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THE EARLY FEMALE JEWISH MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND BAR: 1920–1929

THE HONORABLE DEBORAH SWEET EYLER*

Etta Haynie Maddox, the first female member of the Maryland Bar, was born into a family rooted for generations in Maryland.¹ In the sixteen years following her 1902 bar admission, she was joined by six more women, three of whom also came from long-established American families.² The other three were daughters of at least one immigrant, but those parents had come to this country long before their daughters were born.³ All seven women admitted to the Maryland Bar from 1902 to 1918 were Gentiles.⁴

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* Hon. Deborah Sweet Eyler, Associate Judge, Maryland Court of Special Appeals. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Moshe D. Shualy, Rabbi and Ritual Directory, Chizuk Amuno Congregation, Baltimore, Maryland for his learned insights into the backgrounds and motivations of the women who make up the core of this article. And I would like to give special thanks to Patrice Meredith Clarke, Esq., and Hayley Tamburello, Esq., for their tireless and dedicated research, without which this article could not have been written.

1. *Etta H. Maddox, Maryland Women's Hall of Fame*, MARYLAND STATE ARCHIVES (2003), <http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/educ/exhibits/womenshall/html/maddox.html>; *see also* 1880 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 2ND PRECINCT 5TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 44, PAGE 53 (STAMPED), SHEET 3C, DWELLING 20, FAMILY 25, JOHN T. MADDOX [MISSPELLED JNO T. MADDOX] HOUSEHOLD. Many of the resources cited herein can be found on Ancestry.com.

2. Mary Virginia Meushaw (1909), Helen F. Hill (1912), and Emily Dashiell (1918) all descended from deep-rooted American families. COURT OF APPEALS OF MARYLAND, TEST BOOK: VOL. I 277, 305, 377 [hereinafter TEST BOOK: VOL. I]; *see also* 1880 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 1ST PRECINCT, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 129, PAGE 405 (STAMPED), SHEET 39C, DWELLING 264, FAMILY 354, JOHN MEUSHAW [MISSPELLED MEUSHAW] HOUSEHOLD; 1920 U.S. CENSUS, YELLOWSTONE CNTY., MONT., POPULATION SCHEDULE, WARD 1, BILLINGS CITY, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 161, PAGE 59 (STAMPED), SHEET 16A, DWELLING 98, FAMILY 130, TOM HASTY HOUSEHOLD; 1930 U.S. CENSUS, PRINCE GEORGE'S CNTY., MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, LAUREL DISTRICT, LAUREL TOWN, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 17–21, PAGE 198 (STAMPED), SHEET 2A, DWELLING 34, FAMILY 36, ALTON E. DONALDSON HOUSEHOLD; 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 12TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 199, PAGE 271 (STAMPED), SHEET 4A, DWELLING 74, FAMILY 77, JOHN W. OWENS HOUSEHOLD.

3. Anna Grace Kennedy was born in 1877, more than twenty years after her parents immigrated to the United States from Ireland. *See* 1910 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 12TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 185, PAGE 160 (STAMPED), SHEET 11A, DWELLING 196, FAMILY 236, ANDREW KENNEDY HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR ANNA GRACE KENNEDY]. Marie E. K. Coles, born in 1885, thirty-two years after her mother came to the United States from England, was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1908. *See* 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 262, PAGE 162 (STAMPED), SHEET 15A, DWELLING 308, FAMILY 340, SOPHIA E. COLES HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR MARIE E. K. COLES]. Emilie Doetsch, born to

The decade from 1920 through 1929 marked a significant shift in the ethnic and religious heritages of newly admitted female members of the Maryland Bar. In that time, thirty-six women joined the bar, of whom seventeen were Jewish. The families of fourteen of the Jewish women who joined the Maryland Bar in the 1920s came to this country in the enormous wave of Jewish emigration from Russia and Eastern Europe that began in the 1880s and lasted until the federal government imposed immigration quotas in 1924.⁵ Five of the women were born in Russia or Lithuania, then under Russian occupation, and immigrated to this country as newborns or young children.⁶ One was born during her parents' journey from Russia to the United States.⁷ Eight were "First Generation" Jews, born in the United

German parents around 1884, and admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1907. See 1930 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 27TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 436, (STAMPED BETWEEN PP. 202 AND 203), SHEET 12B, DWELLING (BLANK), FAMILY (BLANK), L. JOHANAH DOETSCH HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR EMILIE DOETSCH].

4. See HOLLIS ATKINSON, ETTA HAYNIE MADDOX, MARYLAND'S FIRST WOMAN LAWYER: A BIOGRAPHY 19, available at <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/012400/012464/pdf/atkinson.pdf> (noting that Etta Maddox's funeral service was performed by "Rev. F. R. Sturtevant, Minister of the First Unitarian Church"); *Funeral of Mr. Daniel Laffy*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 8, 1903, at 10 (noting that Mary Virginia Meushaw's brothers, Charles A. Meushaw and John Meushaw, were pallbearers in a relative's funeral that took place at St. Augustin's Church in Elkridge, Maryland); *Helen F. Hill, Was Lawyer Since 1900*, WASH. POST & TIMES HERALD, Mar. 17, 1966, at B6 (noting that Helen was a member of the Order of the Eastern Star, a spiritual fraternity, and was an "honorary member of the board of stewards" of the First Methodist Church of Laurel); *Obituary: Mrs. Elizabeth T. Dashiell*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 2, 1940, at 10 (noting that Emily's mother's funeral was held at the Protestant Episcopal Pro-Cathedral of the Incarnation and that Emily's grandfather was the Rev. Dr. E. Franklin Dashiell); *Kennedy, Mary Frances*, BALT. SUN, Nov. 29, 1911, at 6 (noting that Anna Grace's sister, Mary Frances, died on November 28, 1911, and that a Requiem Mass would be said at St. Ann's Church); *Obituary, William Coles*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 17, 1910, at 7 (noting that Marie's (misspelled by *The Sun* as "Mary") father's funeral service was performed by a member of the First Church of Christ Scientist); *Obituary, Dr. Ernest P. Doetsch*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 29, 1935, at 14 (noting that Emilie's brother Ernest's funeral service was performed by the Reverend Dr. Charles Seymour of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Halethorpe). No women were admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1919. See TEST BOOK: VOL. I, *supra* note 2, at 355-59.

5. In 1924, Congress passed the National Origins (Johnson-Reed) Act. Ch. 190 § 11(a), 43 Stat. 153, 159 (1924) (repealed in 1952 and replaced with the Immigration & Nationality Act ("INA"), ch. 477, § 201(a), 66 Stat. 163, 175 (1952) (repealed 1965)). The National Origins Act adopted a quota system that drastically capped the number of people who could immigrate to this country from Southern and Eastern Europe, including Russia. The actual effect, and likely the intended effect, of that legislation was to limit the number of immigrant Jews in America. See HENRY L. FEINGOLD, ZION IN AMERICA: THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT 265 (2002).

6. By birth names, these five women were: Jennie Plotkin, Helen Kurland, Fannie Kurland, Goldie Rose Miller, and Ida Kloze. See *infra* Part II.B (Jennie Plotkin); see *infra* Part II.C (Helen Kurland); see *infra* note 127 (Fannie Kurland); see *infra* Part II.E (Goldie Rose Miller); see 1910 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 18TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 296, PAGE 8 (STAMPED), SHEET 8A, DWELLING 111, FAMILY 144, MAX KLOZE HOUSEHOLD.

7. By birth name, Grace Rebecca Gerber. See *infra* Part II.A.

States to parents who were recent arrivals from Russia or Eastern Europe.⁸ And three were “Second Generation” Jews, descended from German or Austrian immigrants.⁹

This Article delves into the lives of six of the Jewish women who came to the Maryland Bar in the 1920s. It explores the shared experiences of the female Jewish lawyers admitted to the Maryland Bar at that time and postulates about why Jewish immigrants and First Generation Jews predominated among the female members of the Maryland Bar in that decade.

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

For centuries, the life activities of the Jewish people in their scattered settlements in Europe and other parts of the Diaspora were tightly controlled and restricted by law. Beginning with France in 1791, countries in Western Europe relaxed or eliminated these laws.¹⁰ Germany did not follow suit until 1872.¹¹ German Jews immigrated to this country in large

8. By birth names, Rose Zetzer, Ida Claire Lutzky, Sara Rosenberg, Ruth Schapiro, Annette Selenkow, Jeanette Siegel, Jennie Rosenberg, and Lillian Gersow. See *infra* Part II.F (Rose Zetzer); see 1900 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 3RD WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 36, (STAMPED BETWEEN PAGES 181 AND 182), SHEET 5B, DWELLING 80, FAMILY 113, JACOB LUTZKY HOUSEHOLD; 1910 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 20TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 312, PAGE 209 (STAMPED), SHEET 1A, DWELLING 10, FAMILY 10, ISAAC ROSENBERG HOUSEHOLD; 1900 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 12TH PRECINCT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 12, (STAMPED IN BETWEEN PAGES 164 AND 165), SHEET 12B, DWELLING 194, FAMILY 284, MOSES SCHAPIRO HOUSEHOLD; 1900 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 3RD WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4, PAGE 292 (STAMPED), SHEET 20A, DWELLING 240, FAMILY 429, MORRIS E. SELENKOW HOUSEHOLD; 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 1ST WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 13, PAGE 314 (STAMPED), SHEET 1A, DWELLING 2, FAMILY 3, LOUIS SIEGEL HOUSEHOLD; 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 263, PAGE 234 (STAMPED), SHEET 36A, DWELLING 634, FAMILY 727, ADOLPH ROSENBERG HOUSEHOLD; 1930 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-239, PAGE 125 (STAMPED), SHEET 2A, DWELLING 32, FAMILY 44, HARRY GERSOW HOUSEHOLD.

9. By birth names, Jeanette Rosner, Adelaide Helene Lindenberg, and Hilda Cohen. See *infra* Part II.D (Jeanette Rosner); see 1910 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 3RD WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 31, PAGE 105 (STAMPED), SHEET 2A, DWELLING 18, FAMILY 19, HERMAN LINDENBERG HOUSEHOLD; 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 14TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 232, (STAMPED IN BETWEEN PAGES 116 AND 117), SHEET 9B, DWELLING 149, FAMILY 181, BENJAMIN COHEN HOUSEHOLD.

10. THE SHENGOLD JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA 85 (Leon Klenicki et al. eds., 1998).

11. H.G. ALDER, THE JEWS IN GERMANY: FROM THE ENLIGHTENMENT TO NATIONAL SOCIALISM 73 (1969).

numbers beginning in the 1830s to escape the legal restrictions that barred them from holding jobs in trades and businesses.¹²

The draconian treatment of the Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia persisted well after Western European countries changed their laws. From the 1600s, Poland had been the exception; Jews flocked there because the country did not restrict their fields of employment or their participation in society.¹³ As areas of Poland came to be divided among Tsarist Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that changed,¹⁴ and the quality of life for Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia declined considerably.

From 1791 until 1918, more than ninety percent of Eastern European and Russian Jews were restricted by Tsarist Russia to living in the “Pale of Settlement,”¹⁵ a western region of Imperial Russia that encompassed part of divided Poland and twenty-five Russian provinces, including areas of present day Ukraine (Kiev), Lithuania, Latvia, and Belarus.¹⁶ Depending upon the Tsar in power, the rights of Jews in the Pale ranged from restricted to non-existent. Most large cities in or near the Pale banned Jews.¹⁷ The work Jews could perform was limited to give Russian businesses the competitive advantage.¹⁸ For most of the time the Pale existed, Jewish children were not allowed to attend secular schools for higher education, or quotas allowed only a small percentage of Jewish children to attend. Girls of all religions were banned from secular schools.¹⁹ A by-product of these restrictions was the development and expansion within the Pale of schools—heders and yeshivas—for the religious education of Jewish boys.²⁰ At times, Imperial Russia would lift the ban on Jews attending secular schools, on the theory that teaching Russian to Jewish boys and immersing them in Russian culture would prompt them to convert to Christianity. That theory was never borne out in fact.²¹

During the reign of Tsar Alexander II, Jews in the Pale lived in relative freedom, with fewer restrictions than before.²² Conditions changed radical-

12. Moses Aberbach, *The Early German Jews of Baltimore*, 35 REP. J. OF GERMAN-AM. HIST. 27, 28–29 (1972).

13. THE SHENGOLD JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA, *supra* note 10, at 207–08.

14. *Id.* at 208–10.

15. THE NEW JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA 366 (David Bridger ed., 1976).

16. *Id.*; *see also* HEIKO HAUMANN, A HISTORY OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS 83 map.4 (James Patterson, trans., Cent. European Univ. Press 2002) (1990).

17. *See, e.g.*, HAUMANN, *supra* note 16, at 82.

18. *Id.* at 84.

