could be integrated into a larger organization on the national level.

The National League's Chairman of International Relations, Ruth Morgan, who helped Mrs. Catt develop the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, paid tribute to the leadership the Cleveland League had taken in furthering the peace movement. "The women of Cleveland have done a magnificent and outstanding piece of work in the peace movement and they are spurring the women of other cities in this great task of womankind."

WORLD COURT

1925 was the climactic year of the postwar peace movement in the United States.

Early that year, the League of Women Voters and other national women's organizations shared responsibility with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt for calling together the first National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. At the League's National Convention in Richmond, Va., delegates voted to adopt Mrs. Catt's proposals on how to achieve the peace (which she had outlined at the Cause and Cure of War Conference) as their international relations study program for the following year. These fourteen points included: study of the Geneva Protocol and the National Defense Act; work for the United States' participation in a disarmament conference when called by the League of Nations; measures for a permanent World Court; codification of international law and the outlawry of war.

At the time of the Richmond Convention, the World Court bill had been stalled for many months in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Members of the Cleveland League of Women Voters worked

with the World Court Committee of Cleveland," an organization formed to petition senators and congressmen to remove the Harding-Hughes World Court bill from committee to the floor of the Senate. Even the Christian Science Monitor, conservative in its predictions, ventured the opinion that there was "every reason to anticipate President Coolidge's success in the struggle with Senator Borah over American participation in the World Court.

Though on January 27, 1926 the Senate approved the Court protocol, Senator Borah's five reservations were included which made full United States membership in the Court virtually impossible. The League of Women Voters' nation-wide campaign for U. S. membership in the World Court ended in frustration.

"EQUAL" RIGHTS

Winning the vote had not brought a happy reunion of the two branches of the suffrage movement. For the most part, the non-militants (members of the National American Women's Suffrage Association) became members of the League of Women Voters. But the militants, members of the National Woman's Party, continued their militant fight for other equal rights for women. These two organizations found themselves on opposite sides of legislation dealing with rights of women.

Shortly before the Tennessee ratification of the 19th Amendment, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont announced that after women were given the vote, the National Women's Party would continue to campaign for a 20th Amendment to the Constitution, a so-called "Equal" Rights Amendment, which would guarantee women equality with men.

The League of Women Voters recognized that legal and economic discriminations against women still existed after women got the vote, as evidenced by archaic marriage and divorce laws, laws regarding guardianship of children, wife abandonment, wife's interest in real estate and other property rights, women's right to serve on juries.

Nevertheless, the League was opposed to any "blanket" legislation which would remove these discriminations, particularly the Women's Party's so-called "Equal" Rights Amendment. For, in addition to the righting of the various legal discriminations against women which were included in the body of state laws, this proposed constitutional amendment would also wipe out the hard-won labor legislation that protected women workers—laws regulating wages and hours, night-shift work, the lifting of weights.

Year after year the heavily-endowed "feminist" National Women's Party wages its militant campaign for this so-called "Equal" Rights Amendment. And year after year the League of Women Voters is forced to call its members to action in order to defeat this greatly-misunderstood issue. At the present time, there is no promise that this conflict in approaching the problem of women's rights can be resolved by a happy agreement. There is a basic difference of opinion between the two organizations.

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION

For members of the League of Women Voters, the extensive use of women in industry during World War I had emphasized the need for labor legislation which would protect the woman worker. The Suffrage Association had approved the theory of "equal

pay for equal work" for women factory workers; in fact, during 1917, Mrs. Catt made a nation-wide lecture tour, presenting this doctrine.

And in Cleveland, the League of Women Voters inherited a particular interest in problems of the woman worker from the Cleveland Woman's Suffrage Party. During 1918, when large numbers of women were laid off from their war jobs, a situation of national interest developed in Cleveland. Some 270 "retired" women street car conductorettes fought for the right to hold their jobs in the postwar period, and for the right to unionize with men. The Cleveland Woman's Suffrage Party backed the conductorettes in their fight; in fact, Rose Moriarity and Florence Allen were key figures in the controversy, which involved a National Labor Relations Board decision, and brought the country's top labor experts to Cleveland. The conductorettes lost their jobs, and Cleveland Woman's Suffrage Party became so involved in this case that "problems resulting from the wartime use of women-in-industry" were the major concern of the Party's fourth annual Convention program.

To see that existing state laws protecting women workers were observed, the Suffrage Association and later the League of Women Voters supported the reestablishment of the wartime Women's Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor. This was one of the few platform promises the Republicans made to the League of Women Voters that the Harding administration carried out. In 1920, Miss Mary Anderson was named Director of the new Bureau.

MINIMUM WAGE. From the beginning of the League, support for state minimum wage legislation for women was included in the national and state League programs. In the spring of 1922, the Ohio

League President, Miss Amy Maher, who was at the time also Chairman of the Ohio Council of Women and Children in Industry, gave speeches throughout Ohio urging support for the second in a series of minimum wage bills which were presented to the Ohio Legislature in 1919, 1922 and 1923. Miss V. Freda Siegworth and other early workers of the Cleveland League's women-in-industry committee took their part in rallying Cleveland public opinion to support minimum wage legislation in Ohio.

From 1923 to 1933, however, there was little encouragement for state minimum wage campaigns because of a U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Adkins case, which found a minimum wage ruling of the District of Columbia unconstitutional. With the depression, many more people recognized the depressive effect of low women's wages on the entire wage scale, and there was increasing public support for minimum wage legislation.

1933 was the year when Felix Frankfurter, a Professor of Harvard Law School, drafted a model minimum wage bill for the National Consumers' League. This bill "went around" the 1923 U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Adkins case by emphasizing *a fair return for services rendered* instead of the minimum wage based on the *cost of living*. Using the Frankfurter model bill, New York passed its minimum wage law. Immediately after that, President Roosevelt sent a telegram to the other states encouraging them to pass similar minimum wage legislation.

At this same time, Cleveland public opinion was incensed by low wage evidence revealed in a court case against a Cleveland hat manufacturing company. One girl testified that she worked three days and was paid 89¢, another told of working 22½ hours for 94¢. Bill

Lovell of the Plain Dealer helped win new friends for Ohio minimum wage legislation with his stories of this case and similar situations in other Cleveland plants where women worked for ridiculously low wages.

In April and May, 1933, the League, one of 40 member organizations of the Ohio Labor Standards Committee, helped conduct the short but effective campaign for legislative approval of the Pringle-O'Neil minimum wage bill. Early one morning at 5 o'clock, Mrs. McBride set out for Columbus with two girls who had been involved in the Cleveland millinery case. These girls repeated their low-wage testimony before a hearing of the House Labor Committee.

After the long, hard campaign for minimum wage legislation in Ohio, it was startling and almost an anti-climax when the bill was reported out of committee and passed the Legislature June 8, 1933, by a unanimous vote.

BING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAW. When Ohio women got the vote, the Suffrage Association passed on to the League of Women Voters the primary responsibility for improving school attendance and child labor legislation.

For some years before World War I, Ohio had had a progressive labor law for children, a law providing that boys must attend school until 15 years of age and girls until 16. Nevertheless, wartime labor conditions accentuated the need for more protective legislation for children, and in 1918 when Lucia Johnson (Bing), Child Welfare specialist of the Ohio Institute, made her 14-month survey of illiteracy in Ohio (as a part of the U. S. Children's Bureau's "Child's Year" Program) she uncovered shocking facts about school attendance in rural Ohio.

