society's proposal to exhibit the collection, which remained on display throughout the 1920s. This chapter explores the background of the Colonial Dames collection, discusses the characters of the exhibition, describes some of the uniforms exhibited, and assesses the larger significance of women wearing uniforms.

## Women negotiating recognition

When the First World War ended, Dr Marcus Mitchell Benjamin was in his 22nd year as a distinguished and widely admired scientific editor at the United States National Museum, the public face of the Smithsonian Institution. He and Carolyn Gilbert Benjamin, his wife of 16 years, were listed in Washington's Social Register and active in a variety of causes. In 1902 they appeared among the incorporators of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty. Mrs Benjamin was also an active member of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, one of a number of hereditary and patriotic societies formed in late-nineteenth-century America.<sup>1</sup>

Like tens of thousands of other middle- and upper-class women, members of the Colonial Dames eagerly volunteered to support the American preparedness movement before 1917, and even more the American war effort afterwards.<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1891, the society had already established a commitment to wartime relief in the 1898 war with Spain. On war's eve, one of the founders declared to a reporter that:

the dames will do their share when the time for action comes; they have not inherited the blood and spirit of the country's first founders and preservers – the old heroes of colonial and revolutionary days – not to be ready if the bugle calls again today.<sup>3</sup>

Among its varied activities during the war, the society raised funds to aid the sick and wounded, contributing thousands of dollars to the Navy for the hospital ship *Solace*.<sup>4</sup>

After the war, to honour 'the soldiers and sailors [...] who gave up their lives for their country in the war of 1898–99 with Spain', the society sponsored 'in sorrow, gratitude, and pride [...] in the name of all the women of the nation' an impressive monument in Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>5</sup> Erected in 1902 near the enshrined

mast from the battleship Maine, whose sinking in Havana harbour had triggered the war, the 54-foot shaft towered over the grounds. President Roosevelt and other distinguished speakers joined Colonial Dames President Mrs Howard (Anna Kopp) Townsend in dedicating the monument. Women had always participated in American wars, but only rarely demanded public recognition. This last nineteenth-century war marked the beginning of a new era. In a pattern that would become the rule in the First World War, the Colonial Dames proudly announced their contribution, both to the war and its memorialisation.<sup>6</sup>

Only a few Colonial Dames actually joined the armed forces during the First World War, chiefly because they had so few options: the Army Nurse Corps peaked at over 21,000 (Figure 1), but the Navy Nurse Corps barely topped 1700, and both required special qualifications; the US Navy enlisted over 11,000 Yeomen (F) (for female), but its Marine Corps equivalent, the Marine Reservists (F), accepted only a few hundred women, and both Navy and marines offered only enlisted grades. Most of the Dames, by far, wore the uniforms of civilian relief agencies. They joined tens of thousands of other civilian women (and men) who donned military-style garb for the duration to express their patriotism and symbolically claim full citizenship.8

The manifest significance of women's uniformed participation in the war, culminating in the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment (Woman Suffrage) to the US Constitution, struck many observers. One of them suggested to Mrs Joseph R (Clarinda Pendleton) Lamar, President of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 'that it would be a good thing if [the society] would undertake to



Figure 1 Case no. 16, uniforms, left to right: US Army Contract Surgeon's uniform; US Army Nurse Corps; US Army Nurse Corps; US Army Nurse Corps. (National Museum of American History, Division of Military and Diplomatic History)

preserve, in suitable place, the uniforms that were worn during this war'. Herself a veteran of the wartime Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Mrs Lamar responded warmly to the idea, despite her opposition to woman suffrage. Undging no place more suitable than the National Museum, she turned to Mrs Benjamin, who promptly proposed adding an exhibit of American women's wartime uniforms to the extensive and growing collection of American, Allied and captured German war material being prepared for display in the National Museum. That collection already included women's uniforms from several of America's allies. 11

### Creating the exhibit

On behalf of the Colonial Dames, Mrs Benjamin contacted William de Chastignier Ravenel, the recently-appointed head of the National Museum's Arts and Industries branch. Officially, his new title was administrative assistant to Smithsonian Secretary Charles D Walcott. Having come to the Smithsonian from a distinguished 35-year career with the US Fisheries Commission, Ravenel proceeded cautiously in so unfamiliar an area. He sought the advice of Theodore T Belote, who had been the museum's curator of history since 1908. After conferring with Belote, early in January 1919 Ravenel recommended to Secretary Walcott accepting the Colonial Dames' offer to

collect at once and offer to the Institution as an exhibit in connection with the war museum the uniforms and equipment of the women connected with the various activities during the war including the Army, Navy, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and Salvation Army. 12

