

spread out over East Cleveland, winning friends and support for the cause. A petition containing 1,403 names of East Cleveland women (about one half the women eligible to vote) was presented to the Charter Commission, but before the question was decided in favor of the women, there were several "hot" meetings. Several members of the Charter Commission accused each other of side-stepping, playing politics, and "talking much and saying nothing."

After the suffrage question won a place on the ballot, there was more canvassing, more publicity and more talking to get out the vote, June 6, for the special election. When voting day came, the voters approved the proposed city-manager commission form of government and the Municipal Suffrage Amendment won by a 426 vote majority.

"If anyone tries to prove our right to vote in East Cleveland unconstitutional, we are prepared to fight it through the courts to the very last," said Party President, Minerva Brooks.

These were jubilant days for the suffragists. Florence Allen now prepared to fight the case (Taylor v. French) in the courts. Then Mrs. Upton announced that after the court affirmed women's right to vote in East Cleveland, Ohio suffragists would get the vote in other charter cities—Lakewood, Columbus, Toledo, Dayton, Ashtabula and Warren.

"This Amendment, giving women the right to vote in East Cleveland is the key to suffrage for all Ohio women," said Florence Allen, "A favorable court decision would also pave the way for state legislation which would give women the right to vote for all statutory offices."

WOMAN CANDIDATE. Immediately after this victory for suffrage, Mrs. Gertrude Baldwin Tinker, an ambitious East Cleveland woman, announced her candidacy for City Commissioner in the coming fall election. Greatly concerned over the propriety of leaping into politics so soon after being granted the ballot and before the East Cleveland vote had been tested in the courts, the Woman's Suffrage Party called on suffragist Rose Moriarity of Elyria, for advice. Rose, the Deputy City Auditor and "petticoat-boss of Elyria," had run her town since 1903. Though she couldn't vote and so couldn't be elected to office, she had helped draft several municipal charters—including the East Cleveland charter. Rose was reputed to know more about municipalities from a legal and executive standpoint than any woman in Ohio.

Since it was Miss Moriarity's expert advice that the women of East Cleveland would have a hard time proving their right to elect a woman Commissioner, the Suffrage Party did not back Mrs. Tinker's candidacy.

NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORMS

On the national front, 1916 was another big year for suffrage. Republicans and Democrats were choosing their presidential candidates and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt called for a large demonstration of suffrage strength at both party Conventions. Suffrage leaders would again ask support for the Anthony Amendment.

The weather in Chicago at the Republican Convention did not cooperate with the suffragists. Nevertheless, in a driving rainstorm, 5,000 women members of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, the Congressional Union and the National Wo-

man's Party—marched two miles from downtown Chicago to the Coliseum. At the Coliseum, policemen made a mild attempt to break up the demonstration, but Mrs. Catt and other leading spokesmen easily got in to present their case for suffrage.

Before this, Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, had made a flat declaration in favor of woman suffrage and now, when the platform committee voted 26-21 to include a plank indorsing in principle woman suffrage, Mrs. Catt and members of the association were well-pleased. But not the militants, these followers of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Alice Paul, were not satisfied. Members of the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party had wanted the Republicans to indorse suffrage by constitutional amendment, and after Chicago, the militants set off for St. Louis and the Democratic Convention in a fighting mood.

At St. Louis, they insisted that the Democrats adopt a resolution demanding that Congress pass the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution, immediately. Mrs. Catt and members of the Association would have been content if the Democrats had included a plank indorsing the principle of suffrage—i. e., if it did not have strings attached to it which would make equal franchise a state question.

There was violent disagreement among members of the Democratic platform committee. And finally, when it was solved by declaring in favor of enfranchisement of women by the states, the Democrats pleased no one. They were "passing the buck" to the states and such a plank was objectionable to both supporters and opponents of "Votes for Women." Also, since Woodrow Wilson had not changed his views that the woman suffrage question should be

dealt with by the states, the Republicans gained another advantage with the women. 10220

MILITANTS MARCH ON. After the party Conventions, the National Woman's Party—a political branch of the Congressional Union—was organized with the sole purpose of securing immediate passage of the Anthony Amendment. These militants were "out after Wilson's scalp." "Our single plank is suffrage first, the political freedom of women before the interests of any national political party," said National Chairman, Ann Martin when she appealed to the women of the 12 suffrage states to defeat Wilson, the Democratic candidate for President.

Bitterness was now creeping into the suffrage movement—bitterness toward men, toward Wilson and the Democrats. This was doing more harm than help to the cause. "It would be the first direct appeal for an expression of sex solidarity through the ballot box," said the Plain Dealer in commenting on Miss Martin's announcement of the beginning of this campaign for violent partisan activity.

Before the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party opened their attack on Wilson and the Democrats, the leaders of the Ohio Suffrage Association had hoped to unite with Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's militant faction in this final offensive for the Anthony Amendment. In fact, Alice Paul of the Union was invited to Cleveland, with all expenses paid, to discuss ways the two organizations could cooperate. The Union had brought a fresh enthusiasm to the national campaign, and when Miss Paul announced that all militant policies had been abandoned, the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association voted to cooperate with the Union.

In the meantime, while the discussions with Alice Paul were going on in Cleveland, members of the Congressional Union attempted to waylay President Wilson in a Washington Hotel. The announcement was made to the press that the Union blamed the Democratic party not only for the failure to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but also for suffrage defeats in Nebraska and South Dakota. To make matters worse for the Cleveland meeting, the Union announced that it would continue to pester the President. This finished the discussions.

Up until this time, many suffragists, particularly in New York, had belonged to both the National American Women's Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union. However, the end of the Cleveland discussions with Alice Paul brought an open break between the two organizations.

After the Cleveland meeting, Mrs. Belmont announced that the Union would set up headquarters in Columbus and would organize to advocate more aggressive tactics in Ohio. Mrs. Belmont sent her advance guard out to Cleveland by "auto." There was some newspaper publicity about the trip, but when Mrs. Sara Bard Field of Oregon and Miss Frances Joliffe of California arrived it was on a cold, penetrating November day. The girls got a frigid Cleveland reception. Cleveland suffragists had not rallied to greet them and Mayor Baker refused to sign their proposed petition saying, "I never demanded anything from my government and your petition demands that Congress pass this amendment."

Mrs. Belmont did not carry through with her plan to campaign in Ohio. And it was at this point that the Congressional Union started off the deep end. It urged women in the enfranchised states to forego al-

liances with existing men's political parties, and in June, 1916, the National Woman's Party, a political unit of the Union was organized with the sole purpose of demanding the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

1916 ELECTION

When the National Woman's Party announced that it was out "to get" Wilson and the Congressional Union declared against Wilson when he didn't mention suffrage in his acceptance speech, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw appeared before the House Judiciary Committee. They put the National American Woman's Suffrage Association on record as diametrically opposed to this policy. They declared that the National American Woman's Suffrage Association did not support the militant tactics of the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party; that the Association was non-partisan in its appeal for votes for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment and appealed to both Democrats and Republicans for support.

Shortly before, at the 48th National American Woman's Suffrage Association Convention in Atlantic City, delegate Florence E. Allen had urged the Association to adopt a policy of strict neutrality for the coming presidential campaign. Against the National Woman's Party's announced plan to carry on a western campaign to defeat President Wilson's re-election in the enfranchised western states, Florence decided that she would make a personal campaign for Wilson in Montana. Miss Allen's help combined with others of the Association might balance the political score for suffrage in the west. Despite the militants who were now picketing the White House, President Wilson maintained his opinion that suffrage should be

dealt with by the states. Time and again President Wilson had repeated his belief in suffrage, but it was his stand that as the leader of his party, he was not willing to commit the party to action it had not endorsed.

