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THE HISTORY

of

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

and

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

in

CUYAHOGA COUNTY

1911 - 1945

by
Virginia Clark Abbott

AUTHOR'S NOTE

THE first part of my story—the History of the Suffrage Movement in Cuyahoga County (after 1910)—I have told in some detail. However, it would have been impossible to mention by name the thousands of courageous Cuyahoga County women who gave their loyal efforts to the cause of woman suffrage.

I am especially grateful to the following suffrage workers whose personal memories of the long campaign to "Win the Vote" added color and humanness to my story: Judge Florence E. Allen, Miss Belle Sherwin, Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Judge Mary B. Grossman, Mrs. Howard S. Thayer, Mrs. E. S. Bassett, Mrs. E. E. Hill, Miss Rose Moriarity, Mrs. A. B. Pyke, Mrs. Frederick Green, Mrs. Frances F. Bushea and Miss Marie Wing.

The second part, the First 25 Years of the League of Women Voters in Eugaboga County, is not a complete history. I regret that for the sake of continuity it was necessary to omit many local campaigns and significant legislative victories; that it was not possible to name in detail the successive League presidents, finance chairmen, voters' service chairmen, and the hundreds of others who contributed their share to the growth and the prominence of the League of Women Voters in the community. Moreover, I would like to have included those "martyrs for the cause" whom Mary Kane refers to as the League's kitchen help: "Those who furnish the cars, the League speaker who puts on her hat at the last moment to 'fill in'; the 'packhorses' who carry League literature to the schools, the libraries and the Public Hall, then pay the taxi bill out of their own purse; those who setaug the tables, but miss the luncheon, then hear the rattle of the dishes, instead of the speech."

In addition to those suffragists and members of the League of Women Voters whom I have mentioned above, I want to thank the following League members for their cooperative interviews: Mrs. Max Hellman, Miss Margaret Johnson, Mrs. W. J. Schneider, Mrs. Lucia Johnson Bing, Mrs. Siegmund Herzog, Mrs. Ralph Kane, Mrs. Arthur Van Horn, Mrs. James T. Hoffmann, Mrs. Reed Rowley, Mrs. Roger J. Herter, and Mrs. E. J. Kenealy.

Also Miss Elizabeth Magee, and the Messrs.: Earl L. Shoup, Wendell Falsgraf, Joseph Crowley, James E. Ewers, S. Burns Weston and others who helped unravel the complications of several local campaigns.

Mrs. Emerich Sabo, Mrs. Peter Bellamy and Mrs. W. W. Kittinger were my invaluable editorial assistants. And Miss Betty Cooper, Executive Secretary of the League of Women Voters, helped with League records and file materials.

It is my hope this short history will inspire future members of the League of Women Voters in Cuyahoga County with a desire to help carry on the League's continuing responsibilities—for good government, for improved social and economic conditions, for a more-informed electorate and for a better understanding of world affairs.

V. C. A.

DEDICATION

This little book tells all too briefly the story of the campaign for woman suffrage in Ohio and in Cuyahoga County, and also the first 25 years of the League of Women Voters in the County. It cannot tell everything that happened—it has had to be selective.

There is no complete record of that brave bost of workers who, though unnamed, fought for their right to be citizens and finally triumphed in 1920. Many of these women are living today, and their memories have helped piece together a living picture of the valiant fight Cuyahoga County suffragists waged for the right to vote.

The story of the first steps of the League of Women Voters is here. Though incomplete, it gives, we hope, a picture of a band of women, inexperienced in politics, who, dedicated to the public interest, supporting no candidates, and caring only for issues has grown into an organization—unique in the world—which has won the respect and confidence of the nation.

To every gallant soldier in the campaign for woman suffrage, and to every disciplined worker who made the League of Women Voters what it is, this little book is dedicated.

LUCIA McBRIDE

THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY

One hundred years ago in 1848, long before polite society, or for that matter "nice women" took up the fight for woman's equal suffrage, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton called together the first Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York.

Perhaps the immediate act which provoked woman-lawyer, Elizabeth Stanton to call this Convention was the fact that women had not been allowed to participate in a convention of Abolitionists. However, there was a long-time cause which actually brought about the beginning of this revolution of American women, the Woman Movement. According to historian, Mary R. Beard, this cause was the popular acceptance after the American Revolution, of Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, and his interpretation of the legal status of married women. In Blackstone's chapter, "Of Husband and Wife," a married woman was completely subservient to her husband:

"By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection and *cover*, she performs everything."

At Seneca Falls, Mrs. Stanton proclaimed the historic subjection of women (quoting Blackstone as her authority), and Lucretia Mott and the other women reformers who attended this Convention discussed openly and vociferously the question of equal rights for women. They voted to adopt Mrs. Stanton's Declaration of Sentiments, a document modeled on the Declaration of Independence, which set forth the claims and demands of women to equality. But even those forward-looking ladies were shocked by the radical nature of Mrs. Stanton's proposals, which called for: equal suffrage; equal opportunities in the colleges, trades and professions; the right to share in all political offices, honors, and emoluments; the right to complete equality in marriage, including equal guardianship of children, and for married women, the right to engage in business and to testify in the courts of justice.

Protested the gentle Mrs. Mott, "Why, Lizzie, thee will make us ridiculous."

At this time, the more progressive states were considering proposals which would reform state laws concerning women's property rights. The same year of the Seneca Falls Convention, New York State passed a married woman's property bill which provided some safeguard to a married woman's property rights after marriage. Massachusetts, too, had its brave pioneer for woman's rights, Mary Upton Ferrin, who was waging a strenuous campaign against the Blackstone doctrines. Quoting from the History of Woman Suffrage by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, "Mrs. Ferrin traveled some six hundred miles, two-thirds of the distance on foot, circulating petitions which she presented to the State Legislature."

IN OHIO Too. Though the women of Ohio "brought the conservatisms of Connecticut right with them" to the Western Reserve, by 1850, agitation for the Woman Movement was more general in Ohio than in any other state in the country.

At Oberlin College, the first co-educational college in the country, Lucy Stone, one of Ohio's pioneers for women's rights, won a significant victory for women when she was allowed to read her graduation essay in 1847. Miss Stone was a very bright student, and she forced college authorities to reverse their decision that it would be "unwomanly" for a girl to speak before a "promiscuous" assembly.

In 1850, at the Quaker meeting house in Salem, Ohio, Mrs. Betsey M. Cowles (a relative of the Bassett family of Cleveland) presided at the first officially recognized Ohio Women's Rights Convention. And sometime before the Salem Convention, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, one of the founders of the Ohio Association, addressed a session of the Ohio Legislature in behalf of the right of women to hold their own inherited property and earnings. Mrs. Severance was most bold and daring, yet according to newspaper report, she was heard with "attention and respect." Other members of the Severance family-Miss Mary Severance and Mr. R. E. Severance-took a prominent part in the 1853 session of the National Woman's Rights Association, which Lucretia called together in Cleveland.

And so, even before the Civil War, Ohio women were agitating for equal rights. The first "Votes for Women" bill, calling for a constitutional amendment which would be approved by the voters of the state, was introduced in the Ohio Legislature before the Civil War. However, when war was declared, the

women of Ohio suspended their "woman's rights" activities for the war's duration.