On the basis of the Ohio Institute report, a member of the Legislature, Mr. S. H. Bing, proposed a bill for recodifying Ohio's school attendance and child labor laws, a bill which the League of Women Voters and other women's organizations of the State banded together to support. After this bill became a law, Miss Grace Abbott of the U. S. Children's Bureau said that she considered the Bing School Attendance law the most progressive child labor and school attendance law in the country.

This law removed the school attendance issue from the politics of the local communities, making it compulsory for both boys and girls to remain at their studies until they reached the age of 16 years. It also provided that in order to join the work force upon reaching the age of 16, a boy or girl must secure a work and health certificate and be employed in a non-hazardous occupation.

The part Lucia Johnson Bing played in helping Ohio take its progressive step forward in child labor and school attendance legislation was lauded by the League of Women Voters. Her experience was invaluable during her term as chairman of the local, state and national child welfare departments.

Even after it was on the statute books, however, the Bing law needed the continuing watch-dog protection of the League's child welfare committee. In the 10 years that followed, repeated efforts were made in each session of the Legislature to undermine it.

There is a romantic side-light on this story—the marriage of Mr. S. H. Bing, who introduced the bill in the Legislature, to Lucia Johnson, who furnished Mr. Bing with facts to back up his proposal.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE. Encouraged by the success of the joint effort of Ohio's women's organizations, which was responsible for getting the Bing law approved, the Cleveland League experimented in calling together a legislative committee. It was composed of representatives of Cleveland women's organizations who were interested in current legislative problems. These organizations—The Council of Jewish Women, the Y. W. C. A., the Women's City Club, the Democratic Women's League, the Junior League and others, each sent two representatives and the League of Women Voters planned the discussions.

Miss Margaret Johnston, Executive Secretary and Director of the Cleveland League, a later Secretary of the National League, was the leader of this committee. The Committee worked to keep the women of Cleveland better informed concerning national and state legislation, and helped to further carry out the League's slogan, *Every woman an intelligent voter.*

CHILD LABOR LAW

The climax of the U. S. Children's Bureau's wartime program to improve conditions for America's children was the nation-wide campaign to include a child labor amendment in the U. S. Constitution. The Child Labor bill of 1924 was an enabling act which set up a minimum standard for child labor. It was passed by Congress and was endorsed by President Coolidge, but when it got to the State Legislatures it ran into an unpredicted storm of opposition.

This skillfully-organized opposition included employers, farm organizations and a religious group. Employers had resented the 1916 child labor law which was morally effective in that it caused state enforcement authorities to keep an eye on employers who were inclined to exploit children. After the 1916 law was declared unconstitutional, employer's organi-

zations like the National Association of Manufacturers carried on a campaign to defeat another such child labor law. Farm groups were misled to believe the false accusations of the opposition that children on farms could be prevented from helping with the chores. Some went as far as Chester A. Dyer, overseer of the Ohio Grange, who maintained that if Ohio ratified the proposed Child Labor Amendment such a law "would set aside the fundamental American principle of state rights, destroy parental control and commit the United States to the socialistic system of nationalization of children."

Against this strong opposition, the League of Women Voters joined with church, welfare and labor organizations in what became a vicious campaign, the nation over. All other League activities took second place during 1924 and early 1925 while the League campaigned for the new Amendment to the Constitution. In Ohio, Miss Juliette Sessions, President of the Ohio League and Chairman of the *Joint Council for Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment,* led Ohio's valiant fight for state ratification.

In Cleveland, Mrs. Kepple Hall, Mrs. Charles Denney, Mrs. Benjamin P. Bole, Mrs. Arthur Judson, Miss Selma Sullivan, Mrs. Charles E. Pope and others were members of a League committee to investigate hours of work and conditions of labor for children under 18 years of age. The League presented the results of this survey to the public hoping to arouse favorable attention to the Amendment which was pending before the General Assembly.

But in spite of the effort of the League of Women Voters, the National Consumers League and other organizations, the opposition forces were too powerful. Ohio joined the 12 other states which rejected

the child labor amendment that year—either by referendum or vote of the legislature. At this time only two states—Arkansas and California—had approved the measure.

OHIO RATIFIES. Though the League of Women Voters announced it would carry on the battle for ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, it was recognized that future odds were against this greatly misinterpreted proposal. The League continued to back "Jimmy Reynold's" succeeding attempts to get the Ohio Legislature's approval of the Amendment.

Years later, in 1933, when Joseph Cassidy of Cuyahoga County introduced his bill for ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, even the agricultural organizations who had most violently opposed Ohio's ratification in 1925 had all but forgotten the arguments supporting their opposition. On March 21, 1933, by a vote of 26-2 in the Senate, Ohio became the 10th state to ratify the U. S. Child Labor Amendment.

PITFALLS OF POLITICS

Though the League of Women Voters had chalked up many local and state victories by 1926, the national defeat of the Child Labor Amendment and the unhappy end of the campaign for United States' membership in the World Court re-emphasized the need for women to "dig deeper" into politics, and the need for a greater number of informed women voters.

As starry-eyed political hopefuls, many of the new women voters, who followed the League's advice to "get-into-politics," had met with discouraging "pitfalls." Party leaders had called the eager women "meddlers" and "busybodies," and for the few suc-

cesssful candidates like Mrs. A. B. Pyke, leader of Cleveland's Democratic women, Judge Florence E. Allen, Judge of the Ohio Supreme Court, and Mrs. Maude C. Waitt, Republican State Senator from Lakewood, there were many unsuccessful would-be women politicans. The charge was made by some that women were welcomed into the parties as mere "window dressing."

When the always-colorful Lucia McBride made known her resignation from the Cuyahoga County Republican Committee, it was in a dramatic speech before a meeting of the Republican women of Ohio. "We women are on the outside of politics. The men on the inner circle don't care a nickel for us. They don't take us seriously. We trot around and get out votes for an organization of whose inner workings we know nothing. There is not a bit of sense in our standing like beggars at the outer court. It's either get inside the works and get in now, or quit the force."

Previously, a group of 40 women Republicans and members of the League of Women Voters had resigned from the Republican party in New York calling the Governor's attention to the fact that for them "experience within the party's organizations has been a humiliating one, there is no real equality in the managament of party affairs."

Perhaps the women had set their expectations too high; they wanted to see the results of their political efforts too quickly. In 1905, Tom Johnson, one of the first men of rank in political life to campaign for equal suffrage, had warned women suffragists against expecting to see the immediate results of their new political power. "Equal suffrage will bring about a gradual elevation of the ideals of politics," said Mr.

Johnson, "But don't look to any immediate or startling changes."

Nevertheless, though only a comparatively small number of women had been successful in getting into politics, the number of women candidates for political office was increasing each year. In the fall election of 1926, the National League of Women Voters estimated that an unprecedented number of some 500 American women were actively engaged in seeking political offices. In Wisconsin, the center of western liberalism, there were 43 women candidates for sheriff that year.

VOTERS' SERVICE—1927. Besides being concerned with the difficulties League members were having in their attempts to work into the political parties, it was a major concern for Miss Sherwin, the League's National President, that women had failed to exercise their right of franchise, and that the woman vote had fallen off steadily since the 1920 election. In 1927, Miss Sherwin called on all member Leagues to intensify their pre-election campaigns, stressing the fact that "getting-out-the-vote" continued as the central aim of the League of Women Voters.