On the other hand, Charles Eyans Hughes, the Republican candidate, had declared himself in favor of an amendment to the Constitution granting women the right to vote. With his declaration and his party's indorsement of the principle of woman's suffrage, there is little question that Mr. Hughes held an advantage with the suffragists—non-militant as well as militant, on the eve of the election.

GRAND BALL. On election night at Gray's Armory, members of the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party and their friends attended a Grand Carnival Ball, celebrating the first election when the women of East Cleveland used their new-won vote. These ballots were to be placed in separate boxes until the court made a final decision in the case.

Suffragists in yellow Elizabethan ruffs and yellow paper turbans danced the program of the evening: the "Wilson Wobble, Willis Walk, David Dip and the Cox Trot." And between dances, John N. Stockwell, Jr. announced the latest telephoned returns on the Presidential contest between Woodrow Wilson and Charles Evans Hughes. This was an elegant affair and it was reported that "everybody who was anybody" was there: "society women in evening gowns, shop girls and stenographers in shirt waist and skirt."

Admission to the Hall was a mere 50 cents, but carnival booths and hawkers tempted the large crowd to a night of free spending. When the dance ended, suffragists bid their tearful good-byes to Minerva K.

Brooks who was leaving to live in New York. Republicans went home jubilant with the belief that Charles Evans Hughes had won the election, but the next day, after California's votes were counted, Woodrow Wilson was re-elected President of the United States.

Credit for this brilliant affair which was reported to be the largest of its kind ever staged in Ohio, went to the Ball Chairman, Mrs. Walter B. Laffer and her "Committee of 100"—which included among others: Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Mrs. Rufus P. Ranney, Mrs. Howard S. Thayer, Mrs. Allard Smith, Mrs. Frank Muhlhauser, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. Alton Smith, Mrs. Phillip Merrill, Mrs. William E. Shackleton, Selma Sullivan and Mary B. Grossman, who had charge of the ushers corps—girls from the Wage Earners' Suffrage League.

OHIO GAINS ✓

In the 1916 election, women of the states of Arizona, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, and Illinois cast their first ballots for President. Once again, Illinois was setting the precedent for Ohio. A Supreme Court decision in the *Scoron vs. Czarnecki* case had upheld a statutory law giving women of Illinois the right to vote for Presidential electors.

Following this election, Ohio suffragists, in convention at Lima, voted to campaign for Presidential suffrage through legislative enactment. This decision pleased Mrs. Upton, who still held to the precepts of Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe—that state suffrage must come first. After the 1914 defeat, the large, brown-haired Mrs. Upton had made a plea for renewed activity for the ballot in Ohio.

"Without carrying on their state work, Ohio suf-

fragists would have as much chance of getting what they are after as I have a chance of becoming a willow blond," said Mrs. Upton.

Taking the lead for the suffragists in the Ohio Legislature, James A. Reynolds (Jimmy to his suffrage friends), a Democratic Representative from Cuyahoga County, introduced a bill which provided for women to vote for Presidential electors. Because both party conventions had approved woman suffrage—at least through action by the separate states—and national victory seemed a not too distant inevitability, there was political competition for the women's favor. After the Reynolds bill was introduced, the Republicans brought in a competing bill, and during the debate, the silver-tongued orator, William Jennings Bryan, a strong advocate of Presidential suffrage for women, addressed the Ohio Legislature, urging immediate enactment of Presidential suffrage.

In Cleveland, Suffrage Party President, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins called for another house-to-house campaign, and the party forces were reorganized with ward captains and lieutenants in every district. In other cities and towns throughout the state, the women waged their intelligent campaign, familiarizing legislators with the purpose of the bill. Of course, there were some legislators who stubbornly insisted that the proposal was unconstitutional. One such senator from Cuyahoga County argued this point with Zara Du Pont:

"It can't be did," said he. Zara, who did not give up easily, pointed to the Illinois case and continued pressing her point. The Senator shook his head, dubiously, "It can't be did," he said. Miss DuPont persisted, the Senator was exasperated. "It can't be did," he said, "and if it can be did, it hain't right."

Just preceding the Senate victory for the Reynolds

bill, the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party held its second annual Convention. Victory was near and a jubilant crowd of 1,000 members, who represented the 10,000 members on the party roll, responded generously when speaker Florence Allen called for more funds to carry on the campaign. That night Florence Allen established her reputation as a fundraiser, she asked for \$1000 and got \$4000.

February 1, 1917, the Reynolds bill passed the Ohio House by 72 to 50; it also passed the Senate, February 15, by 20 to 16. This victory was of great significance to members of the Suffrage Party and friends of "Jimmy" Reynolds, but the serious and purposeful Party President, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, announced that Cleveland suffragists would have no energy to waste in holding jollifications over the success of the Reynolds bill. Said Mrs. Perkins, "We are holding organization meetings in all parts of the city, paving the way for extending suffrage to let women vote for candidates for all offices."

Nevertheless, for Elizabeth Hauser and others this victory was worthy of mention. Thanks and credit were due "Jimmy" Reynolds for his tireless devotion to the cause, and his success in putting the Reynolds bill through the legislature. In recognition of this accomplishment, Miss Hauser sent Jimmy a purse, which had been a gift to her from one of Cleveland's great early suffragists, Tom L. Johnson.

WAR SERVICE

Shortly before the war, Mrs. Catt called a national suffrage Conference—to decide what service the women of the country could render, in time of war. This committee forwarded to President Wilson a program of definite war service for women. Then, in April, 1917, when war was declared, Mrs. Catt offered

the President the full cooperation of the 2,000,000 members of the Association.

But still, the suffragists were not united—even for the war effort. The U. S. declaration of war brought a defiant reaction from the militants of the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party, who announced that war made it clear that the country needed women's votes in its political determinations. They set about organizing a more aggressive national campaign for the Anthony Amendment.

In Cleveland, the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party authorized Mrs. Perkins to offer the Mayor's War Commission the Party's full cooperation in the food conservation program. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, the Party, with the Federation of Women's Clubs, introduced a joint city-wide food conservation program. Suffrage speakers—trained by Mrs. L. J. Wolf—added plugs for food economy to their speeches and passed out pamphlets which the Party issued on: How to Lower the Meat Bill; How to Save for Winter Use; Meat and Potato Substitutes; and Saving the Odds and Ends. These pamphlets were also circulated in other cities.

Members of the Woman's Party also volunteered as speakers for the Liberty Loan drives. Mrs. Perkins took a leave of absence from the Party to help float the first Loan, and Mrs. Frank Muhlhauser and Mrs. William H. Weir did important state and local jobs with the Liberty Loan committees. Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, a four minute speaker, worked almost daily at the recruiting office of YMCA, and Judge Mary B. Grossman vividly remembers her experience as a four minute bond speaker in the movie houses.

On arriving at the theatre, she climbed the ladder to the operator's booth at the back of the theatre, then without words—for the operating machine made a

considerable noise—she gave the operator her slide, with her name and the subject of her speech. After that, in the semi-darkness, she found her way down front to wait for that "awful" moment when her slide would go on the screen and a spotlight would pick her out of the dark.