THE CIVIL WAR. Women workers were needed in the factories-more than 100,000 in the textile mills, almost 30,000 in the boot and shoe factories, and even in the munitions plants where small numbers of women were making ammunition for small arms and artillery. At last, through necessity, womanhood was ceasing to be a protected group—the war was establishing women's right to labor outside the home. In the North, many of these working women were suffragists as well as abolitionists, and they held high hopes that the end of the war would bring political enfranchisement for women as well as for Negroes. Therefore, when at war's end there were few new political gains for women, and hundreds of women war workers were turned out of their jobs, suffragists were bitterly disappointed.

In this dark-gray chapter of suffrage history, Susan B. Anthony was arrested at her home in Rochester, New York, on a federal warrant charging her with illegally voting in the congressional election of 1872. Her sensational trial was played up by the national press; 13 other suffrage pioneers were haled into court, together with four election judges and clerks who had accepted Miss Anthony's ballot.

Susan Anthony was given a speedy hearing and fined \$100 and costs. Though she refused to pay her fine and was never jailed, this case caused a considerable national rumpus, and hastened some change in the public attitude toward the suffrage movement. Encouraged by this sympathetic reaction to her act, Miss Anthony launched her national campaign to win congressional consideration of a resolution providing

for the submission to the states of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women.

Finally, the suffrage movement was making real progress. Wyoming had given women citizens the franchise in 1869 and other western states—Idaho, Utah and Colorado—were preparing to follow Wyoming's lead. These state gains, together with Miss Anthony's action proposing a suffrage amendment to the U. S. Constitution, inspired a new wave of enthusiasm in the suffrage ranks.

OHIO FOR SUFFRAGE

Early pioneers in the Ohio suffrage movement were the women of Newbury, "out Punderson Pond way" in Geauga County. Besides being strong supporters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Newbury's women were also leaders in the move for feminine dress reform, political reform, and other rights of women. Not content to wait for Ohio to get "Votes for Women," the suffragists of Newbury took matters in their own hands, and in the election of '71, nine women cast their "illegal" votes for the Governor of Ohio. While these votes were conveniently lost in the shuffle between Chardon and Columbus, the members of the Newbury Woman's Political Suffrage Club were not discouraged. Again, the next fall, fourteen women planned to cast their votes. But according to the story, the town's foresighted politicians hired a lot of boys to fill the voting place with smoke, and the women voters were forced to retreat from the polls. Nevertheless, the Newbury women won their point. The men and boys apologized for the "smoke-out" and by the next election Newbury had equal municipal suffrage.

By now, Ohio was recognized as a center for suf-

frage activity. In 1869, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone and others met in Cleveland to form the American Woman's Suffrage Association. This new organization advocated suffrage by state adoption, while the Stanton-Anthony National Woman's Suffrage Association continued to stress suffrage by constitutional amendment. Since at that time, "states rights" was a major political issue, it was some years before the leaders of these two factions of the movement could resolve their differences in the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, an organization promoting suffrage by both state adoption and federal amendment.

The same year of the Cleveland meeting, both Cuyahoga County and Toledo organized local chapters of the new American Woman's Suffrage Association. And so began the campaign for state adoption suffrage in Ohio. An aggressive group, the women of Toledo took the lead in a battle for women's right to vote in the Ohio school elections. And finally, in 1894, after years of persistent effort, Mrs. Caroline McCullough Everhard and the Toledo suffragists pushed on to a victory for all Ohio women—the Ohio Legislature gave women the right to vote in school elections.

Constitutional Convention. The Woman Movement in the United States was making definite progress by the turn of the century. Seven million women wage earners were working outside the home, more than 900,000 in the manufacturing industries; the women of Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado had the ballot, and Washington and California would soon follow; then too, in other states (like Ohio where women voted in the school elections) women had

partial suffrage. However, east of the Mississippi, approval of suffrage and other women's rights was coming about with considerable caution. In Ohio, women like Mrs. Frances D. Casement of Painesville, President of the Ohio Women's Suffrage Association (after 1885), and Mrs. Emma S. Olds of Elyria became inveterate letter writers, and with dogged determination they won support and workers for the cause. One of Mrs. Casement's converts was Harriet Taylor Upton of Warren.

"She bombarded me with letters and pamphlets and

helped me see the light," said Mrs. Upton.

Nevertheless, in spite of the women of Newbury and Toledo and such enthusiasts as Mrs. Casement and Mrs. Olds, it was late 1910 before Ohio suffragists decided to make an organized attempt to win universal suffrage by state adoption. That year, a Constitutional Convention was called to draft a new Constitution for Ohio, and leaders of the Ohio Suffrage Association recognized this as an opportunity to push ahead for suffrage. Since only ten of Ohio's 88 counties had suffrage groups, and several of the ten were in a near-dormant state, organizing a state-wide campaign was a tremendous job. Moreover, the time was short. The Association was also at a great disadvantage because of a shortage of experienced leaders, but one remarkable exception was Miss Elizabeth Hauser of Girard, Ohio, who was sent to organize the Cleveland campaign.

CLEVELAND ORGANIZES

The Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Association had had many ups and downs since its founding in 1869, but things began to happen when Miss Hauser took over. A newspaper woman by pro-

fession, Elizabeth Hauser had also been Tom Johnson's Secretary and she knew how to get things done.

After opening offices in the Old Arcade, Miss Hauser sent an open invitation to all Cleveland women interested in suffrage to attend a meeting in the parlors of the Hotel Hollenden. That meeting reverberated the new life and hope of the Ohio movement, and the Cleveland campaign was launched with two immediate objectives:

Electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention, who had declared themselves for Suffrage.

Enlisting thousands of new members in the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Association.

THE COLLEGE LEAGUE. It should be explained that earlier in 1910, before Miss Hauser came to Cleveland, Inez Milholland, of the famous Vassar "Suffrage Class," and the beautiful and talented Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston helped Cleveland organize a chapter of the National College Equal Suffrage League. Charter members of this League were some of Cleveland's most brilliant women: Vassar graduates Minerva K. Brooks and Adele McKinney; Emma Perkins, whose mother, Mrs. Sara Perkins, had been a member of the Cuyahoga County Equal Rights Association, and who was herself a Professor at Western Reserve; Mrs. Willard Beahan, a graduate of the first co-educational class of Cornell University, who was considered "a woman ahead of her time"; Mrs. Frederick C. Howe and Mrs. Anna Bemis, who "burned with suffrage enthusiasm"; Mrs. O. F. Emerson, wife of a Western Reserve professor; Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. L. B. Bacon, a niece of

Susan B. Anthony, who had a flair for dramatics and directed suffrage plays, and many others.

These two groups—the Cleveland Suffrage Association and the College Suffrage League—maintained their separate identities, but they cooperated with each other in the campaign effort, in fact not a few College League members were also members of the Association.

CEDAR POINT PICNIC. To rally workers for the summer campaign, Miss Hauser and her small nucleus of 1911 organizers—the popular Zara DuPont, the energetic Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, and the experienced Myrta L. Jones, who had worked with the Consumer's League—made plans for a picnic and outing at Cedar Point, June 1.

The skies were over-cast and threatened rain the day of the picnic and only 200 of the expected 1,200 guests turned up; nevertheless, the affair was considered a great success for it was "the most fashionable demonstration in the history of the suffrage movement in Ohio." According to a society report of the event, "the women were politely enthusiastic but insistently disinclined either to be excited or militant . . . They were willing enough to wear "Votes for Women" badges which were sold on the boat for 10c each, but they refused to wave "Votes for Women" flags provided for the occasion."