That year, the national office conducted a survey of voting habits in selected states, and for a period of eight months before the presidential election in 1928, the National Broadcasting Company cooperated with the League in presenting a series of weekly radio programs "to present all sides—and to promote none." The National office also issued a publication, "A Handy Digest of Election Laws in the Forty-eight States."

In Cleveland, where the woman vote fell off from 73,311 in 1920 to 35,274 in 1923, the League was also concerned with its responsibility for Voters' Service.

Various theories had been advanced to explain the diminishing woman vote, but both facts and opinion substantiated the belief that the short ballot and permanent registration of voters would increase the vote. In addition to a National League Survey, the results of a local house-to-house canvass for reasons why people did not vote (put to Cleveland voters in the early fall of 1926) showed that the problems of registration and the long complicated ballot were high on the list of reasons for non-voting.

Then, at the Ohio League's 1927 Convention, where such Voters' Service problems were discussed, Newton D. Baker agreed with the League that to overcome non-voting the task of the voters must be simplified by the short ballot. Said Mr. Baker, "The League of Women Voters will be of service in drawing attention to the fact that there is no abnegation of the democratic principle in limiting the number of elective offices."

THE COLLEGE LEAGUES. This League campaign to increase the number of women voters included a drive to organize branch Leagues in the colleges and universities. Converting the "flapper" to a realization of the importance of politics had an important place in the program of the 1926 National Convention which was held in St. Louis.

Western Reserve organized a branch of the League of Women Voters and Cleveland sent ten of Ohio's 24 college delegates (the largest state group attending the convention) to St. Louis where one hundred girls represented 49 colleges. Visualizing this experiment as a further hope for democracy, Miss Sherwin told these new voters, "Strong faith in education in politics is the right road toward realization of true democracy." At a later date she expanded this idea

to say, "The League is an experiment in political education. I sometimes call it a dogged overture in patriotism. It exists to exercise a counter influence to the wholesale practice of persuasion or propaganda."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Cleveland's glorious era of good city government under Mayors Tom L. Johnson and Newton D. Baker came to an end. Reportedly, a period of bad government followed 1912. Professor A. R. Hatton, Political Science professor of Western Reserve and "father" of the city-manager charter, charged that from 1912 to 1920 "the city debt was practically doubled and largely for operating expenses; the police force was demoralized by personal and partisan interference; service rendered the people declined both in quantity and volume; and the entire city service was debauched with spoils politics."

The voters of Cleveland elected a commission including: Mr. Hatton, Mayo Fesler of the Citizens League, Peter Witt, Newton D. Baker, Malcolm L. McBride, Bascom Little, E. W. Doty, Edward W. Williams and others who were responsible for drawing up a new city charter. The Charter these progressive business and professional men proposed was most revolutionary. It abolished the wards as councilmanic election districts, provided for a city council of 25 members elected from four districts by proportional representation and turned over the entire executive responsibility of running the city to a city-manager who was to be hired by the city council.

There was great enthusiasm for this new plan of government. Though no local party was formed to support the new Charter (as in Cincinnati), both political parties pledged their support to the plan and

the old Civic League of Cleveland was re-organized as the Citizens League in 1921, for the purpose of putting over the city-manager plan. Members of the League of Women Voters who were early members of the Citizens League's Executive Board were: Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, Mrs. Maude C. Waitt, Mrs. Addison C. Waid, and others.

Before the 1921 Charter election, Miss Sherwin made a statement to the newspapers in the name of the officers and directors of the League of Women Voters: "The time has come for the citizens of Cleveland to choose their own mayor. The League of Women Voters believes that the people of Cleveland are tired of voting for hand-picked candidates of the party bosses." Further explaining the League's stand, Miss Sherwin said, "We do believe that the time has come, in view of all the agitation and discord now current in our municipal affairs to do our part in getting good men for office. We want men who are not bound by party chains and who will look after the best interests of the city in preference to looking out for the private interests."

Following the League's policy of studying a problem before taking action, an executive committee including: Mrs. Frank A. Muhlhauser, Mrs. Albert Levy, Mrs. Alton H. Smith and others considered the principle of the city-manager form of government for cities and recommended action the League would take toward endorsing it. Members of the League would have preferred a smaller city council, elected at large (like the Dayton plan). They were wary of the district plan which they thought would tend to accentuate differences between Cleveland's nationality groups. Nevertheless, the League backed the new Charter, claiming it a big step toward more representative and efficient city government.

The voters of Cleveland approved the city-manager, proportional representation Charter, but it was November, 1923 before a city council was elected under the new Charter. Before the election that fall, the League of Women Voters held a two-day institute on municipal government. Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, one of the nation's leaders in the movement for more scientific public administration, added his support to the Cleveland plan and called upon League members "to learn how Cleveland should be governed, think how Cleveland should be governed, and to vote how Cleveland should be governed."

THE LEAGUE FOR P. R. According to the provisions of the new Charter, there was no primary runoff before the election, and in each of the city's four districts there was a large number of councilmanic candidates on the ballot. In the third district, for example, Marie Wing (Cleveland's first city councilwoman) was one of 18 candidates competing for six offices.

After results of the 1923 election were tallied, old-line politicians were disgruntled that 14 of the 33 old wards had no councilmen and that 62% of the voters had given their first-choice votes to council candidates who lived in other wards. Consequently, before the first council elected by proportional representation had selected a city-manager, the drive was already under way to undermine the new plan of government.

July 7, 1925 when the Cleveland League of Women Voters announced its "fight to the finish" campaign to save proportional representation (P. R.), the Cleveland Press gave the story a banner headline on the first page—"Women Gird for Battle for Retain-

ing P. R." Using the old suffrage campaign techniques, Miss Laura Heller, President, reorganized the League into districts, and announced the following plan of attack:

—Members of the League would wage an educational campaign in every district in order to thoroughly acquaint women voters with the merits and demerits of P. R. so that at the polls, in August, every woman voter would give the question intelligent consideration.

—Miss Elizabeth Hunkin, chairman of the efficiency—in—government committee, was organizing a "get-out-the-vote" corps of 20 motor cars to take voters to the polls on August 11th.

—The League announced a series of outdoor debates on P. R. to be held at Wade Park, Gordon Park, and Edgewater Park.

No open air meetings for suffrage were more colorful than these League-sponsored debates on the P. R. system. At Wade Park, city councilman, A. R. Hatton, opposed former city councilman, John F. Curry, and repeated his charge that after 1912 Cleveland had experienced some of the worst government in its history. He further pointed out that this condition was aided and abetted by the old ward council, for, under the old system, the machines were in a position to deal out punishment to any member who opposed them.

At Gordon Park the fiery Peter Witt took part in a "raging" debate for P.R. against Ray T. Miller. According to report, this was one of the most torrid forensic spectacles ever witnessed in Cleveland. The crowd of 2,000 was so much with Witt (who allowed that a vote for the proposed Amendment would be

a donation toward an oriental rug in the palatial home of a political boss) that two uniformed policemen escorted Mr. Miller—the anti-P.R. speaker—to his "machine." Contending that P.R. was too complex, Mr. Miller had told his audience, "All you've got to do under the ward plan is to mark a cross." A spectator in the crowd yelled back at the speaker, "And the bosses do the rest."

