TO MAKE WAR UNTHINKABLE: THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY OF NEW YORK, 1914-1919

JENNIFER CURRAN

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by

Jennifer Curran

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ABSTRACT

This study will examine the activities and philosophies of the Woman's Peace Party of New York/Woman's International League during the period of the formation of a distinct women's peace movement in the United States, 1914-1919. Inspired by the belief that women shared a unique perspective on issues of peace, war and militarism, the Woman's Peace Party of New York organized and participated in many of the ground-breaking United States peace, antimilitarist and free speech/civil liberties activities of the World War I period. One of the few peace organizations which managed to continue to function as a critical voice towards war and militarism during 1914-1919, this study aims to reveal how and why their protest against the system of war and militarism developed into a challenge to the economic and gender power structures of their society. Specifically, the party's broad definition of peace, strong affiliations with other peace and antimilitarist organizations, and versatile conception of gender as both distinct and equal led party members to articulate the connections between sexism and militarism in seeking the route to freedom for women and lasting peace.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: WOMEN'S MORAL PASSION AGAINST WAR

> We, Women of the United States, assembled in behalf of World Peace, grateful for the security of our country, but sorrowing for the misery of all involved in the present struggle among warring nations, do hereby band ourselves together to demand that war be abolished.... As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war.[1]
>
> Preamble to the Platform of the Woman's Peace Party, 1915

> Our function is to establish new values, to create an overpowering sense of the sacredness of life, so that war will be unthinkable.[2]
>
> Crystal Eastman, 1915

The declarations of war in Europe in the late summer of 1914 startled United States' progressives and shocked the American public. Historian Arthur S. Link regards this assessment of American society's reaction to the outbreak of war in Europe as "an understatement of heroic proportions," noting that "in the summer of that momentous year most Americans were still living in the confident international community of the nineteenth century and were totally unprepared for the impending catastrophe."[3] Prominent social reformer Jane Addams described the reaction of progressives in her memoirs: "it is impossible now to reproduce that basic sense of desolation, of suicide, of anachronism, which that first news of the war brought to thousands of men and women who had come to consider war as a throwback in the scientific sense."[4]

Beyond a basic abhorrence of international warfare and its consequences, progressives and liberals in the United States feared the potential negative impact of militarism and a prolonged European war on the social reforms which they had worked to achieve in the preceding decade. However, this dismay was coupled with a sense of confidence among U.S. liberals, encouraged by a reform-minded president, American isolationism and U.S. neutrality in the current conflict, that the United States could take a leadership role in the formation of a new internationalism; America could lead the world away from the old systems of secret diplomacy and militarism, and towards a world federation based on equality. Historian Blanche Wiesen Cook describes this vision in her study of U.S. antimilitarists during the Great War: "the consequent belief in 1914 that the war would be short and that the wounds would not be deep, enabled Americans to seek a peace without victory, to plan for a warless world, and to insist that if the neutrals were to behave reasonably they could keep out of the war and also shape a peace which would last."[5]

The United States peace movement during this period witnessed the participation of remarkable numbers of women social reformers. Indeed, the Great War offered American women unprecedented opportunities for participation in non-traditional employment, voluntarism and public activism. While most American women during this period chose to participate in military preparedness and war relief activities, joining women's relief organizations like the National League for Woman's Service and the Woman's Committee

of the Council of National Defense, World War I also gave rise to a distinct women's movement for peace and freedom.[6] Women pacifists, antimilitarists and peace activists worked with their male counterparts to present antimilitarist and mediation proposals to the U.S. public and the president, and, for the first time in U.S. history, organized separately for peace.

The Woman's Peace Party (WPP), the nucleus of the women's peace movement in the United States during 1915-1919, emerged in 1915 with the objective of engaging "all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war."[7] Rooted in the international suffrage alliance, supported by social reform networks and inspired by creative feminist communities, the Woman's Peace Party and the women's peace activism it represented signalled a departure from the traditionally male-dominated American peace movement. Before 1914, peace organizations in the United States were predominantly led by affluent businessmen who advocated, according to historian John Whiteclay Chambers, "alternative means of assuring national security and fulfilling what many saw as America's mission of redeeming the world through its liberal, democratic, capitalist institutions."[8] Peace activists of this period sought to maintain international stability through international law and arbitration, but this trust in regulated stability as a means to peace evaporated when war was declared in Europe in the summer of 1914.

By the autumn of 1914, most U.S. peace organizations dissolved, and many others remained dormant for the duration of the war. A few reformed into new organizations, like the 1915 League to Enforce Peace (LEP), but their policies remained based upon prewar programs of peace imposed by international law.[9] The LEP would eventually support U.S. intervention in the European war, a move which would be repeated by many members of the U.S. peace movement. WPP national chairman Jane Addams opposed this "pathetic belief in the regenerative results of war," and a large group of female reformers and pacifists shared her opinion when they set out to develop a distinctly women's peace movement.[10]

This study will examine the history of the most dynamic group of women in this new U.S. women's peace movement, the Woman's Peace Party of New York (WPP-NY). One of the few peace organizations which managed to continue to function as a critical voice towards war and militarism during World War I in the United States, the history of the WPP-NY is the story of one organization's progression from a group of women united against war and militarism to a radical women's society promoting the freedom of women and the dismantling of capitalism as the route to permanent peace. The WPP-NY, "the first formal feminist peace organization in U.S. history," is considered by many the most active and politically significant organization of the women's peace movement.[11] However, there is no historical monograph on the activities of the Woman's Peace Party of New York, and no biographical work on the branch's chairman and key policy maker, Crystal Eastman. Eastman is treated as an anomaly among feminist, pacifist and socialist women of her

period in much of the literature on the women's and peace movements. Sheila Rowbotham describes her as "unusual in advocating an egalitarian feminist strategy in combination with much wider social changes," since "the emphasis of most equal rights feminists was on reform within the existing society."[12] Berenice A. Carroll lists Eastman as one of two American feminists who opposed World War I and "adopted a strongly pacifist stance," citing Eastman as a member of a small group of women who "resisted the war and saw their feminism and pacifism as closely related, even inseparable."[13]

Writing in 1978, Blanche Wiesen Cook lamented the fact that U.S. historians had overlooked Eastman, but was not surprised by the absence of this "tough lady labor lawyer who was not only a feminist, but also a mother and a socialist" from U.S. history: "the neglect and disappearance of Crystal Eastman's work is partly explained by the fact that history tends to bury what it seeks to reject."[14] This study of the activities of Eastman and the members of the Woman's Peace Party of New York aims to reveal how and why their protest against the system of war and militarism developed into a challenge to the economic and gender power structures of their society. While their contemporary society (and history) rejected many of their policies and philosophies, I believe that an understanding of the success and failures of this group of youthful, radical women can enhance historical knowledge regarding the internal politics and external choices of the pacifist, feminist, women's rights and radical movements in the United States during World War I.

Most historical work on the early women's peace movement has been motivated by a desire to record examples of women's political activism, in an effort to correct the traditional perception of women as historically apolitical. The U.S. women's peace movement is often cited to indicate that women were involved in public activities beyond social reform and suffrage. Overall, histories which address the political and philosophical basis of women's peace activism provide the best understanding of the women's peace movement and the place of the Woman's Peace Party of New York within that movement. Historical literature concerning the peace activities of women in the United States during World War I centres on two areas: women's roles and activities in mixed-gender organizations and in women's peace organizations. Most female peace activists during this period would have experience working in both types of organizations (often simultaneously). Historians who address women's separate peace organizing offer excellent insights into the political, social, cultural and intellectual reasons for the emergence of this new women's peace movement. However, to understand the context of women's separate organizing, such texts must be studied in combination with histories which address women's peace activism within the broader peace and antimilitarism movements of the period.

U.S. historians Charles DeBenedetti, Blanche Wiesen Cook, C. Roland Marchand and Charles Chatfield characterize the early twentieth century U.S. peace movement as a conservative movement dominated by business and industrial elites.[15] The women's peace

movement is often cited in peace histories as an example of the transformation of the U.S. peace movement at the beginning of the Great War. In Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement, 1915-1929 (1978), Charles DeBenedetti addresses three forms of peace organizations in the United States during the First World War: the internationalists, the legalists and the social progressives. The internationalist perspective is encompassed in conservative organizations such as the League to Enforce Peace, "formed to mobilize American sentiment in favor of a postwar international organization that would preserve peace by threatening war." Wealthy, business-backed peace organizations such as the American Society for International Law and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace compose the legalists, which DeBenedetti defines as "the working partnership between the conservative call for a world of legal order and the progressive plea for peace through legal liberation." Women do not figure very prominently in the activities of such organizations, and are marginal to the peace activities described in DeBenedetti's Origins. When women are mentioned, in DeBenedetti's treatment of the social progressives (acknowledged as the only active body of peace groups during wartime), women's peace activity is combined with church-based peace work, presenting women as supporters of other organizations' peace projects and ignoring their roles as initiators, theorists and activists in their own right.[16]

Blanche Wiesen Cook and C. Roland Marchand offer a different perspective on women's roles in the U.S. peace movement during World War I. In The American Peace

Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (1972), Marchand dismisses the established peace societies addressed by DeBenedetti, noting their inability to respond effectively to the war crisis. He describes 1914-1915 as "a new turning point within the peace movement: it was during this period that the most affluent and prestigious prewar peace societies and foundations decided to eschew peace activities directed against the current war," urging the development of a new kind of peace movement.[17] Marchand, Cook and Charles Chatfield focus on this new group of peace organizations, societies in which female social reformers played an important role, which emerged during the first year of hostilities. Blanche Wiesen Cook's studies of American antiwar activism portray women as innovative organizers and peace theorists. Cook identifies the connections between the peace movement leadership of women like Jane Addams and Crystal Eastman and their activities in other movements for social change.[18] While the role of women reformers and the influence of the Woman's Peace Party upon antiwar activities are evident in the work of Cook, Marchand and Chatfield, they tend to concentrate on leadership and organizational structure in the U.S. and women's peace movement. A deeper consideration of women's peace philosophy would enable these historians to more adequately represent the connections between the suffrage, women's rights, socialist and pacifist movements associated with the women's peace movement.

The most comprehensive studies of the women's peace movement in the United States include Barbara Steinson's American Women's Activism in World War I (1982),

Harriet Hyman Alonso's Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights (1993), Marie Louise Degen's The History of the Woman's Peace Party (1939) and Women Against War: Pacifism, Feminism and Social Justice in the United States, 1915-1941 (1986) by Linda Schott. Steinson's study encompasses both women's peace activism and women's participation in military preparedness and relief activities, seeking to reveal how the war offered new opportunities for women on all sides of the political spectrum to enter public life. Alonso's text traces the women's peace movement from its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century women's rights conferences to the anti-nuclear activities of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in the 1980s. These studies treat women's peace activism during World War I as a turning point for both women's activities in the public realm and the awakening of a feminist-pacifist consciousness, as articulated by the Woman's Peace Party. Steinson and Alonso also address the political tensions and ideological controversies among members of the women's peace movement (particularly disagreements surrounding suffrage and pacifism), depicting the movement as a challenging and complex environment for women.[19]

Marie Louise Degen's The History of the Woman's Peace Party (1939) is a comprehensive account of the policies, activities and leadership of the WPP during its brief history (January 1915 to May 1919), and remains the only monograph on the Woman's Peace Party.[20] The early chapters of Degen's study emphasize the international origins of

the WPP in the European suffrage movement; she concludes with a discussion of the party's participation in the 1919 meeting of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, where WPP members were instrumental in the formation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Degen often cites the activities of the WPP-NY (proposals to government, parades, mass meetings, lecture series, art exhibits, frequent press releases) as examples of WPP branch responses to government moves towards preparedness and war. However, her main source for her information on the WPP-NY's "particularly energetic and imaginative" program of activities is the *New York Times*.[21] While Degen's frequent citations of *Times*' articles and notices regarding the activities of the WPP-NY are an indication of the organization's high profile in press treatments of military preparedness and peace issues, research which encompasses the party's papers will clearly reach beyond Degen's account of the branch's activities.

Historians list several factors when discussing the reasons for the formation of a separate U.S. women's peace movement at this time: the emergence of the well-educated, professional "New Woman" of the 1910s and the participation of middle and upper-class women in progressive and social reform causes, particularly settlement house activities, laid the groundwork for women to organize for peace activism in America. Historians also credit peace advocates and social reformers' frustrations with the traditional peace movement's conservative policies and male-dominated orientation, women's generally broader definition of peace and what WPP member Anna Garlin Spencer described as

women's "peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war" as the primary reasons for women's independent peace work during World War I. In her detailed study of the theories espoused by leaders in the women's peace movement, Linda Schott suggests that women peace activists developed a sort of middle-ground philosophy to explain women's separate peace activism: a dual conception of gender as both distinctive and equal. In Women Against War: Pacifism, Feminism and Social Justice in the United States, 1915-1941, Schott addresses suffragist-pacifist arguments which incorporated theories of both sexual equality (women and men are equal and must be granted equal rights) and what Schott refers to as "feminine distinctiveness" (women's socialization causes certain moral values to be more pronounced in their sex), and seeks to "explore this dual conception of gender as both distinctive and equal through a detailed analysis of the ideas articulated by the leaders of the women's peace movement."[22]

Schott's depiction of the tension inherent in this dual conception of gender adopted by the leaders of the women's peace movement is similar to Nancy F. Cott's assessment of early feminism in the United States. Cott defines feminism in this period as an ideology fraught with paradoxes, depicting feminism's "characteristic doubleness," "multifaceted constitution," a philosophy and a movement which was "full of double aims." Cott's description of early twentieth century feminism's "simultaneous affirmation of women's human rights and women's unique needs and differences" also describes the equality/distinctiveness philosophies of the women's peace movement discussed by Schott

in Women Against War.[23] Members of the Woman's Peace Party of New York advocated different perspectives on this sexual equality versus feminine distinctiveness question during the war, often combining the two in an uneasy relationship to justify their peace and antimilitarist activism. The New York branch's perspective on women's rights fluctuated during 1914-1919, but can be characterized as a slow progression from a firm belief in women's unique moral values to a philosophy which advanced an equal distribution of political and economic power among women and men as the key to lasting peace.

During the early period of the women's peace movement, most women emphasized the notion of feminine distinctiveness over equality; Schott argues that women articulated their right to organize for peace separately from men by referring to their "sense of a moral community of women." Movement leaders theorized that women's "moral priorities" differed from men's: "specifically, these leaders emphasized that women best understood the supreme value of preserving human life," secondly, "that women were most committed to providing each individual with the best possible quality of life," and thirdly, "that women insisted on resolving conflicts without severing relationships between individuals or nations."[24]

While these three features of women's morality informed the policies and activities of the early women's peace movement, women peace activists also shared a broad definition of peace which incorporated many of their prewar concerns, particularly suffrage and social reforms aimed at developing economic and gender equality. While it was true that war and

militarism "threatened to destroy their life's work," women viewed their work for peace as much more than a preventive exercise or counteraction to warfare.[25] Women's peace activities represented a fusion of women's demands for an end to war, violence, sexism, political inequality, economic exploitation, unemployment and poverty. Peace, for women of this era, represented much more than simply an end to war in Europe, or a return to the conditions of the prewar world. American women's wartime activities promoting political rights for women, a democratization of foreign policy, disarmament and the protection of civil liberties and free speech during wartime extended beyond this narrow definition of peace. Women defined peace as the conditions in which all people would enjoy a good quality of life, and this was only possible in a world which rejected all forms of violence and inequality. Lastly, U.S. women's peace activism also developed from a recognition of the relationship between government-sanctioned violence and women's lack of political rights; women did not want war, but were powerless to indicate their sentiments to governments through the traditional political channels. Thus, women's demands for suffrage became identified as a prerequisite for peace, and networks with the U.S. and international suffrage movements became an integral part of the women's peace movement.[26]

This study of the Woman's Peace Party of New York's activities during 1915-1919 will focus on these questions: first, why did women organize separately for peace in 1914-1915? Secondly, what was the WPP-NY's vision of a peaceful world, and how did their

activities represent this vision? Third, when and how did the WPP-NY distinguish between sexual equality and feminine distinctiveness views of women's rights? Lastly, how did the WPP-NY withstand public intolerance towards peace activism and wartime repression from the Wilson administration to survive as a pacifist and feminist voice during 1915-1919?

This study will begin with an examination of the development of the women's peace movement during 1914-1915, the period which witnessed the formation of the Woman's Peace Party (national and New York branches) and the early expressions of women's "unique relationship to war." By 1916, the Woman's Peace Party of New York aimed to form a popular women's movement for peace, and I will address how their activities, philosophy and protest strategies were shaped with this goal in mind. The party's networks with the American Union Against Militarism in the campaigns against military preparedness and movement for neutral mediation of the war reiterated their belief in the need for a mass movement of women to end war and build a lasting peace. During the campaigns against U.S. intervention in early 1917, the WPP-NY would form important affiliations with peace and antimilitarist groups which would become integral to the party's ability to maintain a peace protest during wartime. From 1917-1919, the New York branch would become increasingly alienated from the national branch of the Woman's Peace Party, as the New York women entered alliances with civil libertarian and radical groups to continue its work towards world peace and internationalism. By 1919, the Woman's Peace Party of New York had evolved into a women's organization which advocated "permanent

peace" and "freedom of women" as two equal and inseparable goals, and developed an analysis of the relationship between militarism and the oppression of women which remains applicable today.

ENDNOTES

1. Preamble to the Platform of the Woman's Peace Party, January 11, 1915. Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 5, folder 12. Reprinted in Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Woman's Peace Party (New York: Garland, 1972), p. 40. The preamble was written by Anna Garlin Spencer.

2. Crystal Eastman, "To Make War Unthinkable," letter to the editor, *The New Republic*, July 24, 1915, reprinted in Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, edited by Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 235-236.

3. Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p. 145.

4. Quoted in Degen, p. 22. See Jane Addams, The Second Twenty Years at Hull House, September 1909 to September 1929, with a Record of Growing World Consciousness (New York, 1930), p. 119.

5. Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), p. 2.

6. Barbara Steinson, American Women's Activism During World War I (New York: Garland, 1982), examines women's wartime activities in both the peace and war relief movements. For a brief discussion of both movements, see Barbara Steinson, "The Mother Half of Humanity: American Women in the Peace and Preparedness Movements in World War I," in Women, War, and Revolution, edited by Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980), pp. 259-284.

7. Platform of the Woman's Peace Party.

8. John Whiteclay Chambers, Introduction in The Eagle and the Dove: The American Peace Movement and United States Foreign Policy, 1900-1922 (New York, Garland, 1976), p. 32.

9. For information on the League to Enforce Peace, see C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 151-161, 177-178, 363-367; Charles DeBenedetti, Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement, 1915-1929 (New York: KTO Press, 1978), pp. 4-6, 20-26, 53-54; Charles DeBenedetti, The Peace Reform in American History

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 92-93, 98; Charles Chatfield, The American Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism (Toronto: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 30-31; Charles Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), pp. 10-11.

10. Quoted in Chatfield, For Peace and Justice, p. 11.

11. For examples, see Steinson, pp. 124, 288, 256-257; Marchand, pp. 196, 216, 219-221, 240-243, 249-258; Harriet Hyman Alonso, Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 58-59, 65-66, 76-81.

12. Sheila Rowbotham, Women in Movement: Feminism and Social Action (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 243.

13. Berenice A. Carroll, "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Connections," in Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives, edited by Ruth Roach Pierson (New York: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 2-28.

14. Cook, Introduction in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution, pp. 2-3.

15. See discussions of the prewar peace movement in DeBenedetti, Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement; DeBenedetti, The Peace Reform in American History; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists; Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform; Chatfield, The American Peace Movement; Chatfield, For Peace and Justice. For an analysis of the leadership of the prewar peace movement, see David S. Patterson, "An Interpretation of the American Peace Movement, 1898-1914," in Peace Movements in America, edited by Charles Chatfield (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), pp. 20-38.

16. DeBenedetti, Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement, pp. 4, 44, 82-119.

17. Marchand, p. 145.

18. Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Democracy in Wartime: Antimilitarism in England and the United States, 1914-1918," in Chatfield, ed., Peace Movements in America, pp. 20-56; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists.

19. For example, see Alonso, Chapter 3, "Suffragist-Pacifists versus the Great War, 1914-1919," in Peace as a Women's Issue, pp. 56-84.

20. Degen's doctoral dissertation, The History of the Woman's Peace Party was first published by John Hopkins Press in 1939, reprinted by Garland Publishing in 1972.

21. Of the 22 footnotes related to the WPP-NY in The History of the Woman's Peace Party, 16 are citations of editions of the *New York Times*. See Degen, pp. 154, 166-171, 181-193, 205-215.

22. Linda Schott, Women Against War: Pacifism, Feminism and Social Justice in the United States, 1915-1941 (Ph. D. thesis, Stanford University, 1986), p. 13.

23. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). See Chapter 1, "The Birth of Feminism," pp. 12-50.

24. Schott, Women Against War, pp. 26-27.

25. Cook, "Democracy in Wartime: Antimilitarism in England and the United States, 1914-1918," p. 41.

26. Jane Addams considered suffrage "absolutely fundamental to the undertaking" (peace), and saw the Woman's Peace Party's support for suffrage as a step towards a "humanizing conception of government." See Steinson, pp. 37-40.

CHAPTER 2: TO MAKE WAR UNTHINKABLE: THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY, 1914-1915

In New York City on August 29, 1914, a group of 1,500 women, dressed in black mourning clothes and carrying banners displaying pacifist slogans and images, marched in silent protest against the commencement of war in Europe. Just weeks after the declarations of war, these New York City women were among the first to articulate a pacifist response to the outbreak of war. Organized by pacifists, suffragists and social reformers, the protest was an early example of the cooperative and diverse U.S. women's peace movement which would emerge during 1915-1919. The organization at the centre of this new movement, the Woman's Peace Party, was formed in early 1915 and represented a fusion of pacifist, suffragist, women's rights, settlement house and social reform elements, combined to form a united expression of American women's demands for peace.