The proposal, Ravenel informed Mrs Benjamin, 'met with the hearty approval of the Secretary'.<sup>13</sup>

As chair of the society's Committee on Relics, Mrs Benjamin took charge of assembling the collection, which, the *Washington Post* reported, 'will be permanently installed in [...] the National Museum and remain an object lesson to future generations of the part American Women played in the world war'. <sup>14</sup> Curator Belote acknowledged receipt of the first uniform in October 1919; most of the rest had arrived by the following spring. They included many more organisations than Mrs Benjamin had cited in her proposal. In June 1920 Ravenel formally thanked the Colonial Dames for loaning to the National Museum 'the collection of uniforms of the type worn by American women members of war organizations during the World War, 1914–1918'. <sup>15</sup> The uniforms went on display in the museum's Arts and Industries Building, along with captured German ordnance, the small arms of all combatants, and war toys. Other war-related exhibits occupied space in the Natural History Building across the mall to the north. <sup>16</sup>

All did not go smoothly. Enthusiastic uniform donors ignorant of museum policies threatened decorum and strained resources.

Shipment after shipment, some through Mrs Benjamin, but others direct to the museum, began piling up. Too often they arrived without prior notice or itemised lists of their contents. That sometimes led to misunderstandings, if not worse. To Concerned about space, Curator Belote refused to accept what he considered to be duplicate uniforms. Shipments might also arrive with more than uniforms. In January 1920 Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania sent the museum two uniforms, two wax figures and a representative of Wanamaker's Department Store to dress the figures in the uniforms, a practice which the museum had some years earlier tried and rejected, as Arts and Industries Director Ravenel explained to Mrs Benjamin. 19

Consternation ensued. Curator Belote objected to the incompatibility of such a display not only with the other women's uniforms, but also with all the building's serious historical exhibits. He readily acknowledged women's contribution to winning the war, but he also alluded to 'a decided feeling in many quarters that the uniforms now being assembled by Mrs. Benjamin represent more the personal ideas of the prominent individuals who wore them, rather than essential service to the Government during this trying period.'20 More fundamentally, Belote appears to have questioned any place for women's uniforms in a modern history museum. Such a museum should no longer be seen as, he would assert at the 1924 annual meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, 'merely a sort of junk shop for the care of miscellaneous relics', a category that for him likely included women's uniforms.<sup>21</sup>

Ravenel's attempted diplomacy in the wax-figure controversy only added to the confusion.<sup>22</sup> Finally, he resorted to a straightforward statement that such figures violated museum policy, even if limited space had not precluded their general use.<sup>23</sup> Despite the friction, a certain degree of which may have been unavoidable, the project achieved its major goal. By 1921 Mrs Benjamin could report at the biennial council of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America that the Committee on Relics had accomplished its task. She had personally written 820 letters to prospective donors. Many Colonial Dames had responded, as had members of other organisations; Colonial Dames, in fact, provided only about one-quarter of the collection. Mrs Benjamin believed the 80 more-or-less complete uniforms collected represented 'essentially all authorized war organizations' and all were on display in the United States National Museum.<sup>24</sup> So they would remain until the end of the decade.

## The exhibition, in part

A set of record photographs from the early 1920s shows 60 uniforms displayed three or four to the case in 18 cases. Uniforms hung suspended at the back of each case, with headgear above and footwear and other accessories below. Photographs or drawings of the uniform



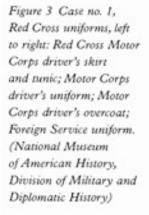
Figure 2 From case no. 1 (Figure 3), drawing of Red Cross canteen toorker's cape.

as worn (Figure 2), if available, hung on the back wall at eye level, while related material or memorabilia, if any, rested on the case floor. This is how they were exhibited in the Arts and Industries Building on the Mall in the early 1920s.<sup>25</sup>

Uniforms in the display represented 14 Red Cross bureaus. The American Red Cross, by 1914 a large corporation affiliated with both the government and the armed forces, actively organised medical and other relief workers for several years before the United States entered the war. It oversaw a vast network of Red Cross units all over the nation and, under official alignment with the War Department, it also served as an umbrella organisation for most other relief agencies, bestowing on them a measure of government sanction. Uniformed women drivers served in the Red Cross and several other civilian wartime volunteer agencies (Figure 3). Women especially took to motorcars and trucks, both as drivers and mechanics, transporting soldiers and supplies in both the United States and Europe where they sometimes worked close to the front lines.<sup>26</sup>