19. STEVEN CASSEDY, TO THE OTHER SHORE 8 (1997).

20. Ken Spiro, *Pale of Settlement*, AISH, <http://www.aish.com/jl/h/cc/48956361.html> (last visited Dec. 30, 2014).

21. *Id.*

22. HAUMANN, *supra* note 16, at 87–88.

ly in March of 1881, when Tsar Alexander II was assassinated.²³ Before then and throughout the existence of the Pale, Jews were periodically subjected to pogroms in which their homes and property were destroyed. After the assassination, the pogroms increased in frequency and intensity.²⁴ Jews were herded into small urban areas called shtetls, and the concentration of Jews in these confined areas enabled their persecution.²⁵ Starting in the 1880s, the pogroms escalated, and increasingly harsh laws regulating the activities of Jews were passed in 1882.²⁶ From 1903 to 1905, Jews were hunted down and killed in a rash of especially violent pogroms perpetrated by members of the Russian army aided by willing civilians.²⁷

Between 1880 and 1920, over two million Jews fled the horrors of life in the Pale,²⁸ most to the United States and a small number to Palestine.²⁹ Because the Jewish population had increased tremendously in the Pale, eventually reaching five million,³⁰ a large number of Jews remained in Russia. In 1917, with the Russian Revolution, the Pale ceased to exist.³¹

Jews had been living in Maryland since the late 1700s. It was then that a Jewish community took shape in eastern Baltimore City, along Lombard, Baltimore, and Fayette Streets. In 1825, Baltimore City was the third largest city in the country, with a population of 62,738,³² but was home to only 125 Jews.³³ Beginning in the 1830s, a wave of Jews emigrated from

23. *Id.* at 88. Given the rampant anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, many Russians blamed the Jews for the assassination. The Jews had nothing to do with this death. Rather, Tsar Alexander II was killed by members of the "People's Will," a populist revolutionary group known for its terrorist tactics. Sharon Harzenski, *Terrorism, A History: Stage One*, 12 J. TRANSNAT'L L. & POL'Y 137, 161 (2003).

24. SALO W. BARON, *THE RUSSIAN JEW UNDER TSARS AND SOVIETS* 52–53 (Michael T. Florinsky ed., 1964).

25. Amir Steinhart, *Old Shtetlism and New Urbanism: Uncovering the Implications of Suburban Zoning Laws for Community Life through the Jewish-American Experience*, 24 NOTRE DAME J.L., ETHICS AND PUB. POL'Y 255, 262, 266–67 (2010); see also *The Pale of Settlement*, GROSSMAN PROJECT, http://grossmanproject.net/The_Pale_of_Settlement.htm (last visited Aug. 23, 2013).

26. HAUMANN, *supra* note 16, at 88.

27. See BARON, *supra* note 24, at 67–70.

28. *Summary of Geographical Movement of European Jews in the Past 2,000 Years*, FLA. CTR. FOR INSTRUCTIONAL TECH., UNIV. S. FLA., <http://fcit.usf.edu/holocaust/People/displace.htm>.

29. *Id.*

30. Spiro, *supra* note 20.

31. THE SHENGOLD JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA, *supra* note 10, at 201 (Pale of Settlement entry).

32. *Fast Facts*, CENSUS.GOV, http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1820_fast_facts.html (last visited Dec. 29, 2014).

33. *Virtual Jewish World: Baltimore*, JEWISH VIRTUAL LIBRARY, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/vjw/Baltimore.html>. (last visited Feb. 27, 2015).

Germany, settling in the Jewish enclave in East Baltimore.³⁴ By 1840, the Jewish population in the city reached one thousand people,³⁵ and the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation became the first Jewish house of worship in this country to employ an ordained rabbi.³⁶ The Lloyd Street Synagogue, built in East Baltimore in 1845, still stands and is the now the third oldest synagogue in the United States.³⁷

The Jewish population in Baltimore City rose steadily with the influx of German Jews to 8,000 in 1860, and 10,000 in 1880.³⁸ The great migration of Russian and Eastern European Jews that followed boosted the city's Jewish population to approximately 24,000 in 1890, 40,000 in 1907, and 65,000 in 1920.³⁹ While the population of Baltimore City grew 10-fold in the century from 1820 to 1920, during that same time the population of Jews in the city increased more than 500-fold.

The contrast between life in the Pale and life in the United States was stark for all Jewish immigrants, but was especially so for Jewish women immigrants. Constraints on women in nineteenth century American society were falling by the wayside. In 1898, Maryland joined the ranks of change by enacting the Married Women's Act, which afforded married women legal rights that until then had belonged to their husbands.⁴⁰ The seventeen Jewish women admitted to the Maryland Bar in the 1920s came of age at the culmination of the "First Wave" of the American women's liberation movement, which had started with the women's suffrage initiatives of the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 and the National Women's Rights Convention of 1850.⁴¹ The Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, granting women the right to vote, was ratified on August 18, 1920.⁴²

34. GILBERT SANDLER, *JEWISH BALTIMORE: A FAMILY ALBUM* 4-5 (2000).

35. *Virtual Jewish World: Baltimore*, *supra* note 33.

36. *Id.*

37. *Lloyd Street Synagogue*, JEWISH MUSEUM OF MARYLAND, <http://www.jhsm.org/lloyd-street-synagogue> (last visited Dec. 29, 2013).

38. *Virtual Jewish World: Baltimore*, *supra* note 33.

39. *Id.*

40. Married Women's Act, art. 45 §§ 5, 16, 18, 20 (1898) (current version at Md. Code. Ann. Fam. L. § 4-204 (2014)).

41. See Alexandra Murray, *Marriage—the Peculiar Institution: An Exploration of Marriage and the Women's Rights Movement in the 19th Century*, 16 UCLA WOMEN'S L.J. 137, 142 (2007); Sandra Day O'Connor, *The History of the Women's Suffrage Movement*, 49 VAND. L. REV. 657, 660 (1996).

42. U.S. CONST. amend. XIX; see also *19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Women's Right to Vote*, NAT'L ARCHIVES, <http://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/document.html?doc=13&title.raw=19th%20Amendment%20to%20the%20U.S.%20Constitution:%20Women%27s%20Right%20to%20Vote> (last visited Aug. 22, 2013).

The early 1900s also marked the emergence of the Zionist Movement in the United States.⁴³ That movement is widely considered to have been fathered in the late 1880s by Theodor Herzl, a Hungarian who earned a law degree in Austria.⁴⁴ Its objective was to create a Jewish national home in Palestine to which Jews from around the world, and especially from those countries where they were being persecuted, could migrate.⁴⁵ In 1917, this concept gained traction internationally when Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, issued a declaration stating Great Britain's favorable position.⁴⁶ After World War I ended in 1918, the League of Nations endorsed the "Balfour Declaration."⁴⁷

The Zionist Movement was particularly active in Baltimore City. The only American delegate to the First Zionist Congress, held on August 29 through 31, 1897, in Basel, Switzerland, was Rabbi Shepsel Schaffer, of Baltimore.⁴⁸ Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Movement of America (later named the Women's Zionist Organization of America), was founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold, a German Jew who grew up in Baltimore City and was the daughter of Rabbi Benjamin Szold.⁴⁹ In 1889, long before she became involved in the Zionist Movement, Henrietta founded the Russian Night School, to teach English to recently emigrated Eastern European and Russian Jews.⁵⁰ Henrietta founded Hadassah after spending time in Palestine in 1909, and participating in women's Zionist groups, including the Hadassah Study Circle in New York.⁵¹ In 1920, Henrietta moved to Palestine.⁵²

43. RAFAEL MEDOFF & CHAIM I. WAXMAN, *HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF ZIONISM* 226–29 (2d ed. 2008).

44. *Id.* at 99–100.

45. *Id.* at 200; AMNON RUBENSTEIN, *FROM HERZL TO RABIN: THE CHANGING IMAGE OF ZIONISM* 57 (2000).

46. *THE SHENGOLD JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA*, *supra* note 10, at 41.

47. *Id.*

48. John Rivera, *Gunrunners and Peacemakers; Baltimoreans: As Early as 1847, Jews Here Emerged Repeatedly as Central Figures in Zionism*, *BALT. SUN*, Apr. 26, 1998, at 12D.

49. MEDOFF & WAXMAN, *supra* note 43, at 195. Rabbi Szold was the first rabbi of Temple Oheb Shalom, a Conservative Congregation founded by German Jews in 1853 as an alternative to the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Orthodox) and Har Sinai (Reform). *History*, *TEMPLE OHEB SHALOM*, <http://www.templeohebshalom.org/about/history> (last visited Dec. 30, 2014). Henrietta studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York City. She was allowed to do so only on the condition that she not pursue a rabbinical degree. Michael Brown, *Henrietta Szold*, *JEWISH WOMEN'S ARCHIVE* (Mar. 20, 2009), <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/szold-henrietta> (last visited Dec. 30, 2014).

50. Alexandra Lee Levin, *Henrietta Szold and the Russian Immigrant School*, *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, March 1962, at 2–3.

51. Brown, *supra* note 49.

52. *Id.*

II. SIX WOMEN

A. *Grace Rebecca Gerber Silverberg (1920)*

Surprisingly, the first Jewish female member of the Maryland Bar was not from Baltimore City. Grace Rebecca Gerber grew up in Hagerstown, in Washington County, and practiced law there her entire adult life. In 1893, Grace's parents and their two children fled Russia for the United States, by way of South America. Grace was born during their journey.⁵³ The Gerbers settled in Hagerstown⁵⁴ about a year after the town's first synagogue, Congregation B'nai Abraham, opened its doors.⁵⁵ The town's Jewish population was small. In 1919, there were about 250 Jews among the town's approximately 28,000 residents.⁵⁶

Julius (Judel) Gerber, Grace's father, started work as a scrap and junk dealer, and soon formed the Hagerstown Iron and Junk Company.⁵⁷ Bessie Gerber, a homemaker, cared for the seven Gerber children.⁵⁸

Grace proved to be a stellar student. In 1915, at age twenty-one, she graduated first in her class of 250 men and 3 women at Western Maryland College (now McDaniel College), in Westminster.⁵⁹ She applied to the University of Maryland School of Law, but was denied admission because the school did not accept women.⁶⁰ Undeterred, Grace matriculated at Val-

53. 1910 U.S. CENSUS, WASHINGTON CNTY., MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 2ND PRECINCT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 17, (STAMPED BETWEEN PAGES 132 AND 133), SHEET 2B, DWELLING 39, FAMILY 39, JULIUS H. GERBER HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER] (Grace's first and middle names are reversed in the 1910 U.S. Census.).

54. *Id.*

55. *History*, CONGREGATION B'NAI ABRAHAM, <http://bnaiabraham.net/about-us/our-history> (last visited Dec. 29, 2014).

56. *Hagerstown: Washington County*, INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CEMETERY PROJECT, <http://www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/maryland-md/hagerstown-washington-county.html> (last visited Dec. 29, 2013). The entire population of Hagerstown in 1920 was 28,064. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, DEPT. OF COMMERCE, FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920 POPULATION OF INCORPORATED PLACES: 1920, 1910, AND 1900, ch. 2, at 228.

57. *J. H. Gerber Dies Suddenly Tuesday*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, Apr. 30, 1952, at 24; HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY, 374 (1022-23).

58. 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER, *supra* note 53 (listing seven of the children); 1900 U.S. CENSUS, WASHINGTON CNTY., MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 3RD WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 91, PAGE 122 (STAMPED), SHEET 1A, DWELLING 13, FAMILY 13, JULIUS H. GERBER HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1900 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER] (Grace's first and middle names are reversed in the 1900 U.S. Census.).

59. *Woman Lawyer to File Today as Candidate for Legislature*, BALT. SUN, Aug. 8, 1921, at 14.

60. *Id.*; see also *TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF MARYLAND: VOL. III, BIOGRAPHICAL, GRACE REBEKAH GERBER 477-78* (1925).

paraiso Law School, in northern Indiana, where she was one of three female students in her class.⁶¹

As a first year law student, Grace was ridiculed relentlessly by her male classmates, not only because of her gender but also because she was small and much younger than the other two women in her class.⁶² This changed radically half way through the first semester, as the date for an examination to “weed out” poorly performing students approached.⁶³ Six male students drove through a storm to the boarding house where Grace was living, apologized for their personal attacks, and begged her to tutor them for the examination.⁶⁴ Grace agreed and coached twenty male students, who quickly became her cheering section.⁶⁵ By her third year in law school, she was nominated for class president, but declined. She placed first in her class for all three years of law school.⁶⁶ Upon graduating in June 1918, her male classmates held graduation parties for her.⁶⁷

Grace aspired to practice law in nearby Chicago but returned to Hagerstown at her family’s request.⁶⁸ In November 1919, she passed the Maryland bar examination.⁶⁹ She was sworn in on April 1, 1920, the only female admitted to the Maryland Bar that year.⁷⁰

Grace was the first female practicing lawyer in Hagerstown.⁷¹ Initially, the community was befuddled by a woman lawyer. Residents wanted to know “how a woman lawyer talked, how she dressed and why she wanted to practice law.”⁷² Because Grace was not attracting paying clients, she performed legal services pro bono.⁷³ In doing so, she won the support of the community and eventually developed a busy law practice.⁷⁴

In August 1921, Grace launched an unsuccessful bid for Washington County’s only seat in the Maryland House of Delegates, running as a Republican.⁷⁵ She received strong backing from women’s groups but made clear that her political philosophy favored men and women working togeth-

61. *Woman Candidate Skeptical of Reform Urge in Politics*, BALT. SUN, Aug. 9, 1921, at 18.

62. *Id.*

63. *Id.*

64. *Id.*

65. *Id.*

66. *Id.*

67. *Id.*

68. *Id.*

69. *TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF MARYLAND*, *supra* note 60.