When Belle Sherwin was named Ohio Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, these well-organized Suffrage Party war projects came under Miss Sherwin's jurisdiction. And, so, the wartime women's organization inherited some of the interest and excitement of the suffrage movement. Miss Sherwin's committee acted as a clearing house for all women's war work; utilizing organizations and projects which were already in existence, and giving every woman an opportunity for patriotic service. Locally, Miss Sherwin named suffragists for all the top jobs in her organization—Mrs. A. B. Pyke, Mrs. Frank Muhlhauser, Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, and Mrs. Ernest Angell.

Besides those who worked through the National Defense Committees, there were the suffragists who worked at war jobs in offices and factories, and also those who worked for the Red Cross. Mrs. E. E. Hill and Mrs. E. Scott Cannell were two outstanding examples of Red Cross workers who also carried heavy responsibilities in the district suffrage work.

1917 CAMPAIGNS

Though the war effort came first with the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party, Ohio suffragists were now called on to wage a defensive fight to prevent their Presidential suffrage right from being taken away from them.

While the Ohio Legislature was acting on the Reynolds bill, the liquor interests and the anti-suffragists

had attempted to side-track the bill, proposing that a universal suffrage amendment to the state Constitution should again be submitted to the voters. Immediately after Governor Cox signed the Reynolds bill, these opposition forces circulated petitions for a referendum on the bill.

Party Secretary, Grace Treat, and others examined 43 of these petitions and found that many of the signatures were fictitious, many appeared to be in the same handwriting and others were filled with names of dead voters. Judge Willis Vickery ordered some 8661 fraudulent names thrown out in the four counties where hearings were held. However, enough petitions were accepted in other counties to demand the referendum.

And so, during the summer and early fall of 1917, members of the Suffrage Party were involved in a three-ring circus: Mrs. Perkins had taken a leave of absence to organize the bond drive effort; Mrs. Laffer needed cooperation for the food conservation program; Florence Allen spent the summer in the courts fighting to get the fraudulent referendum petitions rejected; Mrs. L. J. Wolf was training speakers—for suffrage, for food conservation, and for bond selling; Mrs. Howard S. Thayer was recruiting members for the new Swedish, Italian, Polish, and Hungarian auxiliaries and directing the citizenship classes where alien women were given training for their citizenship examinations; and Mrs. A. B. Pyke, Mrs. C. E. Kendel, and Mrs. Maude Waitt were organizing an all-out campaign to get municipal suffrage for Lakewood.

The Party now had 54,000 members and the 12 districts worked with clock-like efficiency on their assignments. Still, these were difficult times to wage a suffrage campaign. Most women considered war work their first responsibility, and after the long-delayed

court decisions on the referendum petitions, there were only three weeks left to organize the local campaign to defend the Reynolds Suffrage Law. It was a losing battle.

On November 7, the Reynolds Presidential Suffrage Law, which had been passed by the last General Assembly, was repudiated at the polls. Still gallant of heart, Ohio suffragists leaders interpreted this election as a suffrage victory. More than 100,000 votes had been cut from the adverse majority of 1914, when suffrage was last submitted to the voters for approval. And this same November election did record other, more encouraging victories for suffrage.

Florence Allen chalked up a final victory in the East Cleveland case when the Ohio Supreme Court held that the Charter provision, giving suffrage to East Cleveland Women, was legal. Other cities with home rule charters now had the right to grant full suffrage in municipal affairs to women. Following in East Cleveland's footsteps, Lakewood passed a Charter Amendment giving Lakewood women the right to vote on municipal issues.

Also at this same time the women of New York State won the vote by a 100,000 majority. After 69 years the New York battle was over, and the east was finally invaded—suffrage was no longer mere western propaganda. This victory gave 10% of the women of the U. S. the vote, and it was interpreted as the beginning of the end of organized opposition to the movement.

THE MILITANTS AGAIN

After war was declared in this country, and the women of England were given the vote, the militants inaugurated more violent techniques in their anti-

Wilson campaign. They carried banners addressed to President Wilson and also the Russian mission in Washington:

"President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say, 'We are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracies may survive!'"

"We, the women of America tell you that America is not a democracy—20 million American women are denied the right to vote."

Such anger-provoking banners incited Washington crowds to tangle with the militants and caused the police to cart the suffragists off to jail for disturbing the peace. In jail the militants sang hymns like the suffrage martyrs of England, and went on hunger strikes. Even after President Wilson declared himself in favor of a Federal Suffrage Amendment and after the women of New York State were given the vote, strange "goings-on" continued at Lafayette Square.

The non-militants, members of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, agreed with the principle so aptly stated by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, "You can never get anything by going after a man with a rolling pin." In her letter to the President, Mrs. Upton advised Mr. Wilson that the Suffrage Association was officially on record as disapproving the picketing tactics in Washington. She called the Lafayette Square actions of the militants "treasonable," and asked the President not to hold the members of the Association responsible for the acts of a few misguided, overzealous women.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

By early spring, 1919, only two votes were needed to pass the Anthony Amendment in the Senate, then it would go to the states for ratification. Without question, war was hastening approval of suffrage in the United States, as it had in England.

Final victory seemed inevitable, yet there were many stumbling blocks in the way—the "states rights" die-hards, the liquor interests, the anti-suffragists, and the militants, whose brazen anti-Wilson tactics were now reaping a wave of unfavorable public opinion.

At the 1919, Golden Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association in St. Louis, 98% of the suffragists of the United States again put themselves on record as disapproving absolutely the unnecessary picketing tactics in Washington. Public opinion supported the Association's contention that these tactics were holding up Congressional action on the Anthony Amendment.

Important as these suffrage activities were, the major accomplishment of the St. Louis Convention was the beginning of the National League of Women Voters. At its inception, the League was the "brain-child" of the far-sighted Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. It was conceived as the organization which would carry on the responsibilities of the Suffrage Association after women had the vote. Its announced first objectives were:

- Putting through a program of needed legislation as rapidly as possible.
- Educating and interesting women in their obligations as voters.
- And promoting an active interest in all matters of government and public policy.

Many delegates to the St. Louis Convention objected to changing the name of the Association before the Anthony Amendment was passed by Congress and the states, but when it was decided that the name of the League would apply only to the women of enfranchised states, Mrs. Catt's plan was approved. The National League of Women Voters became a fact; hundreds of eligible women from the enfranchised states signed up for League membership, and Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, of Kansas City, Missouri, was elected Chairman to serve for one year.

Preliminary organization that year included establishing Leagues of Women Voters in states in which women had already secured the vote and assembling a program of seven standing committees: child welfare, social hygiene, cost of living, women-in-industry, election laws and methods, American citizenship, uniform laws concerning women.

SENATE ACTION

In June, following the St. Louis Convention of the Suffrage Association, President Wilson put himself squarely behind suffrage, urging the Senate to submit the Anthony Amendment to the states. Said the President, "I agree without reservation that the full and sincere democratic reconstruction of the world for which we are striving and which we are determined to bring about at any cost, will not have been completely or adequately attained until women are admitted to suffrage."

When the suffrage amendment was again brought to the Senate floor, the galleries were packed with corsage bedecked women—non-militant and militant suffragists who wore yellow corsages and anti-suffragists who wore pink corsages. Quite unexpectedly, the President appeared in person to make his suffrage

appeal to the Senate. As "Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy" he declared suffrage to be vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity."