The founding conference of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP) was preceded and inspired by two events in 1914: this first U.S. women's peace protest during the Great War and the U.S. speaking tours of European suffragists Rosika Schwimmer and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. The New York City peace demonstration of August 29, considered the "first organized feminist response to the war," was initiated by many of the leading suffragists, feminists and women reformers of the period: suffragists Carrie Chapman Catt and Harriot Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton), settlement house workers

Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock, labour women Rose Schneiderman and Leonora O'Reilly, and feminists Mary Beard and Charlotte Perkins Gilman were all members of the Peace Parade Committee.[1] The committee and the parade were led by Fanny Garrison Villard, daughter of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. A non-resistant pacifist, Villard expressed hope that the Peace Parade Committee might evolve into a permanent women's peace group, one "based upon the principle of the inviolability and sacredness of human life under all circumstances."[2] Villard was disappointed; the members of the committee dispersed after the parade and devoted their energies into other anti-war and suffrage activities.[3]

One element of the Peace Parade Committee which did survive, however, was the notion of a distinct women's protest against war. The philosophy behind this decision emerged publicly in the committee's response to men's organizations seeking to participate in the event. At first, the committee simply remarked that men had been "overlooked" since "the thought was to make it a woman's protest against all warfare amongst civilized nations" and the committee desired the parade to be a "feminine achievement."[4] According to historian Barbara Steinson, "the exclusion of men from the peace parade foreshadowed the choice of many of these women to form new organizations limited to their own sex or, at least, to work through groups in which women had some influence." Steinson also describes some likely reasons motivating the decision for women-only protest at this time; these women "wanted recognition for their views and their work and were not content to

have their unique relationship to war ignored by male spokesmen or their energies wasted in male-dominated groups."[5]

The ways in which women articulated this "unique relationship to war" varied, but most included some expression of women's maternal obligation to be pacifistic and protect life, generally emphasizing moral and social differences among women and men. Specifically, the women involved in the formation of this separate peace movement felt that women respected the value of human life more so than men. Women also viewed their separate organization for peace as a counteraction to both men's organization for war and men's failure to prevent war in their pre-1914 peace organizations; according to historian Joan Scott, "war gave women the opportunity to articulate a feminist politics in opposition to the destructive impulses of the nations involved," nations where a select group of men held the authority to declare war.[6] Thus, women's separate peace organizing also had political motives; in 1914, even the *New York Times* recognized that women were a group "who suffer most from war's evils and have the least to say, or do, regarding the entrance on war," and that the women's peace parade was an example of women's attempts "to exert a practical influence on a field of public action from which in the past they have been almost wholly withdrawn."[7]

While the Peace Parade Committee was an impressive display of American women's potential for peace and anti-war activism, the women's peace movement in the United States received its biggest push from two European women. Hungarian suffragist

Rosika Schwimmer came to the U.S. as a representative of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in September 1914; she petitioned the U.S. government to intervene as a neutral mediator in the European war, and embarked on a speaking tour on suffrage and peace issues which took her through twenty-two states.[8] In November, British suffrage leader Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence visited major eastern U.S. cities and spoke directly on the need for American women's support for European peace efforts. Pethick-Lawrence considered her speaking tour, sponsored by the more radical U.S. suffrage organization, the Congressional Union, "an opportunity for enlisting the support of the suffrage movement in the neutral country of America for the idea of a world peace secured by negotiation, and therefore just to all."[9]

While in New York City, Pethick-Lawrence was invited by two young suffragists to speak at a Carnegie Hall meeting of the Women's Political Union, the suffrage group lead by Harriot Stanton Blatch. Crystal Eastman and Madeleine Z. Doty were both lawyers who identified with many feminist, socialist and pacifist ideas and activities. They responded to Pethick-Lawrence's call for organization among U.S. women to support their European sisters' peace efforts, and in the fall of 1914 founded the Woman's Peace Party of New York City, "the first formal feminist peace organization in U.S. history."[10] Despite this distinction for the New York City women, they and the visiting European women probably recognized that, in peace historian Harriet Alonso's words, "a local organization, particularly one made up of some of Greenwich Village's 'bohemian' residents, was not the

most politically astute way to influence the nation's president."[11] Thus, Crystal Eastman suggested that Pethick-Lawrence contact the influential settlement house worker and reformer Jane Addams and seek her support for a national women's peace organization.

Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and Rosika Schwimmer met Jane Addams when they spoke at her Hull House Settlement in Chicago in mid-November 1914, and the enthusiasm generated by their talk encouraged Addams to consider the organization of a national women's peace society.[12] Addams found support and counsel regarding this new venture from Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Using clearly gendered ideologies and blending suffrage and peace objectives, Catt eloquently demonstrated the urgent necessity for women to organize a protest against war in a 1915 letter to the *New York Times:*

> The politics of men have embroiled the world in the most wholesale slaughter of the sons of mothers the world has ever known. That is a case where man's business of war and woman's business of conserving the race have clashed, and women are helpless to defend their own.... It becomes the terrible business of the mothers of the race to secure the right of a political protest in every nation. When war murders the husbands and sons of women, destroys their homes, desolates their country and makes them refugees and paupers, it becomes the undeniable business of women.[13]

While agreeing that the major U.S. peace societies in late 1914 were "very masculine in their point of view," both Catt and Addams had concerns over the feasibility of establishing a women-only peace organization.[14] Addams felt that women should be able to work within the existing peace societies, and was troubled by possible consequences of a separate women's peace movement on the drive for sexual equality in all sectors of U.S. society and

politics.[15] Catt was worried that a new women's peace organization, one which would attract many pacifist-leaning suffragists, might affect the unity of the suffrage movement; she indicated that any new women's peace society should not be led by suffragists, lest the two goals be confused in the public mind.[16] However, she did approve of the proposal for a peace organization led by women, and wrote Addams that if they could "get the right people to do it," she would be wiling to "give my assistance to it."[17]

Thus, in late December 1914, Jane Addams issued a call to peace, suffrage and women's organizations, inviting them to a conference "to consider forming a National Peace committee of women."[18] The founding conference of the Woman's Peace Party occurred in Washington, D.C, on January 10-11, 1915, and "marked the beginning of the separate women's peace movement."[19] Over 3,000 women attended the conference, representing a wide spectrum of women's organizations, including representatives from the National Council of Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and NAWSA, the National Federation of Settlements, the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's National Committee of the Socialist Party, the National Association of Colored Women, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Daughters of the American Revolution.[20] The founding convention of the WPP was notable for this high level of cooperation among women from various political backgrounds, radical and conservative. While the convention involved several thousand women from across the U.S., the leaders chosen to head the national WPP were a

homogeneous group: predominately white, educated, professional middle-class women from the eastern United States.[21]

The concerns of WPP leaders were primarily rooted in the peace, suffrage and settlement house movements, and their vision of lasting peace reflected this combination of issues. Primarily, WPP members were united in one objective - abolish war and militarism. However, coming from a background of suffrage and social work, these women opposed war and militarism for specific reasons. According to historian Linda Schott, the members of the WPP initiated this women's peace organization because they "sought the reform of a society that denigrated their moral priorities - the preservation and quality of human life and human relationships."[22] This broadly defined objective meant that the WPP would come to consider a wide spectrum of activities and issues "peace work," from the struggle for woman suffrage to decreases in U.S. armament production and the preservation of protective legislation for working women - all were components of a lasting peace.

The platform adopted at the founding conference of the WPP eloquently expressed the principles and strategies of the U.S. women's peace movement. The preamble to the platform, written by Anna Garlin Spencer (suffragist, professor of ethics and sociology), summarized the reasons behind women's separate peace organizing at this time. It began with a statement of the major objective of the new women's organization, articulating the position of pacifist women in attendance: "to demand that war be abolished." The preamble described reasons for establishing the WPP as a women-only peace society by presenting an

understanding of gender as both equal and distinct. It stated: "equally with men pacifists, we understand that planned-for, legalized, wholesale, human slaughter is today the sum of all villainies," but, "as women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war." This sense of "moral passion of revolt" towards warfare developed from war's devastating effects on women's role as "the custodian of the life of the ages" and women's responsibility for "the future of childhood" and "the care of the helpless and the unfortunate."[23] The WPP preamble is an example of the precarious gender politics of the time, a document which asserted women's traditional obligation to be successful caregivers to publicly justify the necessity of women's separate organization for peace. While many of these founding members were representatives of suffrage and women's rights organizations, most appeared to accept the gender roles which constituted the basis of the WPP's organization in 1915. This dilemma regarding the relationship between women's freedom and women's peace activism in the basic philosophy of the WPP was occasionally a source of controversy and division among women, but overall, most women's peace activists held that women's moral values, naturally or through socialization, respected human life to the degree that war was unthinkable.[24]

Women reformers also organized for peace as a means of protecting the institutions and values which they cherished from the negative influence of war and militarism. Again, respect for human life and human relationships motivated women to organize in "a protest that must be heard and heeded by men" against "that hoary evil which in an hour destroys

the social structure that centuries of toil have reared." The important task of maintaining respect for familial relationships and democratic values increased as governments instituted laws advocating military conscription and restrictions of freedom. This issue was closely related to women's demands for equal rights, which constituted a fundamental part of the lasting peace which WPP members sought; "human beings and the mother half of humanity," the women at the WPP founding conference demanded that their "right to be consulted in the settlement of questions concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognized and respected." The preamble concluded with the demand "that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate - within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the state."[25]

The purpose of the WPP in 1915 was "to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war."[26] This pacifist and international tone is evident in the eleven-point platform adopted at the founding conference:

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.
3. Organized opposition to militarism in our own country.
4. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.
5. Democratic control of foreign policies.
6. The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the franchise to women.
7. "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power."
8. Action toward the gradual organization of the world to substitute Law for War.
9. The substitution of an international police for rival armies and navies.
10. Removal of the economic causes of war.

11. The appointment by our government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace.[27]

While many contemporary peace societies advocated some of the above points in their programs, the WPP distinguished itself by incorporating a plan for neutral mediation as a primary objective and advocating woman suffrage as an avenue to peace. Barbara Steinson writes that "the planks calling for the removal of the economic causes of war and advocating democratic control of foreign policy" in the party's platform "represented the greatest departure from the programs of the prewar peace societies."[28] Marie Louise Degen, author of the only monograph on the history of the WPP, states that "the Woman's Peace Party stood out among American groups for the breadth and relative novelty of its platform. Earlier and more fully than any other national American organization," the party "foreshadowed the international program which President Wilson was to advance."[29]

The Woman's Peace Party also represented (in Alonso's words) "both the suffrage wing of the peace movement and the pacifist wing of the suffrage movement"; this close relationship between the suffrage movement and women's peace movement proved both a source of support and controversy for the WPP during its lifetime.[30] Owing its origins to the international suffrage movement, the WPP continued to rely on established suffrage organizations and networks for members and infrastructural support, at both the local and national branch levels. While many suffragists and pacifists identified the important political implications of a movement which combined women's demands for suffrage with

international peace objectives, not every woman was enthusiastic about this mix. At times, major tensions arose within the WPP over political and tactical priorities, particularly among the *suffrage first* and *peace at any price* contingents. The platform of the WPP openly acknowledged these differing viewpoints: "we have sunk all differences of opinion on minor matters and given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion... in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective."[31] Seeking to accommodate the widest possible spectrum of women, the WPP platform welcomed as members "all who are in substantial sympathy with that fundamental purpose of our organization," regardless as to "whether or not they accept in full our detailed statement of principles."[32] This policy allowed the WPP to embrace a politically diverse membership base.

Representatives from the New York City branch of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP-NY) accepted the national WPP's platform with enthusiasm. The membership of the Woman's Peace Party of New York reflected the political diversity of the time, embracing members who were pacifists, absolute pacifists, antimilitarists, simply peace advocates, or any combination of these convictions. Pacifists were those members who did not advocate violent solutions to problems; absolute pacifists were those who opposed all forms of violence, and the use of violence under all circumstances.[33] Antimilitarists opposed the physical, economic, social or cultural growth of militarism and viewed the strength of military-commercial interests as one of the major factors in causing and prolonging the war.

Peace advocate is a term which describes those who generally supported efforts to shorten the war and achieve peace; however, not all antimilitarists or peace advocates were necessarily anti-war or pacifist. Members of the women's peace movement varied tremendously regarding political affiliations and philosophical beliefs, a circumstance which caused conflict within the national and New York City branches of the Woman's Peace Party.

While the New York City branch was formed prior to the establishment of the national organization, New York City members remained occupied with other local antiwar and peace causes until the Washington conference provided the impetus and national support for real organizing and action as a women's peace society. Members of the WPP-NY spent the early months of 1915 devising plans to build a strong membership base, secure financial support, develop and distribute peace literature and establish committees designed to plan activities aimed at influencing public opinion in favour of the points outlined in the WPP platform.[34] During this period, the strong and innovative leadership which would become a prominent feature of the New York branch during 1915-1919 was evident in the skills and experience of members on the organization's first executive board. The executive board was comprised of notable suffragists, pacifists, feminists, labour activists and reformers, including Carrie Chapman Catt, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Gertrude Pinchot, Rose Schneiderman, Rose Pastor Stokes, Ida Tarbell, Fanny Garrison Villard and Vira Whitehouse (president of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association).[35]

Founding members Madeleine Z. Doty and Crystal Eastman were also members of the executive board, Doty serving on the advisory committee and Eastman acting as the party's first vice-chairman.[36] As chairman of the WPP-NY for 1915-1918 (and its later incarnation, the Woman's Peace Party of New York State/Woman's International League, 1918-1919), Eastman was an influential member of the more active and radical wing of the women's peace movement during World War I.

Considering her significant role in shaping the policies and activities of the WPP-NY, it is important to examine Crystal Eastman's personal, professional and political background. Eastman's experiences as a labour lawyer, journalist, pacifist and self-defined "socialist-feminist" illuminate how she was able to network with diverse elements of the women's, peace and anti-war movements during her time with the WPP-NY. Crystal Eastman (1881-1928) was born and raised in a middle-class family in New York; her parents were both suffragists, leading Eastman to an early identification with the movement for greater freedom for women.[37] Educated at Vassar College, in 1904 Eastman received her M.A. in sociology from Columbia, completing her education with a law degree from New York University in 1907.[38] Eastman's list of political alliances and accomplishments during the decade 1909-1919 indicates the wide scope of her political vision. Co-founder and secretary-treasurer of the New York branch of the American Association for Labor Legislation, in 1909 she was appointed to the state's Employment Liability Commission (its only female member), and was responsible for designing New York State's first workmen's

compensation law.[39] Many of the recommendations contained in her book Work Accidents and the Law (1910) were adopted in labour legislation throughout the United States.[40]

As a feminist, Eastman directed the 1911 women's suffrage campaign in Wisconsin, chairing that state's Political Equality League.[41] In 1913, she was a delegate to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Budapest, and assisted in organizing the Congressional Union/National Woman's Party (CU/NWP), the radical U.S. suffrage group.[42] During the 1920s, Eastman was a vocal advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment. She wrote prolifically on women's issues, from birth control and women's sexuality to rights within marriage and "short hair and short skirts," publishing articles in the American and European press.[43] She was also active in the feminist cultural and literary circle of New York's Greenwich Village, and a member of Heterodoxy, a radical feminist club.[44] In her examination of feminism in the 1910s, Nancy F. Cott maintains that "Heterodoxy epitomized the Feminism of the time," citing the members' broad definition of feminism as both a political ideology and a cultural movement.[45] As a feminist in the 1910s, Eastman was an advocate of a philosophy which was both a "movement of consciousness" (seeking to alter the perspectives of individual women and "free" them from attitudes of submissiveness and dependency) and a political movement for equal opportunity for women and men in all areas of public (and, for Eastman and others) private life.[46]

However, it is Eastman's activities in the U.S. peace and antimilitarism movements of World War I which have brought her the most recognition, as founder and chairman of

the WPP-NY, executive secretary for the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), and co-founder and advisory board member of the Civil Liberties Bureau of the AUAM (later the American Civil Liberties Union).[47] Eastman's experiences as an active member and leader in the WPP-NY, AUAM, CU/NWP and the Heterodoxy club during 1915-1919 resulted in the maintenance of support networks among these organizations which would sustain the WPP-NY in many ways: information and propaganda sharing, cooperation on lobbying and major events, broadened financial and membership base, infrastructural support and morale.

After the Washington conference, the next opportunity for members of the women's peace movement to meet and discuss issues of peace and war occurred in April 1915 at the International Congress of Women at the Hague.[48] This Congress was a significant event in the history of the international woman suffrage and peace movements, as over 1,100 women from twelve nations, neutral and belligerent, met to voice their protest to the war and form a permanent international body of women peace activists, the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace.[49] The Woman's Peace Party was a significant body within the U.S. delegation. Of the forty-six American delegates attending the Congress, twenty-two women were members of the WPP, and four of these women were members of New York branch: Alice Carpenter, Mary Chamberlain, Marian Cothern and Madeleine Z. Doty.[50]

The Congress was called in response to the cancellation of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance's annual meeting, which had been scheduled to meet in Berlin. Like the WPP platform, the resolutions adopted by the International Congress of Women presented a combination of the demand for woman suffrage with the urgency of organization for peace; Congress delegates were "convinced that one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war will be the combined influence of the women of all countries."[51] The delegates recognized, however, that "as women can only make their influence effective if they have equal political rights with men," the Congress asserted "that it is the duty of the women of all countries to work with all their force for their political enfranchisement."[52]

The fact that women could call such a meeting during wartime was, to many delegates, evidence of women's ability to put aside national and political differences in the interests of peace and preserving human life, and further confirmation of the appropriateness of separate organization for women. U.S. pacifist and WPP member Emily Greene Balch reflected on this significant accomplishment in 1915: "of all the international gatherings that help to draw the nations together, since the fatal days of July 1914 practically none have been convened. Science, medicine, reform, labor, religion - not one of these causes has been able as yet to gather its followers from across dividing frontiers."[53]

Through these international networks with women, WPP members received inspiration, knowledge and support which would encourage their activities during the war and in future struggles. "In the distress of mind that the war breeds in every thinking and feeling person,"

wrote Balch, "there is a poignant relief in finding a channel through which to work for peace."[54]

The work which occupied the WPP-NY, the national WPP and most other antimilitarist and peace organizations in the United States during 1915-1916 comprised of two closely related campaigns: first, the campaign against military preparedness; second, the campaign for a conference of neutral nations to negotiate an armistice to the war, or neutral mediation.[55] The key tactics used in these campaigns included, initially, methods which the progressives and reformers had utilized in their pre-war campaigns, particularly intense lobbying of the president and congress; WPP-NY members, in cooperation with other antimilitarist and pacifist organizations, worked to show members of the U.S. government that peaceful arbitration was a real alternative to military preparedness. Secondly, the party employed strategies aimed at influencing public opinion against preparedness and in support of neutral mediation (mass meetings, printed propaganda, public lectures and demonstrations). The WPP and other pacifist and anti-militarist groups during this period have received criticism for their apparent naivety concerning wartime strategies, particularly their strong trust in the sincerity of President Woodrow Wilson's statements regarding U.S. neutrality and desire for peace, and their belief that pacifism and non-violent intervention were American traditions which would sway U.S. citizens away from arguments which paired patriotism with preparedness and militarism.[56] Before

addressing this critique, however, it is important to examine the motivations and rationale behind the WPP-NY's choice of tactics and issues during 1915.

Whereas most Americans felt reassured by U.S. neutrality and geographic isolation during the early months of the war, U.S. banking and commercial interests and champions of military life in America saw an opportunity for profit and a military cultural renewal in the Great War. While congress and public opinion were in accord that the U.S. had no major interests threatened by the European hostilities, preparedness organizations such as the National Security League (NSL) and the American Rights Committee (ARL) aspired during 1914-1915 "to fire the American war spirit" by, according to Arthur S. Link, attempting "the hopeless task of persuading the American people that a complete Allied victory was essential to the preservation of democracy and civilization."[57] However, support for the preparedness movement began to increase considerably during 1915, particularly after the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7. Lobbying by preparedness organizations was also supported by statements by Theodore Roosevelt and press editorials like those in *The New Republic*, which reinforced many nineteenth-century military values, particularly the affiliation between the role and image of the male soldier with patriotic, masculine citizenship.[58]

Despite preparedness propaganda, the concept of a U.S. sponsored effort at neutral mediation was popular with American liberals during 1915. Woodrow Wilson received proposals favouring an American neutral mediation initiative from many sources, from

peace and antimilitarist societies to members of Wilson's adminstration (led by Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan). Such mediation plans presented scenarios in which the U.S. mediated the conflict independently or in cooperation with other neutral nations, all sharing "an optimistic faith that, if America initiated mediation, the belligerents would stop fighting and negotiate a viable peace treaty."[59] Secretary of State Bryan maintained that it was the responsibility of the U.S. "to make, not a secret but public appeal for the acceptance of mediation," explaining to Wilson that "our own interests justify it -- we may be drawn into the conflict if it continues," and as the "leader in peace propaganda we should act; as the greatest Christian nation we should act -- we cannot avoid the responsibility." Bryan concluded this correspondence by reminding Wilson that "you have such an opportunity as has not come to any man before."[60]

The president's response to neutral mediation proposals was cautious and ambivalent; Wilson, who had remarked early in his first term that "it would be the irony of fate if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs," was heavily influenced away from mediation tactics and towards preparedness and intervention by advisor Colonel Edward M. House's reports from Europe during House's visits to the belligerents in early 1915.[61] Wilson maintained a policy of "wait and see" during 1914-1915 regarding America's attitude towards mediation, commenting to Bryan that initiating mediation in early 1915 "would be futile and would probably be offensive," concluding that "we would lose such influence as we have for peace."[62] Furthermore, the peace movement was worried

by the administration's move towards a form of "false neutrality." By August 1915, Wilson's administration ended its economic policy supporting strict neutrality, and the house of J.P. Morgan was permitted to loan $500,000,000 to France and England to be directed towards the purchase of armaments from the United States. Colonel House took pride in the role of U.S. munitions in the European war, commenting that it appeared "that every German soldier... now being killed or wounded is being killed or wounded by an American bullet or shell," since "it seems they are the only ones that explode or are so manufactured that their results are deadly." However, the sale of U.S. manufactured armaments to the Allies was a controversial issue, debated in the peace movement, congress and the international press.[63]

The Woman's Peace Party of New York City was eager to publicize the detrimental, militaristic motives of banking and armament interests and sought to popularize the concept of neutral mediation in its program and activities during 1915. Specifically, the consequences of an American program of military preparedness upon the success of any U.S. role in mediation or peacemaking was a key concern. Crystal Eastman summarized the WPP-NY position in an editorial letter to *The New Republic* in July 1915. "Speaking as a pacifist," Eastman indicated that, in her opinion, the U.S. peace movement was not immediately concerned with "questions of international policy" and international conflict; rather, the primary concern of pacifists in 1915 was "the method of settling those disputes."[64] Eastman continued:

> Our function is to establish new values, to create an overpowering sense of the sacredness of life, so that war will be unthinkable; so that when international disputes arise, even of the most grave character - when lives have been lost, when our rights have been clearly invaded - we shall not turn to wholesale, deliberate destruction of life as the means of settling those disputes, of avenging those deaths, of asserting those rights.[65]

For Eastman, the issue of military preparedness was a crucial one for pacifists; it was their responsibility to convince the United States that preparedness constituted "a step in the wrong direction," with very serious consequences. In addition to the negative impact of increased militarization on American institutions, Eastman felt that military preparedness would result in the decline of the United States as a potential peacemaker. If the advocates of preparedness prevailed, "inevitably we [the U.S.] shall arouse suspicion and unfriendliness, no nation will believe us when we talk of a democratic world federation or a league of peace; we shall have lost the opportunity of centuries." Eastman concluded her letter with this warning on the possible outcome of the preparedness debate: "a big increase in armament on the part of an important neutral nation at a critical time like this, is most obviously playing with fire - it is inviting war upon us."[66]

The New York branch highlighted the preparedness and neutral mediation issues during the summer of 1915 when they organized a mass meeting of 3,000 people at Carnegie Hall to welcome WPP national chairman Jane Addams back from her tour of eight European countries, an event initiated by the International Congress of Women at the Hague in April.[67] Addams, accompanied by Dr. Aletta Jacobs of the Netherlands and Rosa

Genoni of Italy, visited government representatives to solicit their opinions on a negotiated armistice or neutral mediation of the war.[68] On her return to the United States, Addams' speech to the New York City meeting attracted anger and ridicule from the American press when she stated that stimulants (particularly alcohol) were being provided to soldiers on the front to encourage their violent tendencies.[69] The criticism directed towards Addams after the July 1915 meeting was an early taste of the scathing press treatment which pacifists and peace activists would receive as the war progressed. Much of this criticism incorporated commentary on the inappropriateness of women expressing their opinions on war and peace; one New York publication called Addams "a silly, vain, impertinent old maid, who may have done good charity work at Hull House, Chicago, but is now meddling with matters far beyond her capacity."[70] A Philadelphia newspaper was even more direct: "the trouble with Jane Addams seems to be that, being a woman, she can't understand how men can possess sufficient physical courage to charge into a cloud of shot and shell unless 'soused to the gills.'"[71] Early supporters of preparedness, the editors of *The New Republic* also criticized the Woman's Peace Party for their inexperience in national and world affairs:

> The American women who have formed the Woman's Peace Party are sane in their insistence upon human values, but their sanity is the sanity of isolation, and their horror of war is that of the spectator. They will never know the reality of their own sentiment until they have tested it in the face of a personal crisis, until, like the women of Europe, they have lived in the tensions that may ultimately lead to war... What better work could the Woman's Peace Party undertake than to cut its wisdom teeth on a thoroughly domestic issue. Surely, women cannot hope to intervene in Europe until they have shown what they can do in a country where women are powerful.[72]

These comments illustrated the fundamental importance of political equality for American women and its relationship to international peace work. The editors of *The New Republic* equated political or public experience with the right to comment upon (not yet participate in), international concerns. Thus, the importance of suffrage to equip women with a political voice surfaced again as a condition for effective women's peace activism. Such reactions to Addams' statements and women's peace activism generally also forced the WPP-NY to reiterate their philosophy regarding women's relationship to issues of war and peace, specifically, to challenge the popular images of women as ignorant of (and silent on) international affairs.