70. *TEST BOOK: VOL. I*, *supra* note 2, at 360.

71. *Woman Candidate Skeptical of Reform Urge in Politics*, *supra* note 61.

72. *Id.*

73. *Id.*

74. *Id.*

75. *Id.*

er in a spirit of cooperation.⁷⁶ The local newspaper praised Grace not only for her professional accomplishments and for being “level-headed,” but also for her musical ability, “danc[ing] and wear[ing] pretty clothes,” and cooking a “marshmallow [sic] fudge” so exceptional that dozens had been wrapped and mailed overseas to American servicemen during World War I.⁷⁷

Throughout the 1920s, Grace operated her solo practice from various offices in Hagerstown.⁷⁸ In early 1930, she was living with her parents and one brother and sister at the Gerber family home.⁷⁹ Her sister taught school and went on to become a pharmacist.⁸⁰ Her brother was a car salesman and garage manager.⁸¹ Another sibling who did not live at home was a doctor who practiced medicine in Cleveland, Ohio, and eventually became the Cuyahoga County Coroner.⁸²

Sometime soon before July 23, 1930, Grace married attorney Simon N. Silverberg.⁸³ Her only child, Seth Samuel Gerber Silverberg, was born in October 1931.⁸⁴ By 1935, Grace had relocated her practice to the Gerber family home.⁸⁵ In late 1940, after forty-seven years in Hagerstown, Grace’s parents moved to Baltimore City.⁸⁶ Grace continued to live in and practice law from the family home.⁸⁷ If Grace and her husband ever lived somewhere other than the Gerber family home, no available census or other pub-

76. *Id.*

77. *Id.*

78. *See, e.g.*, HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY, *supra* note 57, at 353 (listing “Gerber, Grace R, atty 10 Hamilton Row”); HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY 216 (1929) (listing “Gerber Grace R lawyer, 303 Grand bldg”).

79. 1930 U.S. CENSUS, WASHINGTON CNTY., MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 3RD WARD, 17TH DISTRICT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 22-12, PAGE 117 (STAMPED), SHEET 11A, DWELLING 204, FAMILY 277, JULIUS H. GERBER HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER].

80. *Id.*; *see also* HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY, *supra* note 57, at 353 (recording Minnie Gerber as a teacher).

81. 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER, *supra* note 79; *see also* HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY, *supra* note 57, at 353 (recording Louis Gerber as a salesman).

82. 1940 U.S. CENSUS, UNIV. HEIGHTS, OHIO, POPULATION SCHEDULE, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 18-306, PAGE 4583 (STAMPED), SHEET 3A, DWELLING 48 [hereinafter 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR SAMUEL GERBER]; *Local Boy Is Noted Coroner*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, May 27, 1938, at 1. Apparently, Dr. Gerber also was a lawyer. In 1954, he gained national fame as a primary witness for the State of Ohio in its notorious murder prosecution of Dr. Sam Sheppard. *Dr. Gerber, Star Witness in Murder Trial, Serving Fourth Term as Coroner*, MORNING HERALD, Nov. 23, 1954, at 28.

83. *Personal Mention*, MORNING HERALD, Jul. 23, 1930, at 4.

84. *Birthday Party*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, October 14, 1938, at 4.

85. HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY 153 (1953).

86. *Bessie Gerber*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, Feb. 23, 1950, at 28.

87. HAGERSTOWN, MD., CITY DIRECTORY 318 (1942–43).

lic records show that. Indeed, no records show that Grace and her husband ever lived together. Census records from 1940, which include information about where population members were living in 1935, document that Grace and Seth were living at the Gerber family home that year, with no mention of Simon.⁸⁸

Until the mid-1940s, Grace practiced law actively, often representing parties in divorce cases.⁸⁹ The last newspaper article covering a case in which she was representing a party was published on August 23, 1945.⁹⁰ On May 6, 1948, Grace died in Cleveland, Ohio, after “a long illness.”⁹¹ Described in her obituary as a “well known former local attorney,” her survivors included her parents, son, and all of her siblings. No mention was made of her husband. Grace’s funeral was held in Baltimore.⁹²

B. Jennie Plotkin Deckelman (1921)

Jennie Plotkin, the second Jewish woman admitted to the Maryland Bar, was born in Russia in 1897 and came to the United States with her parents in 1899.⁹³ The Plotkin family settled in Prince George’s County, where Jennie’s parents opened a general store.⁹⁴ Later, the family moved to the Jewish enclave in East Baltimore where the German Jews first had settled. As the German Jews prospered and moved to nicer neighborhoods, that enclave become home to Russian and other Eastern European Jewish immigrants.⁹⁵ Jennie’s father launched a successful career in real estate and the family lived well.⁹⁶ In 1921, the Plotkins hosted receptions and dances honoring Jennie.⁹⁷

88. 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER, *supra* note 79.

89. *See, e.g., Two Suits for Divorce Filed*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, Oct. 14, 1943, at 1 (reporting that in one suit the wife was being represented by attorney Grace Silverberg). In addition to numerous articles in the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* about suits filed by Grace Silverberg on behalf of her clients, the *Hagerstown Morning Herald* and the *Frederick Post* also reported on cases filed by Grace.

90. *Two More Divorces Docketed in Court*, MORNING HERALD, Aug. 23, 1945, at 4 (reporting that two new divorce suits were filed in the month of December, one by Grace Silverberg).

91. *Mrs. Silverberg Dies in Cleveland*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, May 7, 1948, at 20. She was likely living at the home of her brother.

92. *Id.*

93. 1910 U.S. CENSUS, PRINCE GEORGE’S CNTY., MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 18TH DISTRICT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 75, PAGE 55 (STAMPED), SHEET 9A, DWELLING 177 [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR JENNIE PLOTKIN DECKELMAN].

94. *Id.*

95. 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 1ST WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 12, PAGE 299 (STAMPED), SHEET 3A, DWELLING 35 [hereinafter 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR JENNIE PLOTKIN DECKELMAN]; SANDLER, *supra* note 34, at 15–16.

96. *See* SANDLER, *supra* note 34, at 15–16.

97. *See, e.g., Entertainments Add Gaiety to Society*, BALT. SUN, Feb. 20, 1921, at SN10.

In 1916, at age eighteen, Jennie applied to the University of Maryland School of Law.⁹⁸ At that time, a college degree was not a prerequisite to law school,⁹⁹ and high school students in an academic track often went straight to law school upon graduation.¹⁰⁰ Jennie was rejected that year, and again in 1917, because the school still would not admit women.¹⁰¹ Jennie enrolled in The Washington College of Law in the District of Columbia, which was known for welcoming female students.¹⁰² Throughout law school, Jennie commuted by train from Baltimore to Washington, D.C.¹⁰³ She graduated in 1920 and was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar in June of that year.¹⁰⁴ In February of 1921 she was admitted to the Maryland Bar.¹⁰⁵

Jennie and Benjamin A. Deckelman were law school classmates.¹⁰⁶ They married in their second year, when both were twenty years old, and moved in with Jennie's parents and nine siblings in the Plotkin house on East Baltimore Street.¹⁰⁷ Benjamin became a manufacturer's agent and commercial salesman for a shirt company, and never practiced law.¹⁰⁸ Jennie worked as a trial lawyer in Baltimore City.¹⁰⁹ In 1921, she was the only female lawyer practicing in Baltimore City and became the second female lawyer (after Etta Maddox) to appear in a Baltimore City court.¹¹⁰ Jennie's first court appearance was in a lawsuit she filed in the Baltimore City Circuit Court on April 19, 1921, over a commercial lease dispute.¹¹¹ Although Jennie's practice was general, she devoted the majority of her work to family law cases.¹¹²

98. *Woman Lawyer Eager to Practice in Courts*, BALT. SUN, Feb. 27, 1921, at ES4.

99. *See, e.g.*, UNIV. OF MARYLAND, CATALOGUE AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SCHOOL OF LAW 19 (1921).

100. *See, e.g., id.* The requirement for entrance to the University of Maryland School of Law at that time merely was that the candidate have completed a four year high school curriculum "or its equivalent." *Id.*

101. *Woman Lawyer Eager to Practice in Courts*, *supra* note 98, at ES4.

102. *Alumni Members Send Pithy Letters*, COLLEGE GRIT, Oct. 25, 1920, at 1.

103. *Alumni Member Takes Lead in Southern City*, COLLEGE GRIT, Apr. 4, 1921, at 1.

104. *Id.*

105. *See* TEST BOOK: Vol. I, *supra* note 2, at 364.

106. *Woman Lawyer Eager to Practice in Courts*, *supra* note 98, at ES4.

107. 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR JENNIE PLOTKIN DECKELMAN, *supra* note 95.

108. *Id.*; *see also* 1930 U.S. CENSUS, BALTIMORE CNTY., MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 12TH ELECTION DISTRICT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 3-55, (STAMPED AFTER PAGE 79) SHEET 23B, DWELLING 140, FAMILY 157 [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR JENNIE PLOTKIN DECKELMAN].

109. *Woman Lawyer Eager to Practice in Courts*, *supra* note 98, at ES4.

110. *Id.*; *Alumni Member Takes Lead in Southern City*, *supra* note 103, at 1.

111. *Woman Lawyer in First Suit*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 20, 1921, at 20.

112. *See, e.g., Woman Lawyer Eager to Practice in Courts*, *supra* note 98, at ES4; *see also Women Voters Urge Divorce Law Changes*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 29, 1921, at 18; *Uniformity Demanded in Laws for Women*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 10, 1921 at 8.

As Jennie was experiencing success in her professional career, she and Benjamin were enduring tragedy in their personal lives. In the early 1920s, Jennie gave birth to four daughters. Two were stillborn and two died in 1925, when they were very young.¹¹³ Later in the 1920s, Jennie relocated her law office to the house in which she and Benjamin lived, in the Druid Hill Park neighborhood of Baltimore City.¹¹⁴ By 1930, Jennie and Benjamin had moved to Dundalk, in Baltimore County.¹¹⁵ Sometime in 1932, the couple moved to Bridgeport, Connecticut, where Jennie's brother, Samuel B. Plotkin, also lived and practiced law.¹¹⁶ Before April 1, 1935, the couple moved to Virginia.¹¹⁷ There, Benjamin owned and operated a store. Jennie did not practice law in Virginia and appears never to have returned to her vocation.¹¹⁸

Benjamin died on October 28, 1950, at age fifty-two.¹¹⁹ By 1955, Jennie moved back to Baltimore.¹²⁰ She died in 1983, in Connecticut, and was buried at the Southern Avenue Cemetery in Baltimore City.¹²¹

113. *Benjamin Arnold Deckelman*, FINDAGRAVE, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Deckelman&GSfn=Benjamin&GSbyrel=all&GSdyrel=all&GSob=n&GRid=99977554&df=all&>.

114. See BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 556 (1928) (listing Jennie P. Deckelman, lawyer, 4003 Norfolk Avenue); BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 535 (1929). Jennie's first law office was in the Equitable Building. See BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 681 (1921) (listing Jennie P. Deckelman, lawyer, 640 Equitable Building).

115. 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR JENNIE PLOTKIN DECKELMAN, *supra* note 108.

116. BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT, CITY DIRECTORY 292 (1932), (listing only an address, and no occupation for Jennie or Benjamin Deckelman, indicating that although Jennie's brother, Samuel B. Plotkin, was a lawyer in Bridgeport, there is no evidence that either Jennie or Benjamin practiced law in Bridgeport); 1930 U.S. CENSUS, FAIRFIELD CNTY., CONN., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 5TH DISTRICT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 1-31, PAGE 367 (STAMPED), SHEET 17A, DWELLING 118, FAMILY 154 [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR SAMUEL B. PLOTKIN].

117. 1940 U.S. CENSUS, CULPEPER CNTY., VA., POPULATION SCHEDULE, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 24-1, (STAMPED IN BETWEEN PAGES 10 AND 11), SHEET 10B, DWELLING 224 [hereinafter 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR JENNIE PLOTKIN DECKELMAN]. As of early 1940, the couple was living in Culpeper, Virginia. *Id.*

118. Telephone Interview by Patrice Meredith Clarke with Virginia State Law Library Representative (Aug. 2013) (stating that there is no record that Jennie was admitted to practice law in Virginia).

119. *Benjamin Arnold Deckelman*, FINDAGRAVE, *supra* note 113.

120. BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 209 (1955) (listing Jennie Deckelman as widow of Benjamin and residing at 6810 Campfield Road, in the Pikesville area of Baltimore County).

121. *Jennie Plotkin Deckelman*, FINDAGRAVE, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Deckelman&GSfn=Jennie&GSbyrel=all&GSdyrel=all&GSob=n&GRid=99977584&df=all&>.