Unfortunately, Republican and Democratic senators were sullen over this "unprecedented appearance of an American President before a single legislative body to urge it to enact a certain measure." The senators complained that their dignity had been affronted. And, though only two more votes were necessary for the two-third majority, the Amendment was killed, and the 65th session of Congress adjourned for the November elections.

Members of the Suffrage Association were agreed that the President had done all in his power to push the Amendment. They were disappointed, but expected a victory in the next session of Congress. The militants, on the other hand, were infuriated that Mr. Wilson had failed to force the Senate to adopt the Suffrage Amendment. Marching to Lafayette Square, they burned copies of the President's European speeches, in what they called "Watch Fires of Freedom." For lighting these fires on government property, twenty-six militant demonstrators were arrested and taken off to jail, but they were later released when they refused food and went on a hunger strike.

To call further public attention and sympathy to their martyrdom for suffrage, these same militant "jailbirds" made a trip from Washington to New York in a specially-equipped train with iron bars which they called, *Democracy, Limited, Prison Special*. Dressed in prison garb, they promised to reveal the secrets of the prison house—revelations which they guaranteed would freeze the feminine blood of the country.

SENATE VICTORY. When the 66th Congress convened, President Wilson repeated his recommendation that a woman's suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution be submitted to the states at the earliest possible moment. Once again the House passed a suffrage bill; this time with an overwhelming 304-89 majority vote. At last! after two previous rejections, the Senate passed this suffrage bill with the necessary two-thirds majority, by a 56-25 vote. Senate rules or no rules, when the victorious vote was recorded a ripple of applause in the galleries grew into a tremendous ovation. Suffragists "hugged and kissed and gave way to happy tears," as they fully realized that their long, hard fight was over.

Newspapers over the country carried banner headlines of the victory—full-page stories and pictures of the long struggle of the suffragists, from the days of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and Harriet Taylor Upton. It had been 41 years since woman suffrage was first proposed as the 16th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Now, if 36 state legislatures ratified the measure, woman suffrage would become the universal law of the country—the 19th Amendment to the Constitution.

THE STATES RATIFY. In June, Illinois became the first state to ratify, but other states followed in rapid succession, and before the end of the month New York and Ohio became the fifth and sixth states to endorse the proposed Amendment.

June 16, 1919 marked a dramatic victory day for Ohio suffragists. The Ohio legislature not only ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, but also passed the Reynolds-Fouts Presidential Suffrage bill, that same day. The House vote was 75-5, the Senate vote 27-3.

This bill guaranteed women a right to vote for President in 1920, in case ratification of the Federal Amendment was not completed. Joyful over this double victory, Cleveland suffragists tried to express how they felt:

Said Emma Perkins of the College League, "I've been a suffragist all my life. My parents were suffragists. Julia Ward Howe and Susan B. Anthony were friends of mine. Victory in sight is the dream of a lifetime coming true."

Said Mrs. Frederick Goff, "My mother, Mrs. Louise Southworth, was one of the early workers for woman suffrage. She was an active worker for 38 years before her death. I am proud that our cause has won in Ohio."

During the fall and winter of 1919, many states called special sessions of their legislatures for the specific purpose of ratifying the Anthony Amendment. Nevertheless, final victory was to be long-delayed. The governors of the western states where women had had the vote for many years developed a "let's wait and see" attitude, and some of the western states were the last to get in line for suffrage. Finally, however, in February, 1920, Oklahoma and New Mexico ratified making the count 33. At this same time, the West Virginia Legislature was in a deadlock session over the question, making a possible 34th state.

Headlines of the West Virginia contest filled the nation's newspapers when Senator Jesse A. Bloch made his spectacular 6-day, 3,000 mile ride from California to cast his vote for the Amendment and break the week-long deadlock. The Plain Dealer hailed Senator Bloch's ride as an "expedition of achievement," and compared it to the ride of Paul Revere. His special train from Chicago to Cincinnati was rumored to have cost

\$5,000 and was believed to have established a world's record for passenger locomotives, making the distance of 290 miles in a fraction over five hours.

With West Virginia's ratification, Mrs. Catt announced that the struggle was over, "Suffrage is won!" said Mrs. Catt, "Delaware and Washington (where special legislative sessions were scheduled for March) will be the next states to follow West Virginia." At the Chicago Victory Convention of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, suffragists voted to disband and turn over their unfinished business to the recently-organized National League of Women Voters.

OHIO STUMBLING BLOCKS. Events proved that Mrs. Catt's victory announcement was somewhat previous. Delaware did not ratify the Nineteenth Amendment and the question of the legality of Ohio's ratification was still hanging in balance. If the United States Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Ohio Court in the *Ohio Case*, Ohio's ratification would not count. This case—*State of Ohio vs. Hildebrand*—held that in a referendum state like Ohio, ratification of a federal amendment would not be complete until the people passed on the action of the state legislature.

The liquor interests were behind this *Ohio Case* which was concerned with ratification of the Prohibition Amendment. But since it would also apply to the Suffrage Amendment, the liquor interests were once again interfering with the success of suffrage in Ohio. However, on June 19, 1920 the United States Supreme Court ruled that there could be no state referenda on federal amendments, and this meant that the Ohio ratification of the Woman Suffrage Amendment could not be overturned.

THE CLEVELAND LEAGUE

With Ohio's ratification upheld, and their right to vote for President in the 1920 election established by the Reynold-Fouts bill, members of the Cuyahoga County Woman's Suffrage Party voted to disband and to turn over the Party's membership roll (with its 80,000 names) to the new Cleveland League of Women Voters.

Suffrage Party President, Mrs. Harris R. Cooley, and the last Executive Board: Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. Frank Muhlhauser, Mrs. E. S. Bassett, Mrs. E. Scott Cannell, Mrs. Phillip Merrill, Mrs. Ernest Joseph, Mrs. E. R. Findenstaedt, and Mrs. Clay Herick resigned.

Then Cleveland suffragists rang down the final curtain on their long campaign with a gala celebration. They squeezed themselves into the laced garments of the Victorian era and paraded in a pageant of women's fashions, *Now and Then*, directed by Ruth Feather.

It had been 70 years from the time of Caroline M. Severance and the beginnings of the dress reform movement to 1920 and the postwar feminine modes, which were featuring "hobble skirt." This postwar return to extreme femininity infuriated the independent, soon-to-be enfranchised women, but generally speaking, women's clothes were becoming more sensible and reflected their newly won freedom.

Since the 1870's and the days of Polly Squires and the Newbury Woman's Political Suffrage Club, women's political and economic status had changed considerably. An important last-chapter activity of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association was the pilgrimage to Newbury, Ohio, "out Punderson Pond way" in Geauga County. Newbury was holding a Memorial

in honor of woman suffragists and other early reform leaders of that community.

In Newbury, under the oak tree where members of the Woman's Political Suffrage Club had buried their constitution and by-laws, over 100 suffragists from Cleveland and other parts of Ohio thought back over campaign memories—to the many disappointments, to friendships, and to important and amusing incidents of the long struggle to "Win the Vote." Mrs. Upton read a poem of that other era by the poetess of Newbury—a member of the Newbury Woman's Political Suffrage Club:

"They ask only justice, no more, no less;
Demand equal rights and equal redress.

"The emblem of our righteous cause
We plant as a protest to unjust laws.

May it stand as a witness till woman is free;
A monument grand, this centennial tree."

THE FIRST 25 YEARS
of the
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
in
CUYAHOGA COUNTY

With suffrage for women now almost a fact—awaiting only ratification by one more state—the Woman's Suffrage Party of Greater Cleveland looked through the smoke of the 70-year battle to "Win the Vote" to the years ahead.