When the votes were tallied, August 11, P.R. won by a narrow majority of 804 votes. Plain Dealer Headlines read:

"Voters Repulse Party
Leaders' First Attack
On City's New Charter

Though Professor Hatton was credited with almost singlehandedly whipping the campaign into shape through the Charter Defense Committee, the League of Women Voters' debates and other campaign activities helped keep news of the P.R. campaign on the front pages of the city's newspapers. Certainly this campaign proved that the Cleveland League of Women Voters could be an effective political organization.

DAVIS AMENDMENT

The outcome of this election did not settle the question of Cleveland's new government for long. Grumblings against proportional representation continued, and in 1927, a second attack proposed to defeat the entire city-manager Charter. On April 20, 1927 Peter Witt charged that Harry L. Davis, former Mayor of Cleveland and Governor of Ohio was behind the move to "oust" the city-manager plan.

The Cleveland League of Women Voters was ready for this new attack. Thanks to Mrs. Max Hellman

and others, League study groups had continued studying the problems of government in the metropolitan area of Greater Cleveland. The League was not only ready to re-state its stand that P.R. and the city- manager plan should be retained for a longer trial period, but also to advocate that a charter commission should be named to consider a city-unit plan. Such a plan would solve the problems of overlapping services such as transportation, sewerage, etc. in the governmental units of Greater Cleveland.

The League of Women Voters went on record as favoring these further reforms in local government:

—A metropolitan area plan in Cuyahoga County (the League was sponsoring the borough plan.)

—An impartial and efficient Civil Service Commission. (The League opposed the current administration of the Cleveland Civil Service Commission, deploring its "partisanship.")

—An impartial Board of Elections.

—Honest municipal elections.

Three months before the election which would decide the fate of the city-manager government, 700 members of the League cheered Professor Thomas H. Reed, (municipal government expert of the University of Michigan,) when he warned that adoption of a metropolitan area plan for greater Cleveland depended on the city-manager plan being retained. This speech helped stir the League to immediate action. The Cleveland League of Women Voters served notice that it would fight to the last ditch to save the city-manager form of government and to defeat the Harry L. Davis Charter Amendment, which would

replace the city-manager with an elected mayor and would abolish proportional representation.

SUFFRAGE TECHNIQUE. In the first five years of the League, the local committees—efficiency-in-government, international relations, child welfare, cost of living, etc.—had become cohesive units, united by their own special interests and zealous of their position on the League program. Even the fight to retain P.R. in 1925 and the revived district organization of suffrage days had failed to unite all members of the League into one unit for "action." However, this 1928 campaign to save the manager plan succeeded in breaking down committee barriers. Mrs. Ralph Tyler, President of the League, announced that the League would lay aside all other work until after the April primary and would devote its entire attention to defeat of the Davis Charter Amendment.

In the previous campaigns, the League of Women Voters had acted in a supporting role, but this time the League "took its nickle" (a favorite McBride expression), stepped out in front, and almost single handedly fought for retention of the city-manager form of government. Working against the open hostility of many politicians who had enjoyed special privileges under the old mayor plan of government, the League developed an effective charter defense against what looked like hopeless odds. Miss Virda L. Stewart of Western Reserve conducted a speaker's training class; League workers made a house-to-house canvass; broadsides were printed and distributed with pertinent campaign slogans:

"Which Way Cleveland?
Keep Cleveland Progressive!
Strive for Stability in Government!
Save Money for Cleveland!

Maintain a low city tax rate!"

League-sponsored meetings were organized to inform more workers on the basic facts of Cleveland government under the city-manager plan. League members got themselves deputized as watchers and deputy sheriffs to see that the votes were honestly cast and counted at the polls.

This 1928 campaign was successful. Once again the anti-charter forces were defeated. This time the Davis Amendment lost by 3,232 votes. Newspapers, politicians and other organizations like the Citizens League who helped in the fight gave the League of Women Voters major credit for the victory. The League's National President, Miss Belle Sherwin, hailed the Cleveland campaign as the first genuine civic work the League had ever attempted.

Because they had waited behind in Cleveland for the outcome of the election, the leaders of the League's campaign against the Davis Amendment, Mrs. Ralph Tyler and Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, chairman of the campaign, were several days late for the League's National Convention in Chicago. However, news of the victory preceded them to Chicago, and when these two campaigners entered the open session of the Convention, the delegates stood and cheered their tribute to the Cleveland victory. Later, members of Cleveland's delegation were honored for their spectacular victory at a carnival. "Never before had the National League bestowed such honors on an individual League."

"3-D" AMENDMENT. The forces opposed to the manager plan kept "forging away," and again in 1929 a "3-D" (Davis, Downer and Danaceau) Amendment was forced to a vote in a special August election. This amendment was practically the same as the one

which was defeated in 1928, in fact, it was reported to contain most of the typographical errors of its predecessor."

Having spent about $8,000 on the 1928 campaign, the League of Women Voters could not afford to take the lead in the 1929 fight. Moreover, since it was now evident that the charter needed a special committee to carry on the fight, a Progressive Government Committee was organized for the 1929 defensive. Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. Max Hellman, Mrs. J. A. Reaugh and Miss Selma Sullivan, members of the League's Executive Board, helped organize the new committee and also served as its vice-chairmen. It was reported on good authority that Mrs. McBride worked daily at the new committee's headquarters. She took a leave of absence from her job with the League to devote her entire energy to the cause. This campaign again organized the wards and precincts according to the League techniques, with many League members serving as captains. Mrs. E. E. Hill organized District 2; Mrs. Helen H. Green and Mrs. Carrie A. Lewis (who had organized the church work in the League Campaigns) did the same jobs for the Progressive Government Committee.

The League pitched its camp besides the new committee and other League members who contributed much to this well-organized, well-financed drive were the following: Mrs. Cora C. Cooley, Mrs. Bernice Pyke, Mrs. Louis J. Bing Jr., W. J. Bushea, Mrs. J. F. Coulston, Mrs. John W. Seaver, Miss Susan Rebhan and Mrs. W. J. Schneider.

Though it was recognized that there were certain defects in the Charter which should be changed, the League of Women Voters advocated that these changes should be made a section or two at a time, and recommended that a competent charter commis-

sion should be elected which would hold public hearings for citizens' opinion.

The League objected to the "3-D" Amendment, not only because it would return the city of Cleveland to the mayor form of government with its spoils system, but because it would enlarge the council by nine members, increasing the cost of the council without adding to its efficiency. Furthermore, it would not only give the mayor control of administration but also of civil service and the awarding of contracts. In short, the "3-D" Amendment proposed a return to the old graft-providing, inefficient type of government abandoned by Cleveland citizens in 1921. Quoting from the League *Voter*: "In our opinion, the city-manager plan should be continued. Under it Cleveland has had the best five and one half years of government it has ever had. Let us keep our gains and vote 'no.' "

That year, the charter defense forces were victorious again, with a 3,004-vote majority. Little by little, however, the opposition was whittling away the small advantage. The Progressive Government Committee reported that it had spent more than $70,000 in its campaign—a rather handsome sum compared to the $8,000 the League of Women Voters had spent winning the 1928 campaign.

ELECTION REFORM. These charter defense campaigns had accentuated the need for local election reforms and for the re-codification of Ohio's election laws.