Seeking to counter the preparedness-driven images of "patriotic" mothers as exclusively the mothers of soldiers, the party sponsored a public forum and lecture series which addressed the preparedness and neutral mediation issues, entitled "America's Future Foreign Policy." The activity was sparked by President Wilson's preparedness speech in New York City on November 4; while the party had congratulated Wilson in the past for what they referred to as his "wise leadership and high idealism," specifically, "his vigorous efforts to save this country from the senseless horror and stupid waste of war," the president's espousal of a preparedness program for the United States shocked the peace movement.[73] Asserting that "we have it in mind to be prepared, not for war, but only for defense," the president announced changes to the national defense program which included

an expansion of the regular army (adding almost 34,000 soldiers) and the establishment of a continental army of 400,000 soldiers.[74]

According to Degen, in the autumn of 1915 the New York women were "the branch which protested most aggressively" against "president Wilson's adoption of a preparedness program."[75] The speakers at the branch's series of meetings were numerous, and represented organizations and opinions from opposite ends of the preparedness debate, from Henry A. Wise Wood (Chairman of the Conference Committee on National Preparedness) to Crystal Eastman (representing both the WPP-NY and the American Union Against Militarism).[76] The lectures addressed aspects of U.S. foreign policy which ranged from issues of national defense (under the title "What Does America Fear?") to American-Japanese relations.[77] The party targeted a female audience by publicizing the series through women's clubs and societies. Indeed, the WPP-NY regarded the lectures as a significant first step towards the organization's goal of fostering international education among women to the degree that "by the time this war closes," branch members "will be able to take part in the problems of peace which all countries will be facing."[78]

Eastman and the New York branch were also quick to draw the national WPP's attention to the urgent need for a comprehensive anti-preparedness program for the WPP at the national organization's preliminary conference in New York City on November 19-20, 1915. The conference had been called by the national executive board to prepare for the annual meeting of the WPP in Washington in January. The resolutions adopted at this

meeting included a portion of the platform outlined in Eastman's article, "A Platform for Real Preparedness," published in *The Survey* on November 13, 1915.[79] "So far," Eastman wrote, "we have been playing a role of negation, or at best have set remote plans for world federation against immediate demands for preparedness. Congress convenes December 6. It is high time we had a program." The WPP conference incorporated two of Eastman's recommendations into their own proposed program for 1916. First, Eastman's suggestion that "on the first day of congress let us have a bill ready, calling for a public and expert investigation of the state of our defenses, with a report in three months," and second, the organization of "a small commission to confer with the other American republics concerning the advisability of forming a permanent union for our mutual benefit," an initiative which she hoped would mark the start of constructive efforts towards a system of cooperative internationalism.[80] Indicative of their status as the most dynamic branch of the WPP, particularly on the preparedness issue, the WPP-NY requested and were granted voting privileges and representation equivalent to that of a state branch at this preliminary conference. The national WPP executive board recognized the opportunities for excellent publicity and peace propaganda the young New Yorkers offered. "Personally," Eastman wrote to Jane Addams one week before the New York meeting, "I think you will agree that we are a little too big and important to be represented by one delegate at such an important conference. There is splendid enthusiasm down here now and it would be a pity not to make the most of it."[81]

A second obstacle facing the WPP-NY's peace efforts was the preparedness movement's campaign to popularize the image of the militarized mother. The issue of "patriotic motherhood" was a favourite of preparedness advocate Theodore Roosevelt; according to historian Kathleen Kennedy, Roosevelt's entire definition of womanhood was "bound by military virtues." In his speeches throughout 1915, Roosevelt "reinforced women's dependency on men and defined true womanhood as an extension of military duty," by describing the act of childbirth and motherhood "in the same rhetoric of heroic action that he used to discuss men's soldiering."[82] Kennedy also indicates that Roosevelt was "particularly outraged by the Woman's Peace Party" and their image of mothers as natural pacifists, not Roosevelt's sacrificing mothers who offered their sons to the state without protest or question. Roosevelt charged that, by not acquiescing to his image of the patriotic mother, pacifist mothers denied men the opportunity to truly express their masculine patriotism; if a mother forbade her children from entering military life or culture, or, in Roosevelt's terms, "if she shirks her duty she is entitled to no more consideration than the man who shirks his. Unless she does her duty, the whole social system collapses."[83] At their worst, the influence of women peace activists could turn potential soldiers into cowards. Roosevelt summarized his position at a preparedness meeting in 1915:

> Recently in certain circles, some popularity has been achieved by a song entitled 'I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier'-- a song which ought always to be sung with a companion piece entitled 'I Didn't Raise My Girl To Be a Mother.' The two stand on precisely the same moral level. This hymn, in condemnation of courage, has been sung in music-halls, and even in schools, with applause.... Those who applaud such a song are wholly out of place at any patriotic celebration on Decoration Day

> or the Fourth of July; and most assuredly men of this abject type will be easily affected by terrorism.[84]

The WPP-NY tackled the subject of the patriotic mother and expressed their perspective on the relationship between womanhood and militarism during a massive lobbying effort in November 1915. That month, Mrs. Henry Ford donated ten-thousand dollars to the national Woman's Peace Party "to use in initiating an American mother's movement toward a conference of neutral nations."[85] The money was directed towards a national telegram appeal to "every woman's organization without regard to race or purpose -- religious, social, educational and political organizations" were all invited "to join in sending telegrams to President Wilson urging him to confer with other neutral nations for a just settlement of the present war."[86] National WPP national chairman Jane Addams was in New York City at the time of the donation, and the WPP-NY branch office became the centre of organization for the telegram campaign. During the women's telegram campaign, which Crystal Eastman described at the time as "the best woman's stunt I have ever seen pulled off," nearly nine-thousand women received messages from the WPP urging them to wire the president with an appeal for a conference of neutral nations; by noon on November 25, "the Peace Party... received a telephone message from Washington" which stated that "nearly one-thousand telegrams had already been received at the White House" in response to the WPP campaign.[87] By the following day it was reported that over six thousand telegrams had been received at Washington.[88]

The women's telegram campaign offered the WPP-NY an unprecedented opportunity to network with other women's organizations. Telegrams were sent to national and local women's clubs, women's trade unions, university women's organizations, chapters of the YWCA and the WCTU, suffrage organizations and WPP members.[89] These networks would remain an important source of support for the branch during the coming years. The success of the campaign, and particularly the quick response from diverse women's organizations, produced a remarkable boost in morale for the organization, expressed in a New York branch article on the telegram campaign: "suffragist and anti, peace lover and fighter, Christian and agnostic alike were united in their desire for a conference of neutral nations."[90] The campaign provided party members with a renewed sense of solidarity with American women; the telegram project was an event in which women expressed a united, political voice. This was evident in the message sent by WPP-NY member Zona Gale:

> I am among the thousands who hope that our country shall not only serve humanity by offering to arbitrate among the nations as you have already done or by consenting to assist in the settlement after the war has been fought out but that now before any nation is humiliated and the seed sown for some future vengeance we call a conference of the noncombatant nations who shall propose one plan after another of just settlement until something is reached to which all the warring nations can agree.[91]

For party members, this event was an inspiration and an indication that, firstly, American women supported the movement to promote alternatives to war and preparedness, and secondly, women were willing to express this desire politically. At the close of 1915, the

WPP-NY was planning activities and programs which would transform this potential mass movement of women into a political reality.

The national WPP executive board rewarded the New York branch for its efforts in leading the telegram campaign by donating the remainder of Mrs. Ford's contribution to the WPP-NY. Crystal Eastman welcomed this "joyful surprise," as it was presented "just at a time to save us from bankruptcy. Our Forum with the ten afternoon meetings and the six evening meetings just about cleaned out our treasury."[92] By December 1915, the branch had moved their office headquarters to 70 Fifth Avenue, a building they shared with other antimilitarist and peace organizations. The move enhanced the party's opportunities for networking with like-minded groups.[93] A press release dated December 5 indicated that the party was embarking on "new plans of activity" which were necessary "owing to the rapid growth of the organization following the two weeks public Forum in November and the successful handling of the $10,000 Ford-telegram campaign," which Eastman reported to have "brought many new members into the party."[94] While the WPP-NY records do not contain any membership lists as such, branch membership can be estimated at approximately one-thousand women by the end of 1915.[95]

The organization closed 1915 with a mass meeting on military preparedness on December 28. The event featured the reading of a short story on "internationalism versus preparedness" by Zona Gale, and "a brief review of the Congressional situation so far as it effects the aim and purpose of the Woman's Peace Party," by Crystal Eastman and Gertrude

Pinchot.[96] Eastman and Pinchot had been in Washington earlier that month to initiate the WPP's congressional activities, specifically, plans for the introduction of a bill supporting a Pan-American Union.[97] Eastman's primary concern during her Washington stay, however, was the progress of the preparedness debate in congress. Despite her optimistic take on the debate, commenting that with supportive congressmen, "commonsense anti-preparedness people have every chance for success," she expressed some dismay about the rapid increase in military preparedness discussions among the press and government representatives at Washington:

> The most singular thing in the whole situation is the way the word "Preparedness" is developing. The word has practically been coined in the last two months. Originally it was a good word but since it has been taken up by the big armament advocates to define their dangerous program of so-called defense appropriations, the word is come to have a sinister meaning. I would like to prophecy that within a few weeks, it will be everlastingly identified with militarism, extreme political Nationalism, Armament manufacturers, big unscrupulous interests which would fasten a tremendous new burden of taxation upon the people without a qualm, and the jingo patriots. I think it is time for all of those who can keep their senses about war and peace, foreign policy and real national defense to come out against "preparedness" without qualification.[98]

The need for a strengthened anti-preparedness movement was dramatically reinforced by Wilson's Third Annual Message before the Sixty-Fourth Congress on December 7, 1915, in which the president announced a five-year construction plan for naval expansion and an army increase of 500,000 troops.[99]

In retrospect, the WPP-NY was right to concentrate on peace propaganda and education during the early portion of the Great War, since "American sentiment was

overwhelmingly neutral and pacific" at this time.[100] The peace and antimilitarism movements were also highly encouraged by President Wilson's appeal for neutrality on August 19, 1914, in which the president declared "the United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls."[101] According to historian David Kennedy, the progressive reformers of the peace movement "reassured themselves that they had a like-minded man in the White House, one who took frequent counsel with the representatives of liberal causes, who appreciated the irrelevance of the European war to American affairs, and who was sensitive to the threat that militarism posed to progressive strivings."[102] During 1914-1915, Wilson was enthusiastically supported by members of the peace movement; according to Cook, the pacifists and antimilitarists who identified closely with Wilson (particularly WPP and AUAM members Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, and high-profile anti-militarists Oswald Garrison Villard, Amos Pinchot and Norman Thomas) "consistently believed that he was eager to help their cause."[103] However, as the WPP and other peace and anti-militarists organizations would later realize, while Wilson "echoed their sentiments, encouraged their enthusiasm, and courted their support," he "failed to act on their suggestions" on the significant issues surrounding military preparedness, neutral mediation and conscription.[104]

The Woman's Peace Party of New York City, as a metropolitan organization which targeted women who differed in age, class, ethnic and political backgrounds from the more established members of the WPP national board, were quicker to realize the ineffectiveness

of lobbying a president whose pledge of neutrality in 1914 converted to military preparedness in 1915.[105] In the months and years to come, the New York branch would implement activities and programs which sought to develop a popular women's peace movement, one which focused on peace education for women and the achievement and exercise of women's political rights. During 1916, the WPP-NY would expand its networks with women's and suffrage organizations to include the influential antimilitarist organization, the American Union Against Militarism, which cooperated with the party on a bold new program concentrated on anti-preparedness, opposition to military training for children and youth, anti-conscription measures and neutral mediation.

ENDNOTES

1. Harriet Hyman Alonso, Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 56-57; C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 182-185; Barbara Steinson, American Women's Activism in World War I (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 8-9.

For biographical information on the women listed, see Jacqueline Van Voris, Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1987); Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1976); Lillian Wald, Windows on Henry Street (Boston: Little Brown, 1934); Doris Daniels, Always a Sister: The Feminism of Lillian D. Wald (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1989); Doris Weatherford, American Women's History: An A to Z of People, Organizations, Issues and Events (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1994), see biographical entries by name.

2. Quoted in Alonso, p. 57.

3. Steinson, p. 13.

4. Undated press release from the Peace Parade Committee, quoted in Steinson, p. 11.

5. Steinson, p. 11.

6. Joan W. Scott, "Rewriting History," in Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars, edited by Margaret Randolph Higonnet (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 24.

7. *New York Times*, August 14, 30, 1914, quoted in Steinson, p. 13.

8. Schwimmer met personally with President Wilson and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan to discuss the mediation plan. See Alonso, p. 58; Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Woman's Peace Party (New York: Garland, 1972), p. 30; Marchand, pp. 194-195; Steinson, p. 18.

9. Quoted in Degen, p. 32. For information on the Congressional Union, see Inez Haynes Irwin, The Story of Alice Paul and The National Woman's Party (Fairfax, Virginia: Denlinger's Publishers, 1977).

10. Alonso, pp. 58-59. The Carnegie Hall meeting occurred on October 31, 1914. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Metropolitan New York Branch History Project dates the founding of the WPP-NY as November 1914. See Alonso, p. 279.

11. Alonso, p. 59.

12. Steinson, p. 22. Jane Addams (1860-1935) was a pioneer in the field of social work, establishing the Hull House Settlement in Chicago with Ellen Gates Starr in 1889. A prominent leader in the suffrage and peace movements of the period, Addams was the first vice-chairman of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (1911), national chairman of the Woman's Peace Party (1915) and the first president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1919). She was also the first American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize (1931). For more information on Addams, see Jane Addams, Jane Addams on Peace, War, and International Understanding, 1899-1932, edited by Allen F. Davis (New York: Garland, 1972); Christopher Lasch, ed., The Social Thought of Jane Addams (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). See also works written by Addams: Newer Ideals of Peace (1907), Twenty Years at Hull House (1910), and Peace and Bread in Time of War (1945), among others.

13. *New York Times*, February 6, 1915, quoted in Alonso, p. 61.

14. Catt, December 16, 1914, quoted in Alonso, p. 61. The "masculine" peace societies at this time included the American Peace Society and the League to Enforce Peace. For information on the pre-war peace movement, see David S. Patterson, "An Interpretation of the American Peace Movement, 1898-1914," in Peace Movements in America, edited by Charles Chatfield (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), pp. 20-38.

15. Alonso, p. 62; Steinson, p. 27.

16. Alonso. p. 62; Marchand, pp. 187-200; Steinson, pp. 27-30.

17. Catt, December 16, 1914, quoted in Alonso, p. 62.

18. Addams, December 28, 1914, quoted in Steinson, pp. 27-28.

19. Linda Schott, "The Woman's Peace Party and the Moral Basis for Women's Pacifism," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 8 (1985), pp. 18-19.

20. Schott, "The Woman's Peace Party and the Moral Basis for Women's Pacifism," p. 18; Alonso, p. 63; Degen, pp. 38-40; Steinson, p. 33.

21. Schott, "The Woman's Peace Party and the Moral Basis for Women's Pacifism," p. 19. Officers elected at the founding conference included Jane Addams (national chairman), Anna Garlin Spencer, Fanny Garrison Villard and Alice Post.

22. Schott, "The Woman's Peace Party and the Moral Basis for Women's Pacifism," p. 23.

23. Preamble, Platform of the Woman's Peace Party, January 11, 1915. Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 5, folder 12. Reprinted in Degen, pp. 40-42, and John Whiteclay Chambers, ed., The Eagle and the Dove: The American Peace Movement and United States Foreign Policy, 1900-1922 (New York: Garland, 1976), pp. 260-261.

24. This issue of women's images and roles within the rhetoric of the women's peace movement would resurface in the controversy surrounding women's participation in war relief work during 1917.

25. Preamble, Platform of the Woman's Peace Party.

26. Platform of the WPP.

27. Platform of the WPP.

28. Steinson, pp. 36-37.

29. Degen, p. 49. Degen is referring to the Platform and the WPP's "Program for Constructive Peace," also adopted at the founding conference in January 1915. This program involved eighteen steps and recommendations organized in four sections: 1. To secure the cessation of hostilities; 2. To insure such terms of settlement as will prevent this war from being but the prelude to new wars; 3. To place the future peace of the world upon secure foundations; 4. Immediate national program for the United States. See Degen, pp. 44-46.

30. Alonso, p. 56.

31. Platform of the WPP; see also Degen, p. 41; Steinson, p. 39. The peace and suffrage causes often competed for supporters. See correspondence between WPP and Katherine L. Paddock; WPP to Paddock, November 11, 1915: "We appreciate the cry for suffrage work

at the present time, but are sorry to feel that in so many cases the two causes of suffrage and peace do not work together." WPP to Katherine L. Paddock, November 11, 1915; see also Katherine L. Paddock to WPP, November 9, 1915, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York Conference, 1915."

32. Platform of the WPP. Steinson considers this point in the platform to be directed towards anti-suffragists. Steinson, p. 39.

33. For example, see absolute pacifist John Haynes Holmes' description of war in 1915: "war is never justifiable at any time or under any circumstances. No man is wise enough, no nation is important enough, no human interest is precious enough, to justify the wholesale destruction and murder which constitute the essence of war. Human life is alone sacred... War... is the enemy of life and all its interests..." Quoted in Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), p. 12.

34. WPP records, box 5, folders 2, 4, 5, 8 and 10.

35. WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

36. The term "chairman" was used by the WPP-NY to refer to leading officers of the executive (despite the term's masculine syllable and connotation).

37. See Blanche Wiesen Cook, Introduction in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 4. For a brief discussion of Eastman's "socialist-feminist" identity, see Sheila Rowbotham, Women in Movement: Feminism and Social Action (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 172-173 and pp. 241-243.

38. Cook, Introduction in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution, p. 6.

39. Blanche Wiesen Cook, Introduction in Toward the Great Change: Crystal and Max Eastman on Feminism, Antimilitarism, and Revolution (New York: Garland, 1976), p. 22.

40. Cook, Introduction in Toward the Great Change, p. 22.

41. The 1911 suffrage bid in Wisconsin was defeated; Eastman attributed the defeat to the power of big business in the area to determine political events. Cook, Introduction in Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, p. 10.

42. Cook, Introduction in Toward the Great Change, p. 19; Irwin, pp. 13, 52, 67.

43. "Short Hair and Short Skirts," published in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution, pp. 74-76, is just one example of Eastman's approach to writing about women's culture, or what Cook classifies as "creating feminist lifestyles."

44. See references to Eastman's activities related to feminist culture in Judith Schwarz, Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village 1912-1940 (Norwich: New Victoria, 1986) and June Sochen, The New Woman: Feminism in Greenwich Village, 1910-1920 (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972).

45. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 38. Cott capitalizes the word feminism throughout her treatment of the term in the 1910s.

46. For information on early twentieth century feminism, see Cott, "The Birth of Feminism," Chapter 1 in The Grounding of Modern Feminism, pp. 12-50.

47. For examples of historical treatment of Eastman's activities within the Woman's Peace Party and the American Union Against Militarism, see Alonso, pp. 58, 65-66, 71, 79, 92-93; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, chapters 2-7, *passim*; Degen, pp. 35, 154, 158, 171, 181; Steinson, pp. 74-75, 113, 126-127, 159-160. For information on the role of the AUAM in the origins and development of the ACLU, see Peggy Lamson, Roger Baldwin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976).

Eastman was also a member of the Church Peace Union (CPU) during 1915. The CPU was a coalition of church leaders, founded by Andrew Carnegie in early 1914. See Marchand, pp. 351-370; Charles DeBenedetti, Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement, 1915-1929 (New York: KTO Press, 1978), pp. 99-103; WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1915-1916.

48. For information on the International Congress of Women, see Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women at the Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results (New York: Garland Publishing, 1972); Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, ed., Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1965), pp. 17-24.

49. The vast majority of women in attendance were from the Netherlands (1,000), with other participating nations represented as follows: Austria, 6; Belgium, 5; Great Britain, 3; Canada, 2; Denmark, 6; Germany, 28; Hungary, 9; Italy, 1; Norway, 12; Sweden, 12; and United States, 46. The lower representation of women from certain countries reflects the difficulty of arranging international travel during wartime. No Russian or French women

attended, and 180 British women who were planning to attend the congress were refused passports, reducing the number of British representatives to three; two women who were already in the Netherlands, Crystal Macmillan and Kathleen Courtney, and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, who was travelling on the same ship as the U.S. delegates. See Alonso, pp. 67-68.

The Woman's Peace Party became the U.S. chapter of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace in April 1915.