Having withstood ridicule, criticism, and opposition, from powerful interests, these women, following Mrs. Catt's thinking, saw the accomplishment of their dream as a beginning, not an end. The right to vote did not inoculate women with the knowledge of *how* to vote intelligently, of how to become independent thinkers. The lingering attitudes of timidity, of indifference, of "my husband votes and my vote isn't needed," had to be overcome. Thus, educating the woman voter to her citizen responsibilities became the first objective of this new organization—the League of Women Voters,

Formal organization of the new group was undertaken at a meeting in the ballroom of the Hotel Hollenden in April, 1920.

In large measure the early success of the League of Women Voters in Cleveland was due to the ability and the community influence of the League's first President, Miss Belle Sherwin, and other former suffragists who were members of the organization's early

Executive Boards: Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, Mrs. Harris R. Cooley, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. E. E. Hill, Mrs. Alton Smith, Mrs. John W. Seaver, Mrs. Siegmund Herzog, Mrs. E. S. Bassett and others. The intelligence and diplomacy of these women established the local League not only as a non-partisan organization, but as a non-competitive group eager to cooperate with existing civic and state organizations to accomplish the League's three-fold purpose, educating the woman voter, working for "needed legislation" and encouraging women to "get-into-politics."

Even Miss Sherwin, who at the time she was elected President of the League, was also President of the Women's City Club, admits that in the beginning she did not visualize a long-time need for this League of Women Voters, but thought the job would be accomplished in four or five years. However, with her famous Sherwin efficiency, she worked herself out of other jobs she held at the time, to devote her entire attention to organizing the program of work for the local League.

GET-INTO-POLITICS. Taking first things first, she followed Mrs. Catt's advice and encouraged local League members to "get-into-politics."

Since 1894, when Ohio women won the school vote, Cleveland suffragists had taken an active part in school board elections, and several women, including—Mrs. Arnold Green, Mrs. Norman Anderson, and Mrs. A. B. Pyke had served on local school boards. Nevertheless, it was taken for granted that regular politics were masculine and inclined to be "dirty." Suffragists had hoped that they would make a thorough "housecleaning" of politics when they got the vote, but bold as their promises were, it took great courage to get started in the parties. Both the Republi-

cans and Democrats reluctantly predicted final victory for suffrage before the 1920 presidential election, and both parties were at that time holding their gates hospitably open for the soon-to-be enfranchised women.

Mrs. Corina C. Warington, a representative of the National League office, came from Washington to add her encouragement to the more timid Cleveland League members and admonished, "Hold your noses, if necessary, but get into politics."

No one knew quite what to expect of the woman vote, but everyone agreed that women would be a potent force in the political picture. If the necessary 36 states ratified the 19th Amendment in time for the November election, an estimated 20 million women would be eligible to vote for the next President of the United States. It was a great change. The men of both parties seemed eager to capture the woman vote. Democrats as well as Republicans included League planks in their platforms. Among these planks were: the re-establishment of the wartime Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor (which would concern itself with problems of women-in-industry); support of child welfare measures; equalization of the naturalization laws which would give independent citizenship to women.

The Republicans however, held an early advantage with the women. Twenty-nine Republican states had ratified the Anthony Amendment and only six Democratic states, with a possible seventh (Tennessee), had approved the Amendment. The southern states had held the "states rights" approach to the suffrage question, placing the Democratic party at a definite disadvantage with the women. Nevertheless, in 1920 it was the Democratic party that gave politically-

mind women the best opportunity. At the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco there were 100 women delegates on the floor of the Convention, while there were only twenty-six women delegates at the G. O. P. Convention.

In the Republican ranks, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton became the nation's leading Republican woman. She was Vice-Chairman of the Women's National Republican Committee, and in the first year of the Harding administration she was often mentioned as a possibility for the proposed cabinet post of Secretary of Education. As in suffrage days, one of Mrs. Upton's first assistants was Rose Moriarity, the long-time woman boss of Elyria, who became a field organizer for the Republican Women's National Committee and organized the women in Wisconsin and Michigan. Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride was appointed a member of the Republican County Executive Committee. Mrs. Maude C. Waitt, a prominent Republican of Lakewood, was Ohio's first successful woman candidate for the State Legislature. And Mrs. Carl F. Knirk was a Republican member of the Lakewood City Council.

Florence Allen, Mrs. A. B. Pyke, Mrs. Harris R. Cooley, Mrs. Frances Bushea and Mrs. Minnie Siddall were early Democratic leaders. Miss Allen, who had been appointed Assistant County Prosecutor of the Criminal Court in recognition of her victory in the East Cleveland municipal suffrage case, was appointed to the Democratic National Committee. Mrs. Pyke, Chairman of the local Democratic Women's Executive Committee was an elected delegate from the 22nd Congressional District to the San Francisco National Convention. Mrs. Cooley was made a member of the Democratic State Central Committee. In 1922,

Mrs. Cooley, Mrs. Pyke, Mrs. Bushea and a Republican, Mrs. Nettie Clapp, were party-sponsored candidates for the State Legislature. And Mrs. Siddall was a Democratic member of the East Cleveland City Council.

SUFFRAGE VICTORY

On August 20, 1920 Cleveland church bells rang out joyously; factory and steamship whistles blew, and Euclid Avenue was bright with flags to celebrate the announcement that Tennessee had ratified the 19th Amendment. Tennessee made the "Perfect 36" of the states needed to make woman's suffrage a national law, and Cleveland women of all ages joined in celebrating the end of women's 70-year "struggle" for political equality.

When Secretary of State Colby signed the suffrage proclamation which gave the ballot to 25,000,000 American women, Miss Belle Sherwin, President of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, made a statement to the press, ("Today will go down in history as women's commencement day; it marks the hour when women begin to take a hand in outlining the policies of the nation.")

Now, with the 1920 presidential election less than three months away, every effort would be expended in the League's first responsibility—educating the women to their new privilege and responsibility of voting, and carrying out the recently adopted League slogan, *Every Woman an Intelligent Voter*. The Cleveland League and the Ohio State League established a precedent for voters' information when they submitted questionnaires to candidates asking their stand on legislation which the League favored. This information was printed on candidates' information sheets and distributed to the voters.

Mrs. Alton Smith and her committee organized the first house-to-house campaign of the Cleveland League, using the old suffrage party organization. Meetings were held in the wards and rival candidates for office were given a chance to debate their views. Before the League of Women Voters was organized, rival political candidates never met on the same public platform. However, it soon became common practice when they discovered that failing to appear at League candidates' meetings was a political disadvantage. Mrs. Walter B. Laffer remembers presiding at one of those early meetings in the Normal School auditorium on Hough Avenue where she had to call time on two candidates who were angry enough to fight.

As another voters' service, there were model voting booths downtown, where women were instructed in the techniques of registering and voting—a Cleveland idea which was later used in other cities.

CANDIDATE ALLEN. Though Miss Sherwin had encouraged Cleveland League members to "get-into-politics," she held the firm opinion that the non-partisan League of Women Voters could not afford to support individual candidates, even non-partisan candidates.