At the League's tenth annual city Convention Judge Edward K. Jarecki's speech on the "Whys and Wherefores of Vote Frauds" inspired the League to send a resolution to the Cleveland Board of Elections. This resolution asked for a board rule that election

booth officials be certified every two years from an accredited booth procedure training school.

One election later, after the defeat of the manager plan, the sadly-wiser League urged the Cleveland Board of Elections to buy voting machines, the election reform which the League of Women Voters has since advocated as the best guarantee of honest elections.

THE LAST FIGHT. By 1930, the anti-charter fight had become an anti-manager Hopkins fight. That year the League of Women Voters pointed out that the issue was not even William R. Hopkins, but whether or not the position of city-manager was to be a "political plum" awarded to the party that controlled the majority. In January, a public demand was rising to protest the ouster of city-manager Hopkins. The League of Women Voters made a joint statement with the Women's City Club, proposing that the dismissal of manager Hopkins should take place after hearing the charges against him, rather than before. But these protests were in vain; Mr. Hopkins was dismissed and Daniel E. Morgan installed as the new city-manager.

February 25, 1930, a committee of the League of Women Voters, one of the three organizations still on record as supporting the manager plan, presented the League's views to the Charter Revision Committee. Both Miss Polly Prescott, President of the League, and Mrs. Max Hellman advised a reduction in the size of the council-at-large and removal from the council of the power to elect the Civil Service Commission.

The following year, 1931, the League again rallied to the last defense of the Charter. Harry L. Davis, leader of the fight against the manager plan had retired, but Saul Danaceau presented a similar amend-

ment. This was one of the worst years of the depression and old-time politicians were "hungry for jobs." The National Municipal League opinioned that if the Cleveland city-manager plan were abandoned that year, "The action would probably have no more significance than that the average citizen of Cleveland was so discouraged by present business conditions that he just had to give vent to his spleen one way or another."

The Citizens League was still for the manager plan and their bulletin listed facts to prove statements that Cleveland's government under the manager plan was more economical; that larger constructive improvements had been made (the Stadium, Public Hall); and that service rendered by city departments had been more efficient. But the Citizens League was not a campaigning organization.

All three newspapers—The Plain Dealer, the Press and the News were still behind the plan. The Press printed City Hall financial figures which showed conclusively that the cost of city government was higher under the mayor system. The News editorialized, "are we going to keep a modern form of government designed for efficiency, or throw the city wide open to inefficiency and spoils. "The Plain Dealer called attention to the fact that the new city manager, Daniel E. Morgan, was doing a good job.

Still this support was not enough. There were now many prominent opponents of the mayor-council plan. Men like Newton D. Baker, the former Secretary of War, who, in 1927 had opposed seeing "the government of the city made a football of the political ambitions of anybody," joined the opposition. The League called him for his "about face," but in that year the entire Democratic organization which

had backed the plan in 1927, 1928 and 1929 joined the opposition forces.

There were rumors of foul play, of a Republican-Democratic agreement which divided all city jobs. Councilman Peter Witt who "espoused the plan in 1921 and three times voted against change," charged in a Press interview October 26, 1931 that under the Hopkins administration, the local Republican and Democratic leaders, Maurice Maschke and Burr Gongwer, had agreed to a 60-40 division of jobs.

Former City-Manager Hopkins was running for the Council in 1931 and the bitter verbal attacks between Hopkins, who was stumping for the plan, and Maschke, who admitted that he was the man "who picks city-managers from the street and puts them back in the street again," was most unfortunate. It gave the public a picture of the political intrigue that goes on behind the scenes at the City Hall and did the fight for the manager plan no good.

The League's energetic and most capable Executive Secretary, Mrs. Annetta Gross Zillmer (Fuchs), a recent graduate of Western Reserve where she was a member of the Western Reserve College League of Women Voters, recruited campaign speakers.

Miss Polly Prescott, League President, was also a very young recent college graduate, but with exception of a few names—Miss Kay Halle, Mrs. Charles Patch Jr., and Mrs. John W. Brown Jr.—most of the workers in 1931 had helped the League defend the manager plan in previous campaigns. Included in this list were: Mrs. Max Hellman, Mrs. H. L. Beavis, Mrs. Louis Bing Jr., Mrs. J. Paul Wilkes, Mrs. J. F. Coulston, Mrs. W. J. Schneider, Mrs. John W. Seaver, Mrs. Frances J. Bushea, Mrs. J. A. Reaugh, Mrs. E. E. Hill, Miss Selma Sullivan, Mrs. H. A. Dooley, Mrs. Earl L. Shoup, Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, Mrs. T. H. Burgess,

Mrs. Walter Bissell, Mrs. E. E. Oviatt, Mrs. Edward J. Schweid (Marjorie Stern), Mrs. J. E. Bahner and others.

A Committee of 100 women and a Charter Defense Committee—a non-partisan organization of "distinguished Democratic and Republican men" was also organized to aid the League fight. But, the Progressive Government Committee which had taken the lead in saving the plan in 1929 was not revived and once again the Cleveland League of Women Voters had the major responsibility for the campaign.

Again, League interviewers set out on a house-to-house canvass. They pointed out that this campaign against the manager plan was more a battle of personalities than a battle of issues; that though there were admitted failures in the Cleveland version of the city-manager plan, the eight years under the new government were better than any similar period of time under a mayor form of government. Moreover, the League was firm in its belief that the failures of the plan were not sufficient warrant for scrapping the plan before it had been given a fair trial.

CITY-MANAGER OUT. According to the League of Women Voters, the Danaceau Amendment of the 1931 election was "the most dangerous and costly" of all the charter amendments which had been proposed as alternatives to the city-manager form of government. The League charged that this Amendment was a frank return to the old "spoils system."

Exposure of the "60-40" job deal in the bitter Maschke-Hopkins fight caused the manager plan to lose face with the voters. At this time, many organizations and important citizens went over to the anti-charter forces. Cleveland's City-Manager plan was defeated at the polls November 4, 1931.

Members of the League of Women Voters were greatly disappointed with the repudiation of the city-manager government, which the League had fought so valiantly to defend. Looking backward, the League opinioned that from the beginning the plan had been doomed by the large council of 25 members. Said Mrs. McBride:

"The fact that the 25 councilmen were elected from four districts was the fatal thing. As it turned out, proportional representation turned people against the manager plan and in Cleveland the four districts plan of P. R. accentuated nationally and racial conflicts."

Looking on the brighter side, Mrs. Max Hellman made this comment, "That long fight for the city-manager plan put the League of Women Voters on its feet locally."

Two years after this defeat and the return to the mayor form of government, the League renewed its allegiance to the city-manager plan, with a small city council, elected at large.

JURY SERVICE REFORM

Though 1931 brought the defeat of the city-manager plan, members of the Cleveland League helped to celebrate a significant victory that year. On May 1st at 4 p. m. a jury wheel was installed with appropriate ceremony at the County Court House, marking the final success of the League campaign to improve the caliber of jury service in Cuyahoga County.

Ohio women had been fortunate, in that ratification of the 19th Amendment which had made them voting citizens, had also made them eligible to serve on juries. In New York and in more than twenty other states women were still fighting for that right, and so, for Cleveland women, being called for jury

service was a great honor. It was such an honor that the Women's City Club had an Honor Roll in the main lounge with the names of Club members who had been called for jury service.

Once inside the Court House, Cleveland women jurors saw the crying need for reform in the method of choosing juries. For at that time, it was common practice to pick jurors from the "hangers-on" who reported to the Court House from day to day, awaiting to be called for jury service.