50. List of American Delegates to the Hague Conference, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

51. Program from the International Women's Congress, April 28-30 1915. WPP records, box 3, folder 2.

52. Program from the International Women's Congress.

53. Quoted in Bussey, p. 17. Balch (1867-1961) was a professor of economics at Wellesley College in Boston, and a prominent pacifist during two world wars. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946. For biographical information, see Mercedes M. Randall, Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964).

54. Quoted in Catherine Foster, Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. 13.

55. For a good description of the issues and personalities involved in the U.S. anti-preparedness and neutral mediation movements, see Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917.

56. See Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, *passim*; Carrie Foster, The Women and the Warriors: The U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1946 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), pp. 14-15.

57. Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p. 176. For information on the preparedness movement, see chapter 7 in Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, "The Preparedness Controversy, 1914-16," pp. 174-196; Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 15-54.

58. See Kathleen Anne Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty in America": Socialist Women, Anti-Militarism, and State Repression, 1914-1922 (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Irvine, 1992), pp. 32-68.

59. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 84-85.

60. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 85.

61. Quoted in Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 81. See Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916 pp. 89-137; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 86-94. For information on the relationship between Colonel House and Wilson, see George Sylvester Viereck, The Strangest Friendship in History: Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976); Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).

62. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 85-86, 107.

63. See proposals of legislation favouring an arms embargo from Congressmen Henry Vollmer (December 1914) and John Jacob Esch (March 1916), who favoured an embargo similar to the ones declared by the other neutral powers, but, according to Cook, Esch "reported that the Administration opposed such a resolution and since it controlled two-thirds of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, embargo proposals would not get out of committee." U.S. shipments of arms also received attention from the German press; a *Cologne Gazette* editorial from early 1915 commented that Germany "acknowledged that it had no formal means of protecting against the international scandal of American shipments of arms but made no secret of the fact that it expected a really neutral country to issue an embargo... History will pass judgement on the part played by America in this war and it will judge that America bartered its far-famed ideals of humanity for... its shipments of arms... America's neutrality is now nothing but a thin cloak disguising sycophancy towards England." See Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 91-93, 104, 118.

64. Crystal Eastman, letter to the editor, *The New Republic*, July 24, 1915. See WPP records, box 5, folder 10; the letter was written on July 12, on WPP-NY letterhead. It was reprinted as "To Make War Unthinkable," in Cook, Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution, pp. 235-237.

65. Eastman to *The New Republic*.

66. Eastman to *The New Republic*.

67. Degen, p. 111.

68. Addams visited Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. A second delegation, composed of Emily Greene Balch of the U.S., Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary, Crystal Macmillan of Scotland and Cor Ramondt-Hirsh of the Netherlands visited Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia and the Netherlands. The delegations were a direct response to the discussions in support of neutral mediation at the International Congress of Women. See Alonso, pp. 68-69; Degen, pp. 92-110, Steinson, pp. 63-65.

69. Alonso. p. 68; Degen, pp. 111-114; Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 224-231; James Weber Linn, Jane Addams: A Biography (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), pp. 312-314.

70. *New York City Town Topics*, July 15, 1915, quoted in Degen, p. 113.

71. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 20, 1916, quoted in Degen, p. 113.

72. "The Sum of All Villainies," *The New Republic*, Feb. 13, 1915, quoted in Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty In America," p. 53. The WPP also received a cold reception from segments of the U.S. peace movement; in a letter to Crystal Eastman, John Mez of the American Peace Society wrote from Washington: "I am in a struggle here to convince people who unfortunately still are of some influence that the Women's peace party does not consist of 'asses' or 'scoundrels' or 'people who want to advertise their names' and that the W.P. Party does not 'harm the peace cause more than it helps it.'" Mez to Eastman. November 30, 1915, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1915-1916.

73. WPP-NY resolution, May 24, 1915. WPP records, box 5, folder 5. Wilson's early preparedness program was first outlined in a speech to the Manhattan Club in New York City on November 4, 1915. See "An address on preparedness to the Manhattan Club. November 4, 1915," in Arthur S. Link, ed., The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Vol. 35. October 1, 1915-January 27, 1916 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

74. Link, Confusions and Crises, pp. 17-21. The proposal called for an increase in the regular army from 108,008 to 141,707 troops.

75. Degen, p. 154.

76. WPP records, box 5, folder 10; also box 17, folder "S" 1917, and box 18, folder "T" 1915-1919.

77. WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

78. "Plans for the Organization of the Membership Committee," 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 2.

79. Crystal Eastman, "A Platform of Real Preparedness," *The Survey*, November 13, 1915, reprinted in Cook, Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 241-247.

80. Additional recommendations included: nationalized manufacture of armaments, Philippine independence (to ensure American freedom from "incongruous possessions" and "entangling alliances"), and measures aimed at improving relations and understanding between America and the Orient. Eastman, "A Platform of Real Preparedness." See also Degen, pp. 154-155.

81. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, November 13, 1915, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York Conference, 1915."

82. Kennedy provides many examples from Roosevelt's speeches and writings which express his philosophy on the close relationship between mothering and soldiering. See Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty in America," pp. 32-33.

83. Members of the WPP-NY were quite aware of this last point, and took pride in their roles in encouraging pacifist women "shirkers." Quoted in Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty in America," pp. 33, 46.

84. Quoted in Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty in America," p. 46.

85. Undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10. The press release also stated: "Mrs. Ford's interest in the Woman's Peace Party is the result of a visit to Detroit made last week by Madame Rosika Schwimmer the Hungarian pacifist."

86. Undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10. The telegram, which was signed by Jane Addams, read:

> For the sake of all the anxious mothers dreading that their sons may be added to the ten million men already killed or crippled in this war will you strengthen the appeal made next Friday by Ethel Snowden of England and Rosika Schwimmer of

> Hungary to President Wilson by telegraphing him immediately at Washington somewhat as follows: we urge a conference of neutral nations dedicated to finding a just settlement of this war.

WPP records, box 14, folder "Jane Addams" 1916-1918.

87. WPP-NY press release, November 25, 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

88. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, November 27, 1915, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916.

89. "Statement of telegrams sent from 553 Fifth Avenue, New York," 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 11.

90. "Do the Women of America Want Peace: The Story of the Telegrams." WPP records, box 5, folder 11.

91. WPP records, box 5, folder 11. Gale (1874-1938) was a popular writer within New York City's Greenwich Village literary circle. For biographical information, see Harold Peter Simonson, Zona Gale (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962).

92. The donation amounted to approximately $1,000. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, December 3, 1915, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916.

93. These included the American Union Against Militarism and the American Neutral Conference Committee. WPP records, box 5, folder 10; box 18, folder "T" 1915-1919.

94. Press release, December 5, 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

95. The earliest statement regarding WPP-NY membership in the WPP records is contained in a press release from February 1916, which indicated that the WPP-NY had a membership of 1,200. WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

96. Press releases, December 18 and December 27, 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

97. Press release, December 7, 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

98. Press release, December 15, 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

99. "An Annual Message on the State of the Union, December 7, 1915," reprinted in Link, ed., The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Vol. 35, October 1, 1915-January 27, 1916, pp. 293-310. See also Link, Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916, pp. 34-37; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 41-43.

100. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 174.

101. "Wilson's Appeal for Neutrality," Message to Senate, August 19, 1914, reprinted in Chambers, The Eagle and the Dove, p. 233.

102. David M. Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 32.

103. Referring to the anti-militarists, Cook commented: "their trust in Wilson was not unfounded. Wilson's letterbooks reveal numerous examples of friendly, warm and flattering correspondence to the members of the AUAM and their writings reveal even greater warmth and affection for him." Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 16-17.

104. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. ii.

105. For examinations of Wilson's transition from neutrality towards preparedness, see Patrick Devlin, Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 283-391; Thomas J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), Chapter 5, "The Turning Point," pp. 70-84.

CHAPTER 3: TO PROTEST AGAINST THE WAR SYSTEM: ANTI-PREPAREDNESS AND NEUTRAL MEDIATION, 1916

> Our organization begins its second year at a time when American ideals are in jeopardy and democracy is in peril. Militarism and commercialism are in the saddle as probably never before in our history. We are non-voters upholding an unpopular cause at a time when the policy of our country may decide the policy of the world for many generations to come.[1]
>
> Lucia Ames Mead, 1916

These were the words which the national secretary of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), the only national body representing the United States women's peace movement, used to describe the challenge her organization was to face in 1916. The New York City branch of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP-NY) would respond to this challenge by appealing to the U.S. public to initiate a popular women's movement for peace. The WPP-NY's activities during 1916 were also characterized by an increase in networking and cooperation with like-minded peace organizations in activities directed towards educating the public about preparedness and neutral mediation proposals, and efforts to influence congress and the president to assume the role of neutral peacemaker in the European conflict.

While these coalition activities expanded the party's financial and infrastructural base of support, they also prompted some members to question the degree to which the party remained committed to an expression of women's demands for peace. The New York

branch reasoned that women's difference from men regarding war and militarism, particularly women's tendency to place the preservation of human life above the political and economic issues which led to warfare, supported the need for a separate women's peace movement. However, the WPP-NY also identified strongly with many of the issues being addressed by other local peace and antimilitarism societies, and chose to cooperate with such groups in advancing their mutual causes. Overall, the branch's independent activities and coalition projects during 1916 focused upon what members believed to be the foundation of a popular women's movement for peace: the education of American women on peace and international affairs.

The New York branch's plans for 1916 were influenced by discussions at the second annual convention of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP) which occurred in Washington, D.C., January 8-10, 1916. The WPP-NY sent thirty-five delegates to this meeting, including chairman Crystal Eastman, vice-chairman Madeleine Z. Doty and secretary A. Evelyn Newman.[2] Throughout the convention's proceedings, WPP-NY members agreed with their national counterparts that the issue of militarism at home, and particularly the drive for military preparedness, was the primary concern for the peace movement entering 1916.[3] The WPP-NY would tackle this issue by organizing innovative anti-preparedness educational campaigns for New York City women and, in cooperation with the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), launching national anti-preparedness efforts and

lobbying activities aimed at influencing congress and the president to reject military preparedness and consider the neutral mediation approach.

The revisions of the purpose and structure of the national WPP implemented at the party's 1916 convention strengthened the New York branch's opportunities for networking with other peace and antimilitarist groups. The national party's new structure provided a higher degree of autonomy for WPP local and state branches, while maintaining the organization's liberal membership policy which invited women who claimed "substantial sympathy" with the purpose and platform of the WPP.[4] This allowed the New York branch to conduct outreach to a wider spectrum of organizations, building upon their suffrage and social reform networks of 1915 to encompass a broader pacifist and antimilitarist base of support during the urgent anti-preparedness work of 1916.

Also at this convention, the object of the WPP was amended to reflect the organization's increased understanding of the causes of war and the threat of militarism:

> The object of the Woman's Peace Party shall be to protest against the war system; to substitute law for war; to enlist all women of the United States in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war; to promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice; and to cooperate with women of other countries who are working towards the same ends.[5]

By 1916, members of the WPP were beginning to recognize more fully the multiple dimensions of war; to abolish war, women must target the war system, a structure of economic, political, social and cultural forces which promoted the use of military force and

general violence rather than civilized diplomacy. Challenging the emergence of militarism in the United States was an obvious starting-point for the WPP. Like their fellow pacifists and peace advocates, the WPP also advanced alternatives to the war system, the principle alternative being neutral mediation to arbitrate the current war. Lastly, the amended objective of the WPP focused on the international solidarity of women, which would become increasingly important to the U.S. women's peace movement as the European war, and U.S. militarism, progressed.

In New York City, the WPP-NY challenged preparedness and militarism by developing cooperative working relationships with local pacifist and antimilitarist organizations through formal organizational ties between the WPP-NY and a local group, or informally through individual women (who may have held memberships in peace groups other than the WPP-NY). For example, New York branch members were active leaders in the organized protest against conscription during 1916. Jessie Wallace Hughan, Frances M. Witherspoon and Tracy D. Mygatt were founders of the pacifist anti-draft organization, the Anti-Enlistment League; Mygatt, Crystal Eastman, Fanny Garrison Villard and Mary Ware Dennett were members of the No-Conscription League, an anti-conscription committee of the New York branch of the American Union Against Militarism. The party supported the objectives of both these anti-conscription groups, cooperating with these bodies by sharing literature and publicizing the organizations' activities to members.[6]

The most significant affiliation the WPP-NY maintained during 1916 was with the American Union Against Militarism, a well respected antimilitarist organization comprised of notable progressives and social reformers. As both the chairman of the WPP-NY and the executive secretary of the AUAM, Crystal Eastman was at the root of many of the organizations' coalition activities. Party members supported this relationship because they recognized how the effectiveness of their peace activities (in terms of publicity, financing, infrastructural support, knowledge and skills base, and opportunities for further networking) increased by cooperating with the AUAM. Most importantly, the New York branch choose to join forces with an organization which featured women in positions of influence (Lillian Wald as chairman, Eastman as secretary), one which exhibited the fair distribution of power and responsibility among women and men which the party sought to accomplish in all aspects of society.

The American Union Against Militarism began in September 1914 as the Anti-Preparedness Committee, an informal organization which met at New York's Henry Street settlement. From the autumn of 1914 to November 1915, "the organization was loosely structured and unfocused," but, according to historian Blanche Wiesen Cook, "after the first year of its existence the AUAM became a national clearing house of information and activity, and one of the biggest and most influential peace committees in America."[7] The Anti-Preparedness Committee became the American Union Against Militarism in April 1916. With national headquarters in New York, the AUAM established "the only active

nation-wide press service for peace" at its Washington office, and formed local committees in twenty-two cities, from Boston to San Francisco.[8] A liberal-minded but strategically conservative group, the AUAM sought the implementation of policies favouring world federation and lasting peace by, in Cook's words, attempting "to make its influence felt within the existing political structure" and avoiding any expression of "public opposition to the administration's policies." Consequently, the dilemma of the AUAM was "the problem of mobilizing sufficient active political support to check the growing war fervor without jeopardizing the position of influence and leadership its members held as thoroughly respectable social critics."[9]

Most of the WPP-NY's members did not share this concern to the same degree, and the majority of members did not feel they were endangering their reputations by their participation in party activities. (On the contrary, some members, particularly women affiliated with socialist and radical organizations, felt that the branch's policies and methods should go much farther).[10] The self-image of the New York branch is evident in notes for a report on party activities during 1915-1916, which stated that the "keynote" of the group's work was "rather dramatic, daring stunts."[11] Indeed, the New York women came away from the national WPP convention with a good sense of their role as the critical conscience of the national body, the more politically radical and strategically creative wing of the women's peace movement. Age differences may also have exacerbated the political disparity between the New York group and the national body, since New York members

were younger than their counterparts in the national WPP and other branches. While the average age of members of the national WPP was fifty-nine, the WPP-NY average age was thirty-five.[12]

While the New York branch's relative youthfulness and endorsement of "daring stunts" makes them appear an unlikely partner for the more distinguished members of the AUAM, the American Union Against Militarism contained a radical sect of its own, of which WPP-NY chairman and AUAM executive secretary Crystal Eastman was a member. Blanche Wiesen Cook describes these divisions in the leadership of AUAM:

> The moderation with which Lillian Wald, Paul Kellogg, and Amos Pinchot, for example, approached the political system contrasted sharply with the boldness of their vision of a total American society. Crystal Eastman, Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas and several other members were more willing to experiment with political confrontation, to go beyond the limitations of party politics and appeal directly to the democracy.[13]

Eastman, Baldwin and Thomas were also the chief initiators behind the AUAM's civil liberties programs, beginning with the Conscientious Objectors' Bureau in 1917. According to Baldwin's biographer, Peggy Lamson, "Lillian Wald was especially uneasy" about these civil liberties supporters in the AUAM; Baldwin also recalled that "Crystal and I were the type of people she [Wald] could hardly abide because both of us were activists and radicals."[14] The differences between Eastman's strategy of making peace and anti-preparedness appeals directly to the public (in WPP-NY and WPP-NY/AUAM coalition

activities) and the strategies preferred by the national WPP and AUAM leadership (appeals to the president and administration) would become evident during 1916.

One example of this high-level lobbying strategy of peace work was demonstrated early in 1916, when national WPP chairman Jane Addams and AUAM chairman Lillian Wald spoke before the House and Senate Committees on Military Affairs.[15] On behalf of the AUAM, Crystal Eastman also arranged the presentation of testimony from representatives of the church, business, agricultural, education and labour sectors, but the statements provided by the notable settlement house workers received the most attention from the Wilson administration and the press. Both women presented the recommendations expressed in their organizations' platforms, emphasizing the absurdity of instituting a program of military preparedness when, in reality, the U.S. had little to fear from "an exhausted Europe."[16] Jane Addams closed her presentation by commenting on men's inclination to be "somewhat emotional" regarding politics, concluding with this comparison of women and men's responses to the European war:

> I think the same thing is true in regard to this war; men... are much more likely to catch this war spirit and respond to this panic.... Women are not quite so easily excited.... A woman in the midst of household duties, occupied with the great affairs of birth and death, does not so quickly have her apprehensions aroused because possibly sometime, somewhere, somebody might attack the shores of our American Republic. [17]

The press reports of Addams' testimony were classically critical, rejecting the opinions of the woman reformer on national defense. Reminiscent of the press attacks Addams endured

after her July 1915 speech on the use of stimulants in combat, the *Minneapolis Journal* stated:

> Somebody ought to lead Miss Jane Addams back to social service. As the head of Hull House, Miss Addams has done and is still doing a great work. As an advisor on adequate national defense to the Committees on Military Affairs of the Senate and House, she is a joke. Miss Addams may know a lot about the needs of careless and careworn women of Chicago, but what does she know about the condition of the harbor fortifications of San Francisco or New York?[18]

Remarks such as these regarding the appropriateness of women speaking publicly on issues of national defense and international diplomacy were an indication of the necessity of the party's work on education for women on peace and international affairs. Members hoped that increased education on international issues would encourage women to become more vocal on these topics, and help correct the popular image of women as oblivious and ignorant concerning domestic politics and international affairs.

Peace advocates judged the effectiveness of these lobbying activities by determining if their anti-preparedness or mediation policies took hold in the minds of the nation's policy makers, particularly congressmen and the president. Pacifists and antimilitarists often felt they had an ally in Woodrow Wilson, and while the president was always cordial to his progressive visitors during their meetings with him, he remained noncommittal regarding many of the peace movement's recommendations. Addams and Wald's peace and antimilitarist organizations were heartened by the president's promotion of peace during

1914-1915, but Woodrow Wilson's 1916 public campaign for military preparedness startled his progressive supporters.

Wilson's transformation was not as sudden as the pacifists and antimilitarists supposed; as early as August 1914, Colonel Edward M. House had advised Wilson that a German victory "will ultimately mean trouble for us." House further recommended to Wilson that the United States must "abandon the path which you are blazing as a standard for future generations, with permanent peace as its goal and a new international ethical code as its guiding star, and build up a military machine of vast proportions."[19] Despite increasing speculation about the nature of U.S. neutrality in the European war and confusion over Wilson's attitudes towards the antimilitarists' neutral mediation proposals during 1915-1916, the majority of the peace and antimilitarist movements continued to support Wilson and re-elected him in 1916 with the hope that the leader who "kept us out of war" would continue to do so. While members of the WPP agreed that Wilson was the peace candidate in the 1916 presidential election, there was a split among pacifist and suffrage-first members during the election. Suffrage supporters (particularly those who were members of the Congressional Union, who criticised Wilson's Democrats for not moving on the suffrage issue in their first term) opted to support Republican candidate Charles Evans Hughes instead.

Reflecting their priority of establishing a popular women's movement for peace, the WPP-NY chose to concentrate on public outreach and education rather than the

congressional lobbying tactics of the AUAM and national WPP. While the New York branch shared the objectives of both these organizations and considered appeals to the government an important part of the peace movement's program, influencing public opinion towards a recognition of the value of human life over the economic or political disputes of nations remained the New York branch's fundamental goal. Both strategies aimed towards the same objective (permanent peace), but the WPP-NY felt that building a popular movement for peace through an educated public of voters (and future voters) would better ensure the success of a lasting peace. The party's activities for 1916 were guided by the branch's platform, which highlighted antimilitarism and the elimination of the causes of war as principal issues for 1916. The nine-point platform, passed at the WPP-NY's first annual meeting in early February, called for the following:

1. The elimination of private profits in the manufacture of armaments.
2. A Japanese-American Commission to work for better understanding.
3. Federal control and protection of aliens.
4. A Pan-American Union.
5. Independence and neutralization of the Philippines.
6. An international Court of arbitration with commercial boycott as a means of punishment.
7. International police instead of rival armies and navies.[20]
8. A congress of neutrals to offer mediation to the belligerents.
9. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.

The delegates at the meeting also endorsed a congressional program which recommended, in addition to many of the above points, "no increased appropriation for war preparations during the present session," the implementation of "a public investigation of the condition

of our military and naval defense and the manner in which past appropriations have been spent," and "public control of the manufacture of armament."[21]

The New York branch organized its first major challenge to the militarism and preparedness in the U.S. during February 14-18, when the party offered a free "training school for speakers," at which members and interested peace supporters were instructed on the subjects of preparedness, national defense, the eradication of the war system, the danger of militarism in schools, and women and internationalism.[22] The training school was an activity which provided party members with the knowledge and skills to conduct effective peace work in their own communities and neighbourhoods. The speakers put their training to use during a series of twenty-three meetings (one in each of Greater New York's congressional districts) organized by the WPP-NY to coincide with Washington's Birthday, February 22. Party members and supporters gathered "to protest against hysterical preparedness" in many forms and venues, "from a small parlor in the Bronx where two dozen women will gather together to discuss preparedness over their tea cups all the way down Manhattan to the Neighborhood Playhouse where five minute anti-preparedness speeches will interrupt the movies every half hour."[23] The branch also distributed petitions and letters for peace supporters attending the meetings to send to their congressmen, urging their representatives to "vote against any unusual war preparations at this session because such preparations are unnecessary, extravagant, and dangerous to democracy, and will forever destroy America's hope of starting a plan of world union which will end war."[24]

The issue of increasing militarization of local institutions, particularly military training in schools, was a major concern of the WPP-NY during 1916-1918. The party opposed military training in schools "because it is the wrong kind of physical training, because it is bad education, because it is waste of money... because modern warfare has made it useless and because the greatest American educators are against it." The military training in schools issue also brought WPP-NY members directly into legislative work and closer contact with local political concerns. On February 14, the party hosted a dinner to bring attention to the Welsh Bill before the New York legislature, a bill which would establish compulsory military training programs in the public high schools of the state. The branch continued this campaign during March, organizing meetings on military training in schools which addressed the question "shall the schools be saved for democracy?"[25]

The New York branch's belief that all moves towards militarism were dangerous to democracy did not translate well with some of their members. Confronted with a press which favoured preparedness propaganda, extolled Wilson's defense policies and matched true patriotism with support of military preparedness, the party lost members during its 1916 anti-preparedness campaign. Members who provided reasons for their resignations usually referred to their differences with the group's policies and methods, which many felt constituted unpatriotic behaviour.[26] While the branch had hoped that the militarism in the schools issue would bring more mothers and women educators to the party, this was not the case. WPP-NY executive secretary Margaret Lane defended the organization's anti-

preparedness and antimilitarist position in her response to a resignation in early March 1916:

> It is the firm conviction of a number of members of the Woman's Peace Party that the extreme program of Preparedness which the militarists have advocated will make war inevitable rather than prevent it and it is this which has made the Peace Party take its stand against "Preparedness." When we realize, for instance, that even the military nations, Germany and Austria have given up the military training of boys under eighteen, you can see how extreme it must seem to put muskets in the hands of our fourteen and fifteen year old boys here... [the] military drill is the worst kind of training that boys can be given... on physical, mental or moral grounds.[27]

In a letter to Crystal Eastman, Lane updated the organization's chairman on the effects of the preparedness push on the branch's membership and support base: "thirty-five renewals today and no resignations. The money isn't coming in quite as fast as it ought to but I think we have most of the resignations in by now. If this is true, it isn't half bad."[28]

This drop in support wasn't just among regular members; at this time, the branch also began to have trouble attracting high-profile women to publicly support the party by accepting honourary positions within the organization. Alice Lewisohn declined the WPP-NY's offer of an honourary-chairmanship in February, explaining that she was unable to commit herself to any active work with the WPP-NY, and remarking "nor have I ever been wholly converted to the idea of a Woman's Peace Party with the accent on 'Woman's.'"[29] Again, the party emphasized women's difference from men in relation (and reaction) to war and militarism to argue for the importance of a separate women's peace organization.