C. Ida Helen Kurland Sherry Rhoades DeGrandcourt (1923)

Ida Helen Kurland, who went by the name Helen, was born in 1901, in Lithuania. Her family came to the United States in 1904 and settled in Baltimore on East Lexington Street.¹²²

At age seventeen, Helen married Louis Harry Sherry, a practicing lawyer.¹²³ A year later she gave birth to a daughter, Dorothy.¹²⁴ In 1920, the family was living on East Baltimore Street, near Helen's parents.¹²⁵ That year, as a nineteen-year-old with a one-year-old child, Helen entered the University of Maryland School of Law, which finally had opened its doors to female students.¹²⁶ She graduated and was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1923.¹²⁷ Helen and Louis practiced law together in Baltimore City, in an office in the Equitable Building.¹²⁸ During her early time in practice, Helen gave birth to a second daughter, Beverly.¹²⁹

On November 14, 1928, Helen became the first female member of the Maryland Bar to argue a case before the Maryland Court of Appeals.¹³⁰

122. 1910 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 5TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 52, PAGE 77-78 (STAMPED), SHEET 6B, DWELLING 106, FAMILY 131 [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN KURLAND]; 1930 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-226, PAGE 16-17 (STAMPED), SHEET 16A, DWELLING 295, FAMILY 260 [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY, PAGE 16-17].

123. 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 1ST WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 12, PAGE 301 (STAMPED), SHEET 5A, DWELLING 79, FAMILY 102 [hereinafter 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY]; *Marriage Licenses*, BALT. SUN, June 26, 1918, at 10; *Woman Attorney Given Divorce for Desertion*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 14, 1933, at 7.

124. 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY, *supra* note 123.

125. *Id.*

126. UNIV. OF MARYLAND SCHOOL OF LAW CATALOGUE AND ANNOUNCEMENT 31 (1921) (listing Helen Sherry as a "Jr." for the 1920-1921 school year).

127. *98 Candidates Found Qualified to Practice Law in Maryland*, BALT. SUN, Sept. 15, 1923, at 7; TEST BOOK: VOL. I, *supra* note 2, at 381. Several other members of Helen's family became lawyers. Helen's younger sister Fannie Kurland attended the University of Maryland School of Law with Helen, and they graduated in the same class and became members of the Maryland Bar at the same time. *Id.* at 383. Fanny married Morris Kerpelman, a law school classmate. *98 Candidates Found Qualified to Practice Law in Maryland*, *supra*. Fannie practiced law for six years, but she stopped practicing after she and her husband had five children. *See Attorneys Kerpelman Present Son Leonard To Bench Today*, BALT. SUN, Dec. 3, 1949, at 7. Helen and Fannie's brother, Edwin L. Kurland, was a practicing lawyer in Baltimore by 1930. 1930 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-228, PAGE 56 (STAMPED), SHEET 1A, DWELLING 1, FAMILY 1 [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY]. Their sister Kate became a member of the Maryland Bar in 1932. *Two Women Pass Law Examination*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 29, 1932, at 7. Another sister, Rhona, graduated from law school in 1935, although it is unclear whether she ever practiced law. *Baltimore University Coed to be Fifth Lawyer in Family*, BALT. SUN, Jun. 7, 1935, at 4.

128. BALT. CITY, MD. CITY DIRECTORY 2027 (1926).

129. 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY, *supra* note 122.

130. *Is First State Woman Lawyer to Argue in Court of Appeals*, BALT. SUN, Nov. 15, 1928, at 30. Before then, a female lawyer barred in New York had argued before that Court. *Id.*

The appeal was a challenge to an injunction Helen had obtained on behalf of the respondents, who had been duped into signing a mortgage on their home as collateral for purchasing a car.¹³¹ Helen's clients prevailed.¹³²

Helen's law practice was varied, although she devoted substantial time to representing women in divorce cases.¹³³ In 1929, Helen sailed to England to represent a client in a will contest.¹³⁴ The following year she worked with W.W. O'Brien, a "noted Chicago criminal lawyer," representing a defendant in a highly publicized payroll robbery trial.¹³⁵

The 1930 Census shows Helen and Louis living on West North Avenue, in Baltimore City, but it appears that they were not actually living together.¹³⁶ In a divorce suit Helen filed against Louis, she told a court examiner that Louis had "packed his clothes" on December 5, 1929, telling her he was "tired of being tied down."¹³⁷ In April 1933, Helen was granted an absolute divorce from Louis on the ground of desertion.¹³⁸ Louis died in 1952 in Baltimore.¹³⁹

Helen remarried sometime in late 1933 or early 1934, to Max Rhoades, a lawyer in private practice in Washington, D.C.¹⁴⁰ They moved from Baltimore City to Laurel, Maryland later in 1934.¹⁴¹ From 1935 through 1939, Helen joined Max in his law practice in the District of Columbia.¹⁴² Helen had changed her last name to Rhoades, but in all the City Directories except 1939 (the last one in which Helen and Max appear), she is referred to as lawyer Helen Sherry.¹⁴³

131. *Id.*

132. *Appeals Court Upholds O'Dunne in Mortgage Case*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 18, 1929, at 8.

133. *See Asks Annulment of Her Marriage*, BALT. SUN, Sept. 19, 1929, at 7.

134. *Baltimore Woman Attorney Helping to Defend Niemoth*, BALT. SUN, Jun. 19, 1930, at 26.

135. *Id.*

136. 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY, *supra* note 122; *see* SANDLER, *supra* note 34, at 43–44.

137. *Woman Attorney Given Divorce for Desertion*, *supra* note 123, at 7.

138. *Id.*

139. *Deaths, Sherry, Louis*, BALT. SUN, July 1, 1952, at 25.

140. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1309 (1933) (listing Max as a lawyer but not listing a wife); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1316 (1934) (listing Max as married to Helen).

141. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1316 (1934).

142. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 2803 (1935) (listing Max and Helen as attorneys in the District of Columbia); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 3027, 3028 (1936) (same); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1668 (1937) (same); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1039 (1938) (same); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1058, 1150 (1938) (same); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 2127 (1939) (same).

143. *Id.*

By 1940, Helen and Max had returned to Baltimore City and were living on Eutaw Street, together with Helen's daughters.¹⁴⁴ Helen practiced law in Baltimore City and its environs, and Max worked as a lawyer for the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C.¹⁴⁵ In 1941, Helen obtained an acquittal by a jury in the Circuit Court for Baltimore County for a "divorcee" client who had been accused of fatally shooting a male acquaintance.¹⁴⁶ The defense was that the shooting was an accident.¹⁴⁷ In 1943, Helen was appointed to the position of Justice of the Peace at large for Baltimore City.¹⁴⁸ During that phase of her career, Helen worked part time as an Assistant Baltimore City Solicitor while maintaining her private practice.¹⁴⁹

At some point in the early 1950s, Helen and her daughter Beverly moved to California.¹⁵⁰ There is no indication that Max went with them.¹⁵¹ Helen became a member of the California Bar in 1952¹⁵² and maintained an active law practice, at one point bringing an invasion of privacy suit on behalf of a Hollywood screen composer against NBC and its affiliates, for \$400,000.¹⁵³ She also became a popular public speaker.¹⁵⁴

Helen and Max must have divorced because on November 21, 1956, Helen remarried, in Las Vegas, Nevada, to Baron Charles De Grandcourt, a

144. 1940 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 13TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-362, PAGE 502 (STAMPED), SHEET 6A, DWELLING 121 [hereinafter 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR HELEN SHERRY] (listing Helen as Max Rhoades's wife and Beverly Sherry as his stepdaughter).

145. *Id.*

146. *Towson Divorcee Given Acquittal*, FREDERICK POST, Oct. 28, 1941, at 1.

147. *Id.*

148. *Maryland Manual 1943*, ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND ONLINE, 152, available at <http://aomol.net/megafile/msa/-speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000160/html/am160—152.html>.

Helen was later referred to as a "former Maryland judge." *Ex-Judge to Address Westwood Hills Club*, L.A. TIMES, May 9, 1957, at A7.

149. *Id.*

150. *Deaths, Kurland, Ellis*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 18, 1960, at 35 (noting that Helen was living in Los Angeles); *Deaths, Sherry, Louis*, *supra* note 139, at 25 (noting that Beverly was living in San Diego).

151. Max died in New York in 1964. *Deaths, Rhoades, Max*, N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 21, 1964, at 29. The New York Times death notice identifies as survivors Max Rhoades's sisters Cecilia and Rebecca, who are listed in the 1920 Census for Max Rhoades, and also asks that Washington, D.C., papers copy the death notice. *Id.*; 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 10TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 271, PAGE 119–20 (STAMPED), SHEET 8B, DWELLING 22, FAMILY 156.

152. *16 Out-of-State Attorneys Pass California Bar*, L.A. TIMES, Sep. 14, 1952, at B14.

153. *See Day Show, NBC Charged with Impersonation Suit*, BROADCASTING TELECASTING, Nov. 8, 1954, at 84–85.

154. *Speakers to Convene*, STAR-NEWS, May 23, 1958, at 15.

Los Angeles screenwriter.¹⁵⁵ Helen continued to practice law in California¹⁵⁶ and became a well-known socialite.¹⁵⁷

Charles died in April 1976 in Pacific Palisades, California.¹⁵⁸ Helen died in the same town on November 23, 1985.¹⁵⁹

D. Jeanette Rosner Wolman (1924)

Jeanette Rosner was born in New York City, in 1902.¹⁶⁰ Her mother also was born there, of parents who emigrated from Austria.¹⁶¹ Jeanette's father was born in Austria and came to this country as a child, in 1890, at the tail end of the German wave of Jewish immigration.¹⁶² Jeanette was the oldest of eight children.¹⁶³ Her father was a department store buyer and manager and her mother was a homemaker.¹⁶⁴ The family maintained a very comfortable upper-middle-class lifestyle, with servants living in their

155. NEVADA MARRIAGE INDEX, 1956-2005; *Crippled Children's League Compliments Provisionals*, L.A. TIMES, May 24, 1957, at A1; see also *Pride Taken in Title of Mister*, L.A. TIMES, Dec. 16, 1958, at A1.

156. See *Mixture of Oil, Romance Brings \$1,618,000 Suit*, L.A. TIMES, Sept. 22, 1955, at A2; *Sight of Mate Gave Her Rash Wife Complaints*, L.A. TIMES, Apr. 1, 1954, at 2.

157. See, e.g., *Pride Taken in Title of Mister*, *supra* note 155, at A1; *Thespian Honored at Party*, L.A. TIMES, Jul. 7, 1958, at A1.

158. U.S. SOCIAL SECURITY DEATH INDEX, 1935–Current;

159. CALIFORNIA DEATH INDEX, 1940–1997.

160. 1920 U.S. CENSUS, JEFFERSON CNTY., ALA., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 33RD DISTRICT, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 33, PAGE 135 (STAMPED), SHEET 5A, DWELLING 65, FAMILY 77, ADOLPH ROSNER HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER]; Fred Rasmussen, *Jeanette R. Wolman, 96, Lawyer for Seven Decades*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 20, 1999, at 6B.

161. 1910 U.S. CENSUS, N.Y. CNTY., N.Y., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 12TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 417, (STAMPED IN BETWEEN PAGES 105 AND 106), SHEET 9B, DWELLING 57, FAMILY 227, ADOLPH ROSNER HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER] (listing Freida—incorrectly spelled “Fredda” in some census documents—Rosner as Jeanette's mother and Freida's place of birth as New York). Jeanette's mother does not appear in the 1920 Census. The 1930 Census data, however, lists Jeanette's mother's place of birth as “Austria-Vienna” and her immigration year as 1899. 1930 U.S. CENSUS, ALLEGHANY CNTY., PA., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 14TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 2-233, (STAMPED IN BETWEEN PAGES 54 AND 55), SHEET 2B, DWELLING 35, FAMILY 38, ADOLPH ROSNER HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR ADOLPH ROSNER]. Freida's obituary calls her a “native of New York.” *Mrs. Rosner, 77, Dies at Her Home*, BALT. SUN, June 9, 1960, at 19.

162. See 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR ADOLPH ROSNER, *supra* note 161 (listing Adolph's place of birth as “Austria-Vienna” and his year of immigration as 1888). *But see* 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER, *supra* note 160 (listing Adolph's year of immigration as 1867). If his age is listed correctly in the census data, however, Adolph was not born until around 1880, and therefore could not have immigrated in 1867.

163. 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER, *supra* note 160.

164. *Id.*

home.¹⁶⁵ Jeanette described her father as a “frustrated lawyer” and a “feminist.”¹⁶⁶

The Rosners lived in Manhattan until sometime between 1916 and 1918,¹⁶⁷ when they moved to Birmingham, Alabama.¹⁶⁸ Jeanette graduated from Central High School in Birmingham in 1919.¹⁶⁹ While in high school, she set her sights upon becoming a lawyer and wrote to the Dean of the Columbia School of Law, in New York City, seeking admission.¹⁷⁰ She was denied because Columbia did not accept women.¹⁷¹ The Dean suggested she apply to Barnard instead, which at that time was an all-female educational institution.¹⁷²

In 1920, the Rosner family moved from Alabama to Baltimore City, settling in then-upscale Park Circle.¹⁷³ On September 16, 1920, Jeanette applied to Goucher College.¹⁷⁴ She was accepted and enrolled,¹⁷⁵ but soon withdrew, instead entering and completing a three-month program at Baltimore Business College.¹⁷⁶ From the 1920s on, Jeanette was an active member of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation and Sisterhood.¹⁷⁷

In 1921, Jeanette enrolled at the University of Maryland School of Law.¹⁷⁸ She attended school at night and worked during the day as a social worker for the Jewish Children’s Bureau.¹⁷⁹

165. *Id.*; 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR ADOLPH ROSNER, *supra* note 161.