Judge Mary B. Grossman, Mrs. Gertrude V. Handrick, Mrs. E. E. Hill and other League members in cooperation with Judge Homer Powell of the Common Pleas Court succeeded in reforming this system. A jury wheel was installed in the Court House from which names were chosen in an orderly and representative manner. The many League members who attended this installation ceremony were inspired by this achievement to continue pressing the League campaign to make jury service the patriotic obligation of the citizen, not an unpleasant duty.

More Reform Needed. Having succeeded in reforming the method of choosing the juries, the efficiency-in-government committee made an eight-month survey to investigate conditions under which the indigent were tried in the county courts, not only in Ohio but in other states.

In making this study, Mrs. W. J. Schneider, Mrs. Charles J. Patch, Jr., Mrs. E. E. Hill, Mrs. Walter B. Laffer, Mrs. Max Hellman and others interviewed judges, lawyers and prominent citizens of the community. They found that county money was being wasted in hiring lawyers for the indigent, that there was too much politics in justice for the poor. This League committee recommended that the laws should

be changed so that common pleas judges might be appointed for life (by the Governor of the state) and that a committee of citizens should be named to pass on these appointments.

ISSUES NOT CANDIDATES

A less fortunate aftermath, of the League's successful 1928 campaign to save the charter, was a threatened division within the ranks of the local League when an officer and member of the Executive Board announced her candidacy for the bi-partisan Board of Elections.

Previously when the League Board (without Miss Sherwin's approval) had voted to support Florence Allen's candidacy for Judge of the Common Pleas Court, the local League had firmly established its stand that officers and board members of the League do not seek office. League members were free to act as they chose as individuals, but they must take a leave-of-absence from their League jobs to engage in political activity. Nevertheless, in spite of established precedent, this League member refused to resign her League job after announcing her candidacy for office. The League refused to support her campaign. The local newspapers picked up the story and gave it a prominent heading. There were, of course, rumors that the League of Women Voters was breaking up.

Beyond doubt, this fight was good for the League, for it established more firmly the League's policy of supporting issues, not candidates. A later attempt by several League members to use the League as a political springboard was "nipped in the bud."

Since its beginning, when the League was organized to further citizen participation it had been difficult

for the public to believe that the League would hold to the revolutionary idea that issues were more important than people. No one thought that an issue could have virility if it was on a non-partisan basis. However, successive campaigns had established the fact that the League of Women Voters could be an effective political force, even though non-partisan.

MUSCLE SHOALS

During World War I, at a cost of $150,000,000 in public funds, Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee Valley was developed by the government for the production of nitrates which the United States urgently needed for making explosives. After the war, the plant remained idle while congressmen wrangled over its disposition. The question was, should it be leased out for private operation or continued as a government-owned-and operated project?

Back in 1922, at the League's National Convention, the Cost-of-Living (Food Supply and Demand) committee had suggested that the government promote the use of available water power at Muscle Shoals for the production of agricultural fertilizers. It had created some sensation on the floor of the convention when the proposal was made that the government be asked to accept the offer of Henry Ford for the Muscle Shoals plant. It was in 1925 that the economic-minded Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Chairman of the National Cost-of-Living committee and the League's first, first Vice-President, proposed that the League indorse the Norris Bill, which called for government operation of Muscle Shoals. She contended that Muscle Shoals should also be developed to provide wide and economical distribution of electric power and said, "Between government operation and governmental development at the expense of the public taxpayer

for the ultimate profit of private interests, the Muscle Shoals struggle represents more than a conflict over this one piece of property. It is a struggle which will not be rightly settled until women lend their hearts and thoughts to economic problems as well as humanitarian needs."

For several years, however, the League continued to study the problems of Muscle Schoals, carefully avoiding the issue of government operation by advocating the development of this project as a national asset without specifying the method: "to provide wide and economic distribution of electrical power, to provide for the production of chemical and agricultural fertilizers, and to serve the people's interest and safeguard their perpetual rights."

Then in 1927, the National League adopted a resolution recommending the "Development of Muscle Shoals as a national asset through legislation which provides for the continuation of government operation as required by the national Defense Act of 1916 —through a non-political government corporation."

On March 4, 1928, the National office sent out its first definite request for action on the Norris Bill, which provided for continuing government operation of Muscle Shoals. League members were encouraged to write their senators urging support of the measure. The following month when the League's National Convention met in Chicago, the Cost-of-Living committee added to its 1928-1930 study program "regulation of public utilities." Those League members who were greatly concerned over government operation of "anything" in time of peace, were reassured by Miss Sherwin that Muscle Shoals was the only utility for which the League recommended government operation.

Through local and state cost-of-living committees, the League continued to inform its membership and the public on the advantages to be gained from government operation of this project. In 1930, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride made this statement: "The disposition and control of water power in this nation is of increasing concern to women in particular. We are getting more and more requests for information on the subject, especially in relation to its effect on electric rates to domestic users. The League has taken no stand as yet on the question of public ownership of power generation and distribution. We did back U. S. Senator George W. Norris' bill to keep operation of Muscle Shoals in the hands of the government. We felt that as the government owned the development, it should keep it and run it."

Everywhere—in Leagues throughout the country —the depression pushed cost-of-living committees into a more prominent position. By 1931, for example, the Cleveland League's cost-of-living program included the following items for study: monopolistic control of public utilities and federal regulation; city utilities such as gas, electricity, telephone, transportation and street railways; housing and zoning problems, tariff and the consumer, farm relief legislation, and market research agencies.

When Miss Sherwin spoke at the Ohio Convention that year, she stressed the importance of the League's support of legislation calling for government operation of Muscle Shoals as a part of the legislative program needed to meet the specific needs of the economic crisis. Said Miss Sherwin, "Legislation to develop Muscle Shoals in the interests of the public is primarily forward looking in its purpose to discover lower costs of an essential commodity. The League is determined to secure such legislation, in the name of

women voters, and the economic interests of the public—especially of that larger section of the public which bears the burden of the crisis."

At this time, Muscle Shoals was a very "hot" issue. The power companies, backed into a corner by adverse publicity on the fall of the Insull utilities empire, waged a vicious battle against Senator Norris' proposal that Muscle Shoals continue under government operation. Many succumbed to the propaganda of the utilities companies, and opposed government operation of Muscle Shoals as a threat to private enterprise, but not the League of Women Voters. The private utilities companies had ignored the League's questionnaire, when the Cost-of-Living committee undertook to find out how much electricity cost and what part it played in the cost of living. When the National Convention met in 1932 the necessary majority of the delegates voted out the following resolution on Muscle Shoals:

> "Muscle Shoals should be operated under government supervision for the purpose of providing cheap power, low-cost nitrogen and the profitable exploitation of the natural resources of this region for the benefit of all the people of the United States."

And so, Muscle Shoals became the League's "yardstick" for measuring private utility rates. The Muscle Shoals project was the basis for the larger development known as the Tennessee Valley Authority. One of the pens used by President Roosevelt in signing the Tennessee Valley Act in 1933 was presented to the League's National President, Miss Belle Sherwin, as a symbol of appreciation for the League's continued support for Muscle Shoals.