Eastman responded to Lewisohn's comments with these words on the advantages of the international quality of women's peace efforts:

> The value of making this a woman's movement at this stage of its development lies, I think, in the fact that it is an international movement and that the internationalism of women, among all other manifestations of internationalism in existence at the beginning of the war, did not wholly break down. The fact that women of the warring nations met and discussed the war problem sanely and in friendship while all their male relatives were out shooting each other is to my mind a great and significant event in history - significant in the history of human progress and significant in the history of woman's progress. This international character of the Woman's peace movement -- it seems to me -- is the unique and priceless thing about it -- the thing that makes it necessary for us to stand by it and strengthen it no matter what other peace organizations we may identify ourselves with.[30]

Eastman's juxtaposition of calm, sane women and violent, "shooting" men is an example of the women's peace movement's continued emphasis on the differences between the sexes which were revealed during wartime. These comments also demonstrate how the women's peace movement embraced the idea of the Great War as an exciting opportunity for women to assert their abilities in public, political and professional life, and hopefully emerge from the war with increased political and economic opportunities.

Apprehensions regarding the New York branch were also becoming evident among the leadership of the national WPP. Some members of the national WPP executive board, such as Anna Garlin Spencer and Lucia Ames Mead, were particularly wary of the activities of the New York members. Spencer was apprehensive due to the apparent affiliation between members of the WPP-NY and the militant suffrage organization, the Congressional Union; however, she admitted that such members offered the "advantage of the enthusiasm

and push of the radical wing" to the women's peace movement.[31] Mead called Eastman "an extreme socialist" and felt that a woman who appeared "so conspicuous in more radical organizations" threatened the WPP's reputation.[32] As the New York branch continued to openly network with more radical peace and antimilitarist organizations (particularly during 1917), relations between the WPP-NY and the national branch would become increasingly strained. However, criticism of the New York party's activities remained within the national executive board during 1916, and regardless, Eastman appeared to be well-respected by her New York membership, indicative by the fact that she was re-elected twice as WPP-NY chairman. Executive secretary Margaret Lane wrote to Eastman (in Chicago, recovering from illness) in April 1916, expressing her admiration for Eastman's work with the WPP: "always and forever I miss you and long to have your strength behind me. I shall never forget that you built the Peace Party up from a polite society affair into an active democratic decisive organization. I am thoroughly confident that we can be a great force in the future."[33]

The WPP-NY demonstrated their ability as a major antimilitarist organization with their first major cooperative effort with the American Union Against Militarism during the U.S. preparedness push in the spring of 1916. When Wilson embarked on his preparedness speaking tour in early 1916 (a move which former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan described as "joy riding with the jingoes"), the antimilitarists were quick to follow with a tour of their own.[34] The "Truth About Preparedness" tour was sponsored by the

American Union Against Militarism and organized by Crystal Eastman; WPP-NY member Mary Ware Dennett oversaw arrangements for the tour in the eastern cities. The tour began in New York City with a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on April 6, 1916, and followed a route similar to Wilson's tour, visiting eleven cities in total.[35] The speakers in the "Truth About Preparedness" tour directed their remarks towards the subject of "Militarism and American Freedom," and sought to attack militarism, avoiding any direct criticism of Wilson. In a report to AUAM members, Eastman wrote that the "Truth About Preparedness" tour directly reached "40,000 people and won hundreds of columns of publicity from an unwilling press."[36]

This successful public education project was followed by some high-level lobbying activity, when, at the close of the antimilitarists' tour, Eastman and Lillian Wald arranged a delegation of AUAM members to meet with the president and present the anti-preparedness resolutions which they had collected during the "Truth About Preparedness" campaign.[37] On May 8, Wald, Eastman, Paul Kellogg, Amos Pinchot, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Max Eastman and Adolf Berle, Jr. met with Wilson in what Blanche Wiesen Cook describes as "probably one of the most candid exchanges between Wilson and a peace delegation preceding America's entrance into the war."[38] Chiefly, the antimilitarists sought to advise the president that preparedness and militarism would threaten the democratic institutions which personified America, and impede U.S. potential as a peace broker. "The acceptance by the American people of a big army or big navy," asserted Lillian Wald, "would simply

neutralize and annul the moral power which our nation ought, through you, to exercise when the day of peace negotiations has come."[39] Wilson responded by professing his opposition to militarism, but acknowledged that "in the last analysis the peace of society is obtained by force." The president also referred to America's role in international affairs: "the rest of the world, if America takes part in this thing, will have the right to expect from her that she contributes her element of force to the general understanding. Surely that is not a militaristic ideal. That is a very practical, possible ideal."[40]

The members of the delegation left the White House feeling a mixture of disappointment, frustration and mild optimism. Max Eastman commented that the president had "always referred to the Union Against Militarism as though he were a member of it," addressing "how 'we' could meet the difficulties of national defense without the risks of militarism."[41] Historian Thomas Knock considers this meeting "at least a minor historic occasion" because "in making a plausible case for stronger national defense to the AUAM," Wilson had "discussed the role of force in the modern world" and "had also articulated to persons other than absolute confidants his idea for 'a family of nations.'"[42] Lastly, Cook indicates that, "despite the vigor with which the president expressed views so clearly opposed to theirs, the members of the AUAM were reluctant to entertain the possibility that there was in fact any irreconcilable conflict between their two positions." Much of the AUAM and the broader peace and antimilitarist movements continued to view Wilson as a spokesman for peace, and this situation produced what Cook describes as "a

mystique of unity between the president and the peace groups which left the peace groups without any political leadership and prevented them from seeking an alternative in November 1916."[43]

While Eastman and the AUAM leadership were lobbying the president, the WPP-NY members were cooperating with the AUAM on another exciting anti-preparedness propaganda project aimed at informing and influencing a mass audience. The "War Against War" art exhibit opened in Brooklyn on April 13, 1916, and exemplified the New York branch's penchant for dramatic and witty propaganda; the exhibit was first publicized by "a figure of Uncle Sam armed to the teeth with the latest weapons of warfare over a placard 'All Dressed Up and No Place to Go'" which was paraded through the streets of New York "with directions as to where the remainder of the exhibit may be found."[44] The exhibit was organized by the WPP-NY but primarily funded by the AUAM. It featured a series of "maps, charts, models and printed arguments" which challenged preparedness and pro-war propaganda, including the militarized Uncle Sam (described above), and "the Three Apostles of Preparedness: 'Power,' the professional soldier, 'Panic,' the nervous patriot... and finally 'Profit,' the munitions manufacturer who has a personal interest in large armaments."[45] The item which received the most media attention, however, was artist Walter Fuller's depiction of militarism in his sculpture of "The Armed Dinosaur," featured on exhibit posters and described as "All Armour Plate - No Brains!"[46] In sum, the exhibit aimed to "present an indictment of war as a means of settling international disputes" and

offer "constructive suggestions as to other methods than huge armaments for the prevention of war."[47]

The party also incorporated daily anti-preparedness and anti-war lectures into the "War Against War" exhibit. Speakers included WPP-NY members Florence Kelley, Marie Louise Grant, Tracy D. Mygatt and Leonora O'Reilly, as well as distinguished peace advocates Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Oswald Garrison Villard, Frederic C. Howe, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Morris Hillquit.[48] The exhibit occasionally sponsored theme days, including Physicians' Day, Political Day and Mothers' and Suffrage Day, during which physicians, political representatives and suffrage supporters provided their perspectives on preparedness and war issues. The "War Against War" exhibit attempted to "present facts where they can be seen and felt, instead of merely read about," and aimed to reach a wider audience than the usual pacifist sympathizers, as Margaret Lane reported to Crystal Eastman: "yesterday Oswald Villard spoke to a very antagonistic audience that heckled him a lot and afterwards I told him I was sorry he had not been treated more kindly. He said 'Bless your heart! I am sick of talking to pacifists. You do not know what fun it is to get up against the 'real man on the street' who is the one that has to be convinced.'"[49]

The exhibit was a success for the WPP-NY in every degree. Attendance during the exhibit's Brooklyn run averaged several thousand daily, with an estimated total attendance of 90,000.[50] A branch activity report noted that the "daily meetings addressed by prominent speakers... brought us daily news items in the Brooklyn papers and occasional stories in the

Manhattan sheets."[51] After three weeks in Brooklyn, the exhibit moved to a venue on Fifth Avenue in New York City, where it received similar media attention. In June, the exhibit became a political lobbying tool when it was moved to Chicago, where it "opened as a primary school for the delegates of the Republican and Progressive convention," and to St. Louis for the Democratic convention.[52] The success of the exhibit also improved relations between the New York party and other local branches, as Margaret Lane wrote to Crystal Eastman:

> Meanwhile we are getting a tremendous reputation with all the other brances [*sic*] of the Woman's Peace Party. Mrs. Mead is thrilled. The Pennsylvania and Boston branches have sent several delegates yesterday. Mrs. Evans brought Mrs. Forbes from Boston and a couple of others and they are all thrilled. Dr. Warbasse wants all the panels lithographed and reproduced on billboard paper... and shipped all over the country.[53]

The promotion of neutral mediation as an alternative to the war system was the second component of the WPP-NY's challenge to militarism.[54] Despite the lack of official action by the U.S. government on the neutral mediation issue during 1915, antimilitarists and peace advocates had continued to pressure Wilson to take the initiative and call a conference of neutrals. By 1916, however, several members of the AUAM and WPP-NY had become frustrated with the lack of official action on neutral mediation. Crystal Eastman, whom Cook describes as "more vigorously independent than many of the antimilitarists," suggested that the antimilitarists initiate "a popular movement" for a mediation conference. Eastman argued that it was pointless to continue to try to "influence

President Wilson by getting next to his personal friends and persuading them to persuade him."[55] American Neutral Conference Committee member Louis Lochner was equally frustrated with the attitude of the president and the strategy of the mediation movement, commenting that it was very difficult to "stand behind the president" when "nobody knows where the president is standing, or what he is making us stand for, or what his policy is."[56] During a meeting at the White House in late 1915, Wilson told Lochner and Stanford University president David Starr Jordan that neutral mediation was problematic because the Allies "might object to mediation as a partisan measure," the European neutrals "have governments out of sympathy with their peoples," and the U.S. "might be out-voted by other neutrals."[57]

However, Wilson's address to the League to Enforce Peace in Washington on May 27, 1916, renewed the antimilitarist and peace movements' enthusiasm for the possibility of official U.S. involvement in a negotiated peace. Calling for a "new and more wholesome diplomacy," Wilson emphasized that the U.S was not a nation of "disconnected lookers-on" in the European war, stating: "the interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair."[58] The president concluded his speech with the following words:

> If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their government to move along these lines: First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future

> guarantees. Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world - a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence...[59]

Wilson's speech reassured many of the antimilitarists that the president would call a conference of neutrals in the near future. They were wrong. During the Great War, resolutions in support of an official conference of neutrals were passed by every neutral government except the United States.[60] Blanche Wiesen Cook cites Wilson's "apparent commitment" to the objectives of the peace movement, evident in his speech before the League to Enforce Peace, as the reason behind the suspension of the peace protest during the summer of 1916, since the president had indicated to the peace movement that it was impossible to act until after the election.[61]

While the New York City branch of the Woman's Peace Party and the AUAM cooperated on efforts to promote the diplomatic strategy of neutral mediation, the movement against preparedness continued to be the WPP-NY's primary focus. The New York branch persisted with imaginative anti-preparedness activities during the spring and summer of 1916, organizing events which aimed to emulate Eastman's image of a popular movement against the war system. During New York City's massive preparedness parade on May 13, the WPP-NY held a colourful counter-demonstration, as described by the *New York Morning Telegram*:

> Early in the day fifty young women dressed in white, calling themselves the "Real Patriots," circulated among the crowds giving out handbills asking militarists to

> "think it over." They carried palm leaf fans and wore placards bearing mottos considered appropriate to the occasion. In addition some of them distributed literature printed in red and blue on white paper, presenting arguments and catch phrases against armament.
>
> One was entitled: "Who Starts the Cannon Balls Rolling?" Another was headed: "What Are We Afraid Of?" A third presents to the eye the well known "The Voice With the Smile Wins." A fourth said "Keep Cool," and the palm leaf fans were intended to convey that injunction.
>
> Professional alarmists received a raking at the hands of these young women...[62]

The "War Against War" exhibit was aptly located directly across from the grandstand of the preparedness parade on Fifth Avenue, from which the party held a large banner which read: "TO THE MARCHERS: There are only 100,000 of you. You are not the only patriots. Two million farmers, 500,000 mine workers and organized labor of America are opposed to what you and Wall Street are marching for. Are you sure you are right?"[63] Margaret Lane wrote a WPP member that "eleven thousand people came in to the Exhibit" on the day of the preparedness parade, "and we gave out over 50,000 pieces of literature." While "this is very tiny in comparison with the big psychological effect of the parade," Lane was very pleased to note that the party's opposition to preparedness was being noticed: "in almost every story of the parade that the papers wrote, there was a mention of our headquarters and our signs which many of the marchers could not help but see."[64]

The leaflets which the party distributed at the parade are excellent examples of the clever tone of the New York branch's anti-preparedness literature, which was often reprinted by other WPP branches and chapters of the AUAM. The party distributed one

leaflet condemning U.S armament manufacture and trade, titled "Who Starts the Cannon-Balls Rolling?," which stated "The Munitions Makers have made us hated in Europe. Now we must buy their products to defend ourselves against that hatred, " and asked "DO YOU SEE ANYTHING IN PREPAREDNESS THAT LOOKS LIKE PROFITS?"[65] "Keep Cool," a second leaflet distributed by the "Real Patriots," was a direct attack on the motives of preparedness advocates, asking "'Preparedness' - What for? DEFENSE? or DOMINION?" The WPP-NY also advised parade spectators to ask "Are we, in reality, 'preparing' ONLY to defend ourselves?" or, "Are we, in reality, 'preparing' to crush others?," concluding that "the hope of the world is that the present war will end militarism. America armed to the teeth is MILITARISM VICTORIOUS."[66] Other leaflets addressed the benefits of U.S. humanitarian aid as positive diplomacy ("The Voice with the Smile Wins!... Live Friends Are Better Than Dead Enemies!") and the hysteria fostered by the remote prospect of a military invasion ("What Are We Afraid Of?... P stands for PANIC as well as PREPAREDNESS").[67] The use of such direct language and catchy slogans was important for the branch to compete with the flashy preparedness parade and propaganda, since this peace material aimed to inform a mass audience in an accessible and creative manner.

Creative anti-preparedness propaganda, which the party felt was the best way to reach a mass audience, was a significant part of the WPP-NY's program during 1916. In addition to the "War Against War" exhibit, the New York branch sponsored a showing of

the anti-war film "Civilization" at a local theatre.[68] In February, Paramount Pictures provided an excellent opportunity for the peace movement's message to reach a mass audience, when it filmed several peace supporters speaking on the subject "shall we prepare?" at the WPP-NY headquarters; the footage was edited into a news reel on the preparedness issue, and presented in theatres across the U.S. on February 13.[69] The branch also targeted a stage theatre audience in its promotion of two anti-war plays, W.H. Duncan's "War Brothers" and Tracy D. Mygatt's "Watchfires."[70] Through individual artists and writers who were members of the New York branch, the WPP-NY sought to foster networks with artistic and cultural organizations, as Margaret Lane wrote to one artists' guild in 1916: "some rather interesting people are joining the Woman's Peace Party these days, such as playwrights and authors and I would like to encourage this growth."[71]

Most WPP-NY propaganda during 1916, particularly projects conducted in cooperation with the AUAM, made no reference to the maternalistic rhetoric of pacifism contained in the national WPP platform, and aimed to influence the public against preparedness through appeals to "real patriotism" and common sense. However, portrayals of the effect of war on women and men's parenting roles are evident in one set of party membership posters from 1916. The first poster was an attack on men for abandoning their roles as fathers to take up arms; printed against a sketch of soldiers advancing on a battlefield, the poster read: "HERE GO GOOD FATHERS TO KILL OTHER GOOD FATHERS - Do YOU Believe in This? If not - Join the WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY."[72]

The second poster addressed women's responsibility to protest preparedness and war on behalf of their children; printed beside a silhouette of two children (male and female) speaking to their mother were the words: "WOMEN OF AMERICA: What Will Your ANSWER BE? When Your Children Ask WHAT DID YOU DO IN 1916 To Help the Protest Against Militarism? Join the WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY."[73] Both posters are aimed at a female audience. While the first poster is a direct condemnation of male soldiers' failures as *fathers*, the second, while presenting a pictorial image of motherhood, boldly appeals to the "WOMEN OF AMERICA" to protest the military structure of violence which their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons are failing to challenge.

The branch's summer activities were shaped by two events in mid-1916: the passage of compulsory military training laws and the Mexico/U.S. border conflict. First, the passage of the military training laws in New York state increased the WPP-NY's efforts against the conscription issue. On May 24, the party oversaw the formation of the New York State Committee to Oppose Conscription of Men and Children, which aimed to repeal the militaristic legislation recently passed by the New York state legislature.[74] The Welsh, Slater and Stivers laws, which instituted a system of compulsory military training for boys and men, were considered "more than a menace" by the WPP-NY. "If they are not repealed," wrote Margaret Lane, "they will go far toward stamping out democracy and putting off the day of internationalism which depends on democracy."[75] The New York branch held public demonstrations against the military training legislation, and cooperated

with the AUAM on a publicity campaign on conscription, an issue which both groups considered a fundamental threat to freedom and democracy in the U.S.[76]

Meanwhile, rising tensions between the U.S. and Mexico (particularly after a border dispute on June 21 left twelve U.S. soldiers dead and twenty-three captured) roused the antimilitarist and peace movements to protest moves toward war on another front. This conflict provided the antimilitarists with an opportunity to put their mediation plans into action, and the successful mediation of this conflict encouraged peace advocates' faith in the efficiency of mediation to solve other international disputes. The WPP-NY and the AUAM had been monitoring the activities of U.S. troops since Wilson placed them on the U.S./Mexico border in March 1916, a move which the president argued was necessary to curb the activities of Mexican bandits.[77] In a letter to Wilson on May 10, members of the party's executive board petitioned the president "to immediately recall the troops from Mexico on the ground that their presence there will lead to war"; additionally, the New York branch members urged the president to appoint "a joint commission representing Mexican and American governments to devise means of jointly patrolling the border."[78] On June 19, the *New York Times* published the following statement from the WPP-NY executive board on the Mexico situation:

> Much evidence exists that the Mexican bandits are materially encouraged by interests in our own country who want intervention. Why not spend our righteous indignation in discovering and punishing our own bandits? But we do not suggest merely withdrawing our troops. The way out is pointed by a significant item in the news this morning, that is, the offer of mediation by the diplomats of the South American republics.[79]

U.S. support for mediation in the Mexico/U.S. conflict was consolidated on June 27, when the WPP-NY, the AUAM and other groups opposed to military intervention in Mexico formed the Joint Committee on Arbitration with Mexico. The next day, a delegation from the Joint Committee took a resolution on peaceful arbitration of the U.S./Mexico dispute to Washington.[80] The delegation submitted their resolution to Wilson, whose response was lukewarm; the president commented: "while we have the greatest sympathy with the problem of the Mexican people and their desire for self government, we have come to the point where we must insist that the lives and liberty of our own people shall be safe from the depredations of Mexican bandits."[81]

Throughout June 1916, the American Union Against Militarism sponsored a publicity campaign on the background behind U.S. relations with Mexico. The publicity campaign was very successful in expanding public support for mediation of the dispute, evident in the thousands of telegrams, letter and petitions sent to congress and the president which objected to the continued presence of U.S. troops and urged government action on peaceful mediation of the conflict. The public support for peaceful mediation was also demonstrated on June 28, when the WPP-NY cooperated with the AUAM, the Labor Forum and other organizations opposed to war with Mexico in a mass meeting in New York City. On June 29, the WPP-NY sent a telegram expressing their hope for peace to the women of Mexico via the country's leading women's magazine, *La Mujer Mexicana*.[82] The

results of the antimilitarists' efforts were evident in the president's address to the New York Press Club on June 30, 1916. Wilson commented that he was "not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments," rather, he considered himself "the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States," explaining that "I get a great many letters... I get letters... from people whose names have never been heard and never will be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all these letters: 'Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody.'" Wilson indicated that he viewed himself as the "spokesman" for such people, remarking that he had not "read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are moral forces" and concluding that "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind demanded that those who started the... European war should have stated their reasons; but they did not pay any heed to the opinion of mankind, and the reckoning will come when the settlement comes."[83]

These words thrilled members of the U.S. peace movement, and were interpreted as a precursor to U.S. action toward a negotiated peace in Europe. The final major antimilitarist activity on the Mexican crisis was a series of meetings of the Inter-American Peace Committee of the AUAM. This "private mediation" effort was organized by Eastman; the "unofficial commission" originally was composed of three Mexican and three U.S. antimilitarists, who met in El Paso throughout June and July. They were supported by the American Federation of Labor, representatives of which met with officials representing

sixty Mexican labour unions in what's been described as "the most effective effort ever made by the workers of two countries to avoid war." This "unofficial commission" hosted a press conference in Washington on July 6, at which they presented their findings on "the issues which jeopardized Mexican-American relations," essentially, foreign control of two-thirds of the Mexican economy. Wilson later appointed a Joint High Commission on Mexico to continue mediation of the conflict; the commission sat from September 1916 through to January 1917 but was described as a body which "achieved very little." Nevertheless, the successful avoidance of war with Mexico strengthened the antimilitarists' faith in the mediation process and renewed the U.S. peace movement's belief that mediation, if initiated by an influential neutral nation like the United States, could be effective in ending the war in Europe.[84]