Therefore, when she returned from a short stay in Columbus to find that the League's Executive Board (innocently enough) had announced League support for Florence Allen's candidacy for Judge of the Common Pleas Court (a non-partisan office) "there was the very devil to pay." Miss Sherwin pointed out that in spite of the fact that Common Pleas Judge was on the ballot as a non-partisan office, Miss Allen had been nominated at the Democratic primaries. Yet rather than lose face with the public, Miss Sherwin let this instance pass, announc-

ing to the papers that the Executive Board's endorsement of Miss Allen's candidacy was an unprecedented act in the League and the only reason it could be done was because Miss Allen was running on a non-partisan ticket.

There were future attempts, as Miss Sherwin anticipated, when the League was "boarded by pirates" who intended to use the League as a political springboard; however, in this instance, the candidate—Florence Allen—was innocent of any maneuvering for support. It was just that members of the League of Women Voters, like members of the Business and Professional Women's Club (which according to Judge Mary B. Grossman was organized for the specific purpose of supporting Florence Allen's candidacy), wished to express their high respect and deep love for Florence Allen, the legal champion of the Cleveland suffrage movement.

Incident followed incident, during those early years of the League, when the organization's non-partisan policy was put to a test. At another time, the local League received an unsolicited contribution of \$100. This money was badly needed, for it was even more difficult raising money for the League than for the suffrage cause. Miss Sherwin, however, was not to be caught in a trap with political strings tied to it. Great as the temptation was, she sent the money back to the donor by return mail, with an accompanying note which explained the League's great need for the money. She thanked the man for his interest, but made it clear that if the League accepted the money, the League would have no future responsibility to him, other than assuring him that the money would be used wisely in support of the League's program. The money did not return to the League treasury.

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS. Another pre-election activity of 1921 was the Cleveland League's first annual citizenship school which was patterned after Mrs. Catt's demonstrated techniques at the 1920 Chicago Convention. This first citizenship school presented Raymond Moley, Western Reserve's Political Science professor in a series of Friday afternoon lectures on "basics in the science of good government." For practical "basics," Mr. Moley's course gave the new women voters of Cleveland the following information: how political parties are made up, how to file petitions, how to get into the political framework of the parties, how to use the parties to carry out an objective, the importance of the ward leader, etc. This League course was later incorporated in Mr. Moley's book, "Parties, Politics and People."

Cleveland's citizenship school, together with the Voter's Service, "get-out-the-vote" campaign, and the encouragement given League members to "get-into-politics" attracted the attention of the National League. At the 1921 National Convention in Cleveland Miss Sherwin was named to the League's National Board, succeeding Carrie Chapman Catt as National Chairman of the Efficiency-in-Government Department. In the years that followed, many of the ideas and techniques which Miss Sherwin successfully experimented with in Cleveland were used as a pattern for other Leagues in other communities.

NATIONAL PROGRAM

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who was elected President of the National League of Women Voters when it was formally organized at the 1920 Chicago Convention, knew most of the "ins and outs" of the national government. But even with her lobbying experience

and background as Legislative Chairman of the Suffrage Association in its last two years, Mrs. Park was quick to admit that steering the League through uncharted seas with its all-inclusive "needed legislation" program would be a Herculean task.

This original 20-plank program of 1920 was a cumbersome inheritance of suffrage days and women's war activities, and included "almost anything that women were interested in." There were seven standing committees: American Citizenship, Legal Status of Women, Child Welfare, Women-in-Industry (the rights of working women), Food Supply and Demand (the cost of living), Social Hygiene and Efficiency-in-Government. Though International Cooperation to Prevent War was not named as a separate committee until the fall after the 1921 Convention, "adhesion to the League of Nations" was one of the twenty items on the League's first program.

WOMEN'S JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. Under the Child Welfare program, the League of Women Voters went on record at the Chicago Convention as favoring the pending Sheppard-Towner (maternal and infancy) Welfare bill. This bill provided a method of cooperation between the federal government and the states for public protection of maternity and infancy.

During the summer of 1920, Miss Amy Maher, the Ohio League's first President who at that time was also chairman of the Ohio Welfare Association, was Mrs. Park's principal assistant in lobbying for this bill on Capitol Hill. The following spring, when League delegates met in Cleveland for the second National Convention, President Harding notified the League of Women Voters that he would sign the Sheppard-Towner bill if Congress approved it. In

1921, the bill passed Congress, was approved by the President, and sent to the states for implementation. Not a little credit for this success was due Mrs. Park, Miss Maher and other members of the League.

Experience in working on the Sheppard-Towner bill and other items on the League's "needed legislation program" proved, however, that in some instances League work on Capitol Hill actually duplicated the work of other women's organizations. Because of this, Mrs. Park took the initiative in calling together the representatives of other national women's groups to plan for a cooperative lobbying unit. The 14 other national women's organizations that met with the League of Women Voters formed the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, which is to this day, the clearing house through which member organizations plan and delegate activities on Capitol Hill. The Y.W.C.A., the National Consumers' League, and the National Women's Trade Union League, are among the 15 member organizations.

THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION

As a tribute to the outstanding suffrage campaign Cleveland suffragists had waged, Mrs. Park chose Cleveland as the hostess city for the League of Women Voters' second National Convention in 1921. On the opening day of the Convention, April 11, some 2,000 delegates, alternates, and visitors registered at the Hotel Statler, the Convention headquarters. Those who had forgotten the warning, "hats are taboo on the floor of the Convention," checked their elaborate, fashionwise headgear with Miss Prudence Sherwin, who had the large responsibility of managing the hat check room.

The nation's women leaders of the day—lawyers,

welfare workers, and politicians, came to Cleveland to attend sessions of the seven standing committees or to give convention speeches. Carrie Chapman Catt, the League's Honorary Chairman; Jane Addams; Catherine Waugh McCullough (one of the foremost women jurists of the day) from Chicago, who met with other women lawyers of a committee on uniform laws concerning women; Florence Kelly of the Consumer's League attended sessions of the Cost-of-Living Committee; Mary Anderson, Director of the re-established Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor; Julia Lathrop, Director of the U.S. Children's Bureau; Mary Garrett Hay, the Convention's parliamentarian, who reported on a successful battle the New York League had just waged to keep the direct party primary; the gorgeously gowned, red-haired Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, who fought a continual battle for the rights of the working woman; Miss Ruth Morgan, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Miss Grace Abbott, Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, (Director of the League's fourth region, which included Ohio) and others.

In some respects the Cleveland National League Convention was as exciting and important as a national convention of one of the political parties. Women held a dramatic spotlight in the U.S. news. Now that they had the vote, the country watched to see what they would do with it. Front page headlines drew attention to stories of convention decisions; politicians waited to see if the League would drop its non-partisanship, and sponsors of the League of Nations, prohibition, and birth control waited to see what the League would do with their causes. The standing committees made their reports, there were threatened "walkouts" when a move was made to limit the League's welfare program so that more time

and energy could be spent for better government and a better informed electorate. Some former suffragists wished for the "good old days" when women were a closely knit group with a common objective—getting the vote. However, when the air cleared, with few exceptions, the 1920 platform was practically reiterated and included:

- Support for world disarmament (replaced support for the League of Nations).
- Continued support for the League's non-partisan policy.

CHILD WELFARE. A *Leader's Policy Report* called attention to the problems that had come up in the League's active campaign supporting the Sheppard-Towner maternal and infancy welfare bill. The Sheppard-Towner bill had proved to be a highly controversial measure. Several "states rights" Leagues refused to give state support to the continuing campaign, objecting to the fact that after Congress approved the measure, the states must match federal funds with state appropriations.