A few organisations, such as Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania, had junior auxiliaries (Emergency Aid Aides of Pennsylvania), the younger members wearing a version of the official uniform. Headquartered in Philadelphia, Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania numbered more than 4000 members divided among 26 committees, each responsible for a distinct area in 'virtually all the Allied countries, meeting many and diverse needs and covering practically the entire gamut of war relief enterprise.'27

The National League for Woman's Service tapped into the outpouring of women's patriotic volunteerism leading up to the United States' entry into the war in Europe. Although it never became,





as many of its members hoped, the government's official arm for women's war-related work, the League registered and trained millions of women for a variety of activities. Its Bureau of Registration and Information compiled systematic data on women's employment, housing and general welfare that proved invaluable to the government Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Employment Service. Until mid-1918 its motor corps served as the official motor service of the Red Cross.<sup>28</sup>

In 1916 the Woman's Section of the Navy League organised the First National Service School in Chevy Chase, Maryland, and three similar schools in California, Wisconsin and Rhode Island later that year. Inspired by the preparedness movement and modelled on the male Plattsburg movement, the national service camps usually lasted a month. The women wore uniforms (Figure 4), lived in tents, did callisthenics, drilled and marched. Despite the military atmosphere, thought to facilitate the training process, classes and lectures prepared them for national service in the form of 'their traditional and sacred duties of feeding the hungry, nursing the sick and caring for the sorrowing'. Their noncombatant status would in no way be jeopardised.<sup>29</sup>

The US Army sanctioned the work of both the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) overseas and in military camps at home. Three types of uniforms for women – home, overseas and regular service – represent the service of women wartime volunteers in the YMCA and YWCA.<sup>30</sup> Like the YMCA and YWCA, and many other organisations, the American Library Association (ALA) provided uniforms for its

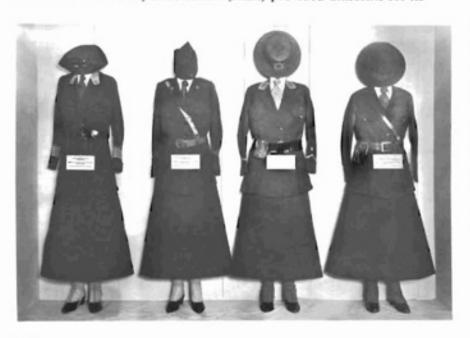


Figure 4 Case no. 7, uniforms, left to right: Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania; Emergency Aid Aides of Pennsylvania; National League for Woman's Service; First National Service School. (National Museum of American History, Division of Military and Diplomatic History)

workers or specified appropriate uniforms for purchase. Exactly what kind of uniforms did the ALA's Library War Service authorise?

Of the 329 women engaged as war service librarians in the United States and overseas, 170 served in hospital libraries, the others in camp libraries, dispatch offices and field supervision. Caroline Webster, who oversaw hospital libraries in Library War Service Headquarters at the Library of Congress, spelled out the need for uniforms: Our representatives are equipped with a uniform so that they may have standing with the military authorities and be given the respect and attention which an official connection with the military gives. An incomplete uniform was no uniform at all. She warned that 'unless you are willing to conform to the uniform in every detail, do not equip yourself with an outfit either at your own or the Association's expense'.

The ALA specified the uniforms and reimbursed a portion of their cost. Hospital librarians were pongee dresses cut much like nurses' uniforms. 33 Of these we have no example. Figure 5 shows the uniform worn by the other librarians, those not working in hospitals. Librarians purchased their uniforms by sending their measurements (taken by a tailor) and payment to Weltman, Pollack and Company in New York, which guaranteed to ship the uniform within ten days. The signed bills then went to ALA headquarters for reimbursement. Similar arrangements applied for hats from the Ferry Hat Company and overcoats from Best & Company, both of New York. The ALA directly supplied two ties and three pins: a large one for the hat, two smaller ones for the collars. An official ALA circular specified the required white high-necked blouse of madras and tan or black low-heeled,

Figure 5 Case no. 10, uniforms, left to right: YWCA;YMCA;YMCA; American Library Association toorker. (National Museum of American History, Division of Military and Diplomatic History)



broad-toed boots. These items workers provided for themselves, but material was available on request without cost for spats.<sup>34</sup>

During the First World War, the US Army Medical Department refused to accept female physicians into its organisation, but did allow them to serve as civilians under contract. The category 'contract surgeon' included not only physicians, but also such medical support personnel as anaesthetists, laboratory technicians and dietitians. Although the army denied military pay, rank, and benefits to contract surgeons, it nonetheless imposed military discipline and uniforms upon them. They readily accepted the discipline and wore the uniforms proudly as the price of serving their country in wartime, but many still resented the army's refusal to grant them full military status.<sup>35</sup>