Despite Wilson's adoption of antimilitarist rhetoric during mid-1916, his administration failed to act on the issues most vital to the peace and antimilitarist movements: anti-preparedness and neutral mediation in Europe. The passage of the National Defense Act (June 3, 1916), which called for an increase in the regular army and the National Guard, and the Naval Appropriations Act (August 15, 1916), which approved increases in spending on naval construction for up to $600 million, were dramatic examples of the rise of militarism in the U.S.[85] By mid-1916, the WPP-NY had decided that they "must not be like so many peace societies which become silent and afraid when real danger is at hand."[86] During the last months of 1916, the party continued to cooperate with other

pacifist and antimilitarist organizations to promote neutral mediation and international understanding, and protest military training and conscription measures. In October, members of the New York branch questioned candidates contending for governor on their opinions of the militaristic legislation enacted by the previous administration, the Welsh, Stivers and Slater Acts.[87] Throughout November and December, the New York branch hosted meetings and lectures on international topics, particularly issues surrounding Pan-American relations and U.S. relations with Asia.[88] The WPP-NY also persisted in their efforts to promote U.S. action on mediation of the European war and, inspired by the German note of December 12, conducted a campaign in December to push for immediate negotiations with armistice.[89]

Networking with other peace and antimilitarist organizations would become increasingly important for the party, as the opportunity for peace and the expansion of militarism in U.S. presented an inspiration and a challenge to the peace movement. During 1916, the WPP-NY shared literature and other resources with pacifist, antimilitarist, educational and religious organizations.[90] In addition to cooperating on activities with organizations such as the AUAM and the Labor Forum, the New York branch participated in pacifist and antimilitarist conventions, notably the Anti-Militarist Conference sponsored by the Socialist Party in July, and the Conference of Peaceworkers in October.[91] These affiliations proved a significant source of support (knowledge, membership, fundraising,

and infrastructure) during a period of dwindling resources and increasing challenges to peace.[92]

The party's "Working Program for 1916-1917" outlined the branch's strategy for the upcoming year, and profiled activities which focused on antimilitarism and world federation. The program described the branch's structure of committees on military training and peace education in schools, Pan-American relations, U.S./Asia relations, a "no-conscription" committee and plans for further party organization. The program received praise from members, some of whom had recommended that the branch present "a definite line of action" to better facilitate fundraising and public awareness of the organization's goals. "Your program is splendid," wrote member Agnes B. Leach, "and I am so glad to see the emphasis laid on the constructive side... though indeed all your work has been constructive."[93] In addition to such praise, the increased publicity of the New York branch's program brought some unkind criticism, much of which was framed in nativistic and "all-American" terms:

> As a teacher and as a citizen, I wish to say that I consider the activities of your party most perilous.... I... consider your movement not only idiotic but also traitorous to your country. I regret exceedingly that leading women suffragists have seen fit to join you. By so doing they are not helping the cause of suffrage. I am a suffragist, but I pray that women may never have the ballot rather that it should come into the hands of people of such limited reasoning power and such limited imagination as the members of your party show. Those of us who love our native land - a term synonymous to most of us with liberty - scorn cowards, and would rather die for her, if need be, than live on terms of a cowardly peace made with barbarians and savages.[94]

While the WPP-NY aimed to organize a popular women's movement for peace, comments such as these reminded the party that their policies were hardly popular with the majority of American women. This situation would lead the New York branch to increase its peace and international education efforts directed towards women during 1917-1919, and enter further alliances with other members of the peace and antimilitarism movements in their future peace activities.

At the close of 1916, Crystal Eastman published two articles which summarized her view of the future of the U.S. peace and antimilitarist movements.[95] In "Suggestions for 1916-1917," a widely circulated AUAM pamphlet, Eastman wrote that U.S. antimilitarists should face 1917 "in the mood of fighters who have held their ground and even made a little headway against tremendous odds." By 1917, the peace movement saw their challenge to the growth of militarism as truly a "war against war," a struggle between those who valued human life and those who valued economic and political power. Peace advocates felt that the advances made by the preparedness and pro-war forces could be opposed and repealed. To do so, Eastman suggested the antimilitarist and peace forces concentrate on four issues: repeal the "Hayden Joker" conscription clause, oppose compulsory military training in schools, promote national publicity on the Hensley paragraphs of the Naval Appropriations Act (which authorized the calling of an international conference to form a world court of arbitration), and "make the most of our Mexican experience":

> We must make it known to everybody that the *people* acting directly - not through governments or diplomats or armies - stopped that war, and can stop all wars if

> enough of them will act together and act quickly. We must celebrate this fact in some great and dignified way. The militarists will be quick to take the credit for peace. Let us too take time to claim our victories.[96]

Eastman suggested that the antimilitarist and peace forces increase their membership, educate their members on "what is expected of them in case war threatens," and build international networks with other pacifist and antimilitarist groups, so that "what succeeded with Mexico will succeed with Japan."[97]

Finally, in "War and Peace," an article which was published in *The Survey* in December 1916 and reprinted by the WPP-NY, Eastman reiterated the peace movement's duty to oppose military training and conscription and promote the Hensley paragraphs. "The radical peace movement," which Eastman considered "America's best answer to the war in Europe," had three major objectives: "to stop the war in Europe; to organize the world for peace at the close of the war; and to guard democracy (or such beginnings of democracy as we have in America) against the subtle dangers of militarism."[98] During 1916, the party had cooperated with the American Union Against Militarism to challenge the war system with their anti-preparedness and neutral mediation activities. While they were unable to stop or repeal militaristic legislation, New York branch members took pride in the success of their "popular movement" approach to peace and antimilitarist education. Entering 1917, the party maintained their vision of America as a neutral nation with the opportunity to negotiate a lasting international peace, encouraged by the continued mobilization of public opinion.

ENDNOTES

1. Quoted in Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Woman's Peace Party (New York: Garland, 1972), p. 156. Lucia Ames Mead (1856-1936) was a Boston writer and lecturer on peace topics when she helped found the WPP in 1915; she served as the WPP's national executive secretary and was an active member of one of the more conservative WPP branches in Massachusetts. Her publications on peace include: Law or War (New York: Garland, 1972); Swords and Ploughshares; or, The Supplanting of the System of War by the System of Law [1912] (New York: J.S. Ozer, 1972).

2. Press release, December 18, 1915, Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 5, folder 10. See also 1916 WPP-NY letterhead/lists of officers, WPP records, box 5, folder 3; invitation to convention, Lucia Ames Mead to WPP members, December 9, 1915, WPP records, box 18, folder "Woman's Peace Party (National)," 1915-1919. By January, 1916, the WPP boasted approximately 40,000 members; this figure represented women in the WPP's 33 state and local branch organizations and 132 member organizations (suffrage organizations, women's clubs and women's labour organizations). Degen indicates that "some 150 delegates" attended this 1916 convention; it is unclear whether all of the WPP-NY's representatives were voting delegates. Degen, pp. 30-63, 155-156.

3. At a mass meeting hosted by the WPP on January 9, Eastman was one of many speakers who addressed a crowd of 2,500 on the dangers of preparedness, and the preparedness issue was adopted as the focus of the national WPP's congressional program for 1916. For information on this meeting and the congressional program adopted at the 1916 convention, see Degen, pp. 157-161.

4. See WPP draft constitution, WPP records, box 18, folder "Woman's Peace Party (National)," 1915-1919. According to Degen, "the wide autonomy and independence [of WPP branches]... were in considerable measure responsible not only for the endurance of the organization amid differences of opinion but also for its impressive growth." Degen, p. 157.

5. Constitution of the Woman's Peace Party, Article II: Object, quoted in Degen, p. 157.

6. See correspondence with the Anti-Enlistment League and the No-Conscription League, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1915-1916; box 16, "N" 1915-1919. For information on the No-Conscription League and the Anti-Enlistment League, see Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), p. 75; Kathleen Anne Kennedy, "We Mourn for

Liberty in America": Socialist Women, Anti-Militarism, and State Repression, 1914-1922 (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Irvine, 1992), pp. 155-158.

Jessie Wallace Hughan, Frances M. Witherspoon and Tracy D. Mygatt were all pacifists, socialists and pioneers in the civil liberties movement during World War I. For information on their roles in the peace, antimilitarist, anti-war, civil liberties and socialist movements during the war, see Frances H. Early, "Feminism, Peace and Civil Liberties: Women's Role in the Origins of the World War I Civil Liberties Movement," *Women's Studies* 18 (1990), pp. 95-115; Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty in America", pp. 151-159; Frances H. Early, "Revolutionary Pacifism and War Resistance: Jessie Hughan's 'War Against War,'" *Peace and Change* 20 (July 1995), pp. 307-328.

7. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 3. For information on the formation and activities of the AUAM, see Charles Chatfield, The American Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism (Toronto: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 36-57; Charles Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), pp. 21-29; Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Democracy in Wartime: Antimilitarism in England and the United States," in Peace Movements in America, edited by Charles Chatfield (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), pp. 20-56; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, *passim*; David M. Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 33-36; Thomas J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 63-67, 82-87; Peggy Lamson, Roger Baldwin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), pp. 66-74; C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 240-258.

8. Crystal Eastman to Dr. James P. Warbasse and others, May 27, 1916, quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 3.

9. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 20. This sentiment was shared by some of the leaders of the national WPP, particularly Anna Garlin Spencer, Lucia Ames Mead, and, at times, Jane Addams.

10. In her resignation letter, Elsa J. Seidel explained: "... I belong to the Radical Wing of the Socialist Party and am an active worker in the same." Seidel to WPP-NY, April 12, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "S" 1918-1919.

11. Undated memo, WPP records, box 5, folder 2.

12. Harriet Hyman Alonso, Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 65-66.

13. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 19. For information on Roger Baldwin's civil liberties work for the AUAM, see Lamson, Roger Baldwin, and Roger N. Baldwin and Clarence B. Randall, Civil Liberties and Industrial Conflict (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938). For information on Paul U. Kellogg (1879-1958), editor of *The Survey* and co-founder of the AUAM, see Clarke A. Chambers, Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey: Voices for Social Welfare and Social Justice (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

14. See Lamson, p. 72.

15. Both the WPP and the AUAM used the terms "chairman" and "vice-chairman" to refer to leading officers on their executives, irrespective of gender.

16. The AUAM philosophy and platform are summarized in two articles printed in *The Survey* in 1915; "Towards the Peace that Shall Last," a document prepared by AUAM members and published in March 1915, and Crystal Eastman's "A Platform of Real Preparedness," published November 13, 1915. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 10-12, 37-40, 48.

17. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 49.

18. The *Minneapolis Journal*, January 17, 1916, quoted in Degen, p. 165. For information and media commentary on Addams' testimony, see Degen, pp. 162-165.

19. Colonel Edward M. House to Wilson, August 22, 1914, The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Vol. 30, May 6 - September 5, 1914, edited by Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 432-433.

20. This recommendation was based upon a similar plank in the national WPP platform; according to Linda Schott, "this endorsement implicitly supported the use of force," and was a controversial item for members who were absolute pacifists. Schott writes that the international police resolution was motivated by some WPP members' affiliations with the League to Enforce Peace, which supported the maintenance of peace by the use of international force. This plank was overturned at the national WPP annual convention in January 1916. It is unclear why the WPP-NY kept this plank in its 1916 platform; one possibility could be to maintain support (financial and otherwise) from distinguished League to Enforce Peace members or supporters. See Linda Schott, Women Against War:

Pacifism, Feminism and Social Justice in the United States, 1915-1941 (Ph. D. thesis, Stanford University, 1986), pp. 129-133.

21. The WPP-NY published their platform in a leaflet with the title: "Instead of the Military Programme of today, why not try -- " the WPP-NY's program. WPP records, box 5, folder 12; Press release, February 21, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

22. The sessions at the "training school for speakers" were led by Crystal Eastman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Lucia Ames Mead, Louise Grant (WPP-NY and Heterodoxy member) and Madeleine Z. Doty. Press release, February 11, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

23. The New York City meetings were organized in conjunction with the national WPP, as part of the "general protest against militarism" which was "being held simultaneously all over the United States." In a letter to Mary Ware Dennett, WPP-NY executive secretary Margaret Lane asked: "what sort of audience do you like best - labor or ladies? We have all sorts." Press releases, February 21, 1916, February 22, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; Margaret Lane to Mary Ware Dennett, February 17, 1916, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1915-1916; see also "Women in City-Wide Preparedness Protest," *New York Evening Post*, February 22, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 14.

24. WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

25. Press releases, February 7, 1916, February 12, 1916, and March 20, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; "What the Woman's Peace Party of New York City has done in the Five Months, February 6 to July 5, 1916," WPP records, box 5, folder 12; Crystal Eastman to "Members and Friends of the Woman's Peace Party," February 2, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 8; "We Object To Military Drill For Boys Under Eighteen," WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

26. In the WPP-NY correspondence papers, there are records of thirteen resignations between January 1 and March 31, 1916. Typical resignation letters include Julia Leaycraft to Crystal Eastman, February 14, 1916: "I am writing you to resign from the Woman's Peace Party. I cannot feel myself in sympathy with the programme you have mapped out as a course of action." See also Ida Proper's curt resignation letter to the WPP-NY, March 19, 1916, in which she explained: "I am for 'American Rights.'" WPP records, box 16, folder "L", 1916-1917; box 17, folder "P", 1915-1919.

27. Margaret Lane to Mrs. Julius H. Seymour, March 9, 1916, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1915-1916.

28. Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, March 7, 1916, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

29. Alice Lewisohn to Crystal Eastman, February 16, 1916, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1915-1916. Lewisohn was active in New York art and theatre circles, and was associated with the Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement. She was the author of one book on New York theatre, The Neighborhood Playhouse: Leaves from a Theatre Scrapbook (New York: Theatre Art Books, 1959).

30. Lewisohn's response to the honourary chairmanship remained negative; in her response to Eastman's letter, Lewisohn stated: "I am perfectly conscious of all the splendid things that can be accomplished by such an organization and of course I endorse any measures that may tend towards world peace." Crystal Eastman to Alice Lewisohn, February 21, 1916; Alice Lewisohn to Crystal Eastman, February 25, 1916, WPP records, box 16, "L" 1915-1916.

31. Quoted in Marchand, pp. 207-208. While many WPP-NY members were also members and supporters of the Congressional Union (CU), the CU remained neutral on the war/peace question throughout 1915-1919. See Elizabeth Kalb to Jessica Smith, February 13, 1919, WPP records, box 16, folder "N" 1915-1919.

32. Quoted in Barbara Steinson, American Women's Activism in World War I (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 124, 288.

33. Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, April 28, 1916, WPP records, box 15, "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918. Eastman was in Chicago to arrange her divorce from her first husband, Wallace Benedict, and consult with the national WPP branch on upcoming activities. According to Steinson, "Her return to New York was delayed when she suffered a physical breakdown following months of strenuous work for the WPP and the Anti-Preparedness Committee." Steinson, p. 144.

34. See Marchand, p. 242; Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 45-50; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 55-56.

35. The cities included the following: New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 56.

36. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 61.

37. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 61-62.

38. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 62. For information on Max Eastman (Crystal's younger brother), New York socialist and editor of the radical publication *The Masses*, see Max Eastman, Enjoyment of Living (New York: Harper, 1948); Max Eastman, Love and Revolution: My Journey Through an Epoch (New York: Random House, 1964); Blanche Wiesen Cook, ed., Toward the Great Change: Crystal and Max Eastman on Feminism, Antimilitarism, and Revolution (New York: Garland, 1976); Leslie Fishbein, Rebels in Bohemia: The Radicals of *The Masses*, 1911-1917 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); William L. O'Neill, ed., Echoes of Revolt: THE MASSES, 1911-1917 (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966); William L. O'Neill, The Last Romantic: A Life of Max Eastman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

39. Quoted in Knock, p. 66.

40. Quoted in Knock, p. 66.

41. Eastman continued: "I believe that he [Wilson] sincerely hates his preparedness policies." Quoted in Knock, p. 67.

42. Knock, p. 67.

43. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 66-67.

44. WPP-NY to Mr. Isaac Russell, *Evening Mail*, April 11, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10. For a good overview of the exhibit, see Mrs. James P. Warbasse to Rev. Frederick G. Lynch, March 21, 1916, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

45. Press release, April 17, 1916; see also Margaret Lane to Eleanor Karsten, June 19, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916.

46. "Free Exhibit: War Against War," poster, WPP records, box 5, folder 12. The dinosaur sculpture stimulated this puzzling indictment from the *New York Times*:

> The truth is that the dinosaur does not illustrate the worthlessness of preparedness, but the stupidity of trusting to preparedness of a wrong, because ineffective, sort. He had the sort and amount of intelligence to be expected of the vegetarian crank he was. Therefore he was too dull and sluggish to equip himself with the coward's one fairly useful talent. He wouldn't fight and he couldn't run... So he went the way that all must go who will not adjust themselves to the world as it is. He was no loss.

> Instead of demonstrating the folly of preparedness for both peace and war, he was a lesson as to its necessity.

"Disproving Their Own Case," *New York Times* clipping, undated, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

47. Press release, May 13, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

48. Press releases, April 17, 1916; May 13, 1916. Florence Kelley (1859-1932), the innovator in U.S. protective labour legislation for women and children, was a member of the WPP-NY during 1916; for information on Kelley, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Frederic C. Howe (1867-1940) was an eastern progressive and a member of the AUAM; for examples of his progressive and antimilitarist writings, see Frederic C. Howe, Privilege and Democracy in America [1910] (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Frederic C. Howe, Why War [1916] (New York: Garland, 1972). John Haynes Holmes (1879-1964) was an absolute pacifist writer and minister in New York City; he was very supportive of WPP-NY efforts throughout the war. See WPP-NY correspondence with Holmes, WPP records, box 15, folder "H" 1915-1916, box 16, folders "H" 1917, "H" 1918-1919. For an example of Holmes' pacifist writing, see John Haynes Holmes, New Wars for Old [1916] (New York: Garland, 1971). Morris Hillquit (1869-1933) was a leading member of the Socialist Party, and was active in the radical wartime coalition, the People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace. See Morris Hillquit, Loose Leaves from a Busy Life [1934] (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971). Norma Fain Pratt, Morris Hillquit: A Political History of an American Jewish Socialist (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979).

49. The phrase "real man on the street" is a very appropriate one, as a representative of the Exhibit Committee wrote a WPP-NY member: "our attendance is about 90% men." Press release, April 17, 1916; undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; "What the Woman's Peace Party of New York City has done in the Five Months, February 6 to July 5, 1916;" Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, April 21, 1916; Exhibit Committee to Paul Jacobi, April 21, 1916, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918, box 16, folder "J" 1915-1916.

50. Various press releases and newspaper accounts estimate daily attendance in the range of 4,000 to 8,000 during the exhibit's Brooklyn run. The exhibit was also an excellent fundraising tool; Margaret Lane raised the $1,800 necessary to move the exhibit to New York City during a fundraiser at the Brooklyn exhibit in late April. See Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, April 28, 1916, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-

1918; press release, April 22, 1916; undated press release, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

51. "What the Woman's Peace Party of New York City has done in the Five Months, February 6 to July 5, 1916."

52. Press release, May 13, 1916.

53. Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, April 28, 1916. Lane refers to National WPP member Elizabeth Glendower Evans, Chairman of the Massachusetts WPP branch, Mrs. J. Malcom Forbes, and AUAM member Dr. James P. Warbasse. See also Eleanor Karsten (national WPP office secretary) to Margaret Lane, April 25, 1916: "I am also glad that you are doing such stunning work with your exhibit. I very much wish we could have one here." WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916.

54. On May 18, participants in an afternoon meeting at the "War Against War" exhibit sent Woodrow Wilson the following resolution: "three hundred men and women, citizens of New York City, in meeting assembled at 208 Fifth Avenue unanimously and enthusiastically urge you to cooperate with the governments of other neutral nations in calling an official conference of neutral nations at the earliest possible moment." This meeting was one of many on the subject of neutral mediation being held across the U.S. and in the other neutral countries, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. Press release, May 18, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; Ellis O. Jones, Chairman of the Meeting, to Woodrow Wilson, May 18, 1916, WPP records, box 18, folder "United States. Executive Department, 1915-1919, and Legislative Department, 1915-1918."

55. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 122.

56. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 108-109. The American Neutral Conference Committee (ANCC) was organized in late 1915 to lobby the President to call an official neutral mediation conference. See Steinson, pp. 99-105; Harriet Hyman Alonso, A Shared Responsibility: The Women and Men of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace (M.A. thesis, Lawrence College, 1982), pp. 10-29.

57. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 129.

58. "An Address in Washington to the League to Enforce Peace," The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Volume 37, May 9-August 7, 1916, edited by Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 113-116. See also Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Campaigns for

Progressivism and Peace, 1916-1917 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 18-26

59. "An Address in Washington to the League to Enforce Peace."

60. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 136-137, 163.

61. According to Cook, "Wilson's attitude toward the antimilitarists during the summer of 1916, the height of the election campaign, served a dual purpose: Wilson stifled the effect of their activity and achieved their political support." Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 138.

62. "Women Didn't Get A Fair Chance," *New York Morning Telegram*, May 14, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 14.

63. "Foes of Defense Play Small Part: Women's Peace Party Rooms Used as Place From Which to View the Parade," *New York World*, May 14, 1916. Press reports vary on their description of the WPP-NY's banner; the *Boston Record* ("145,000 in New York Parade," May 13, 1916) and the *St. Louis Republic* ("151,000 Marchers in N.Y. Parade for Preparedness," May 14, 1916) printed "two million families"; the *New York World* and the *New York Sun* (Women's Peace Party Uses Banners and Handbills," May 14, 1916) printed "two million farmers," which seems more accurate, considering the WPP-NY had secured anti-preparedness and neutral mediation resolutions from farmers' organizations in the past. WPP records, box 5, folder 14.

64. Margaret Lane to Mary C. Percy, May 15, 1916, WPP records, box 17, folder "P" 1915-1919.

65. "Who Starts the Cannon-Balls Rolling," Woman's Peace Party of New York City pamphlet, May 13, 1916, reprinted in Cook, Toward the Great Change, p. 225.

66. "Keep Cool," Woman's Peace Party of New York City pamphlet, May 13, 1916, reprinted in Cook, Toward the Great Change, p. 224.

67. "The Voice with the Smile Wins!," "What Are We Afraid Of?," WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

68. Undated press releases, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; the film was presented on October 4, 1916. See also Mary Austin to Margaret Lane, September 27, 1916, WPP records, box 17, folder "N" 1915-1919.