Fifty Association members from other northern Ohio counties joined the Clevelanders: Mrs. Pauline Steinem of Toledo, the President of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association was there; also Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton with a delegation of 18 women from Warren; Mrs. Emma S. Olds and her delegation from Elyria; and College League members

—Mrs. L. B. Bacon, Adele McKinney and Minerva K. Brooks, who were also members of the Association—were all on hand for this big event.

MRS. PANKHURST SPEAKS. A surprising addition to the Cleveland campaign was the appearance of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, militant leader of England's suffrage movement, who was on her way home to England after a world-wide lecture tour.

Mrs. Pankhurst needed little further publicity to draw a capacity Cleveland audience. However, members of the Suffrage Association Executive Board who met Mrs. Pankhurst at Mrs. Malcolm L. Mc-Bride's Mayfield Club luncheon, and the 1,500 women and men who heard her afternoon lecture at the Knickerbocker Theatre expected a self-assertive, masculine-type woman. Instead, they were pleasantly surprised when the much-talked-of Mrs. Pankhurst turned out to be a woman of small stature and gracious, feminine ways. Her words, though defiant, were soft-spoken.

She told her "fashionable" audience that her lecture tour in foreign countries had convinced her that the world-wide objection to any progressive move for women was fear that if women became any further advanced through suffrage or education they would neglect their families and their domestic instincts.

Many of the curious who came to see Mrs. Pankhurst were won over to suffrage, and once again a suffrage event rated social consideration. One society editor noted that on the afternoon of the lecture "a double line of smart motors was standing on Euclid Avenue and the streets adjacent to the Knickerbocker Theatre," and concluded that society had joined forces with suffrage.

From the days when newspapers and cartoonists poked fun at Mrs. Bloomer and her wearing apparel, and minstrel men made gags about Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony, to the present, the suffrage movement had suffered from not being "fashionable." Though the Cedar Point picnic had attracted a few of Cleveland's more courageous society women to the fold, and many "curious" socialites had attended Mrs. Pankhurst's lecture, more important Cleveland names were needed if the movement was to be recognized as socially respectable.

All during that summer, Miss Hauser made calls on Cleveland's first families, seeking women who would allow their names to be used in the campaign. Some promised little more than the use of their names, but among those who accepted Miss Hauser's call were Mrs. Edward W. Haines, the daughter of the much respected Dr. Hiram Hayden—a Professor of Religion at Western Reserve and pastor of the Old Stone Church; Mrs. Charles W. Thwing, whose husband was President of Western Reserve; Miss Harriet L. Keeler, nationally known author and authority on the trees and flowers of Ohio, who later became the honorary chairman of the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Association; Mrs. Frederick H. Goff and Mrs. Henry Upson whose mother, Mrs. Louise Southworth had been one of the original members of that small nucleus of Cleveland Suffragiststhe Equal Rights Association; Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the City Solicitor, and herself an accomplished musician who generously contributed her talent to suffrage events; Mrs. Minot Simons, wife of the Unitarian minister, the first President of the Men's Suffrage League; Mrs. George Addams, the mother of Judge George Addams gave her moral support, and the indispensable Mrs. Ralph Mitchell paid the office rent.

For many it was a questionable privilege to be signaled out for action with the suffrage movement. "I was embarrassed to have Miss Hauser call on me," said Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, "I was reluctant to involve my husband and his family in the suffrage movement." Mrs. McBride also remembers "dragging" Miss Belle Sherwin into suffrage work. Miss Sherwin admits that she had a "natural shrinking from publicity" and that before Mrs. McBride sought her out, she had never been in the public eye. Courageously, she taught school after graduating from Wellesley because she "burned to do something that was considered wicked," and after returning to Cleveland she was an early leader in welfare activities in the community. Because Miss Sherwin's conscience wouldn't allow her to receive suffrage as a gift, she "joined up."

MEN's LEAGUE ORGANIZES. Also adding considerable prestige to the Cleveland movement was a group of prominent Cleveland men—mostly husbands and relatives of active suffragists—who put themselves on record for suffrage when they organized a Cleveland chapter of the Men's Equal Suffrage League of Ohio.

City Solicitor Newton D. Baker, who was at that time a candidate for mayor of Cleveland, was chairman of the first meeting when Minot Simons, pastor of Unity Church was elected President. Others among the early members were Charles W. Thwing, President of Western Reserve; Professors O. F. Emerson and A. R. Hatton, also of the University; Myron B. Vorce, Leopold Wolf, Charles S. Brooks, Malcolm L.

McBride, Phillip Merrill, Charles R. Hayden, Clay Herrick, Leon B. Bacon, Charles O. Jenkins, and Dr. Harris L. Cooley, who had been a member of Tom Johnson's cabinet.

Like the women's group, this Men's Suffrage League published a pamphlet, which reported state and local activities of the Ohio Men's Suffrage As-

sociation.

A VICTORY—AT LAST!

It was rewarding to the effort put in on the 1911 pre-election summer's campaign that an all-time high of 5,407 women voters registered for the fall school election. But still, there was no letdown in campaign steam. The house-to-house canvassers kept plugging away getting the 15,000 signatures for the petitions Cleveland would present to the 1912 Constitutional Convention. By February, when the Convention met, a majority of Cuyahoga County's delegates had been won over to suffrage and declared themselves in favor of "Votes for Women."

Signed petitions in hand, two very proud Cleveland "lobbyists"—Mrs. Myron B. Vorce and Elizabeth Hauser—set out for Columbus to join Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the new President of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association, and the other mem-

bers of the Ohio Suffrage Lobby.

At suffrage headquarters, across the street from the Capitol, the witty Mrs. Upton made a statement to the press: "This time we're not being given the cold shoulder. There's nobody sliding down mail chutes or climbing out coal holes to get away from us... Even the men who 'ain't jes' tellin' where they stand, give us respectful hearings; they treat it as a simple business proposition."

However, since the members of this "lobby" were among the brainiest of Ohio's women, it is little wonder they were given a respectful hearing. According to William Kilpatrick of Warren, Chairman of the Convention's Equal Suffrage Committee and a valiant campaigner for the woman's cause, "no better organized lobby ever haunted the Capitol corridors than that of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association."

On February 15, the Convention voted 76 to 34 in favor of submitting Amendment 23—a woman suffrage amendment—to the vote of a special election, September 3. With this victory the suffragists of Ohio had won the first round in their battle for the ballot. Congratulations came from suffragists all over the country and some of the greatest women leaders of the day promised help in the coming campaign.

SOAP BOX ORATORY

Earlier in the year, a new and bolder compaign technique—soap-box speaking—was first introduced to Cleveland when Miss Martha Gruening, a militant suffragist of New York who had been arrested as a picket in the Philadelphia garment workers' strike, addressed an open-air suffrage meeting in the Public Square. A small group of local women—Miss Hauser, Mrs. Vorce, Miss Bertelle Lyttle and Mrs. Arnold Green, an independent candidate for the Board of Education, accompanied Miss Gruening to the Square and passed out literature at the meeting. They reported back to "headquarters" that the speech was well-received and that such "unladylike" procedure seemed to get results.