There were charges that funds used to support the campaign on the S-T bill came directly from Russia and the Third Internationale. Mrs. Ralph Kane, who was at that time a member of the League of Women Voters in Duluth, Minn., remembers hearing a congressman who was greatly disturbed over the propriety of such legislation, say, "It is preposterous that Congress should be asked to approve legislation for maternity and child welfare. The very word 'maternity' is too sacred to be bandied about on the floor of the House of Representatives."

The Ohio League was waging a successful campaign in support of the bill and Miss Maher had established the League's lobbying office in Columbus

(February, 1921) to bring pressure to bear in getting Ohio funds to support the measure.

When the Cleveland Convention was called to order, however, divided sentiment within the League over the Sheppard-Towner bill was one of the National office's most pressing problems. One of the first acts of the Convention was a vote of confidence in the *Leader's Policy Report* which proposed that a strong membership should be the first aim of the League, even at the expense of promoting new legislation. But in spite of the League's internal difficulties over the campaign, passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act was considered a real victory for the National League of Women Voters.

PEACE PROGRAM

By far the most spectacular event of the Cleveland Convention was Mrs. Catt's impassioned plea for peace which prompted the Convention to pass a resolution for world disarmament and gave international relations a permanent place on all future League programs.

Mrs. Catt firmly believed that women were devoid of the war spirit. At St. Louis in 1919, when the League of Women Voters was informally organized, Mrs. Catt had stressed the fact that one of women's main tasks after they got the vote was to stop war. In St. Louis and again in Chicago support of the League of Nations was an item on the program. But 1920 was a presidential election year and the League of Nations was now becoming a partisan issue. It was the "big bone" that was picked to bits by presidential candidates Warren G. Harding and James M. Cox.

When Mr. Harding announced that he did not

favor the League of Nations, not a few women voters followed Mrs. Catt's lead in bolting the Republican party. Said Mrs. Catt, "However painful it is to Republicans, it is clear that the path of greater promise for supporters of the League of Nations lies through Mr. Cox. Since he stands squarely for the League, his election would be an unmistakable mandate from the country, calling for participation in the League. I hold that there is but one course for those who believe in the League of Nations and its program, and that is to vote for Cox. This does not mean that I have allied myself with the Democratic party, for I am not a Democrat."

Still, many women thought as Elihu Root (a pro-League Republican) that if Mr. Harding was elected, the pro-League Republicans would maneuver either an entirely new covenant of the League of Nations, or fundamental revisions of the present one. When President Harding refused to go along with the pro-League faction of the party, there was terrific disillusionment among those women voters who believed in the League of Nations. Many, however, hopefully followed the suggested path of Harding's new foreign policy—peace through disarmament.

And so, world disarmament was the much-discussed foreign affairs topic of the day when delegates to the League of Women Voters' National Convention met in Cleveland. Nat Howard's front page story in the Plain Dealer asked,

"Which Way Will the League (of Women Voters) Move? For or Against Disarmament?"

Mrs. Catt was scheduled for a Convention speech on politics and politicians. But she was so moved by Will Irwin's plea to end wars, "we killed in retail in the last war, for we only killed about 10,000,000 persons

altogether. We will kill wholesale in the next war"—that she cast aside her set speech and led her audience of 2,000 women in a "spiritual crusade for peace":

"The people in this room tonight . . . could put an end to war," said Mrs. Catt. "Let us take a resolution tonight, let us consecrate ourselves to put war out of this world. It isn't necessary for a Republican to turn Democrat or a Democrat, Republican. It is necessary that we rise out of mere shallow partisanship, that we act to put this terrible business out of the world."

The next morning's Plain Dealer story was filled with the dramatics of Mrs. Catt's speech, "Not a woman stirred as the tall, majestic figure led them in a spiritual crusade against war. Like one inspired . . . like a superwoman sending her very soul out through eloquent eyes and organ-toned voice and outstretched hands . . . like the mother spirit of the world, Mrs. Catt commanded that wholesale murder cease from off the earth."

There is no question but that Mrs. Catt was disappointed with the response to her plea for the League to lead a woman's peace movement. However, her speech did provoke the Convention to send a resolution to President Harding, promising League support to his proposed plan of peace through a disarmament program. And shortly after the Convention, Mrs. Park following a suggestion of Florence Allen and others, named a special committee on the Reduction of Armament by International Agreement (which in its early days, was sometimes called the International Friendliness Committee or the Disarmament Bureau). In October, following the Cleveland Convention, the chairman of this committee, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser of Girard, Ohio, invited representatives of 16 other

women's organizations to join the League in laying the groundwork for the open move for disarmament.

PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE. And so it was that planning for world peace became one of the major concerns of the National League of Women Voters. Miss Belle Sherwin of Cleveland (now second Vice-President of the National League) was charged with calling together a Pan American Conference of women, which would meet in Washington immediately following the 1922 National Convention in Baltimore.

It was the League's hope, that through a united effort of women, the countries of the western hemisphere would come to a more peaceful understanding. Mrs. Catt and Jane Addams took a prominent part in this conference which the State Department in Washington hailed as an important international event. A gala display of flags on Pennsylvania Avenue welcomed the 31 women delegates from 22 governments of South and Central America and Canada, who had accepted Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes' official U.S. invitation to the Conference.

In Baltimore, the stellar attraction of the League Convention was Lady Nancy Astor, who had recently won her seat as the first woman member of Parliament. Lord and Lady Astor came from England especially for this League Conference, hoping to win over the League of Women Voters' continuing support for U. S. membership in the League of Nations. According to newspaper reports, storms of applause greeted Lady Astor when she pleaded for American participation in the League of Nations. Said Lady Astor, "When America came into the war, Europe saw the dawn of a new hope—America in the war to end wars. Then America went out of the peace

and Europe was dumbfounded. Idealism took America into the war; idealism cannot take her out of the peace, no matter what politicians say. The League of Nations was started by America, or an American. Some seem to think only of the starter and forget it was the high purpose of his people who gave the impetus which brought the League from America to Europe. When we go for a great ideal we go for the ideal and not for the idealist. It's a principle we should follow and not be sidetracked by a personality."

Eloquent as she was, Lady Astor failed to rally the Convention's major support for the League of Nations. An unscheduled pro-League of Nations dinner was held in Lady Astor's honor, but though over 100 delegates attended, no announcement of the dinner was made from the Convention platform and the event was more or less a clandestine affair—for the minority only.

HARDING-HUGHES PLAN. Few would question Lady Astor's charge that the League of Nations had become a partisan issue in the United States. President Harding continued to criticize the League of Nations and to refuse his support for U.S. membership. Everywhere in the country, Republican politicians like Ohio's Congressman, Theodore E. Burton, blasted away at the League of Nations. Said Congressman Burton, "The League has fallen short of its objectives, it has blandly and boldly used its mandates for the aggrandisement of its dominant members."

When President Harding proposed United States' entry into the World Court as the most promising means of preventing war, a big drive started within the League of Women Voters to gain support for the World Court (the permanent Court of International Justice). Early in 1923, a delegation of women from

the League of Women Voters of Minnesota descended on their representatives in Congress carrying a mile and a half long petition with 100,000 signatures favoring American participation in the World Court.

Then, at the National Convention in Des Moines, Iowa, that year, the National League of Women Voters pledged "active support to the proposal of President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes (Harding-Hughes plan) for participation by the United States in the World Court."