166. Videotape: Women’s History Week: Jeanette Rosner Wolman (Baltimore Bar Association Legal History Program) (on file with Goucher College Archives).

167. 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER, *supra* note 161.

168. 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER, *supra* note 160.

169. Jeanette Rosner, Application for Admission to Goucher College (Sept. 16, 1920) (on file with author); *Lawyer, Women’s Advocate Jeanette Rosner Wolman, A Soldier in the Fight for Women’s Rights*, BALT. SUN, May 17, 1987, at 107AE (noting that Jeanette was a junior in high school in 1918).

170. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

171. *Id.*

172. *Id.* According to Jeanette, the Dean’s response read, “Columbia does not admit women to its law school. If you’re interested in going to college, apply at Barnard.” *Lawyer, Women’s Advocate Jeanette Rosner Wolman, A Soldier in the Fight for Women’s Rights*, *supra* note 169.

173. BALTIMORE CITY, MARYLAND CITY DIRECTORY (R. L. POLK & CO., BALT., MD.) 1752 (1921); *see also* SANDLER, *supra* note 34, at 49.

174. Jeanette Rosner, Application for Admission to Goucher College, *supra* note 169.

175. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

176. GOUCHER COLLEGE INFORMATION FOR DIRECTORY OF ALUMNAE AND NON-GRADUATES, JEANETTE ROSNER (1923) (on file with author) (stating Jeanette’s date of matriculation as September 1920, her date of withdrawal as June 1921, and listing a degree received for a three-month course taken from September 1921 to December 1921 from Baltimore Business College). The 1922 yearbook for Goucher College, *Donnybrook Fair*, listed Jeanette as a freshman as of 1921. GOUCHER COLLEGE, DONNYBROOK FAIR 164 (1922).

177. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

178. *Id.*

179. *Id.*

Jeanette graduated from law school in 1924.¹⁸⁰ She was the secretary of her graduating class.¹⁸¹ That year, she was admitted to the Maryland Bar.¹⁸² On March 8, 1925, she married Paul Carroll Wolman,¹⁸³ a practicing lawyer admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1920.¹⁸⁴ In 1926, Jeanette gave birth to their first child, Paul.¹⁸⁵ Three years later, the couple had a second son, Benjamin.¹⁸⁶ By 1935, the family lived in northwest Baltimore City, in the fashionable Windsor Hills area.¹⁸⁷

Jeanette and her husband practiced law together in Baltimore City for twenty-eight years, until his death in October 1978.¹⁸⁸ They were married fifty-three years.¹⁸⁹ Their office was a general practice, with Jeanette's husband also working part time as a Baltimore City Assistant State's Attorney.¹⁹⁰ Apparently, Jeanette continued to work as a social worker as well.¹⁹¹

In 1957, Jeanette became the first woman member of the Bar Association of Baltimore City.¹⁹² In 1965, Governor J. Millard Tawes appointed her to be the first chairperson of the Maryland Commission on the Status of Women.¹⁹³ Jeanette was inducted into the Baltimore Women's Hall of Fame in 1985, and the Maryland Women's Hall of Fame in 1986.¹⁹⁴

In 1998, Jeanette retired from the practice of law.¹⁹⁵ The Wolmans' younger son, Benjamin, became a member of the Maryland Bar, and prac-

180. GOUCHER COLLEGE INFORMATION FOR DIRECTORY OF ALUMNAE AND NON-GRADUATES, JEANETTE ROSNER (1928) (on file with author).

181. TERRA MARIAE YEARBOOK 102 (1924).

182. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160; TEST BOOK: VOL. I, *supra* note 2, at 402.

183. GOUCHER COLLEGE INFORMATION FOR DIRECTORY OF ALUMNAE AND NON-GRADUATES, *supra* note 180.

184. *Fifteen Admitted to Bar*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 20, 1920, at 9.

185. GOUCHER COLLEGE INFORMATION FOR DIRECTORY OF ALUMNAE AND NON-GRADUATES, *supra* note 180.

186. 1940 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 28TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-885, PAGE 12488 (STAMPED), SHEET 62A, PAUL WOLMAN HOUSEHOLD [hereinafter 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER WOLMAN].

187. *Id.*; see also SANDLER, *supra* note 34, at 59 (quoting Jeanette Wolman as saying that when she and her husband were house-hunting, they "fell in love with Windsor Hills.").

188. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

189. *Lawyer, Women's Advocate Jeanette Rosner Wolman, A Soldier in the Fight for Women's Rights*, *supra* note 169, at 107AE.

190. Videotape: Women's History Week: Jeanette Rosner Wolman, *supra* note 166.

191. 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR JEANETTE ROSNER WOLMAN, *supra* note 186 (listing her occupation as "social worker").

192. *Lawyer, Women's Advocate Jeanette Rosner Wolman, A Soldier in the Fight for Women's Rights*, *supra* note 169, at 107AE.

193. Katherine Thurlow, *Profiles*, MD. BAR J., June 1986, at 24.

194. *Id.*

195. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

ticed law in Prince George's County until his death in 2004.¹⁹⁶ Their older son, Paul, Jr., also became a member of the Maryland Bar, but died in December 1984, at age fifty-eight.¹⁹⁷ Jeanette died in 1999, at age ninety-six.¹⁹⁸

E. Goldie Rose Miller Freed (1925)

Goldie Rose Miller was born in Russia in 1902 and immigrated to the United States in 1909, at age seven.¹⁹⁹ She, her mother, and siblings settled in East Baltimore, first close to the Baltimore Harbor and later near Patterson Park.²⁰⁰ Her father either had died or did not come to the United States with the rest of the family.²⁰¹ Goldie was the third youngest of eight children.²⁰² Her mother and most of her siblings worked in a clothing factory.²⁰³ Goldie attended high school and was trained as a stenographer.²⁰⁴

In 1922, Goldie was admitted to the University of Maryland School of Law. She graduated and became a member of the Maryland Bar in 1925.²⁰⁵ She practiced law on her own and then with her younger brother, Harrison "Harry" Miller, who came to the bar in 1929.²⁰⁶ Goldie was a busy trial lawyer who handled a variety of civil and criminal matters, with an emphasis on criminal defense.²⁰⁷ She represented accused murderers, a thirteen-year-old African American boy charged with armed robbery, and a woman

196. Frederick N. Rasmussen, *Benjamin Wolman, 74, Upper Marlboro Lawyer, Counsel to FOP Lodges*, BALT. SUN, May 28, 2004, at 7B.

197. *Obituaries: Paul C. Wolman, Jr. Lawyer, Civic Leader*, BALT. SUN, Dec. 31, 1984, at 3D.

198. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

199. U.S. DEP'T OF LABOR, U.S. PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION SERVICES, GOLDIE ROSE MILLER, Nov. 18, 1924 [hereinafter U.S. PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION FOR GOLDIE ROSE MILLER].

200. *Id.*

201. U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 3RD WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 30, 83-84 (STAMPED), SHEET 11B, DWELLING 102, FAMILY 191 [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR GOLDIE ROSE MILLER].

202. *Id.*

203. *Id.*

204. U.S. PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION FOR GOLDIE ROSE MILLER, *supra* note 199.

205. *Mrs. Freed's Funeral Set*, BALT. SUN, Aug. 4, 1966, at A11; *75 Added to Roll of State Lawyers*, BALT. SUN, Dec. 2, 1925, at 9; TEST BOOK: Vol. I, *supra* note 3, at 406.

206. See MARYLAND CITY DIRECTORY 1269 (1926) (listing Goldie Miller as a lawyer with an office in the Munsey building); *Mrs. Freed's Funeral Set*, *supra* note 205, at A11; TEST BOOK: Vol. I, *supra* note 3, at 441 (signature of Harrison Miller).

207. *Mrs. Freed's Funeral Set*, *supra* note 205, at A11.

prosecuted for the offense of “unlawfully forecasting the future by means of cards.”²⁰⁸

In October 1929, Goldie married Irvin F. Freed, an Austrian immigrant. After earning a degree in mechanical and electrical engineering from Johns Hopkins University,²⁰⁹ Irvin entered the University of Maryland School of Law, in the same class as Goldie’s brother Harry.²¹⁰ Irvin became a member of the Maryland Bar in 1929, soon before he married Goldie.²¹¹ The couple kept their marriage a secret until June of 1930, when they took a honeymoon vacation to Niagara Falls and the Great Lakes.²¹²

Although in census and other official documents Goldie is listed as “Goldie Freed” or “Mrs. Irvin Freed,” in the practice of law she went by Goldie Miller.²¹³ Irvin never practiced law. He worked as an electrical engineer for a power company and helped manage Goldie and Harry’s law practice.²¹⁴ Goldie and Irvin had two children.²¹⁵ By 1940, the family, including a housekeeper, was living on Oakfield Avenue, in the Forest Park neighborhood of Baltimore City.²¹⁶

In a 1947 *Baltimore Sun* article about women lawyers wearing hats in court, Goldie was outspoken: “To me good grooming is part of good preparation for a trial, and good grooming does not include wearing a hat.”²¹⁷ At the time, men were “required to remove their hats in courtrooms under all circumstances” but “women spectators and witnesses [were] not.”²¹⁸

208. *Widow Picks 2 as Slayers of Williams*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 22, 1929, at 28; *Entertainer at Restaurant Held in Fortune-Telling Case*, BALT. SUN, July 8, 1949, at 32; *Boy, 13, Indicted in Robbery Cases*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 5, 1951, at 28.

209. *Marriage Secret Out After Eight Months*, BALT. SUN, June 29, 1930, at 3; *Irvin F. Freed*, BALT. SUN, Sept. 2, 1964, at 15.

210. *See supra* text accompanying note 206.

211. *Irvin F. Freed*, *supra* note 209, at 15.

212. *Id.*

213. *Mrs. Freed’s Funeral Set*, *supra*, note 205, at A11; U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 15TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-423, 5875 (STAMPED), SHEET 9A, DWELLING 189 [hereinafter 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR GOLDIE MILLER FREED].

214. *Irvin F. Freed*, *supra* note 209, at 15.

215. *Id.*; *see also* 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR GOLDIE MILLER FREED, *supra* note 213 (listing children Malcolm F. Freed, age 9, and Etta June Freed, age 6).

216. *See* 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR GOLDIE MILLER FREED, *supra* note 213 (listing Edna Walter as housekeeper living on premises).

217. *Portias May, but Don’t, Wear Their Hats in City’s Courts*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 9, 1947, at 26. The picture of Goldie that accompanies the article shows her wearing a hat tilted to the side and a flouncy blouse and suit coat.

218. *Id.*

Harry died in 1963, and Irvin died a year later.²¹⁹ Goldie only lived another two years. When she died in 1966, she had been practicing law continuously for four decades.²²⁰

F. Rose S. Zetzer

Rose S. Zetzer was born in 1904, in Baltimore City.²²¹ Census data estimates that Rose's father emigrated from Russia in 1902, and her mother followed in 1903.²²² Both parents spoke Yiddish at home.²²³ Rose's father started out as a butcher.²²⁴ Rose had two younger siblings: a brother, Samuel, and a sister, Hilda.²²⁵ In 1910, the family was living on North High Street, in East Baltimore.²²⁶ By 1920, they had moved to East Baltimore Street.²²⁷

Rose graduated from Eastern High School, trained as a stenographer, and attended Johns Hopkins University.²²⁸ She was accepted at the University of Maryland School of Law, attending classes at night and working as a stenographer during the day.²²⁹ She graduated in the class of 1925 and was admitted to the Maryland Bar that year.²³⁰ She applied for lawyer positions at law firms, without success.²³¹ The law firms only wanted to hire her as a stenographer.²³²

219. *Miller Rites Are Today*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 28, 1964, at 15; *Irvin F. Freed*, *supra* note 209, at 15.

220. *Mrs. Freed's Funeral Set*, *supra* note 205, at A11.

221. Fred Rasmussen, *Rose Zetzer, 94, Founded 1st All-Female Law Firm in Md.*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 9, 1998, at 11B.

222. See U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 5TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 50, 39-40 (STAMPED), SHEET 13B, DWELLING 156, FAMILY 262 [hereinafter 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER]; U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 27TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 424, 38 (STAMPED), SHEET 14A, DWELLING 142, FAMILY 146 [hereinafter 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER]. *But see* U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 6TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 64, 28-29 (STAMPED), SHEET 2B, DWELLING 24, FAMILY 39 [hereinafter 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER] (noting that both of Rose's parents came to the United States in 1902).

223. 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER, *supra* note 222.

224. *Id.*

225. *Id.*

226. 1910 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER, *supra* note 222.

227. 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER, *supra* note 222.

228. Rasmussen, *supra*, note 221; J.S. Bainbridge, Jr., *Pioneer Applied to Join State Bar for 20 Years*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 22, 1984, at C3.

229. Bainbridge, *supra* note 228, at C3.

230. UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, CATALOGUE AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SCHOOL OF LAW, *supra* note 66, at 25; TEST BOOK: Vol. I, *supra* note 3, at 403.