The success of this meeting gave Mrs. Vorce an inspiration—why not a series of trolley car excursions

and open-air meetings in Medina, Bedford, Willoughby, Oberlin, Norwalk, Chagrin Falls, Painesville, and East Cleveland? Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston and her assistant, Miss Florence E. Allen, who had just finished law school in New York, were filling several Cleveland speaking engagements and they were persuaded to join the first such junket to Medina.

One can imagine the gayety of that morning when 40 Cleveland suffragists and members of the press, including cub reporter, Louis B. Seltzer, set out in their private trolley, covered on both sides with big "Votes for Women" signs and rechristened the "Susan B. Anthony." Mrs. Park did most of the speaking on this occasion, but Florence Allen and Mrs. Vorce ventured a few words and Ruth Feather, Mrs. L. J. Wolf, Myrta Jones, Zara Du Pont, Mrs. J. J. Sullivan, Mrs. John N. Stockwell, Mrs. Frederick Green, Grace Drake and others passed out yellow "Votes for Women" leaflets. Still others like Mrs. Clarence Collens, whose mother was an early New York suffragist, joined the courageous pilgrimage.

The following Sunday, Louis Seltzer's feature story of the trip appeared in the Sunday supplement of the Cleveland Leader. According to his report, the suffragists got a rather cool reception in Medina, and there were laughing jeers and taunts from those men who were bold enough to say out loud that they thought the women "ought to stay home."

And so, timidly at first, but with the conviction of their cause, Cleveland's suffragists took to the soap box. Among the first was Ruth Feather. Ruth, a recent college graduate, was young and bold and didn't seem to worry much about public opinion. Another, was Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride who admitted that she

always hoped it would be the wrong day, or that there wouldn't be anybody there when she was scheduled for a speech, and the spectacular Mrs. Roger G. Perkins. Edna Perkins, the daughter of Charles F. Brush, the inventor, was a powerfully built woman who stood more than six feet tall, and besides climbing mountains, she could "do anything she put her mind to," including speeches for suffrage.

HECKLING SUFFRAGISTS. For the 1912 summer campaign, Mr. A. J. Gilman, the father of Mrs. Frederick C. Merrick, provided transportation for the local speakers in a "chauffeured" 7-passenger, red Winton touring car. The "girls" were delighted with the Winton, for the color was very gay and with the top down they could address their audiences without leaving the car. The chauffeur, however, was not so delighted with the suffragists. A young college student working his way through Yale, he was mad and ashamed to the bottom of his soul to be driving around with "those women".

That summer, Mrs. Royce Day Frey held training classes for the suffrage speakers and her students were well-drilled in the importance of answering all questions from the audience. It was this training which led to a most embarrassing evening for Ruth Feather:

One clear, starlight night, Ruth—in the company of her chaperon—Miss Zara DuPont, an indefatigable suffragist—drove up to her corner at the Public Square in the "chauffeured" Winton. When she stood up in the back of the car and started her speech, she noticed a drunken man on the fringes of the crowd.

Quietly at first, and then with more insistence the drunk raised his hand for recognition. Ruth first

tried ignoring him, but as he edged his way through the crowd and asked, "Say, lady, can I ask a question?", Ruth remembered her speakers' class training and feared what the crowd would think if she refused to answer him.

"Well, sir," she said, "what is your question?"

"Say, lady," said the drunk, "can I go home now?" Incidents like this were not infrequent, for heckling suffragists was a favorite afternoon sport that summer. Shortly after the Constitutional Convention victory, the Cuyahoga County Suffrage Association had changed its name to the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party, and now hardly a day passed at headquarters on Euclid Avenue, without some coy gentleman popping his head in the door and asking as he pointed to the Woman's Suffrage Party sign, "Where's the party, girls?"

Undaunted, these "girls" were not cowed by the taunts of the passer-by or the "niceties" of the past. They were learning new and effective techniques for selling their cause, and once on the soap-box, they talked, and talked some more.

OUT-OF-STATE HELP. 1912 was a Presidential election year, and a constant stream of out-of-state suffrage speakers came to Ohio, not only to help in the Ohio campaign, but to take advantage of the audiences that came out to hear the presidential candidates—Republican Taft, Bull Moose, Teddy Roosevelt and Robert M. LaFollette.

Some of these guest suffrage speakers were a great help to the Ohio effort. There were women of national prominence: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association and one of the first woman preachers in this country, fired the opening guns of the Cleveland campaign in a speech at Gray's Armory; and Jane Addams of Hull House, in spite of vociferous objections of the local Anti-Suffrage Association, included a plea for suffrage in her Chamber of Commerce speech.

There were young traveling militants like Jeanette Rankin of Montana, who was later elected first U. S. Congresswoman, Margaret Foley and Florence Luscomb of Boston. Long "auto" trips were considered a risky business—particularly for women—and these young ladies won considerable publicity for the cause by their daring cross-country dashes.

Then there were others, like Rosalie Jones who drove from New York in a yellow wagon, and the militant team who set out to "cover Ohio" in an Amish horse-drawn cart. These suffragists alienated public opinion and were a great worry to Mrs. Upton and the Ohio Association. Even Mary Garrett Hay, who played a prominent part in winning the vote for the women of New York, embarrassed members of the local party when she insisted on keeping an evening speaking engagement above a local saloon. Since she was a guest and must have an escort, Sheldon Kerrush of the Men's League was pressed into service.

FACTORY TALKS. Two out-of-state campaigners who made a large contribution to the Cleveland effort were: Miss Louise Hall, a Vassar classmate of Minerya K. Brook's from Providence, R. I., and Miss Rose Schneiderman, an executive officer of the National Women's Trade Union League in New York.

In line with Mrs. Upton's suggested policy that the suffragists carry their arguments for "Votes for Women" into the factories and shops, Miss Hall and

Miss Schneiderman helped organize Cleveland's first noon-hour factory talks. An audience of men and two women at the H. W. Black Company listened attentively to Miss Hall's first talk on the drift of women's work from the home to the factory. Then Miss Schneiderman, a former cap maker who had had considerable experience as a union organizer, approached the men in the unions. Rose Schneiderman knew how to "talk right up" to those union men, however, she won over few loyal union suffragists like Harry J. Thomas of the Carpenters' Union.

Harry Thomas made a habit of "just dropping around" suffrage headquarters to see if there was anything he could do.

NEW YORK PARADE

As in Ohio, the voters of New York State would decide the fate of "Votes for Women" in their 1912 election. As the major event in the New York campaign, other states were invited to take part in a "Votes for Women" pageant parade—the largest demonstration of women ever seen in the United States.

California and the western states would send a special train of paraders. And Cleveland promised a float of "handsome equestriennes." Zara DuPont and Grace Treat, first Executive Secretary of the Suffrage Association in Cleveland, gave local publicity to the New York parade when they posed for newspaper pictures in an especially designed 37¢ hat which the paraders would wear. Though not the first suffrage publicity pictures, these were the first "front view" pictures.

The first photographed suffrage group in Cleveland was a pathetically frightened little group of women

who had turned their backs to the camera when they were seized with last minute stage fright. The final effect was a "back-view" of a group of suffragists looking intently in the headquarter's window. Symbolizing the moral support of those who could not get to New York, Cleveland headquarters had a special window display—a miniature "Votes for Women" parade.