69. The speakers included Crystal Eastman, AUAM member Amos Pinchot, and socialist presidential candidate Allen Benson. Undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

70. W.H. Duncan to Crystal Eastman, December 4, 1916; Tracy D. Mygatt to Margaret Lane, no date, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1915-1916, box 16, folder "M" 1915-1916.

71. Margaret Lane to Katherine Leckie, member of Pen and Brush, November 17, 1916, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

72. WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

73. WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

74. "What the Woman's Peace Party of New York City has done in the Five Months, February 6 to July 5, 1916." For information on the Welsh, Slater and Stivers laws, see Steinson, pp. 144-145; Margaret Lane to Mrs. George S. Frank, May 9, 1916, WPP records, Box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

75. Lane lamented that "few people realize what these new laws mean --- all adult men between 18 and 45 required to enroll beginning August 1st, as members of the Militia Reserve, and our very children subjected to military drill in school and summer camp." Margaret Lane to Lucia Ames Mead, May 19, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

76. Undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; Alonso, p. 70. On a national level, U.S. antimilitarists confronted the conscription issue when they discovered a draft clause in the Army Reorganization Act of June 3, 1916. The clause was known as the "Hayden Joker" (after Arizona Congressman Carl Hayden), which "tricked" congress "into surrendering to the military authorities the power of the draft." The antimilitarists' urged Wilson to repeal the clause, but the president responded that he understood that the clause was "a draft in the more limited sense of the term" and "only applied in time of war." Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 76-79, 82-83.

77. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 158. For information on the U.S/Mexico conflict, see Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), pp. 107-144.

78. Crystal Eastman, Margaret Lane, Tracy D. Mygatt, Elsie Goldsmith and Carrie Creighton to Woodrow Wilson, May 10, 1916, WPP records, box 18, folder "United States, Executive Department, 1915-1919, and Legislative Department, 1915-1918."

79. "What the Woman's Peace Party of New York City has done in the Five Months, February 6 to July 5, 1916."

80. The delegation consisted of Mrs. Gertrude Pinchot of the WPP-NY, Prof. Irving Fisher (Yale) and Prof. Harry Allen Overstreet (City College of New York) of the AUAM. The delegation met with Wilson, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, Secretary of Interior Franklin K. Lane, and Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson. The resolution stated:

> We, citizens of the United States, in conference assembled profoundly appreciative of the patience and understanding shown by the present administration in its handling of foreign issues and deeply regretting the strained relations now existing between the United States and Mexico, ask that the differences between these two nations be submitted to mediation or to arbitration in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty of 1848 with Mexico and in order that this treaty of the United States with Mexico shall not be a mere scrap of paper.

Emphasis in original. Undated press releases, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

81. "President Wilson's Statement to Mrs. Amos Pinchot," WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

82. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 158; "What the Woman's Peace Party of New York City has done in the Five Months, February 6 to July 5, 1916"; Undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

83. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 159-160.

84. The U.S. antimilitarists serving on the "unofficial commission" were Crystal Eastman, David Starr Jordan and Paul U. Kellogg. See Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 160-162; Blanche Wiesen Cook, Introduction in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 15-16.

85. The National Defense Act authorized an increase in the regular army from 90,000 to 175,000, with the potential for a gradual increase to 223,000, and increased the National Guard to 440,000. See Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, pp. 179-180, 187-190.

86. Margaret Lane to Cora L. Hartshorn, June 26, 1916, WPP records, box 15, folder "H" 1915-1916.

87. Press release, October 29, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10. See also WPP-NY correspondence with Mrs. George S. Frank, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

88. See Margaret Lane to members, November 21, 1916; press release, November 27, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folders 8 and 10. See also WPP-NY correspondence with T.F. Hwang, WPP records, box 15, folder "H" 1915-1916.

89. See Margaret Lane to "friend," December 15, 1916; undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folders 8 and 10. See also telegrams to Norman Angell and Crystal MacMillan, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1915-1916. The resolution sent to the president by the WPP-NY read:

> Recognizing that the expressed willingness of the Teutonic powers to discuss peace terms opens a possible way for immediate peace negotiations, and
>
> Recognizing that acceptance by the Allies of the proposal that peace be discussed will leave the whole question of terms of settlement open, and
>
> Recognizing that the saving of one day in commencing negotiations is a matter of life and death to thousands of men,
>
> The Woman's Peace Party of New York urges you, in transmitting this proposal to the Allied Governments to express the profound desire of the American people that it may receive careful consideration and that an armistice may be arranged from the outset of negotiations.

WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

For information on the German note and Wilson's response, see Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, pp. 257-264.

90. These included (among others): the National WPP and WPP branches, the AUAM, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Peace Society, the American School Peace League, the American Patriotic Peace League, the Church Peace Union, the New York Peace Society, the Socialist Party of Greater New York, the Commission of Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the William Lloyd Garrison Equal Rights Association and the Peace Association of Friends in America.

91. See Anti-Militarist Committee of the Socialist Party of Greater New York to Margaret Lane, July 13, 1916, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1915-1916. For information on the

Conference of Peaceworkers, see notes from the conference, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1915-1916. Margaret Lane described the WPP-NY's involvement in the conference in a letter to Mrs. George Frank:

> As to the peace conference, this is called by the American Peace Society, the Church Peace Union and the American Branch of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace. They are very dignified and exclusive and don't seem to think that the New York Branch of the Woman's Peace Party is worth considering, the National W.P.P. being the only body big enough and important enough for them. But of course, Crystal Eastman and I set up a howl and so they invited the chairman, the secretary and two of the vice-presidents.

Margaret Lane to Mrs. George Frank, October 23, 1916, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

92. On January 5, 1916, the New York branch held a mass meeting on peace and war at Carnegie Hall in conjunction with the Labor Forum, at which Helen Keller was the key speaker. Press release, December 27, 1915, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; "Financial statement of the Joint Committee of the Woman's Peace Party and Committee of the Labor Forum," January 21, 1916, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

93. "The Woman's Peace Party of New York City Working Program for 1916-197," WPP records, box 5, folder 12; Rita A. Newhaus to Margaret Lane, October 10, 1916, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1915-1916; Agnes B. Leach to Agnes Warbasse, October 29, 1916. Leach enthusiastically promoted the WPP-NY among her Quaker associates; in a letter accepting a Quaker friend's membership, she stated: "I feel that this organization of women is the most active and effective group devoted to the ideal of peace and non-resistance which we as Friends have cherished for so long." Agnes B. Leach to Edith Linnett, November 18, 1916, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

94. The letter concluded: "as to military education for children, I shall do all in my power to urge it on." M. Estelle Mulholland to WPP-NY, December 10, 1916,WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1915-1916.

95. Crystal Eastman married Walter Fuller (artist, antimilitarist and AUAM member) in November 1916. See Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, November 14, 1916, WPP records, box 4, folder "Crystal Eastman, 1916-1917." See also Margaret Lane to M. DeSilver, November 6, 1916: "It is good news about Crystal. She is such a wonder that she deserves all the happiness there is." WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1915-1916.

96. Crystal Eastman, "Suggestions for 1916-1917," American Union Against Militarism pamphlet, October 1916, reprinted in Cook, ed., Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 247-252.

97. Eastman, "Suggestions for 1916-191," pp. 251-252.

98. Crystal Eastman, "War and Peace," *The Survey*, December 30, 1916, reprinted in Cook, ed., Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 252-254.

CHAPTER 4. TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: THE PROTEST AGAINST INTERVENTION, JANUARY - APRIL, 1917

The early months of 1917 were a turning-point for the U.S. peace movement and American diplomacy. While the government continued to hope for peace and prepare for war, the peace movement began to fracture, experiencing declining support and a shift in philosophy. Just as many of the pre-1914 peace organizations faded after the commencement of war, U.S. peace societies realigned in response to the crisis of early 1917. Many, particularly in the women's peace movement, ceased their peace activities and turned to war relief work; others resigned themselves to the inevitability of U.S. intervention and began devising measures to implement permanent peace after the war. For those who identified with the radical peace movement, however, this period was one of heightened activity and organizational growth. New peace and antimilitarist societies and coalitions formed in response to the rising diplomatic tensions between the U.S. and Germany, and the Woman's Peace Party of New York City (WPP-NY) would play a central role in this spirited anti-intervention movement.

The New York branch's networks with anti-intervention groups, combined with the decline in active peace work in many women's peace organizations, resulted in strained relations between the members of the WPP-NY and the national Woman's Peace Party leadership. While WPP leaders such as Jane Addams and Lucia Ames Mead endorsed the war relief activities which many WPP branches were conducting, the New York branch

vigorously rejected relief work, which they considered a means of aiding the war effort. Party members in New York equally rejected pro-war definitions of U.S. intervention as just, patriotic or necessary, and worked fervently against American entry into war. Their experiences in the anti-intervention activities of February to April 1917 showed WPP-NY members the importance of networking with like-minded organizations and individuals in order to maintain a peace protest during a time of rising intolerance towards protest of any kind. In addition, tensions between the New York branch and the national WPP over differences in policy and activities would push the New Yorkers to seek support and encouragement from their allies in the local anti-intervention movement, and reaffirm the WPP-NY's commitment to representing a unique women's peace protest.

The WPP-NY's program for 1917 did not foresee the rapid escalation of war enthusiasm which would develop in the coming months, but continued to emphasize the need to protect U.S. institutions from militaristic influences. The program of the New York branch for 1917 had its origins in the national Woman's Peace Party (WPP) Annual Convention in Washington, December 8 to 10, 1916. Like the preceding convention in January, domestic concerns surrounding militarism were at the centre of the meeting. Whereas the major issues for 1916 had been anti-preparedness and neutral mediation, the principal concern for 1917 was conscription. The tasks outlined in the WPP's congressional program for 1917 included the repeal of the draft clause in the Army Reorganization Act (the "Hayden Joker"), the promotion of the peaceful arbitration plan contained in the Naval

Appropriations Act (the Hensley clause), support for woman suffrage and, as a means of regulating the economic causes of war, opposition to United States imperialist ambitions.[1]

"Because we have the best development of our country at heart," declared Jane Addams as she opened the convention, "we work for peace."[2] The peace objective, which meant much more than an end to current hostilities, would shift and expand again during 1917. In addition to opposing the war system (which included opposition to conscription and imperialism), the Woman's Peace Party promoted permanent peace as a state of cooperative internationalism and equality for all peoples. While woman suffrage continued to be a significant element of the WPP program, the organization recognized the threat that militarism and capitalism held for other subjugated peoples. Thus, the WPP hosted a mass meeting during the convention which addressed the issue of "dependent nationalities in relation to world peace," and incorporated a Conference of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities into their convention program. The convention also addressed the relationship of the United States to the European war; a mass meeting during the convention included speeches on "action by neutrals to shorten the war" and "the war settlement."[3] At the beginning of 1917, the WPP continued to view the U.S. as the world's most plausible peace broker and the nation which would promote the spirit of internationalism and peace in its future diplomacy. According to Marie Louise Degen, at the close of their convention WPP members were not aware of "how quickly events were to develop which would paralyze all

their carefully laid plans. War was not then on the horizon," and "there was time to pursue many objectives which were appropriate to a still normal America."[4]

The Woman's Peace Party of New York City sent a delegation of twenty women (representing a membership of 1500) to the national convention.[5] At the previous WPP convention, WPP-NY chairman Crystal Eastman and executive secretary Margaret Lane met with Jane Addams to discuss plans to expand the New York branch into a state organization. The WPP executive board had appointed Ruth C. Williams of Buffalo as the state organizer in 1915. However, the New York City members were frustrated with Williams' inactivity; by late 1916, she had not called a state organizing convention or conducted any successful outreach to other communities in the New York state. By December 1916, the WPP-NY felt that since "our work has gone ahead so well in the last ten months" they were "ready to undertake the larger task" of state organization.[6] At the request of the WPP executive board, the New York branch struck a preliminary organizing committee to conduct outreach to women's and peace groups throughout the state; once this preliminary work was completed, the organization could begin plans for a state convention. While it was the responsibility of the national board to contact Williams and inform her of the New York branch's plans, the board failed to do so, and Williams took great insult at the branch's "high-handed" efforts at state organization.[7]

The failure of the national WPP executive board to adequately mediate this controversy can be attributed, in part, to the board's attitude towards the younger New York

radicals. Like the leaders of the American Union Against Militarism, the WPP executive board perceived their peace work as an extension of their social and moral reform activities of the preceding decade, and felt that the association of their respectable peace and antimilitarist activities with radical organizations and methods would harm the reputation and effectiveness of the peace movement. These fears were evident in the correspondence between Mabel Hyde Kittredge (a more conservative New Yorker) and national WPP executive secretary Harriet Thomas during the New York state organization controversy. In December, Kittredge wrote Thomas that, overall, "all this local trouble" was "very unimportant as long as the following real catastrophes do not happen." Kittredge explained:

> I wish to state positively my feeling on two subjects. One is about this younger group. Miss Addams told me that Miss Eastman had quite convinced her that it might be well for the older ones to step out and let the younger ones rule. For the sake of our country, please do not let anything like this happen. Also, I feel that now that peace seems a possibility, it would be a most disastrous thing if we were represented abroad by this small radical group, and again I say, please do not let this happen.[8]

Thomas had agreed that "it is not, by any means, the plan or the desire of the executive board that the New York City branch should dominate the situation in your state," remarking that "I don't believe there is much danger of the conservative representatives of the Woman's Peace party being displaced nationally or internationally by the radicals."[9] Thomas expressed the opinion of most members of the WPP executive board towards the New York city members when she wrote to Kittredge that "we need their energy and ardor, but we have no intention of letting them take the cart and horse and run away with them."[10]

Members of the New York branch were disappointed and frustrated with the national organization's hesitancy in providing clear responses to their requests for official authorization to begin state organizing. In January, WPP-NY executive secretary Margaret Lane wrote Jane Addams that because "there has been such a tremendous tempest in a teapot at the first appointment of a small committee to plan the first moves for organization... that I, personally, am hoping that the Board will vote to abandon any plans for state organization for the present."[11] Primarily, the motivation for the national board to hesitate on backing the branch's efforts at state leadership appeared to have been fear of the consequences for the peace cause if the WPP endorsed the expansion of this radical, vocal group (as expressed by Kittredge). During a period of increasing nativist hysteria and public intolerance towards any activities perceived as radical or subversive, the national WPP became more cautious towards associations with radical organizations and causes. At the same time, the New York branch was beginning to increase its affiliations with such groups and causes, a result of the national WPP's policy favouring autonomy for local branches, the national executive board's lack of support for WPP-NY expansion, and the necessity for vigorous protest against U.S. intervention in the Great War during the spring of 1917.

Distrust between the WPP-NY and the national body was exacerbated by some national WPP members' criticism of Eastman's leadership of the New York branch. Addams, to whom the group consistently looked for support and encouragement, advised

Eastman during the state organization affair that she should learn to work with both the radical and conservative elements of the WPP, asking "is there not always a difficulty in uniting the more radical city with the more conservative down-state groups, and is it not a test of your ability to deal with both factors in our organization as you will have to deal with them later in the state legislature?"[12] In her correspondence with the national board, Kittredge also expressed her concerns over Eastman's leadership, acknowledging that "Miss [Lillian] Wald feels very strongly that she [Eastman] has more power and influence than anyone else here, and that whether she plays the game our way or not it would be a great loss to the Party if she should cease to be the leader."[13] In late 1916, Harriet Thomas wrote Eastman concerning rumours that Eastman's active membership in numerous New York peace and antimilitarist organizations had caused her to develop conflicting alliances, resulting in ineffective leadership of the New York branch. Eastman responded that such "charges" and "insinuations" were "so ridiculous that they don't even make me angry -- they just make me laugh."[14] She continued:

> Watch how the Woman's Peace party of New York has grown and strengthened financially and every other way under my direction for the last year and a half.... You certainly have my authority to deny these rumors. Although I should think the things I have done for the Woman's Peace Party would warrant you in denying them pretty vigorously without any special word from me.[15]

Ironically, Eastman sent these declarations of loyalty to the WPP on American Union Against Militarism letterhead, and while Eastman's associations with other antimilitarist and peace organizations may have made some members of the national WPP question her

commitment to the party, her successful networking with other New York organizations would become increasingly important to the New York branch during 1917.

After months of persistent lobbying of the president on the need for peaceful arbitration and the danger of armed intervention, the U.S. peace and antimilitarist movements were delighted by Woodrow Wilson's "peace without victory" speech of January 22, 1917.[16] The president's call for "a peace between equals" and a Europe comprised of "not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace" was heralded by members of the U.S. peace movement as "the most powerful expression of universal peace which the world has heard."[17] The Woman's Peace Party of New York City sent Wilson several messages congratulating him on "vociing [*sic*] so ably and so courageously the hope of all true liberals at this time -- that world organization for permanent peace may follow this war."[18] Even this rather conventional lobbying practice brought the New York branch again into controversy with the national WPP executive board. In late January, national board member Alice Post visited New York City and informally advised Margaret Lane that her branch should refrain from activities related to congress or the president, unless their plans were formerly approved by WPP national chairman Jane Addams. "Her reason," according to Eastman, "was that our action might embarrass the officers of the national Woman's Peace Party because of the confusion of names, and sometimes differences in policy."[19] Eastman wrote Addams that, while she knew "perfectly well how much trouble an over-eager and independent local branch can be," it would be more practical for the New

York branch to change its name and sever formal ties with the national WPP "than to limit our activities or refer all our action to National Headquarters before taking it." Addams responded that Post's concern had been over the manner in which the WPP-NY signed its correspondence, fearing that "perhaps the fact that this was a Branch was not so clear and these messages might conflict with what the National Board was also doing." Addams concluded that "I should think the difficulty might be avoided if you signed yourself the New York Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, rather than the Woman's Peace Party, New York Branch."[20]

Such petty clashes with the national board did not stop the WPP-NY from overseeing numerous peace and antimilitarist activities during early 1917. On January 31, the New York branch held a mass meeting "to protest against the invasion of our public school system by military authorities and enthusiasts."[21] This was also the day that Germany announced its ambitious war aims and intentions to resume unrestricted submarine warfare; the organization had planned to initiate "a campaign against the military laws of the State when the German U-Boat order appeared and changed the face of the universe."[22] Wilson's announcement of the break in diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3 energized the U.S. peace movement to launch a massive anti-intervention campaign, which they vigorously pursued up to the declaration of war on April 4. This was the last opportunity for the WPP-NY to push for peace in a neutral America, and the

coalitions the branch formed during February and March 1917 would become integral to the organization's survival during wartime.

The period after the cessation of diplomatic relations with Germany was a "time of waiting" for the U.S., and an opportunity for the peace and antimilitarist groups to organize a national anti-intervention campaign.[23] In mid-February, WPP-NY assistant secretary Frances M. Witherspoon noted the local peace movement's boost in energy and activity, commenting that "everyone has been working day and night, both in the Peace Party and all the other peace organizations, some of which have sprung up like mush rooms [*sic*] over night, answering to the crisis."[24] Party members were heavily involved in the movement to keep the U.S. out of war, within their own organization and as members and supporters of other peace groups, such as the Emergency Peace Federation and Committee for Democratic Control. In historian C. Roland Marchand's view, such organizations were primarily "microscopic in active membership and radical in tendency" and emerged "almost daily" during the war crisis.[25] The Committee for Democratic Control was "simply an additional publicity arm" of the AUAM and the Emergency Peace Federation (EPF) aimed "to federate and coordinate those groups still fervently opposing American intervention."[26] Peace organizations mounted a propaganda and lobbying campaign which publicized alternatives to armed intervention and the idea of a popular referendum to decide whether the U.S. should enter the war. These efforts were also coordinated informally by branch members who maintained affiliations with other peace organizations and new anti-

intervention committees. "Vivacious Crystal Eastman seemed to be everywhere" during this period; according to peace historian Charles Chatfield, the branch chairman could be found "conferring with the ladies in the Woman's Peace party, plying wealthy sponsors of the American Union for funds," and "inspiring the coterie of cultural radicals drawn to her brother's the *Masses*."[27]

The New York branch's first response to the diplomatic crisis was the organization of a Clearing House for Peace at their offices on 70 Fifth Avenue. Established on February 5, the Clearing House was formed "to provide for an exchange of information as to what the peace forces are doing all over the United States in this crisis and to establish a comparison of activities so that every effective move to avert war may be made and waste from duplication minimized."[28] The party's positive experiences networking with the AUAM during 1916 demonstrated the effectiveness of closer coordination of peace activities and motivated the branch to co-found the project. The Clearing House, which was organized in cooperation with the AUAM and the Emergency Peace Federation, was a centre of information and support for peace groups; it received daily reports on events in Washington and collected information on peace organizations and activities across the country.[29] In addition to overseeing the Clearing House, the New York branch hosted nightly "keep out of the war" meetings during February, which were an additional source of information sharing and support for local members and peace workers.