Like the contract surgeons, the women hired under contract as telephone operators for the American Expeditionary Force in France served eagerly, accepting military discipline and proudly wearing the uniform. Unlike the contract surgeons, however, the hundreds of volunteers who answered the army's call thought they had enlisted in the service, rather than been hired as civilian contractors. The army's denial of military rank, pay and benefits remained a source of friction for the next 60 years.<sup>36</sup>

The Colonial Dames collection and the Smithsonian exhibition included uniforms worn by the members of many other organisations. Each had its own story, but the examples here presented will serve to suggest the range and significance of the collection.<sup>37</sup>

#### Why the exhibition mattered

Toward the end of the 1920s, the women's uniforms were still displayed in the Arts and Industries Building, but now filled two large, very crowded cases that occupied about 150 feet of wall space.<sup>38</sup> The exhibition remained in place until 1929, when a decision to shift the war exhibits in the Natural History Museum to Arts and Industries crowded out the women's uniforms. In Curator Belote's opinion,

Women's costumes of the period of the World War now shown on the south side of the west gallery of this building [Arts and Industries] [...] are not of primary historical or scientific interest and the space which they now occupy is urgently needed for the accommodation of material of very much greater value which is to be removed from the Natural History building and installed in this building.<sup>39</sup>

Ravenel sought and received from the Colonial Dames permission to remove the exhibition of women's uniforms, either returning them to the Society or holding them in storage against the possibility that they might return to public display at some later date.<sup>40</sup> The Colonial Dames accepted the offer of storage and the museum packed the uniforms into four identical mothproof boxes, each  $25 \times 25 \times 43$  inches (roughly  $64 \times 64 \times 109$  cm), and placed them in storage.<sup>41</sup>

The exhibition had not remained static during its lifetime. Additional material had trickled in through most of the decade, while donors withdrew other material during the course of the exhibition. With the uniforms no longer on display, requests from individual donors for the return of their uniforms increased. The museum took the position that it was merely custodian of the collection that belonged to the Colonial Dames, to which it referred all requests. During the 1930s, especially after the 1932 opening of the Dames' Dumbarton House to the public, the museum repeatedly sought to return the collection to the Dames. 42 The Colonial Dames canvassed the country to find a venue suited to exhibiting the uniform collection. More than one promising lead failed to pan out, and by 1941, as Mrs Benjamin reported to the Colonial Dames biennial meeting, the National Museum looked like the safest bet for the collection. 'It is beautifully packed in cases; each article marked and numbered, and under present condition is safe and we have nothing to lose and much to gain in keeping it intact for the Society.'43

The museum benefited as well, in the long term. The uniforms provide solid documentation of the extraordinary range of organisations – secular, religious and military – in which women enthusiastically volunteered for war work. The Colonial Dames collection of women's uniforms from the First World War now housed in the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History includes many more uniforms than those we have specifically discussed – over a hundred in all, some fully accessorised, others less complete.<sup>44</sup>

Despite its size, it is by no means as complete as Mrs Benjamin thought it was. It does not include examples of all the uniforms of organisations that sent women volunteers to Europe, nor any of the uniforms worn by working-class women such as munitions workers or other factory operatives. It includes no uniforms of female streetcar (tram) conductors, mail carriers or police. Neither are there examples of uniforms worn by members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, nor those authorised by the War Department for European women employed by the US government.<sup>45</sup> It is nonetheless a thought-provoking collection of uniforms of early twentieth-century volunteer workers who represented a wide range of women's organisations largely supportive of and active in the women's suffrage movement.

In particular, this collection has stimulated us to think about the reasons why such large numbers of women seemed to feel that volunteering (as they had done in past wars) was not enough. This phenomenon was not limited to the United States. Uniformed women appeared throughout Europe before and during the First World War. Why did so many women conclude that wearing a uniform must visibly validate their public service? We have essayed a substantial answer to this question in another article. Here we briefly summarise

the conclusions to which our research has led. Lacking full access to the political system, women resorted to claiming full citizenship symbolically by donning uniforms. Uniforms also served them as visible statements of their patriotism and national pride. By wearing uniforms in voluntary organisations, women identified themselves with the same principles of military order and discipline as men. At the same time, they reminded government officials and male voters of the gap between women's legal rights and the responsibilities as citizens they had willingly accepted and effectively fulfilled during the war.

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