Suffrage statuettes, borrowed from a local department store, carried suffrage signs like this:

"Women should vote, what do you say? She pays the taxes, she obeys the laws,
She is mother and teacher.
Women should vote. Why not?"

All was not peace and harmony in preparation for this great parade in New York, for the two factions of the Suffrage Association had come into open conflict. The militants approved the tactics of the English Suffragets, and the non-militants believed that the gentle, more feminine approach was more suitable for this country. A fuss and fury developed over the question of whether the cavalry divisions of the parade would ride side-saddle or astride. Both sides threatened to withdraw from the parade in this "battle of the habits," and though it was finally resolved in the decision that the riders could make their personal choice of habit, was one of many differences which brought about a complete division between the militants and the non-militants.

The wealthy and influential Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and her assistant, Miss Alice Paul, led the militant faction of the New York Association into forming a Congressional Union, and in 1913 the political branch of that Union was organized as the National Woman's

Party. These U. S. militants patterned their campaign tactics on those of Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers—the same gracious Mrs. Pankhurst who six months before had charmed a Cleveland audience.

Now, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst had been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment on a charge of conspiracy and inciting to malicious damage of property. And her protesting followers had also been hustled off to jail where they sang hymns and refused food until they were forcibly fed through the nostrils.

In this country, newspapers printed lurid imaginative, line drawings of these forced feedings, and while there was great sympathy for the English women and their cause, it was definitely felt by members of the Suffrage Association that these tactics were not necessary in the United States.

COLUMBUS PARADE

Following New York's lead, the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association planned to climax the Ohio campaign with a huge suffrage parade at the Centennial in Columbus, August 27.

Though smaller than the New York display, this Columbus parade had its stellar attractions; six Roman chariots, each pulled by two snow white horses and driven by a pretty girl in green, came from Baltimore to lead the 3,000 women, men and children through the streets of Columbus.

The Cleveland suffragists—women, men, and children—arrived in a special car provided by the Pennsylvania Railroad. In the parade, Myrta Jones, Zara DuPont, Selma Sullivan and Mrs. J. J. Sullivan led the Cleveland delegation carrying a large banner with the slogan:

"Women Vote in China; Why not in Ohio?"

Other Clevelanders took part in the prize-winning float—"The Suffragist Arousing Her Sisters." This float, a replica of the Woman's Suffrage Association's large white plaster statue, had had a hectic though interesting past. A gorgeous, much-draped cheesecloth affair, the float had taken second parade prize and first section prize in Cleveland's 4th of July Parade. And though neither of its-decorators—Mrs. Dean Mathews and Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride—admitted to having a "decorating sense," they were deserving of their honors.

In the last minutes before that Cleveland parade was called to order, the heroine of the tableau did not "show up." And after spending nine hours in the White Motor Car Garage draping that truck in its miles and miles of cheesecloth, the decorating team of McBride and Mathews was not to be cheated of its show. In view of the desperate need, Mrs. McBride persuaded an innocent bystander—an attractive young woman passing by on the street—to substitute for the Suffragist. This woman had a child, but that was a small problem. As "The Suffragist Arousing Her Sisters" floated out to parade, Mathews and McBride settled down to baby-tending.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

At about this point in the campaign, the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Association became the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party in order to encompass a new organizational set-up, borrowed from the regular political parties. Now, with ward and district chairmen and precinct workers collecting together small neighborhood groups of interested women, the Suffrage Party was realizing a new

strength. Suffrage speakers could always count on a good audience at the ward meetings, and districts were canvassed two and three times. More and more women appeared with the suffrage colors—gold buttons with blue letters, "Ohio Next."

Zara DuPont won her reputation as an organizer going about Greater Cleveland in the red Winton perfecting these ward suffrage groups. But in spite of their strenuous campaign, voting day—September 3, 1912—came all too soon for Ohio suffragists. From the Haymarket district to the suburbs, the Cleveland women took their posts as watchers at the polls, and from 5:30 A. M. on through the day they passed out literature (contributed by a loyal suffrage friend—S. J. Monck, the printer). Alas, when the votes were tallied, Amendment 23 lost by 87,455 yotes.

Those in the "political know" were surprised that Amendment 23 got the second largest number of votes of the election, for all during the campaign there had been a strong, organized opposition from the liquor interests who feared that voting women would outlaw the saloon. The suffragists got full credit for creating the keen interest in the issue, but this was small comfort to the Cleveland Woman's Suffrage Party. There had been a special esprit de corps among the 1911-1912 campaigners: Ohio was the first state east of the Mississippi to vote on the question of universal suffrage; these suffragists were the first "nice women" to wave flags and carry banners in the streets; the first to have their pictures taken for publicity; and the first to make soap-box speeches. Furthermore, Cleveland suffragists had "believed" that they would win.

1650

SALEM PILGRIMAGE. Mrs. Upton, the true leader that she was, sensed the discouragement and dampened spirits in the ranks, and organized a pilgrimage to Salem, Ohio—the meeting place of the second Equal Rights Convention in 1850. There was strength to be gained from reconsidering the long years that this battle for women's rights and political freedom had been going on, and the many victories that had been won since the days of Betsey Cowles. Mrs. Upton and the persevering suffragists—re-adopted the Resolutions of 1850, and "consecrating themselves anew to the cause," they returned home with new courage to wage the next battle for suffrage.

The following year there was a premature effort to petition another suffrage election, but this petition was withdrawn until a law was passed which clarified and safeguarded the initiative and referendum clause of the Ohio Constitution. This law made it possible to petition for an amendment to the Constitution. Again, in 1914 new petitions were circulated and the campaign was on to get the necessary 131,271 signatures (10 per cent of the voters in the last election in 88 counties of Ohio) which would put another woman's suffrage amendment to a vote of the state.

"WHISKEY" LOBBY

Many Ohio newspapers had considered the Anti-Saloon League endorsement of "Votes for Women" and the contention that women would vote out the saloon—the 1912 kiss of death for Amendment 23. And there is little doubt that this publicized association of the suffrage cause with the prohibition movement proved an early disadvantage in the 1914 campaign. In this election, suffrage was one of three election issues: Woman Suffrage; a referendum on the

prohibition amendment; and repeal of the county local option law.

Even before the Woman's Suffrage Party had lined up its campaign, carrying out the 1914 slogan—"a leader in every ward, a captain for every precinct"—the wet-dry issue stole center stage and "Votes for Women" became a secondary issue. Zara DuPont and the Suffrage Party President, Mrs. Minerva K. Brooks, made repeated statements to the press, protesting the attempts of the prohibitionists to connect suffrage and prohibition. They stressed the Suffrage Party's strict neutrality on the wet-dry question.

"The women of our party are so widely divided on the question that we could not think of complicating our affairs by mixing in the wet and dry campaign," said Mrs. Brooks.

Though the Woman's Suffrage Party had taken no stand on this question in the 1912 campaign, there was at least one open gesture of friendliness to the "whiskey group." Johnny Kilbane, U. S. featherweight boxing champion and a loyal suffrage supporter, came from that very tough section down on the Flats which was then known as "Whiskey Island." Johnny was a Cleveland hero, and when he dropped in at suffrage headquarters with a newspaper photographer and generously offered to have his picture taken with a group of suffragists down on "Whiskey Island," Grace Treat seized this opportunity for publicity. She made a spot recruitment of those suffragists who happened to be at headquarters. the ever-loyal Belle Sherwin and Mrs. J. J. Sullivan and others went along with Johnny to Whiskey Island where they posed on a flat car.