231. Bainbridge, *supra* note 228, at C3.

232. *Id.*

Undeterred, Rose opened her own law practice in Baltimore City, in the Equitable Building.²³³ At first, clients were reluctant to pay money to a woman lawyer, thinking it unseemly.²³⁴ Her first fee was a box of candy, and her second was a “couple pair” of stockings.²³⁵ In 1927, Rose moved her practice to 110 E. Lexington Street.²³⁶ By then, her father had gone into the real estate business with her brother Samuel, who also held a law degree, and their company was located in the same office.²³⁷ By the late 1920s, the Zetzer family had moved to the Hamilton neighborhood of northeast Baltimore City.²³⁸ Census records documenting the names and places of birth of residents on the streets surrounding Rose’s home show that this was not a neighborhood with a strong, or even noticeable, Jewish presence.²³⁹

In 1940, Rose formed Maryland’s first all women law firm: Zetzer, Carton, Friedler & Parke.²⁴⁰ The four lawyers had been working in separate practices in the Munsey Building in Baltimore City and decided to join forces.²⁴¹ Rose did not care to handle criminal cases and focused her practice on divorce and domestic matters.²⁴² Most of the firm’s clients were men.²⁴³ The firm was dissolved in the 1960s.²⁴⁴ After that, Rose continued in solo practice.²⁴⁵

In the meantime, in 1946, Rose became the first female member of the Maryland State Bar Association,²⁴⁶ which was the last state bar association in the country to admit women.²⁴⁷ For twenty years, Rose had sent the

233. BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 2029 (1926).

234. Bainbridge, *supra* note 228, at C3.

235. *Id.*

236. BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 2039 (1927); BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 2879 (1928); THE BUYER’S BLUE BOOK, BALTIMORE AND SURROUNDING TERRITORY, CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1969 (1929).

237. BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 2039 (1927); Samuel R. Zetzer, Insurance Agent, BALT. SUN, May, 7 1991, at 12D.

238. BALTIMORE CITY, MD. DIRECTORY 2039 (1927).

239. See 1920 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER, *supra* note 222; U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD. POPULATION SCHEDULE, 27TH WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-777, 11030-31 (STAMPED), SHEET 21B, DWELLING 469 [HEREINAFTER 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR ROSE ZETZER] (showing, among other things, the names of other residents of houses on Berwick Avenue and their places of birth).

240. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221.

241. *Id.*

242. *Id.*

243. *Id.*

244. *Id.*

245. *Id.*

246. Bainbridge, *supra* note 228, at C3.

247. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221; WOMEN’S BAR ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND, *History of Women’s Bar Association of Maryland*, <http://www.wba-md.org/history.aspx>.

MSBA a yearly check for membership, and each year the MSBA had returned the check.²⁴⁸ Finally, the MSBA changed its policy, accepting the check Rose sent in 1946.²⁴⁹

In the 1947 *Baltimore Sun* article mentioned above, Rose scoffed at the practice of women lawyers wearing hats in court. About hats she remarked: "Just look at them. . . . Some of them actually hide the face, and you can be convicted of contempt for that."²⁵⁰

Rose practiced law for decades, finally retiring in the early 1990s.²⁵¹ She never married and had no children.²⁵² Rose died on April 5, 1998, at the age of ninety-four.²⁵³

III. COMMONALITIES: THE LEGAL, FEMINIST, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CAUSES PURSUED BY THE JEWISH WOMEN WHO JOINED THE MARYLAND BAR IN THE 1920S.

In 1927, seven female Maryland lawyers formed the Women Lawyers' Association of Maryland, in part out of frustration over being turned down repeatedly for membership by the Maryland State Bar Association and the Bar Association of Baltimore City.²⁵⁴ Six of those seven lawyers were Jewish: Adelaide Lindenberg, Sarah Burke, Jeanette Rosner Wolman, Ida Kloze, Goldie Miller, and Helen Sherry. They were joined by Henrietta Stonestreet, who was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1926.²⁵⁵ The organization lived on after women lawyers were accepted as members of more traditional bar associations, becoming the Women's Bar Association of Baltimore City, and later the Women's Bar Association of Maryland, which still exists today. Rose Zetzer chaired the Women Lawyers' Luncheon Club, another organization formed for the exchange of ideas among women lawyers. Its members met informally on Thursdays at noon at a restaurant

248. *Id.*

249. *Id.*

250. *Portias May, but Don't, Wear Their Hats in City's Courts*, *supra* note 217, at 26. She likewise is pictured in the article wearing a hat.

251. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221.

252. *Id.*

253. *Id.*; see also U.S. SOCIAL SECURITY DEATH INDEX, 1935–CURRENT, ROSE ZETZER.

254. Fred Rasmussen, *Sarah Burke, Pioneering Lawyer*, *BALT. SUN*, Mar. 20, 1994, at 4B.

255. Henrietta Stonestreet, like several other Gentile women who became members of the Maryland Bar in the 1920s, was not young; she was forty-six years old at the time of her admission. *Miss Henrietta Stonestreet, Political Figure, Dies at 84*, *BALT. SUN*, Jul. 10, 1964, at 13; see also U.S. CENSUS, *BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 4-168, PAGE 182 (STAMPED), SHEET_A, DWELLING 2* (noting that B. Olive Cole was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1923, at age forty, when she was an Assistant Professor of Pharmacy at the University of Maryland); *23 Films Eliminated Last Year by Censors*, *BALT. SUN*, Oct. 31, 1922, at 5 (discussing Marie White Presstman, who was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1923, at age thirty-five, when she was the Secretary of Moving Pictures Censors).

in downtown Baltimore.²⁵⁶ Rose also was active in the National Association of Women Lawyers, becoming regional director of the Eastern Central District in 1936.²⁵⁷ Jeanette Wolman and Ida Kloze each served terms as president of the Business and Professional Women's Council of Baltimore.²⁵⁸

A number of the Jewish women admitted to the Maryland Bar in the 1920s became active in national movements to advance women's rights. Some had grown up as activists: Jeanette Wolman and Rose Zetzer marched with the Suffragettes.²⁵⁹ Jeanette remembered that at age twelve, at her father's suggestion, she rode a pony and donned a Suffragette sash during a march for the women's vote.²⁶⁰ For Rose, an eighth-grade class discussion about whether women should have the right to vote gave her the idea to become a lawyer.²⁶¹

The National Woman's Party, founded in 1917 and later renamed the National Women's Party, is widely credited with bringing voting rights for women to fruition.²⁶² Unlike other women's suffrage organizations, which focused on changing state laws, the National Women's Party launched an all-out effort to achieve suffrage by a federal constitutional amendment. Immediately after the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, the National Women's Party embarked on a mission to add an Equal Rights Amendment ("ERA") to the federal constitution.²⁶³ Rose Zetzer joined the National Women's Party and was involved in that effort (which, despite widespread early support by politicians of both major parties, ultimately—on June 30, 1982—missed ratification by three states).²⁶⁴ In 1935, Grace Gerber spoke in favor of the ERA at a meeting of the "Women's Club" in Hagerstown, telling the audience: "A petticoat is no insurance against either illness, old age or misfortune and the great majority of women work because of necessity—for men are not the only human beings with families to support."²⁶⁵

256. *Miss Rose S. Zetzer*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 1, 1936, at SC13.

257. *Id.*

258. Jeannette R. Wolman, Letter to the Editor, *Appeals Made to Governor*, BALT. SUN, Jan. 23, 1949, at 20; *Business Women Enlist Palmisano's Support*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 26, 1933 at 20.

259. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221; Rasmussen, *supra* note 160.

260. Rasmussen, *supra* note 160; Videotape: Women's History Week: Jeanette Rosner Wolman, *supra* note 166.

261. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221.

262. *National Woman's Party: The Suffrage Era*, SEWALL-BELMONT HOUSE MUSEUM, <http://www.sewallbelmont.org/learn/national-womans-party/> (last visited Dec. 30, 2014).

263. *Id.*

264. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221; *U.S. Women's History Timeline from 1848–2009*, SEWALL-BELMONT HOUSE MUSEUM, http://www.sewallbelmont.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/1848-2009_timeline.png (last visited Dec. 30, 2014).

265. *Equal Right Meeting Topic Mrs. Silverberg Is Fluent Speaker on Proposed Amendment*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, Feb. 7, 1935, at 6.

Just prior to the Nineteenth Amendment's ratification, another organization that had been key in obtaining women's suffrage—the National Association of Woman Suffrage—was renamed. It became the League of Women Voters.²⁶⁶ Grace Gerber and Jennie Deckelman, together with Emilie Dashiell, who was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1918, were leaders in the Maryland Chapter of the League of Women Voters.²⁶⁷ In early April of 1921, the Maryland Chapter met to prepare for the National Convention, scheduled for April 11 through the 18, 1921, in Cleveland, Ohio.²⁶⁸ Grace not only served in the Maryland Chapter, but also was a delegate to the National Convention. Knowing that the focus of the National Convention would be on developing a legislative agenda, Grace, Jennie, and Emilie recommended legislative initiatives.²⁶⁹

At the National Convention, Grace, with the concurrence of Jennie and Emilie, urged changes in the law of divorce, starting with a recommendation to support federal uniform laws on divorce; divorce laws that would prohibit remarriage within a year of divorce; laws requiring health certificates prior to marriage; and laws criminalizing abandonment of wives and children.²⁷⁰ The proposals were favorably received, although as the passage of time reveals, the notion that divorce should be a matter of federal uniform law, while popular in the 1920s and 1930s, never took hold.²⁷¹

The Federated Women's Clubs of Maryland ("FWC"), to which Helen Sherry belonged and served as the legislative chairwoman, joined in supporting a federal divorce law, proposing one that would allow seven grounds for divorce.²⁷² On September 16, 1930, Helen recommended that the organization work on the federal level to challenge on equal protection grounds divorce laws that permitted a husband to obtain a divorce upon a finding after the marriage that his wife was "unchaste" before the marriage, but did not allow a wife to obtain a divorce from her husband on the same chastity ground respecting him.²⁷³

266. *History*, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, <http://www.lwv.org/history>.

267. TEST BOOK: VOL. I, *supra* note 2, at 353; *Women Voters Urge Divorce Law Changes*, *supra* note 166. Emilie Dashiell, the seventh female member of the Maryland Bar, was admitted at age thirty-two. She practiced law and worked as a law librarian. *Emily R. Dashiell Dies, Had Been Law Librarian*, BALT. SUN, Feb. 9, 1983, at F5.

268. *Important Dates in League History*, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS MINN., <http://www.lwvminn.org/page.aspx?pid=600>.

269. *Women Voters Urge Divorce Law Changes*, *supra* note 112.

270. *Id.*; *Uniformity Demanded in Laws for Women*, *supra* note 112.

271. *See State Women Rally League in Cleveland*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 13, 1921, at 3.

272. *Backs Eligibility of Women on Jury*, BALT. SUN, Sept. 17, 1930, at 28; Rupert Hughes, *What Is Meant By "Honest Woman?"*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 12, 1925, at SM5.

273. *Backs Eligibility of Women on Jury*, *supra* note 272.

From 1921 until 1947, there was heated debate in Maryland over changing the laws prohibiting women from serving on juries. Proposed legislation to permit—though not require—jury service for women originally was introduced in 1921, and was met with ridicule.²⁷⁴ In 1930, Helen Sherry, in her position with the FWC, became an outspoken activist in favor of allowing women jurors in Maryland.²⁷⁵ By then, twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia had enacted legislation permitting jury service by women.²⁷⁶ In 1931, legislation sponsored by the FWC was introduced in the General Assembly. Like the 1921 bill, this legislation would have allowed women to sit on juries in Maryland.²⁷⁷ Helen Sherry spoke to political groups, urging them to contact their state senators and representatives to support the bill. In early March 1931, she testified before the House Judiciary Committee in support of the bill.²⁷⁸ The hearing took place over two days, and was vigorously opposed, primarily by members of women’s social organizations who argued that most women did not want to serve on juries. The bill died in committee.²⁷⁹

Helen Sherry continued to speak publicly in favor of legislation allowing women to serve on juries, and again testified before legislative committees in 1939, when a second strong effort was made to change the law.²⁸⁰ That year, and for many years to follow, bills allowing jury service for women were defeated.²⁸¹ By the outset of World War II, only Maryland and four other states (Georgia, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Tennessee) did not permit women to sit on juries.²⁸² As late as 1945, the Bar Association of Baltimore City—which, as discussed above, remained all male until 1957—took a position against allowing women to sit on juries.²⁸³ Rose Zetzer commented publicly on the subject, writing that those who opposed women serving on juries were of the old fashioned view that “a woman’s place is in the home; that she is too sensitive to hear the ungen-

274. Dennis M. Sweeney, Commentary, *June 1 Marks Anniversary of Having Women on Maryland Juries*, BALT. DAILY REC. (May 31, 2010), <http://thedailyrecord.com/2010/05/31/june-1-marks-anniversary-of-having-women-on-maryland-juries/>.

275. *Backs Eligibility of Women on Jury*, *supra* note 272.

276. *Id.*

277. *Jury Service Bill Opponents Heard*, BALT. SUN, Mar. 5, 1931, at 4.

278. *Id.*

279. *See id.* (captioned “Hope measure is dead”).

280. *300 Women Cheer, Clap, Boo to Support Jury Service Bill*, BALT. SUN, Feb. 2, 1939, at 22.