At the League's National Convention in 1934, David E. Lilienthal, one of the first directors of the T. V. A., pointed out that T. V. A. would be the future "yardstick" by which to measure the fairness of electric rates. He praised the League very highly for its work in support of government operation, saying, "The League of Women Voters played an important part in the development of Muscle Shoals and the T. V. A. program .... There can be no question but that without the support of organizations of your prestige, Senator George Norris might have fallen short of victory in his decade-long fight to retain the great hydro-electric properties at Muscle Shoals, for the use of all the people."

CLEVELAND POWER RATES. Besides campaigning for government operation of Muscle Shoals, the Cleveland cost-of-living committee, under the very able leadership of Mrs. J. W. Ellms and Mrs. Arthur E. Petersilge made a special study of the Cleveland municipal light plant and its rates. It was the League's decision that the 3¢ rate, which was declared impossible by private power companies when the plant was built in 1914, had proven a challenge to private industry.

Mrs. Ellms and her committee were ready to act, January, 1933, when the League protested hasty action of the city council in approving a utility contract with a private power source. Several city councilmen cooperated with the League and succeeded in stalling the council's action on the grounds that the 10-year franchise—at a rate lower than the municipal light plant rate for the small consumer—was an attempt to sabotage the municipal light plant. Said Mrs. Petersilge of the League, "If all customers using less than 29 kilowatts through the municipal

plant dropped the municipal service, where would the municipal plant be?"

The League recognized the desire of the private supplier to make a slight reduction to the small consumer, but requested that the Council delay its action on the contract until a thorough investigation of the rate base and operating base of the company could be made. The League suggested that a greater saving might be given the average consumer, and certainly a shorter contract of five years would be less of a gamble on future costs and would be better for the city and the company.

Once again, the Cleveland League of Women Voters made the headlines. "Delay in the electric rate contract is probably justified if for no other reason than that the League of Women Voters asks it," said the Cleveland Press.

SOCIAL SECURITY

During her ten years as National President from 1924-1934, Miss Belle Sherwin stood adamant against any threat to established League procedure —study before action. For example, it is reported that when Miss Sherwin asked the League's 1932 Detroit Convention to support a system of federal, state and local unemployment relief, pointing out that "government has an ultimate responsibility in a crisis to ensure provisions for relief," she hoped the Convention delegates would approve a study program which would call for investigation of proposed unemployment systems.

Therefore, when Miss Gertrude Ely and Dr. Mollie Ray Carroll of the Women-in-Industry committee proposed from the Convention floor that the League give its immediate support to national employment

relief, Miss Sherwin was not pleased. In final form, the "platform for the times," adopted by this Convention, stressed the need for a coordinated system of federal, state and local employment services, adequate to the needs of the times. The Convention also went on record as favoring further study of pending plans for payment of unemployment compensation.

In spite of the fact that Miss Sherwin held the League firm to its pattern of study before action, change came so fast in 1933-1934 in N. R. A. Washington, that it is understandable how the Cuyahoga County League often found itself studying Washington's social and economic thinking after proposed theories became laws.

The Social Security Act's provisions for child welfare and public protection of maternity and infancy were familiar and most welcome reforms, and the Ohio League supported state bills which implemented the Social Security Act. Nevertheless, after they were enacted League members still had many questions as to the operation of these social insurance plans, such as, "Who is eligible for unemployment compensation benefits, etc.?" To answer these questions the economic welfare committee made a two-year study of the Social Security Act in operation. Mrs. Roger J. Herter led this local group according to the established pattern for study groups. "We set up a questionnaire on unemployment compensation, and did a rather thorough job by informing ourselves on how the Social Security Plan worked," said Mrs. Herter.

This 1934-38 Social Security study program prepared the way for later action. In the fall of 1939, Mrs. Henry Sayles Francis organized the Cuyahoga County League's part in the State League's all-out campaign to defeat the Bigelow amendement, a proposal which would have extended Ohio's old-age retirement system and guaranteed $50 a month to every Ohio resident 60 years and older, not gainfully employed.

Several years later, during the summer of 1943, the County League again emphasized a program of Social Security study. Mrs. Brooks W. Maccracken, and members of her committee—Mrs. Earl L. Shaner, Mrs. Gordon W. Clarke, Mrs. E. J. Kenealey and others—planned program sessions and study periods on proposals which advocated additional social security coverage: the Wagner-Murray-Dingle bill with its provisions for medical insurance and the report of the National Resources Planning Board. These study programs followed what was by now a well-established League pattern:

—Recognition of the problem.
—Assignment to a committee for study.
—Thorough and extensive research on the problem.
—Committee report to the entire organization.

TAXES AND TRENDS

For eight years prior to the 1934 National Convention, the League of Women Voters had been making an exhaustive study of the subject of taxes. That year the League published Miss Katherine A. Frederic's report on *Taxes and Tax Trends*. An all-department conference at the 1934 Boston convention made the following report:

"Unless the American people can be aroused to a determination to reorganize in its entirety our antiquated tax system, and thus distribute equitably the cost of our government, there will not be the necessary money for our schools, our welfare services, our

public health program or for any orderly and well-directed social life."

Cleveland's efficiency-in-government committee under Mrs. Hellman had studied the need for a special city tax levy the year before, and now, with the additional armor of the National League's inclusive tax study, the local League was ready to take its first stand on taxes. The Cuyahoga County League of Women Voters announced its opposition to Mayor Harry E. Davis' proposed $4,000,000 city deficiency bond issue. The League had requested Mayor Davis to hold an open meeting to tell how he would spend the money. When he declined, the League refused to support his bond issue.

On the state level, the League worked for the allocation of funds necessary to finance legislation which the League supported—welfare services; the school foundation program; the mental health program; public libraries, etc., The 1932-1934 state program included a study of Ohio's taxation system directed toward a reform of tax laws to provide adequate revenue and equalization of the tax burden. Subsequent state programs have included study items on problems of financing the state and local governments. Currently, the League is pressing for an integrated system of taxation in Ohio and its political subdivisions, with special attention to the source and distribution of revenue.

During the war years, *More and Better Taxes* was the tax theme the League advocated for the National government, stressing the advisability of meeting current expenditures necessary to carry on the war.

CIVIL SERVICE

The use of civil service examinations in the selection of government employees was established as a

League program item by the 1920 National Convention. Suffragists and early League members in Cleveland had a first-hand knowledge of the reported "spoils system" practices of Cleveland's city government after 1912. But it was hoped that the Cleveland city-manager plan would be a scientific method of government which would eliminate patronage and other mal-practices of the machine-ridden city politics. Therefore, when the manager plan was defeated in 1931, the Cleveland League turned an alert and watchful eye toward the patronage "goings on" at the city hall.

Early in 1932, the League charged Mayor Ray T. Miller's administration with violating civil service laws and with the wholesale dismissal of city employees.

About this same time, the League supported the case of Miss Louise Dewald, the dismissed Commissioner of Cemeteries. Presenting the Civil Service Commission with a resolution asking the Commission to grant the right of appeal to all employees under civil service—a right denied Miss Dewald—the League charged that the Dewald case was an evasion of the law.