Other Cleveland citizens gave their support. Peter Witt, who hoped to be Mayor of Cleveland stood be-

hind the suffragists in this fight with the liquor interests. One night on the stage of the Hippodrome, Peter Witt announced that he was a convert of suffrage and that if the people didn't want to vote for suffrage they didn't have to vote for him.

Said Witt, "I don't know, but I'll hazard a guess that those who are furnishing the money to finance the anti-suffrage campaign are people who are afraid of the good influence of good women." But in spite of these valiant attempts to profess friendship and neutrality on the wet-dry issue, there was always the woman on the street, who when asked would say:

"Yes, I'm for suffrage, I'm dry."

As this campaign proceeded, the "whiskey lobby" came out in open opposition to the Suffrage Amendment. Charging that there was a tie-up between prohibition and suffrage and that woman's vote would close the saloons, they pointed to the hundreds of Ohio suffragists who were members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union; to crusading prohibitionists like Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National Suffrage Association and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, President of the Ohio Suffrage Association.

The Woman's Suffrage Party could not deny that many Ohio suffragists, particularly in the rural communities, did belong to the W. C. T. U. Though it is the opinion of Rose Moriarity—an early suffragist and one of Ohio's first women politicians—that many of these women were not active prohibitionists, but women who found that the gay social events of the W. C. T. U. offered a welcome relief from their straight-laced, church-going life.

Certainly it could not be denied, that Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Upton and many other suffrage leaders throughout the country made no secret of their hope that "Votes for Women" would do away with the saloon. In American history this was an era of reform, and independently, and through reform organizations, women were leading the campaign against the evils of the day—the limited franchise, war, the white slave traffic, sweat shop labor conditions for women and children, the saloon.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

It was one thing to be opposed by the men and the whiskey forces and quite another to have opposition from an organized group of women. Mrs. Upton commenting on the defeat of Amendment 23 had said, "Two enemies are working against us—a band of ignorant and futile women, very few in number and the federated forces of evil. The former makes no impression, the other is powerful and will grow more powerful as the days advance."

Though Mrs. Upton did not consider the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage (the Anti-Suffragists) and its "inactive" membership list of fashionable names as serious opposition in the 1911-1912 campaign, one cannot underestimate the talents of the Anti-Suffragist's Ohio spokesman, Mrs. John M. Gundry of Cleveland. Mrs. Gundry was intelligent and an effective speaker and writer and at the 1912 Constitutional Convention where she warned the delegates against suffrage, she shared the same platform with suffragists Elizabeth Hauser and Mrs. Vorce. These were Mrs. Gundry's chief "Anti" arguments:

—Domestic ties would not remain the same and the home would not be the same if women voted.

-Giving the vote to the women of Colorado

had brought a higher divorce rate and more illegitimate children.

—Not more than 10 per cent of the women of Ohio wanted the vote, and the other 90 per cent were content with the present arrangement.

Suffragists Myrta L. Jones, Ruth Feather and Mrs. L. J. Wolf answered Mrs. Gundry's arguments in letters to the press, but once again in the 1914 campaign, the Cleveland Anti-Suffrage Association revived itself with the same old 1912 arguments.

The "Antis" opened expensive new downtown Euclid Avenue offices and began issuing a seemingly endless stream of anti-suffrage literature. By 1914, the membership list was so filled with names of Cleveland's top-drawer society that Minerva K. Brooks, who was of "society" herself, made this open charge:

"The homes along Euclid Avenue are, for the most part, strongholds of the Anti-Suffragists."

PRICE-ALLEN DEBATES. After her 66-county organizing tour of Ohio in the summer of 1911, Miss Florence E. Allen had settled in Cleveland, where her speaking experience and legal training made Florence an invaluable addition to the Suffrage Party. Now, when Lucy Price (Mrs. Gundry's successor) of the "Antis" publicly offered to give \$100 for any suffrage question the Anti-Suffragists could not answer, Florence challenged Miss Price to a series of three debates: at Gray's Armory, the Men's City Club and in Boston.

The Plain Dealer reporting the City Club debate pointed out that in this campaign there was much less emphasis on a woman speaker's clothes and the color of her eyes. "Much of the novelty is gone, men of the state have grown accustomed to women

spellbinders and have accepted them as a part of the progress of time . . . listeners now are more interested in what the speaker has to say than her clothes, and the color of her eyes."

Certainly no one could be less concerned with the foibles of feminine fashion than Florence Allen, but what Florence intended to wear in Boston was of great concern to Grace Treat, to Minerva Brooks and others of Miss Allen's closest friends who felt that this particular occasion demanded formal attire. When they finally ferreted out the shocking news that Florence intended to wear a suit, headquarters took the matter under advisement. Suffrage papers were put aside, a sewing machine installed, and those same suffragists, who had such a poor reputation for their domestic talents, turned Florence out in a "stunning" evening dress.

In Boston, Miss Price repeated the same old argument that less than 10 per cent of the women of Ohio wanted the vote. Miss Allen challenged Miss Price to produce records to substantiate her statement. When she didn't, Florence closed in with the Ohio Suffrage Association's evidence that suffrage was indorsed by at least 500,000 Ohio women.

Still this did not settle the matter. The "Antis" continued to throw out their unsubstantiated claims furnishing powerful talking points to the heavy opposition—the whiskey forces.

FINANCE PROBLEMS

The Cuyahoga County suffragists always had money problems; however, in 1912, Ohio had attracted national attention: speakers came to help publicize the election, and there were generous financial contributions from out-of-state. But now,

with growing emphasis on the national campaign for the Anthony Amendment and with other states waging their individual battles, Ohio had to carry its own financial weight. Competing with the wealthy Anti-Suffragists and the powerful whiskey interests required limitless funds, and in spite of Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride's wizardry as finance chairman, there were many times when the cupboard was nearly bare.

Women like Mrs. Harold F. Seymour, Mrs. Andrew Squire, Mrs. Ralph A. Harman and the good Democrat, Mrs. Henry M. Coffinbury, were ever-loyal in these times of distress, but they were not rich women, and more than once Mrs. Brooks was prompted to tell her worries to the press.

"We have no angels. We have no wealthy women to whom we can turn for unlimited funds . . . there has been a narrow margin many times between us and

an empty treasury."

In the 1912 campaign there had been a Country Garden Fair, a lavish, money-making event out at 65th Street on Euclid Avenue. Dancing, food, concessions, and an auction were the attractions of the evening, but best of all was the interpretive dancing. Minerva Brooks was keen on interpretive dancing, and she had arranged a Grecian number with very filmy garments. Marie Wing, Clare Ames and the other young ladies who took part in this dance pageant remember that night well. It was very chilly, and the fact that they appeared in their bare feet and filmy costumes was evidence of true devotion to the cause. However, the dance almost ended in chaos. The young Italian boy who took the part of Pan found his protection against the cold by disappearing into the bushes for a nip or two between scenes.