Miss Ruth Morgan of New York, who presented this World Court resolution to the Convention, was named chairman of the League's new department for International Cooperation to Prevent War, which took over the work of Miss Hauser's special committee on disarmament. For two years following the Des Moines Convention this department carried on an active campaign through state and local League committees—urging U. S. membership in the World Court.

OUTLAWING WAR. During the nation-wide peace movement of the early 20's, Judge Florence E. Allen and the Cleveland League of Women Voters were dynamic forces promoting a plan for peace through "outlawing war"—by establishing a code of international law, by which the waging of war would be a crime, and for which suitable penalties would be prescribed for the offender.

Predecessors and contemporaries of Judge Allen had championed similar plans for peace through "outlawing war"; nevertheless, it was Florence Allen who at this time popularized the idea not only with the Cleveland League of Women Voters, but with the Ohio League, the National League and with other national women's organizations. Judge Allen's pro-

posals, which later were incorporated in the *Cleveland Peace Plan*, were the main report of Miss Hauser's disarmament committee at the League's 1922 Convention in Baltimore. However, the "watered-down" resolution this report inspired merely pledged the League in favor of "abolishing war as an institution in the settlement of international disputes."

Ohio League members were disappointed with this 1922 resolution, and at both the Ohio state and local conventions which followed, resolutions were endorsed favoring work to "outlaw war." That fall, Judge Allen was elected to the Ohio Supreme Court, but Mrs. Siegmund Herzog, chairman of the local League's international relations committee, continued to push the *Cleveland Peace Plan*. The peace resolution of the Des Moines Convention which favored "U. S. membership in the permanent court in international justice," cautiously included the phrase, "believing this to be the first step toward the outlawing of war."

Yet this resolution did not go far enough. For the *Cleveland Peace Plan*, as outlined by Florence Allen, called for more than a World Court, it called for a code of international law which would make war a punishable crime. Once again, Ohio delegates went home disappointed and once again, the Ohio League stepped ahead of the National League's peace program. It resolved that the "ultimate aim of all efforts toward international peace should be to outlaw war and abolish it as a legalized institution"—through the establishment of a code of international law by which waging of war would be a crime and the offender punished.

WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR.
Some say it was Mrs. Catt's Cleveland Convention

plea for peace that inspired organization of the Cleveland Women's Council for the Prevention of War—many still remember hearing Mrs. Catt's words as she threw aside her set speech and said. "The women in this room could stop war." Others say that it was the Quaker Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, Mr. Fred J. Libby, who on March 17, 1923, dramatically warned members of the League of Women Voters of the horrors of another war—"The next war will be a gas war. Whole cities will be wiped out in a few hours. We cannot leave that war as a legacy to our children."

For this story it is not of great importance which speech brought about the formation of the Women's Council for the Prevention of War. What is important, is that both speakers were brought to Cleveland by the League of Women Voters, and that for several years the League played the prominent part in the women's peace movement of Cleveland.

Shortly after Mr. Libby's speech, Mrs. Siegmund Herzog, chairman of the League's international relations committee, Mrs. Walter H. Merriam, President of the Y.W.C.A., together with Marie Wing and Alice Gannett, Director of Goodrich House, went to "talk things over" with the League President, Miss Belle Sherwin. One can almost hear Miss Sherwin encouraging these women to form a separate council for peace, not attached to the League of Women Voters. During her term as President of the local League, as National Chairman of the Efficiency-in-Government Department, and later as National President from 1924-1934, Miss Sherwin continually stressed her interpretation of the League—as an organization that could not afford to become too closely identified with any one special interest group.

In the beginning, it was decided that this new

Cleveland peace organization would be called the Women's Council for the Prevention of War, but to strike a more positive note, the Council soon added to it's name, becoming the Council for the Prevention of War and the Promotion of Peace. Though she is not down on the books as an early officer, it was Miss Grace Treat, Executive Secretary of the Women's City Club, who persuaded Mrs. E. S. Bassett to be the Council's first Chairman. Florence Allen was named as Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Siegmund Herzog, the Vice-Chairman, and several other members of the League served on the first Executive Board: Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. Howard S. Thayer, Mrs. Charles H. Prescott, and Mrs. Charles Burt Tozier. (In fairness to the Women's City Club which was founded in 1916, it should be mentioned that for years the City Club and the League of Women Voters had inner-locking Boards and that most of these women could also be claimed as members of the City Club.)

Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, who followed Miss Sherwin as President of the local League, says that the League not only pledged its womanpower to support the Council, but actually joined with several others of the women's organizations in contributing "cash" to get the Council started. Shortly after the Council was organized, Mrs. L. J. Wolf was recruited to train speakers for the cause. Her Wednesday morning speakers' training and study group which had been a tradition of the Cleveland Women's Suffrage Party and was for two years a part of the League of Women Voters, became the dynamic core of the Cleveland Women's Council for the Prevention of War (and the Promotion of Peace).

THE BIG PEACE PARADE. Early in 1924, Mrs. Bassett and her Council committees made plans for Cleve-

land's big peace parade—May 18, 1924. Under the Council's leadership, the League was one of 250 Cleveland women's organizations who took part in the parade. This event is deserving of notice here, not only because practically every member of the League of Women Voters marched, but because this parade climaxed the women's peace movement of Cleveland, which began with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's plea for peace at the Cleveland Convention of the League of Women Voters.

As events proved, marching for peace took as much courage as marching for suffrage. There was great opposition to the parade; charges were made that the parade was inspired by communists and that it was RED, and the newspapers were unmerciful in teasing the women. It was admitted that some of the "nicest" women in town were marching, but it was charged that they had been "duped." Mr. William Frew Long of the Chamber of Commerce made derogatory statements to the press concerning the women and their peace parade, and a Columbus representative of the American Legion called a special protest meeting to consider the Legion's stand on the issue. They later approved the parade and sent a delegation to join in it.

Everything seemed against the women and their plans for a glorious demonstration for peace. Said Mrs. Frances F. Bushea, the first Executive Secretary of the Council, "We didn't know who was coming. There were newspaper stories galore, and I didn't sleep the night before the parade, I was so worried."

Even the elements were uncooperative! When May 18th finally came, it was a terrible day. Thunder, lightning and rain broke the sky. At the last minute hundreds of women who had promised to march backed out because of the weather or because of ad-

verse public opinion. But still, over 3,600 women (and a few men) with their umbrellas formed ranks behind Marie Wing and "her fine prancing horse." When the parade was called to order, the skies cleared and the sun slanted through the clouds, convincing the women marchers that they had an omen of peace for the world.

CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR. The same question, which was solved in Cleveland by the formation of the Women's Council for the Prevention of War and the Promotion of Peace, was now facing the National League of Women Voters, namely, would the League take the leadership in promoting the women's peace movement?

From its beginning, the League had struggled with the responsibility of its all-inclusive program. The national leaders—Mrs. Park, Miss Sherwin and others, feared that assuming primary responsibility for the women's peace movement would swamp the League before it was established. Therefore, Mrs. Catt was encouraged to form a separate organization to unite the effort of other national women's organizations with the League of Women Voters in working for peace.

Mrs. Siegmund Herzog remembers sessions at the 1924 League Convention in Buffalo when plans were made for calling the representatives of eight other national women's organizations together for the first National Conference (later changed to Committee) on the Cause and Cure of War. She also remembers being very proud to report how the Cleveland League had worked with other women's organizations in the community in helping to achieve success for the Cleveland Council on Promotion of Peace. Cleveland had established a local pattern of action for peace which