Civil service reform was not a popular cause. A Plain Dealer story of December 8, 1932, credited the Miller administration with being so successful in lifting jobs out of civil service classification and placing them under the Board of Control, that even Republican councilmen had largely ceased to champion the cause of civil service. The Cuyahoga County League of Women Voters, however, was not an organization to shirk a grim responsibility. With Mrs. McBride, as its spokesman, the local League began working for the extension of the merit system in public

employment, and the elimination of the "spoils system." The following year (1933), when Harry L. Davis returned to office as Mayor, the League President, Mrs. Charles Patch Jr., sent him the following message:

> "The League of Women Voters viewed with grave concern the past practice of getting around the civil service provisions by dismissing city employees, and then hiring others for political reasons to do the same work, with the name of the position slightly changed."

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN. Another story preceded the National League's nation-wide campaign for a merit system in all branches of civil service.

The civil service plan for the selection of government employees came into being in a time of national crisis. When President James A. Garfield was shot by a disappointed office seeker, the public was awakened to the evils of the patronage system and to the need for bringing into government service, serious-minded, well-qualified public servants.

The Spellman Fund had authorized a $150,000 study of civil service as it operated in several European countries. This study was compiled by a fine committee with Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago as its Chairman. The committee's report was printed in four or five volumns and cost about a quarter of a million dollars.

Conclusive evidence was given in the report of a greater need, in the United States, of government-trained personnel—workers who had planned and studied for a career in government.

The Merriam Committee's report, however, seemed doomed for the use of the research scholar alone until representatives approached Miss Belle Sherwin and suggested that perhaps the League could put it into use. The League accepted the challenge of putting this material "into action." The Spellman Fund agreed to pay for reprinting a digest of the report which would sell in small, booklet form for 35¢ a copy.

Because of the poor caliber of job seekers who had pushed themselves into public offices, the League had found, over the years, that the task of getting needed legislation through the channels of local, state and national government was a frustrating experience. Even among the taxpayers, there was a growing realization of the lack of fitness of many persons for their public positions.

At the League's National Convention in Boston—the week of April 25, 1934—the Efficiency-in-Government committee reported that "unless the citizens of the country awakened to the appalling waste in every unit of government and the menace to every needed public service caused by the "spoils system," the American form of government was doomed." The Convention appropriated $500 (a magnificent sum) to a special National committee of five members, including the following: Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Mrs. Jasper King. This committee was given the responsibility of putting into motion the campaign on behalf of *Better-trained Personnel in Government Service.*

How to arouse the public on the question of civil service? How to get a popular understanding of the issue? How to put over the fact that something could be done about it?—were a few of the problems this committee set out to solve.

A slogan competition was launched—nation-wide, to help publicize the campaign. It brought forth the slogan:

"Find the job for the man,
not the man for the job."

Each local League organized its *better government personnel* committee. Speakers' training classes were held, and months before the Republican and Democratic Conventions, in 1936, Leagues throughout the country circulated a quarter of a million pledge cards. Mayors, city council members and members of the National party committees were asked to sign in support of the merit principle of appointment to public service. Many of those approached were definitely reluctant to sign these pledges, but could not say "no" to the groups of women who "descended" upon them.

The Republican Party planned to hold its Convention in Cleveland. Mrs. McBride was put in charge of "operation-pledge cards display," and it was her especial assignment to see that these cards were presented to the Convention in an effective manner. Reenforcements were garnered from every corner. Unfortunately for her husband, Mrs. Howard F. Dugan was legislative chairman for the League: fortunately for the League, Mr. Dugan was manager of the Hotel Statler. The result of this happy combination were two hard-to-get, strategically located convention rooms. Mr. Zimmer, President of the Central Outdoor Advertising Company, deserves great credit for his help in working out a spectacular pledge card display. This consisted of an illuminated, rolling wheel calling attention to the many thousands of pledge cards already signed. In an advantageous spot just inside the hotel's main entrance, the League

booth commanded attention. A large sign urged all delegates to sign up for civil service reform. Daily, the League added prestige to its cause with the signatures of governors, senators and congressmen.

Two members of the League's National Board presented the League's platform on public personnel to the Republican Resolution Committee. This "action" pattern at the Republican Convention was so successful that the illuminated wheel was repeated at the Democratic Convention which followed in Philadelphia.

Though it had never before been a popular issue, the League of Women Voters was succeeding in the impossible—a mounting enthusiasm was rolling up for civil service reform. Calling on all its resources, the local League asked Mrs. L. J. Wolf to train members of the civil service speakers' bureau. Mrs. Robert M. Hornung, Mrs. Charles Patch Jr., Mrs. L. Scott Isham, Mrs. Earl L. Shoup, Mrs. U. V. Portman, Mrs. James Stewart, Mrs. J. Paul Wilkes, Mrs. Paul Q. Quay, Mrs. Bernard Winterick, Mrs. Ralph Kane, Mrs. James T. Hoffman, Mrs. B. C. Goss, Mrs. Herman Kraeft, Mrs. G. Carleton Robinson, Mrs. Walter B. Laffer and Mrs. Richard E. Stifel were a few of the many members who helped make this campaign a success.

PUBLIC PERSONNEL DAY. To celebrate the grand climax of the League's two year campaign for *Better Government Personnel* and to emphasize the interstate character of the campaign, the National League set aside January 29, 1936 as Public Personnel Day. On that day, church groups, schools, and colleges were asked to join with the League of Women Voters in simultaneous celebration. In Cleveland, 600 women attended a "terrific" luncheon in the Hotel Statler

ballroom. Speeches from Washington were broadcast to the League's nation-wide audience.

There was real cause for celebration, for there was now evidence that this League campaign was a success:

—A poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion announced that 88% of the people of the U. S. were against the patronage system and were in favor of civil service.

—Pressure brought by the League had encouraged both political parties to adopt merit system planks in their 1936 platforms.

—President Roosevelt made his civil service recommendation to the 1935 special session of Congress.

—Representative Ramspeck had introduced legislation which would put first, second, and third class postmasters (the "small change" of the patronage system) on permanent civil service status. Also, a proposed Logan bill in the Senate would put practically all government jobs under civil service.

—An editorial in the *Washington Post* commended the League of Women Voters for the educational techniques being used in the national campaign against the "spoils system"—for the "thoughtfully prepared handbills and intelligent radio broadcasts." "A refreshing departure from the emotional chiffon propaganda, which is all too prevalent today in patriotic feminine societies," said the *Post*.

STATE ACTION. There were also significant gains in the states, which could be credited either directly or indirectly to the success of the League's nation-wide civil service reform effort. Before 1935, only nine of the 46 states had more than a pretense of civil service, but in 1937, merit system bills were being considered by 24 state legislatures.

In Ohio, the League's major campaign got under way in 1935. That year, the County League studied the Sherrill report on Ohio Civil Service. Then, after the political parties included civil service promises in their 1936 platforms and the election was a past event, Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Ohio chairman of the campaign, met with 15 Ohio state legislators. Mrs. McBride told these legislators that the Cuyahoga County League of Women Voters and the other Leagues of Ohio would make a special effort to secure a larger budget for the state Civil Service Commission, and would support legislation to restore to classified service certain state positions which, though intended for classified service, were actually placed under patronage.

While the 1937 General Assembly was in session, Mrs. L. Scott Isham, President of the Cuyahoga County League, called members of the Ohio Senate to task for ignoring their 1936 platform pledges for civil service. During this same legislative session, the League's "always alert" state legislative chairman, Mrs. C. C. Shively, helped to block three specific attacks on the Ohio civil service system.

Opponents of the civil service made a three-pronged attack whereby:

—The state administration would have "forgotten" to specify civil service workers' compensation in the general appropriations bill. If that "happy"