281. *See Women’s Jury Bill Killed by Senate*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 4, 1939, at 8.

282. Holly J. McCammon, et al., *Becoming Full Citizens: The U.S. Women’s Jury Rights Campaigns, the Pace of Reform, and Strategic Adaptation*, 113 AM. J. SOC. 1104, 1127 n.10 (2008).

283. *Lawyers Vote 210 to 137 Against Women on Juries*, BALT. SUN, Feb. 25, 1945, at 12; *see supra* note 160 and accompanying text.

tlemanly things which take place in a courtroom. Isn't that ridiculous?"²⁸⁴ She pointed out that "the bulk of actions [tried in court] are common law cases, involving accidents and contracts" in which "a woman's view is needed to give a better cross-section of opinion."²⁸⁵

In 1947, a year after the Maryland State Bar Association permitted women to join (and long before the Bar Association of Baltimore City did so), the General Assembly reversed course and passed legislation that not only allowed women to serve as jurors but also required their service, just as jury service was required for men.²⁸⁶ By the end of World War II, public sentiment in Maryland had shifted dramatically in favor of women serving on juries. This was the case in other states, particularly those in which the shortage of men to sit on juries during the war had prompted changes in the law to allow women to serve.²⁸⁷

Another national movement, this time one that threatened to displace women in the work force, began in 1930, just months after the stock market crash of October 1929. A call went out across the nation for employers not to hire women in paying jobs and to replace employed women with men who were out of work.²⁸⁸ The issue came to the fore when certain unions adopted policies restricting the employment of women.²⁸⁹ Local governments, such as the City of Philadelphia, made plans to remove women from civil service positions and replace them with men, even if doing so violated the law.²⁹⁰ In September 1930, the National Women's Party announced that it would "combat with all its energy" such policies and actions.²⁹¹

In Baltimore City, as across the country, the agenda against women in the workforce strengthened as the Great Depression persisted through the 1930s. Letters to the editor of the *Baltimore Sun* blamed the astronomical unemployment levels on women taking jobs that men should have; complained that it was immoral, "unfair," and "heartless" for married women whose husbands were employed to hold paying jobs; and suggested that whether a married woman who held a job really needed to work, or simply was earning "pin money," should be investigated by the authorities.²⁹² In a

284. *Ruling Lacks Effect Here*, BALT. SUN, Dec. 11, 1946, at 14.

285. *Id.*

286. *Women to Begin Jury Tests Today*, BALT. SUN, June 2, 1947, at 4.

287. HOLLY J. MCCAMMON, *THE U.S. WOMEN'S JURY MOVEMENTS AND STRATEGIC ADAPTATION: A MORE JUST VERDICT* 76 (2012).

288. *Women Will Fight for Jobs, Periled by Plea to Use Men*, BALT. SUN, Sept. 21, 1930, at 2.

289. *Id.*

290. *Id.*

291. *Id.*

292. See Justice, Letter to the Editor, *Women are Heartless, Says One of Them*, BALT. SUN, Dec. 2, 1930, at 8; Bernard Moses, Letter to the Editor, *Relief of Unemployment by Weeding Out of Married Women Who Do Not Need the Jobs*, BALT. SUN, Feb. 13, 1935, at 10; P.P., Letter to

1938 letter to the editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, Rose Zetzer castigated the writers of such letters “suggesting that laws be passed legislating married women out of their jobs, in the ridiculous belief that in this way our unemployment problem will be solved.” She argued:

If need is to be the basis for holding jobs, there are men who have sufficient wealth to permit them to retire and make room for a single man with no income. . . .

If we are going to go on the theory that jobs be given to those who need them most, we should carry this out consistently and not discriminate against married women.

. . . .

When we try to solve unemployment by sex discrimination, we are treading on dangerous ground and the reasoning is all wrong, morally, socially, and economically.²⁹³

With America’s entry into World War II, which generated a need on a national scale for the employment of women in jobs vacated by men away on the front and in jobs necessitated to advance the war effort, this issue died a natural death.

These are but a sampling of the feminist activities undertaken by many of the early Jewish female members of the Maryland Bar, particularly those who practiced law, and organizations they formed and joined to advance feminist causes. The same women were active in Jewish organizations, including Hadassah (Ida Lutzky), B’nai B’rith (Ida Lutzky and Jeanette Siegel), the Jewish Family and Children’s Bureau (Jeanette Rosner Wolman), the Federation of Jewish Women’s Organizations of Maryland (Jeanette Siegel), the Young Men’s Hebrew Association (Jeanette Siegel), the Jewish Big Brother and Sister League (Rose Zetzer), the Jewish Children Society (Ida Lutzky), and their places of worship, including Beth Tfiloh and The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation.²⁹⁴

As discussed, the Zionist Movement was firmly rooted in Baltimore before the 1920s. For forty years, Goldie Rose Miller’s brother and law partner, Harry Miller, was a mainstay in that movement in Baltimore.²⁹⁵ He served three times as President of the Baltimore Zionist Council; was a

the Editor, *The Unemployment Problem Would be Solved, He Says, if Married Women Did Not Work*, BALT. SUN, May 15, 1938, at 8; Michel Paul O’Halloran, Letter to the Editor, *Agrees that Many Married Women Ought Not to Hold Jobs*, BALT. SUN, June 19, 1938, at 8.

293. Rose S. Zetzer, Letter to the Editor, *She Discusses the Right of Married Women to Work*, BALT. SUN, May 22, 1938, at 8.

294. See Mrs. Proser, *Lawyer, Teacher, Dies*, BALT. SUN, Sept. 4, 1973, at A9; *B’nai B’rith Officers Listed*, BALT. SUN, July 11, 1965, at SE3; Rasmussen, *supra* note 160; *Jewish Women Plan Reception*, BALT. SUN, June 5, 1968, at B3; *Passover Will be Observed*, BALT. SUN, Apr. 17, 1924, at 3; Rasmussen, *supra* note 221; *Miss Ida Claire Lutzky Weds Bernard U. Proser*, BALT. SUN, Aug. 29, 1932, at 3.

295. *Miller Rites Are Today*, *supra* note 219, at 15.

member of the Board of Directors of the Baltimore Zionist District, chairing its education committee and acting as vice president of its Chaim Weizman Unit; and served as President of the Seaboard Zionist Region, which included Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, parts of West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.²⁹⁶ In 1920, shortly after her admission to the Maryland Bar, Grace Gerber was elected Chairman of the 1920 Campaign for the Palestine Restoration Fund.²⁹⁷

Finally, several of the women discussed in this article took on active roles in politics. In 1928, Sarah Burke was a delegate to the State Republican Convention.²⁹⁸ Rose Zetzer, a Democrat, participated in party politics throughout her life and served as Maryland chairwoman of the "National Pro Roosevelt Association of Women Lawyers" in 1936.²⁹⁹ As noted, Grace Gerber, a Republican, ran (unsuccessfully) for a seat from Washington County in the State legislature in 1921.³⁰⁰ Annette Selenkow, also a Republican, worked as an election judge in Baltimore City's 13th Ward.³⁰¹ Ida Kloze, a Democrat, was elected national committeewoman to the Young Democrats of Maryland in 1940.³⁰²

IV. WHY IMMIGRANT AND FIRST GENERATION JEWS OF DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER WERE AMONG THE EARLY FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND BAR

A. *Admired Character Traits of Biblical Jewish Women*

For girls who came of age in Maryland in the early 1900s, reaching adulthood in the 1920s, the concept of women practicing law was not shocking, as it once had been. Jewish immigrant and First Generation Jewish women never had lived in a Maryland in which women could *not* practice law. By contrast, most of their parents had lived in the Pale, where Jews were kept from working in all but a few jobs. So, while the sight of a woman lawyer in Maryland in the 1920s still was a novelty, by then it was well known that lawyering was a career option for women. This roughly two-decade acclimation period probably accounts for the difference in numbers of women members of the Maryland Bar in the first two decades of the twentieth century and in the third decade. By the 1920s, a steady

296. *Id.*

297. *Jottings From Yesteryears*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, Jan. 7, 1960, at 6; *Jottings From Yesteryears*, HAGERSTOWN DAILY MAIL, May 27, 1960, at 6.

298. *Goucher Girl in Politics*, EVENING BALT. SUN, Apr. 21, 1928, at 3.

299. *Essay Contest Planned by Women Lawyers*, BALT. SUN, Oct. 4, 1936, at SC15.

300. *Woman Candidate Skeptical of Reform Urge in Politics*, *supra* note 61, at 18.

301. *Judges of Elections*, BALT. SUN, July 30, 1921, at 16.

302. *Young Democrats Pick Cronin as President*, BALT. SUN, Dec. 11, 1940, at 8.

stream of women was entering the Maryland Bar, with thirty-five admitted from 1920 through 1929.³⁰³

It is more difficult to explain the predominance of immigrant and First Generation Jewish women coming to the Maryland Bar in the 1920s. In 1920, notwithstanding almost a century of migrations of Jews to Maryland, and Baltimore City in particular, the Jewish population was small. Jews were a tiny fraction of the entire population of Maryland and only about eight percent of the population of Baltimore City, where the greatest concentration of Jews lived in the state.³⁰⁴ It is striking, then, that of the thirty-five women admitted to the Maryland Bar in the 1920s, seventeen were Jewish and most of them were Russian or Eastern European immigrants or First Generation Americans. The number of Jewish women joining the Maryland Bar in that decade is so vastly disproportionate to the number of Jewish women in the populations of Baltimore City and Maryland at that time that the figures cannot be explained by happenstance. The explanation emerges from a combination of factors and reasons—religious, social, and cultural—with some more significant than others.

We can begin by examining the distinguishing traits of three highly revered women of the Old Testament: Sarah, Esther, and Deborah. What made them central figures in Judaism, worthy models for Jewish women, and leaders in male-dominated societies?³⁰⁵

Sarah showed courage in the face of power, confidently using her intelligence, intuition, and savvy to save the Jewish people from starvation during a great famine. She and Abraham devised a plan to get desperately needed food and resources from the Egyptians. Sarah knew she could use her beauty to win Pharaoh over and gain control. Abraham would have to play the role of her brother, however, because, if Pharaoh knew Abraham and Sarah were married, he simply would kill Abraham. Sarah implemented the plan with great success. Pharaoh took her in and showered Abraham with food and riches. Only when a plague befell Egypt, causing Pharaoh to think he was being punished, did Pharaoh realize that Abraham was Sarah's husband. Sarah did not flinch when Pharaoh confronted her. Indeed, her influence over Pharaoh was so strong that instead of killing Abraham, he commanded Sarah and Abraham to leave Egypt with the food and riches he had bestowed upon them—which was exactly what they had sought to accomplish.

303. See TEST BOOK: VOL. I, *supra* note 2, at 359–442.

304. *Timeline 1913–1949*, JEWISH MUSEUM OF MD., <http://jewishmuseummd.org/exhibits/timeline/timeline-1913-1949/> (last visited Aug. 24, 2013); *Fast Facts*, *supra* note 32.

305. The stories of these women can be found at *Judges* 4:1–4:16 (Deborah); *Genesis* 20:1–20:18 (Sarah); *Esther* 5:1–5:14, 6:1–6:14, 7:1–7:10 (Esther).

Like Sarah, Esther stood strong in the face of male dominance and power. The King of Persia chose Esther for a wife, not knowing she was Jewish. Not long after, Mordecai, who had raised Esther, foiled a plot to assassinate the King. Without revealing her relationship to Mordecai, Esther made sure the King knew what he had done.

Haman, a powerful prince, hated Mordecai for not bowing to him. Out of spite, Haman persuaded the King to order all Jews in the kingdom to be put to death. Mordecai told Esther about the death decree, and she set about to undo it. In Haman's presence, she obtained the King's permission to hold two banquets only for them. She knew Haman would be disarmed by her admiration. She also knew that if she made the King jealous of Haman, she could drive a wedge between them *and* influence the King to appreciate how much he loved her. With this in mind, Esther showered Haman with attention at the banquet, making the King so jealous he could not sleep. The King stayed awake, reviewed papers about recent events, and realized that Mordecai had not been honored for thwarting the assassination plot.

The next morning, Haman, who as Esther had predicted was full of himself, approached the King to seek permission to hang Mordecai. Before he could say a word, the King asked him what a fitting honor for a hero would be. Confident that *he* was the hero, Haman replied that the hero should be dressed in finery, crowned, and paraded on horseback to public acclaim. To Haman's shock, the King directed him to honor Mordecai that way.

That night, Esther brought Mordecai to the second banquet. She announced that she was a Jew and that Mordecai had raised her. She implored the King to undo the death decree. Realizing that Haman had promoted the death decree to satisfy his petty hatred for Mordecai, the King ordered him to be executed, gave Mordecai his house, and changed the decree to allow the Jews to avenge all those who might assault them.

Esther's strategy to undo the death decree succeeded in large part because she understood human emotions and frailties, and figured out how to use them to her maximum advantage. She counteracted the likely negative reaction the King would have upon learning she was a Jew by waiting to reveal that fact only after giving him a dose of jealousy to intensify his love for her. Again showing cleverness in timing, Esther waited to reveal her relationship with Mordecai until she turned the King against Haman and reminded the King that Mordecai, a Jew, had saved his life. Esther's masterful handling of all three men—the King, Haman, and Mordecai—removed the Jews from harm's way and brought them years of peace.