Now, in the 1914 campaign many more ingenious money-raising projects were needed to balance the budget. Party headquarters moved from the Huron-Euclid corner to the second floor of the Bangor Building. This new location had several advantages: the rent was cheap, the rooms were large and there were kitchen facilities—a small two-burner stove in a back room. Always eager to turn a nickel, the suffragists set up a headquarters restaurant where workers could drop in for lunch. Mrs. A. B. Pyke, then chairman of the Lakewood District, laughed when remembering the "restaurant."

"It was strictly a non-professional, non-salaried affair, and anybody who had a specialty was pressed into service as a cook. The cooks took turns."

Then there was a "Sacrifice Week" when members were not only asked to contribute money they would have spent for ice-cream sodas, shampoos and matinees as they did in 1912, but also to dig into their sock for valuables—rings, bracelets, and old gold. There was a suffrage bazaar, a suffrage night at the Colonial Theatre, and another garden fair. This fair was much like the previous one, but it was held at the old Euclid Club on Cedar Road. And this time, members of the Junior Auxiliary—Betty Baker, Alice Stockwell, Elizabeth Stockwell, Alice Laffer, and others were recruited to do the dancing.

Another money making project was "A Dream of Freedom," an elaborate pageant extravaganza with over 125 women, men and children taking part. Produced and directed by Miss Hazel MacKaye, a member of a brilliant family of artists and playwrights, who had dedicated her life to work for the emancipation of women. This pageant was a smashing financial success. The entertainment started with a

musical program, starring the heroine of the evening, the soprano, Mme. Frease-Green who played the part of *Columbia*. Then, in pantomime and dance the characters told the story of woman and her struggle for freedom and representation. The grand climax was the Pageant of the States:

The enfranchised men and women from the states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Illinois, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon and the Territory of Alaska ascended Freedom's Heights together. But when the women from the unenfranchised states tried to follow, their progress was barred by the MEN.

Publicity. If they didn't earn the money, most suffragists had to ask their husbands for every nickle they spent, and so good publicity was vitally important—it helped convince husbands that suffrage was a worthy cause. Though women and their suffrage activities were front page news, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride—the finance chairman and the Party's "cracker-jack" new publicity chairman—Mrs. Howard S. Thayer continually stressed the importance of thanking editors and reporters for good suffrage stories in the local papers.

Nevertheless, there was one period—at the beginning of the 1911-12 campaign—when relations with the press were somewhat strained. At that time, being a member of Miss Hauser's Executive Board was largely a volunteer affair, and one Board member just "happened" to be an ambitious young newspaper woman from the Cleveland Leader. After a series of embarrassing situations when this Board member scooped the other papers on news "before it had hap-

pened," other members of the Board took the matter in hand. With feminine finesse, it was decided that meetings would be adjourned early, and after the reporter had gone home, the other Board members would reconvene to discuss intimate Party matters that were not intended for public consumption.

But with this exception, the Party maintained excellent press relations. And in the 1914 campaign, Party President Mrs. Minerva K. Brooks claimed that every newspaper but one in the state had endorsed the 1914 campaign, and that it would't be the fault of the newspapers if suffrage lost. Reporters like Louis B. Seltzer and Walker S. Buel were eager to get suffrage assignments. It had been a "lucky break" for cub reporter "Louie" Seltzer when he got the Medina assignment, and his story won a good position in the Sunday supplement of the Cleveland Leader. Cartoonist J. H. Donahey of the Plain Dealer followed newsworthy suffrage movement in a series of cartoons that represents a chronological story of Cleveland's struggle for the vote.

THE BIG PARADE

In the fall of 1914, when World War I was casting its shadow over Europe, Ohio suffragists were making plans for another all-state suffrage parade, this time in Cleveland. Returning to Cleveland, after spending the summer in Europe, Mrs. Brooks was very much upset over the war and thought the parade plans for October 3 should be postponed. But despite Minerva's warning, parade chairman, Mrs. Rufus P. Ranney and members of her committee decided to carry on with the parade, for the majority of Ohio's suffragists still believed in the possibility of peace—at least for the United States.

1914

On October 3, an estimated 10,000 women, men and children—from 64 Ohio cities and counties—joined in this Cleveland parade for suffrage. Entire families like the John N. Stockwells, their three daughters, and Mr. Stockwell, Sr. passed the stands where Newton D. Baker, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton and other prominent state and local leaders were reviewing the parade.

First came the impressive Grand Marshall—Miss Matilda Spence of Painesville-leading the procession on horseback. Then the leaders of the Cleveland Suffrage Party-Minerva K. Brooks, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Florence Allen, Mrs. Malcolmn L. McBride and others, and the divisions of bareheaded women in white marching six abreast with their District leaders: Mrs. Rufus P. Ranney, Mrs. Frank Muhlhauser, Mrs. J. A. Reaugh, Mrs. E. S. Bassett, Dr. Miriam Kerrush Stage, Mrs. F. G. Barker, Mrs. A. B. Pyke and the women of Lakewood and Mrs. Norman Anderson and the women of East Cleveland. Miss Virginia Wing and the other parade marshalls on horseback were in charge of signaling the various divisions to join the ranks. Also, there were the business girls of the Wage Earners Suffrage League led by Selma Darmstadter, Mrs. Gertrude Handrick and Mary B. Grossman. Many business girls still boycotted suffrage, as they preferred to stress their femininity in the business world. But this group, which started in 1911 as a small nucleus of office workers who brought their lunches to headquarters, now boasted a membership of 350 girls.

"We all had yellow corsages and we thought we were very 'swell', remembers Judge Mary B. Grossman.

Then there were the Woman's Party auxiliaries. Mrs. Howard S. Thayer helped organize the graduate nurses, social workers and kindergarten teachers. And Rose Charvat and Mrs. Ann Mulac and the foreign groups—the Bohemian, Jugoslavian, and Czechoslovakian women.

Though only a few negro women marched, these women were outstanding suffragists: Jane Hunter, the founder of Phyllis Wheatley House, the home for negro girls; Mrs. Thomas Fleming, a great suffrage ward worker; and Mrs. Alexander Martin, a graduate of Oberlin, who often sat in on the board meetings of the Suffrage Party.

Though some of the original members of the Men's Suffrage League had dropped by the way, this still-lively organization had a large delegation in the parade. Among the new recruits were: Ralph A. Harman, Sheldon Kerrush, Frank Muhlhauser, Sherman A. Arter, Professor C. C. Arbuthnot, George A. Welch, Mr. Andrew Squire, George Green and others.

Marie Wing, a YWCA worker, who would later be Cleveland's first woman member of the City Council, had called together several hundred industrial women workers, but when the parade was called to order there were only 50 women left in this division. This story now seems funny to Miss Wing, but it was a great blow at the time, for suffragists were sincerely concerned with the oppressed working woman and her problems, and Marie had spent months recruiting this delegation. However, when the unmarried girls saw the signs which headquarters expected them to carry—4-sided transparencies with "hot" slogans like "Protect our Future Mothers"—the girls deserted in mass. Many of these working girls were unmarried, and they wouldn't be caught dead

on Euclid Avenue with signs referring to them as future mothers.

Mrs. Walter B. Laffer also remembers this parade well. She had planned to march with the Cleveland Heights delegation, and loaned her cap and gown to Mildred Chadsey—Cleveland's first woman Safety Director of the Tom Johnson cabinet, who marched with the other cap and gowned members of the College League. However, on the day of the parade, Mrs. Laffer was late getting downtown, too late in fact to drop her two children off at Dr. Laffer's office, and too late to take advantage of the free checkroom service which was provided for the children of marching mothers. So as the parade passed by, she and the children just stepped into the Cleveland Heights delegation.