Deborah was a leader in the traditional sense, occupying the powerful position of Judge, which, in the Jewish society of her time, was comparable to monarch. She was non-traditional, however, in that she was the first

woman to hold that position. As Judge, she was adept at resolving disputes among her people with wisdom and practicality. She exercised military power, making tactical decisions to protect the Jews from their enemies. She alone—with divine guidance—decided that the Jews should engage the forces of Sisera in battle, to bring an end to twenty years of oppression. She independently crafted the strategy of attack. Deborah proved herself a stronger, more astute, and more dedicated warrior than the military men around her, particularly Barak, who was too afraid to go to battle without her. She was a powerful woman in a powerful position, who gained her power on merit. Hers was the quintessential story of a woman exceeding the strongest men in bravery, intelligence, and force of command.

Sarah, Esther, and Deborah, each in her own way, were intelligent, practical, wise, patient, courageous, and perceptive. They knew the importance of taking action at the right time. They worked confidently and independently, guided by an understanding of human sensibilities and with the goal of accomplishing what was just and right for their society. They did not shy from confronting authority to gain advantage. They were strategists who devised and implemented plans to benefit their people. Moreover, the character traits these women possessed were held in high regard and were not gender oriented. To be sure, the women acted with conscious awareness of their femininity, taking advantage of the feminine role when it would advance their goals. The qualities that defined them were not gender dependent, however.

B. Centrality of Learning in Jewish Life

The strong women of the Old Testament are iconic figures for all Jews, wherever they live and wherever they may have come from. So, too, the precepts of Judaism and its fundamental values have been constant for thousands of years, undergirding the lives of all Jewish immigrants to this country. Learning is the central value of Judaism most relevant to understanding why Jewish immigrants and First Generation women predominated at the Maryland Bar in the first decade that women steadily were admitted.³⁰⁶ The learning that is valued in the Jewish religion is a lifelong endeavor to expand the mind with knowledge acquired through study, questioning, reasoning, problem solving, and formal education.³⁰⁷ The religious leaders in Judaism are rabbis, literally “teachers,” and to teach, one must be devoted to learning. They lead by scholarship: studying, dissecting, and interpreting the laws of the Jewish religion as stated in the Talmud, and al-

306. Interview with Dr. Moshe D. Shualy, Ritual Director, Chizuk Amuno Congregation (Mar. 2, 2012) (on file with author).

307. *Id.*

ways learning by probing what is known with questions about what is not known.³⁰⁸

C. *Opportunity and Success*

Although the Jewish immigrant and First Generation female members of the Maryland Bar did not directly experience life in the Pale, many of the adults they grew up with did. To be sure, life in the United States for newly immigrated Jews was not easy. Many were poverty stricken and eked by on assistance from charitable organizations established by the successful German Jews. Yet American life was safe, presenting opportunities that were non-existent in the Pale and indeed had been foreclosed to Jews for centuries before the Pale came into existence.

The restrictions on education in the Pale undermined the central value of learning in Judaism, especially for girls. Jewish girls had no educational opportunities there; and Jewish boys could not obtain a secular higher education. In this country, a secular education was available for all children. The opportunity for immigrant and First Generation Jewish girls in Maryland (and elsewhere in the United States) to receive the most basic education in elementary and secondary schools was prized by both the girls and their parents.

Scholarly education—such as that of a rabbi—is highly valued in the Jewish religion.³⁰⁹ It is not surprising, then, that of all the restrictions placed on Jews in the Pale, the laws enacted in the 1880s that placed quotas on the number of Jews who could attend universities were reviled as a direct attack on the centrality of learning as a core value in the Jewish religion.³¹⁰ The Jews in the Pale, who despised the restrictions on higher education imposed on them, celebrated opportunities in the United States for higher education for their children, and urged their children to seize them. The importance in the Jewish religion of interpreting and analyzing the laws of the faith—the role of the rabbis as leaders—would have made the opportunity for higher education in secular law especially valued.

D. *Seizing Opportunities at a Crucial Time of Expanding Rights for Women in America*

The German Jews who came to this country in the migration wave from the 1830s to the 1880s had not experienced deprivation or hardship

308. *Id.*

309. *Id.*

310. Leonid Smilovitsky, *The Pale of Settlement: An Inseparable Part of Byelorussian History*, JEWISHGEN (Feb. 2004), <http://www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/AnishchenkoReview.htm>.

comparable to that suffered by the Eastern European and Russian Jews. It is true that, for almost all of that time, Jews in German lands did not have the legal rights that Gentiles did, especially in the work they could perform. They were not confined, deprived of education, or victimized by assaults on their property and persons. (That, tragically, came later.) They immigrated to America to better themselves, not to escape the barrel of a gun.

Many of the German Jews who settled in Baltimore City in the mid-1800s enjoyed financial success, especially in merchandising, and some amassed fortunes.³¹¹ With prosperity, they became increasingly Americanized.³¹² For example, they adopted the trappings of social stature on display in “blue blood,” Gentile high society, forming posh private clubs, such as the Phoenix Club on Lexington Street, and holding debutante parties known as “Harmony Circle Balls.”³¹³

The Nineteenth Century American society, to which the German Jewish immigrants in Baltimore acclimated, was the antithesis of the hard scrabble life that men *and* women endured in the Pale. At that time, American cultural norms exalted the legal and social concept of “natural law,” which, under the guise of protecting women, labeled them as unsuited for almost any endeavor outside the home, including the practice of law.³¹⁴ This was the very culture Etta Maddox was fighting in her quest for Maryland to open the practice of law to women. For Jews from the Pale, the right of women to become lawyers would have been seen to present an opportunity for their daughters to obtain higher education in a valued endeavor in their religion. For German Jews, the right would have been seen as not meshing with their “Americanized” views of the proper role of women in society. This difference between assimilated German Jews and the newly free Russian and Eastern European Jews is the most significant factor to explain why almost all of the Jewish women who became members of the Maryland Bar in the 1920s were Russian or Eastern European immigrants or daughters of those recent immigrants.

Several of the early Jewish female members of the Maryland Bar either grew up with male family members who encouraged them to pursue higher education in the law, were raised in families in which the pursuit of higher education (especially in the professions) was encouraged, or at the very least grew up in an environment in which higher education was valued both for sons and daughters. Jeanette Siegel had two lawyer brothers who were twelve and seven years older than she was; they would have been

311. See, e.g., SANDLER, *supra* note 12, at 49–51.

312. *Id.* at 5.

313. *Id.* at 38.

314. See, e.g., The Hon. Deanell Reece Tacha, *Women and Law: Challenging What Is Natural and Proper*, 31 NOVA L. REV. 259, 261–63 (2007).

members of the bar when she was deciding whether to pursue a career in law, serving as role models for her.³¹⁵ A number of Grace Gerber's siblings, male and female, pursued professional careers—as physicians, pharmacists, and teachers.³¹⁶ By high school, Jeanette Rosner had decided to become a lawyer, a choice she attributed to her father's encouraging presence in her life.³¹⁷ Similarly, Rose Zetzer decided in eighth grade that she was going to be a lawyer.³¹⁸

These women not only were encouraged by their family members and their family to pursue careers in law, they also were independent thinkers who decided they wanted to be lawyers, set upon accomplishing that goal, and persisted. When the University of Maryland School of Law turned them down, Grace Gerber and Jennie Plotkin found other law schools to attend. Several others were turned down by the University of Maryland Law School as well, but kept applying until the school finally changed its policy against admitting women. They were not afraid to challenge the male establishment of the law school by continuing in their quest in the face of repeated rejection.

Strategy, patience, practicality, independent thinking, and a willingness to confront—and question—authority can be seen in the approaches these women took to becoming lawyers. Of all the women, Grace Gerber best embodied the character traits of Sarah, Esther, and Deborah. She attended and excelled in a co-educational Maryland college and, when she was rejected by the University of Maryland School of Law, moved several states away to attend a law school where she knew no one. She was not cowed by the taunts of the male students in her law school class. She approached law school with the intelligence she had applied in college, and her abilities won her detractors over. Rather than rebuking her male colleagues when they turned to her for help, she tutored them, earning their respect and affection. They did not resent her status as number one in the class; on the contrary, they nominated her to be class president (which she turned down)³¹⁹ and held graduation parties for her. Grace was intelligent, perceptive, patient, confident, and independent, and a leader before she even set foot in a courtroom.

Independence, courage, practicality, and strength in the face of adversity can be seen in the initial decisions made by almost all of the early Jew-

315. 1920 U.S. CENSUS, BALT. CITY, MD., POPULATION SCHEDULE, 1ST WARD, ENUMERATION DISTRICT (ED) 13, 314 (STAMPED), SHEET 1A, DWELLING 2; LOUIS SIEGEL HOUSEHOLD.

316. 1930 U.S. CENSUS FOR GRACE REBECCA GERBER, *supra* note 79; 1940 U.S. CENSUS FOR SAMUEL GERBER, *supra* note 82.

317. Videotape: Women's History Week: Jeanette Rosner Wolman, *supra* note 166.

318. Rasmussen, *supra* note 221.

319. *Woman Candidate Skeptical of Reform Urge in Politics*, *supra* note 61, at 18.

ish female members of the Maryland Bar who went on to practice law and to form their own individual firms or firms with their husbands or other relatives. As Rose Zetzer's story makes plain, the existing law firms in Baltimore City were not open to hiring women lawyers. These women lawyers did not react to the unopened arms by giving up their plans to practice law. Instead, they opened their own law firms. Even almost 100 years ago, when the law was far less developed and complex than it is today, this was no easy feat.

For those women who practiced on their own for at least some portion of their careers (if not their entire careers), such as Grace Gerber, Jennie Plotkin Deckelman, Rose Zetzer, and Ida Kloze, this meant mastering substantive and procedural areas of the law in a setting that did not offer day-to-day guidance from more senior practitioners. It also meant starting up and operating a business, that is, obtaining and cultivating clients, billing and collecting fees, and paying expenses, among other aspects of running a solo law practice. The women showed business savvy: some proved themselves worthy of paying clients by starting off with pro bono cases; others relied upon appointments by judges (who at that time, along with practitioners, constituted the faculty at University of Maryland School of Law, and hence were good client sources for the women who had performed well in school);³²⁰ and others accepted "barter" type fees until clients felt comfortable paying them. These remarkable women accomplished all of this under the watchful eye of the press, whose members, still seeing novelty in women lawyers, were eager to report on their every move and outfit.

The difficulty of such an undertaking would have been lessened somewhat for the women who married and practiced law with their husbands: Helen Sherry, Ida Lutzky Proser, Sarah Burke, Jeanette Rosner Wolman, and Goldie Miller (who actually practiced law with her brother, but whose husband helped manage the firm). Some had married law school classmates (Jennie Plotkin Deckelman, Fannie Kurland Kerpelman, Ida Lutzky Proser, and Sarah Burke) while others married lawyers in the community (Helen Sherry, Jeanette Rosner Wolman, and Goldie Rose Miller Freed). While they may have entered law school as outsiders, the personal relationships they formed with their Jewish male classmates and Jewish males in the legal community show acceptance with the passage of time. Helen, Jeanette, and Goldie all gave birth to children as young lawyers but continued in active practice, a challenge that probably would have been impossible to meet if they had not been working with their husbands or other relatives.

320. See *id.*; Bainbridge, *supra* note 228, at C3.

Finally, the myriad of social, feminist, community, educational, religious, and charitable activities in which these Jewish female lawyers participated from the time they were in law school is a testament to their being “active” women. They did not lead passive lives, defined by what others in American society thought was best for them. They took the lead in their lives, in every endeavor.

V. CONCLUSION

In the 1920s, when Maryland girls who grew up knowing they could become lawyers came of age, almost half of the women who came to the bar were Jewish. Most of them were born in Eastern Europe or Russia and came to the United States as very young children or were born in the United States soon after their parents immigrated. The number of Jewish women who became lawyers in that decade was disproportionate to the Jewish population of Maryland and the number of Immigrant and First Generation female Jewish lawyers was disproportionate to the Jewish community, which was comprised mostly of German Jews.

A combination of factors explains these phenomena. The primary character traits of the most revered females in the Old Testament are intelligence, leadership, independence, and courage to confront authority—all attributes that would enable young Jewish women to persevere in a new field, as law was for women in the early 1900s. Also, education is a core value of the Jewish religion. The German Jews, having arrived in Maryland in large numbers beginning in the 1830s, had become Americanized by 1902, when women were allowed to join the Maryland Bar. The American culture of the mid to late 1800s pegged women as unsuited to most professions, including the practice of law; so Jewish women of German ancestry would not have been inclined to educate themselves in the law. In the dire conditions in the Pale, however, education largely was forbidden for Jews, especially for Jewish girls, a source of great resentment. Jewish Immigrant and First Generation girls grew up in Maryland in the early twentieth century, with parents who knew the deprivations of the Pale and were not inculcated with nineteenth century American norms limiting the role of women in society. These parents encouraged their daughters to seize all educational opportunities. And the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia came to the United States just as the First Wave feminist movement that brought about tremendous expansion of women’s rights was culminating.