Mrs. Laffer smiled with pride as she passed inspection on her two well-scrubbed marching darlings, but as they were passing the slums of the downtown district (now part of the Mall), she overheard one slovenly looking woman yell over to her neighbor:

"You'd think them women would know enough to stay home and take care of their children."

Though the general public had come a long way in being educated to the idea of women voting, not a few still held the common conception of a suffragist as a woman of masculine stride, short hair and self-asserted manner. If by chance she was a mother, she most certainly neglected her children, her husband and her home. Also it was rumored that suffragists and their families lived on canned goods and crackers, and it was assumed that if these women got the vote, they would neglect their domestic duties still further.

SUFFRAGE GAINS

Though not in vain, the parades, pageants, phamphlets and other all-out propaganda efforts of the Ohio suffragists were not equal to the strength of the liquor interests—suffrage met a 335,390—518,295 defeat in this second attempt to put through a state amendment, in 1914.

Defeat in Ohio could not stem the tide of the national movement. That year, for the first time since 1887, when A. A. Sargent of California introduced a suffrage resolution and it came to a vote in the Senate, suffrage was making gains on Capitol Hill in Washington. By now, several hundred national organizations were bringing pressure to bear on Congressmen, urging them to pass the Anthony Amendment! The American Federation of Labor, National Miner's Federation, the National Grange, the National Education Association, and other women's organizations—the National Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Women's Trade Union League all joined the campaign.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was now President of the International Woman's Suffrage Association. At a mass meeting in Akron, Mrs. Catt called on the suffragists to stand on one plank—a Declaration of Independence. "Taxation without representation was wrong in the days of the colonists and it is wrong today," said Mrs. Catt.

Finally, after still another defeat, a suffrage bill was voted out of the Senate by a one-vote majority. For the first time, suffrage came to a vote in the House. Although the bill was defeated by a 204-174 vote, suffragists were encouraged that Congress had finally taken action. And a national victory, which

would give suffrage to women in all states, was now a real possibility.

Not only in Washington, but throughout the country, 1914 was recording more gains for suffrage than had been made in any one year since the movement began. There were important state campaigns in Massachusettes, Pennsylvania and New York. Members of the Ohio State Board: Mrs. Upton, Elizabeth J. Hauser, Zara DuPont, and Mrs. Vorce went east to make their out-of-state contributions to these campaigns, and Clevelanders—Minerva K. Brooks, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Mrs. Phillip Merrill, Mrs. C. W. Merrill, Mrs. Charlotte Trainer, and the Misses Aileen and Ethel DuPont marched in the Boston parade.

WAR GAINS. The times were now more favorable to the suffrage movement. Current events, which were bringing war closer to the United States, were increasing the demand for women workers in factories. As in England, more jobs for women would mean more freedom for women.

From England, Mrs. Phillip Snowden, wife of the Liberal Parliament leader and herself a famous non-militant suffragist, came to tell the Annual Convention of the Cleveland Woman's Suffrage Party how the war effort of the English suffrage workers (the non-militants and militant suffragists) had made more impression than 60 years of argument for suffrage. Members of the audience were "moved to tears" as the lovely Mrs. Snowden told of the English women and their long struggle for the ballot. "When war began," she said, "all suffrage organizations responded to the call for women to take the place of men—in business and in factories." More than 30,000

women had enrolled in the War Register and an army of women had invaded fields of industry formerly closed to them.

However, suffrage progress was still moving slowly in England from the time of Mrs. Snowden's visit to Cleveland. It was almost two years before Premier Lloyd George would pay warm tribute to women's work during the war, and Parliament, following his recommendation, would give the women of England the right to vote.

CLEVELAND RE-ORGANIZES

In 1915-16 the Ohio Suffrage Association voted against trying another State Amendment campaign, but these were busy years for Cleveland and suffragists. They not only spent their effort in furthering the national campaign and the state campaigns in the eastern states, but locally the Suffrage Party had three going campaigns:

—A membership drive—to sign up all women not opposed to suffrage.

-"Getting-out-the vote" for the fall school election.

—Winning municipal suffrage for the women of East Cleveland.

Nearly 7,000 paid-up members were on the Woman's Party roll in the 1914 campaign, but since more endorsements would be good campaign talking points, a new membership drive was launched to sign up every woman of Greater Cleveland. Newspapers advertised the drive with special enrollment blanks, urging women to sign for suffrage—FREE.

Getting-out an all-time high registration and vote in the school election was a direct answer to

the Anti-Suffragists and their blatant charge that the suffragists represented only 10 per cent of the women—a minority opinion. All during the summer Belle Sherwin and her committee worked to establish a record vote. There were chain telephone calls to get women out to register and suffragists in every district answered their phones with "Wotes for Women" instead of "Hello." Each house was tagged with a broadside reminder of the election, and Miss Sherwin drove about Greater Cleveland in the Sherwin electric to see that the pre-election posters were placed and they stayed in place. These poster-billboards carried provocative messages as,

"Say, Mother
Don't you care enough about
My School
To Vote?"

MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE. The Suffrage Party took a new tack when it engaged in an all-out effort to win municipal suffrage for the women of East Cleveland. Shortly before this campaign, the Illinois Supreme Court held valid an Illinois law which gave women the right to vote for offices created by the state legislature. This new approach to the suffrage problem inspired the women of Cleveland and lawyer Florence Allen in particular, with an idea:

Under the 1912 Constitution, Ohio cities had the right to frame their own charters and create their own municipal offices. Why didn't the Illinois case make it possible for an Ohio charter city to grant women the right to vote on municipal affairs? East Cleveland was starting to frame its own charter. Why not make this a test case?

In the 1914 election, East Cleveland passed the

State Suffrage Amendment with a large majority and after Illinois' sample the leaders of the Woman's Suffrage Party were now optimistic about the chances of getting municipal suffrage for the women of East Cleveland. However, there were those who doubted the wisdom of the plan: Mayor Minshall of East Cleveland declared that he favored woman's suffrage, but doubted that it would be legal if included in the new charter. Newton D. Baker, a proven friend of the suffragists, said that the proposition was manifestly unconstitutional.

Undaunted by these discouragements, Florence Allen and a small group of tireless suffrage workers—Mrs. Norman Anderson, a member of the East Cleveland Board of Education, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Mrs. Brooks and Grace Treat—sat night after night in the East Cleveland City Hall, persuading members of the Charter Commission, who were in session there, to entertain this Suffrage Amendment proposal and refer it to a committee.

Lawyer Allen gave her arguments on the constitutionality of a suffrage clause, pointing out that by the decision of the Supreme Court the municipality which creates the offices has a constitutional right to create the electorate. Four men lawyers cross-examined Florence, but she stood her ground, contending that since there was nothing in the constitution to prevent the move, the proposition must be legal.

Said Miss Allen: "The woman suffrage proposal is perfectly legal, having as a precedent the ruling of the Illinois Supreme Court which granted Chicago women municipal suffrage."

While Florence Allen, Edna Perkins, Minerva Brooks and the others "sat out" a favorable decision of the Commission, a house-to-house canvassing crew