Emphasis during the anti-intervention campaigns centred upon intensive lobbying of the president and congress, since they held the authority to declare war. The New York branch aimed to influence government action by mobilizing their members and the wider public to tell their congressmen and the president they did not want war. The party organized a letter-writing campaign urging the U.S. government to take preventative action to curb any further escalation of conflict with the Germans. The branch's recommendations included a ban on Americans travelling in the war zone, the suspension of clearance papers to ships carrying contraband, a popular referendum on U.S. involvement in the war and that "no further action be taken that is not official neutral action."[30] The group also sponsored a delegation to Washington to lobby Congress to act on the above points, and sent representatives to appear before the Military Affairs Committee of the New York state legislature to argue for the repeal of the Slater Act.[31]

Meanwhile, the activities of the national WPP and many local branches had slowed or ceased during the diplomatic crisis, and WPP national chairman Jane Addams feared that much of the organization's work seemed "very trivial and remote in the face of the present situation."[32] Thus, on February 21, Addams assembled an emergency meeting in New York City of WPP branch representatives to review their program.[33] The discussions resulted in a "statement of principles" which presented options aimed at reducing the opportunity for U.S. involvement in the war and described alternatives to intervention. The statement contained five recommendations: first, "that citizens of the United States refrain

from entering the danger zone," second, "that the President and Congress make the use of every judicial remedy to secure the legal settlement" of any international conflicts involving the U.S., third, consultation with the public via a referendum before any declaration of war on the part of the U.S., fourth, in case of war, the U.S. government "should act either separately or with other at present neutral nations and under no circumstances ally itself with any of the belligerents, since their aims and ambitions may differ substantially from our own." The statement of principles concluded with a strong call for the U.S. to act as a neutral nation:

> Regardful of the best interests of our own country we protest against sending our young men under any circumstances to fight on foreign soil in a war not of our own initiation, under conditions we could not control and in a struggle the length and outcome of which we could not determine.... Finally, we hold that the difficulty arising between the United States and Germany does not affect the duty of the greatest neutral nation to do all that can be done to help the belligerent nations to find a basis for a just and stable peace at the earliest practical moment. To keep alive the possibility that our country may act as mediator is one powerful motive for desiring to see this country maintain its neutrality.[34]

However, Wilson's policy would be one of armed neutrality, a strategy the president presented to congress on February 26, the day after he had received a copy of the Zimmerman telegram.[35] The publication of the Zimmerman note on March 1 increased popular support for Wilson's armed neutrality plan.[36]

The active organizations in the peace movement at this time differed in their attitudes to armed neutrality. The national WPP opposed equipping merchant ships with armaments, but supported the use of the navy as a police force. The AUAM supported

armed neutrality as "an affirmative American act," believing that armed ships could somehow curb the German submarine threat and allow the U.S. to maintain its rights as a neutral nation (avoiding any direct involvement in the war).[37] The Emergency Peace Federation expressed the most pacifist opinion on the issue, opposing all forms of armed neutrality because such tactics endorsed the war spirit and boosted "the armory of hate and conflict." Furthermore, the EPF felt that armed neutrality represented a move so "dangerously near war" and "so likely to lead to actual war" that it should be resisted as "vigorously as war itself."[38]

On February 28, representatives from these three peace organizations met with Wilson to discuss his armed neutrality policies and the president's perspective on the current international crisis.[39] According to Blanche Wiesen Cook, "this meeting was not only the last but the least encouraging contact between Wilson and the partisans of peace." The president's response to the peace advocates' suggestions on armed neutrality and other U.S. alternatives to war was "polite but negative."[40] Jane Addams later described Wilson's demeanour as "stern and far from the scholar's detachment," noting that the president spoke to the assembled representatives as "fellow pacifists to whom he was forced to confess that war had become inevitable."[41] Addams explains how Wilson justified U.S. intervention in the European war:

> He used one phrase which I had heard Colonel House use so recently that it still stuck firmly in my memory. The phrase was to the effect that, as head of a nation participating in the war, the President of the United States would have a seat at the Peace Table, but that if he remained the representative of a neutral country he could

> at best only 'call through a crack in the door.' The appeal he made was, in substance, that the foreign policies which we so extravagantly admired could have a chance if he were there to push and to defend them, but not otherwise.[42]

The delegation left the meeting feeling dejected. During the preceding months "the peace people had regarded the president as a friendly ally," but this meeting dramatically affected that relationship, as Jane Addams remarked: "from that time on we felt officially outlawed."[43]

Spring 1917 was a period of crisis and upheaval for the U.S. peace movement. Many peace organizations, including the WPP-NY, experienced large numbers of resignations and an overall drop in support for their activities during February 1917. The American Neutral Conference Committee, for example, witnessed rapid defections after the break in relations with Germany; most of their remaining members devoted their energies to the new EPF. Similarly, the American Union Against Militarism began to lose support, particularly as members recognized how recent events made antimilitarism and peace activity less respectable in the opinion of the public and government, endangering the ability of the AUAM's social reform supporters to advance their programs of domestic reform.[44] The events of early 1917 illuminated how, in Margaret Lane's words, the "many people who believe in peace when there is no danger of war become wobbly when the real test of their belief is made."[45] Member Harriet Chapell sent the New York branch several resignation notices during February and March, writing that "since the breaking off of our

diplomatic relations with Germany I feel that you have been pursuing a foolish and suspicious course of action and beg to be crossed off your lists."[46] Chapell explained:

> I am just as much interested in peace as ever but the party is showing a lamentable lack of good sense as to the best measures for securing it. A leadership that proclaims any lack of unity in America's action now, is inviting further impositions and war.... As it is, I feel that as a member of the party, I, a thorough-bred American whose family have always taken a hand in public affairs, am asked to follow a leadership bred under German-socialist influence and wholly inadequate to grasp the value of real American ideas.[47]

Many of the resignation letters which the organization would receive in the coming months would incorporate similar arguments, particularly nativist, patriotic sentiments and accusations of pro-Germanism or anti-Americanism.

While the New York branch was building closer ties with pacifist and antimilitarist groups, their relationship with local and national woman suffrage organizations was beginning to falter. In early February, the executive board of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party (NYSWSP) passed a resolution offering the services of the party "in every Assembly District of the State, consisting of more than half a million women" to the Governor of New York, "for any work he might designate."[48] This proposal of emergency war work services on behalf of NYSWSP was met with fierce opposition by the members of the WPP-NY who were affiliated with the suffrage party. The branch passed a resolution protesting "against the high-handed and undemocratic action" of the NYSWSP in volunteering its membership for war work, and maintained the WPP-NY's position as "absolutely opposed to so aiding the government as to increase the efficiency of the war

machine."[49] Crystal Eastman added a second reason for women's anger at the suffrage party's behaviour: "I believe a great many suffragists, who are not pacifists, felt decidedly aggrieved that their services had been so lightly pledged to a government which has denied to them for forty years a fundamental democratic right."[50] On February 9, fifteen members resigned from the NYSWSP in protest against "the unwarranted action" of the organization "in pledging to the State the services of the Suffrage Party without the knowledge or consent of its members."[51]

In a letter responding to this action by members of the New York branch, Vira Whitehouse, the chair of the NYSWSP, explained the executive board's action by referring to the loyalty and patriotism of U.S. suffragists:

> We are taking no part in the question of War or Peace. The country is facing a crisis and we offer the services of our organization. We are confident that every loyal American woman whether Democratic or Republican, Socialist or Pacifist will serve her country in time of need. We are confident that the great body of suffragists are loyal Americans, and are absolutely in favor of giving the service to which their leaders have pledged them. The resolution, itself, explains our belief, that the basis of the suffrage movement is love of country and a desire to serve.[52]

The correlation between war service and loyal Americanism which Whitehouse expressed would develop in the minds of the U.S. press and public in the coming months, and become a major impediment to the efforts of those still working in the peace movement. In her concluding comments, Whitehouse also hinted at the restrictions on freedom of speech which would emerge during America's participation in the war: "in such a crisis as the nation is facing, personal views cannot take precedence of our country's needs."[53]

The suffrage organization's war work pledge was soon followed by a similar commitment of services to the government from Carrie Chapman Catt and the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). According to Barbara Steinson, "Catt and other NAWSA leaders viewed such an offer as a way of blunting the anti-suffragists' charge that suffragists were unpatriotic," but the move resulted in a splintering of former pacifist-suffrage alliances.[54] The war work issue was a controversial topic at the New York branch's annual meeting in March 1917. Delegates questioned the wisdom of maintaining Catt as an honourary vice-chairman of the WPP-NY, but her name was submitted by the convention's nominating committee. In a letter dated March 12, Eastman explained to Catt that the committee's report was accepted "with the understanding that the name of any woman about whose pacifist's [*sic*] principle there was any doubt, should be dropped."[55] Eastman's task was to determine if Catt was "still in sympathy with the position of the Woman's Peace Party." While the branch chairman asserted that "it would mean great strength and power to the peace movement just now" if Catt would "take a strong public stand on our side," Catt responded that she had "no ambition to be reinstated as honourary vice-chairman" of the party, writing that "I have not changed my views on the Peace question, but I prefer to stay ousted."[56] Catt's belief that participation in war relief work (not pacifism or activities in the peace movement) would result in increased support for woman suffrage created a rift in the woman's peace movement between the suffrage-first and pacifist women. This division split the movement from a portion of its suffrage base

and served as an additional factor in strengthening networks between the WPP-NY and other peace and antimilitarist organizations.[57]

Despite these conflicts, the New York branch maintained an active protest to U.S. intervention in the war during March. In a letter to members, Crystal Eastman congratulated supporters "on the splendid courage and intelligence you have shown during the past four weeks," adding that "in all these difficult days only five members have resigned while fifty new members have joined, and hundreds have written, telephoned and called at headquarters to offer their services in the crisis."[58] The party cooperated with the AUAM and the No-Conscription League on a massive "Tell-Your-Congressman" campaign during March 16 to April 2; the campaign sought to organize the public to contact the president and congress with a strong message that the "the people are opposed to the militarists dragging this country into the European struggle," and against compulsory military training or service.[59] The campaign also focused on the need for government action on the preservation of freedom of speech, efforts to "establish and maintain friendly relations with Central and South America," and a referendum before any declaration of war.

While this protest against U.S. involvement in war was considered essential and important work by the members of the WPP-NY, some organizational strategies established during the "Tell-Your-Congressman" campaign illuminated the problems faced by disenfranchised women conducting political activities. In addition to letter-writing and publicity efforts, the branch's executive board suggested that it was "important to call

congressman's attention to the fact that his voting on these various matters would be watched throughout the congressional records," and to make this strategy effective, "deputations, especially of men, to see the congressmen at their New York homes between now and the convening of congress" should be arranged.[60] In its outreach to members during the campaign, the New York branch reminded women that, in time of crisis, it is "the solemn duty of those of us who want peace to SPEAK OUT before it is too late," but the fact that women remained without the vote meant that certain tactics in congressional or legislative lobbying were unavailable to them. This element of the campaign also reminded members of the women's peace movement of the significance of securing the vote to the effectiveness of their peace lobbying efforts.

The branch increased their anti-intervention efforts in the days leading up to the convening of congress. On March 29, Margaret Lane wrote an urgent letter to members, asking: "do you realize that the Congress assembling on April second is being hailed as A WAR CONGRESS? Shall we who love our country so much that we mean to safeguard her honor by sparing her the shame and suffering of war, DARE to let the militarists have their way while it is YET IN OUR POWER TO PROTEST?"[61] This second question was reminiscent of the branch's 1916 efforts to divorce patriotism and love of country from militarism and the war spirit, particularly evident in their peace and antimilitarist activities conducted under the name "The Real Patriots." The peace movement was becoming more aware of the need to win over Americans who had accepted the militaristic view of

patriotism, evident in the advice of WPP-NY member L.B. Blan: "we should have more literature widely distributed -- and among our opponents not our sympathizers --- more newspaper advertising and more mass meetings in sections known to be in favor of war." The branch continued the lobbying campaign up to the convening of congress, and sponsored the organization of an "army of peace" which was present in Washington during Wilson's address to congress (April 2) and the passage of the war resolution on April 4, 1917.[62]

After Wilson signed the declaration of war on April 6, the Woman's Peace Party of New York City organized a general membership meeting to determine a "program of action" for the organization. On April 16, the party released a statement which, first, reiterated their commitment to the purpose of the party as expressed in their constitution: "to enlist all women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war -- also to safeguard American democracy against the dangers of militarism and to make constructive effort toward true internationalism." Second, the branch declared they were "unalterably opposed" to conscription and compulsory military training, any limitation of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, and any lowering of labour and educational standards.[63] Lastly, the members demanded "an immediate statement of the Government to the American people setting forth the object of the war which we are waging and the terms upon which we will terminate our participation in it."[64] This early statement of wartime policies shows the branch's expanding emphasis on protecting democratic institutions in the

U.S. (the core of their definition of patriotism) from militarism and war preparations. Specifically, defense of civil liberties would become a primary task for party members during 1917. While the achievement of internationalism endured as their ultimate end, the WPP-NY recognized that the U.S. would sacrifice their role as a leading nation in establishing a world federation after the war if policies like conscription and restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly were enacted.

On the national level, the WPP was veering away from direct peace work. On April 6, national secretary Lucia Ames Mead circulated a statement to all branches in which she encouraged members to "loyally stand at our posts" and "prevent the rising tide of intolerance that comes with every war." However, Mead's discussion of voluntarism for war work, in which she described the emergency relief work of the Massachusetts branch, startled the WPP-NY; the national secretary wrote that "all organizations are now showing loyalty and patriotism by offering their service for new work," and that "it seems eminently fitting that some part of our work should now be diverted to channels of relief."[65] At the request of the New York branch's executive board, Margaret Lane wrote Mead "expressing our surprise" that the national WPP was "advocating civil relief work." It was the board's opinion that, "with so much hard work of our own to be done, with the imperative duty facing us of keeping alive some peace sentiment in a war mad world, it has seemed to us most 'back sliding'" for the WPP to devote their energies to war relief work. Furthermore, Lane cited the urgent political work which the branch faced in opposing state legislation

which threatened protections for working women, and "with the Espionage Bill settled hastily over our heads, - well, just record our protest." Lane concluded: "there are plenty of people to look after relief."[66]

The national WPP's endorsement of war work, while alarming at first, was not as politically significant as the NYSWSP and NAWSA's move towards war relief; Mead's letter was a direct reflection of the activities of most of the organization's branches, many of which had turned to differing degrees of relief work earlier in the year. However, the national party's statement may have increased the WPP-NY members' sense of their work as unique among the WPP, and necessary. Party members began to promote an image of their work and their commitment to peace as exceptional, evident in Lane's remark in an April 18 letter to members describing recent activities: "we who recognize more useful service than rolling bandages must continue our work for democracy and freedom."[67] Indeed, the New York women would enter wartime America as the most active branch of the WPP on antimilitarist and peace issues.

Members also recognized the importance of maintaining the affiliations with other anti-intervention organizations which had developed during the previous months, considering both the WPP-NY's increasing distance from the conservatism of the wider women's peace movement and the impending tasks of defending democracy and freedom in wartime America. After the declaration of war, the New York branch promoted closer coordination of activities with local pacifist and antimilitarist groups by hosting weekly

meetings on "International Relations and the Problems of Democracy in War Time," which offered peace supporters an opportunity to "keep in active touch with the peace movement."[68] Organized "for the discussion of present issues and future hopes," these weekly meetings continued throughout the spring and fostered closer personal and organizational relations among the members of the local peace movement.[69]

The primary task for the remnants of the U.S. peace movement after the declaration of war was "to guard democracy" against one of the most severe "dangers of militarism": conscription.[70] The participation of New York branch members in anti-conscription campaigns represented both the continuation of the party's protests against the militarization of U.S. society, evident in their previous work opposing compulsory military training in public schools, and the beginning of a new area of work: defense of civil liberties. During the remainder of 1917, the WPP-NY would move beyond their broken alliances with the suffrage movement and the conservative elements of the women's peace movement to sustain their peace protest through new coalitions and relationships. Tensions which formed in early 1917 between the WPP and the New York branch over state expansion and war relief work would increase as the branch entered alliances with other radical organizations (such as the People's Council) and pursued their vision of peace and freedom in their publication, *Four Lights*. In the months that followed, the party would continue its work to protest against the war system and maintain democratic institutions, focusing upon the

defense of civil liberties in America and the struggle to achieve international federation and a lasting world peace.

ENDNOTES

1. "Congressional Program of the National Woman's Peace Party," December 9, 1916, Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 5, folder 8. For information on the WPP convention, see Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Woman's Peace Party (New York: Garland, 1972), pp. 173-178. For information on the Hensley clause, see Crystal Eastman, "Suggestions for 1916-1917," American Union Against Militarism pamphlet, October 1916, reprinted in Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, edited by Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 248-250.

2. Quoted in Degen, p. 174.

3. "Annual Meeting of the Woman's Peace Party, The Section for the United States of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace - December 8, 9 and 10, Washington, D.C., Preliminary Program," WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

4. Degen, p. 178.

5. The WPP-NY delegates were Crystal Eastman, Margaret Lane, Fanny Garrison Villard, Gertrude Pinchot, Agnes Warbasse, Madeleine Doty, Tracy Mygatt, Laura Hughes (the Toronto pacifist, relocated in the U.S.), Florence Guertin Tuttle, Nellie Smith, A. Evelyn Newman, Carrie H. Creighton, Agnes Leach, Marion Tilden Burritt, Dr. Margarita Stewart, Henrietta Neuhaus, Emma J. Carr, Hulda Geist, Carrie Wise and a Mrs. William N. Stevens. Press release, December 1, 1916, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

6. Margaret Lane to Jane Addams, December 4, 1916, WPP records, box 14, folder "Jane Addams," 1916-1918.

7. See Mabel Hyde Kittredge to Harriet Thomas, December 14, 1916; Thomas to Kittredge, December 18, 1916; Kittredge to Thomas, December 22, 1916; Thomas to Ruth C. Williams, December 26, 1916; Kittredge to Thomas, December 26, 1916; Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, December 26, 1916; Thomas to Eastman, December 26, 1916; Eastman to Addams, December 27, 1916; Williams to Eastman, December 27, 1916, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916. See also Margaret Lane to Addams, January 5, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "Jane Addams," 1916-1918.

8. Kittredge to Thomas, December 22, 1916. Emphasis in original.

9. Thomas to Kittredge, December 18, 1916, December 26, 1916. Capitalization of the WPP name varies throughout the organization's correspondence; "Woman's Peace party" or "woman's Peace Party" are examples.

10. Thomas to Kittredge, December 22, 1916. Thomas also wrote Kittredge that "it is a great comfort to me to know that we have a 'watch-dog' on the job" in New York.

11. Lane to Addams, January 5, 1917.

12. Jane Addams to Crystal Eastman, January 9, 1917, WPP records, box 17, "New York City branch," 1917.

13. Kittredge concluded that if Eastman's "ability and influence is great enough, and she can run the thing alone, possibly Miss Wald is right and she should be left in power." Kittredge to Thomas, December 22, 1916.

14. Crystal Eastman to Harriet Thomas, December 4, 1916, WPP records, box 4, "Crystal Eastman," 1916-1917.

15. Eastman to Thomas, December 4, 1916. Margaret Lane also wrote a note to Thomas, refuting these rumours: "I had lunch with Crystal today and she read me your letter. Of course you're not taking these preposterous charges seriously. Crystal is devoted to the Woman's Peace Party, both the New York Branch and the National and gives many hours of hard work to us." Margaret Lane to Harriet Thomas, December 5, 1916, WPP records, box 4, "Crystal Eastman," 1916-1917.

16. See Woodrow Wilson, "A World League for Peace: Message to the Senate, January 22, 1917," in Woodrow Wilson, Why We Are At War: Messages to the Congress, January to April, 1917 (New York: Harper, 1917), pp. 3-16.

17. Wilson, "A World League for Peace," pp. 8-9. Ida Tarbell to Jane Addams, January 26, 1917, quoted in Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), p. 178.

18. See WPP-NY and Eastman (on behalf of executive committee) to Wilson, Wilson's office to Margaret Lane, undated correspondence, WPP records, box 18, folder "United States, Executive Dept., 1915-1919, and Legislative Dept., 1915-1918."

19. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, January 27, 1917, WPP records, box 17, "New York City branch," 1917. Alice Post was a founding member of the WPP, and wife of the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Louis F. Post.

20. Jane Addams to Crystal Eastman, January 30, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "New York City branch," 1917.

21. "Mass Meeting at Cooper Union," poster, WPP records, box 5, folder 12. Speakers at the meeting included Irish pacifist Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, Dr. John Lovejoy Elliot, Frederick Lynch and Joseph Cannon. Press release, January 30, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 10. This meeting was also supported by the American Neutral Conference Committee. See Rebecca Shelley to Margaret Lane, January 27, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1917-1919.

22. "Notes for C.E. for her report," WPP-NY memo, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

23. Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p. 269.

24. Frances M. Witherspoon to Sarah N. Cleghorn, February 15, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917.

25. C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 249.

26. Marchand, pp. 249-250. For information on women's work within the EPF, see Barbara Steinson, American Women's Activism in World War I (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 228-268.

27. Charles Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), p. 26. Chatfield lists anti-war artists John Sloan and Art Young, and writers Randolph Bourne and Floyd Dell as associates of *The Masses*.

28. Margaret Lane to Jane Addams, telegram, February 5-6, 1917, WPP records, box 17, "New York City branch," 1917.

29. Lane to Addams, February 6-7, 1917; undated press release, WPP records, box 5, folder 10. Since many of the U.S. peace and antimilitarist organizations sought similar objectives, the movement received criticism for duplication of activities throughout 1915-1916. A

WPP-NY supporter from California suggested the idea of a centralization of peace forces when she sent the branch a copy of a letter she had received from the American Neutral Conference Committee, explaining that "the enclosed letter right from an organization in the same building shows how utterly lacking it is in keeping up with the work of others," adding that "their work seems to me more than covered by yours and could well be given up entirely." Clara Sturgis Johnson to WPP-NY, February 12, 1917; Rebecca Shelley (ANCC) to Clara Sturgis Johnson, January 25, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "J" 1915-1919.

30. Margaret Lane to members, February 9, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. See also "Women Appeal to Wilson: New York Peace Party Suggests What He Should Do to Avert War," undated press clipping, WPP records, box 5, folder 2.

31. Frances Witherspoon to "member of the delegation," February 1, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917.

32. Quoted in Steinson, p. 223.

33. See Jane Addams to WPP branches, February 19, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1917; Degen, pp. 183-184; Steinson, pp. 223-224.

34. "Statement of Principles... Conference of Members of the National Executive Board and Representatives of Affiliated and Local Branches of the Woman's Peace Party, February 21, 1917," WPP records, box 5, folder 2. See also recommendations contained in Lucia Ames Mead's letter to WPP members, February 27, 1917, in which the national WPP secretary advised that branches "oppose with all force possible in every way found locally most useful the passage of Bills, like the Censorship Bill, the Overman Act, called the 'Espionage Bill,' the Compulsory Service or Conscription Acts and all national or state Bills initiating universal or compulsory military training for youth." Mead concluded: "bills of this character are numerous, skilfully pressed and supported by important people and constant and active opposition is needed to defeat them." Mead to WPP members, February 27, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "Woman's Peace Party (National)," 1915-1919.

35. See Woodrow Wilson, "Request for a Grant of Power: Message to the Congress, February 26, 1917," in Wilson, Why We Are At War: Messages to the Congress, January to April, 1917, pp. 27-37.

36. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, pp. 272-273. In late February, German foreign secretary Alfred Zimmerman wired a telegram to the German ambassador in Mexico, in which Zimmerman proposed an alliance with Mexican forces if the U.S.

entered the war on the side of the Allies. Germany offered to reward Mexico with U.S. territory. For more information on the Zimmerman telegram, see Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916-1917 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 342-346, 353-359. For information on Wilson's armed neutrality program, see chapter 8, "The Decision for Armed Neutrality," in Link, Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916-1917, pp. 340-389.

37. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 187-190; Steinson, p. 243. The quote belongs to Lillian Wald. Not all members of the WPP and the AUAM supported the organization's policies on armed neutrality (particularly those who were also members of the EPF). For a discussion of AUAM member James Warbasse's opposition to the organization's stand, see Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 190-192; Steinson, pp. 243-244.

38. EPF members (Emily Greene Balch, Lella Faye Secor, Frances M. Witherspoon and Tracy D. Mygatt), quoted in Steinson, p. 244.

39. Members of the delegation included: Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Emily Greene Balch, Max Eastman, Paul U. Kellogg, Amos Pinchot, Frederick Lynch and William I. Hull. Steinson, pp. 241-242; Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 194.

40. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 194.

41. Quoted in Thomas J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 120.

42. Quoted in Knock, p. 120.

43. Quoted in Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 195.

44. Marchand, p. 266.

45. Margaret Lane to Mrs. Harold A. Hatch, February 24, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

46. Harriet Chapell to WPP-NY, March 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917.

47. Harriet Chapell to Margaret Lane, February 12, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917. Chapell concluded her second resignation notice: "I have not changed my dislike of

war nor my hopes that America will find a better way but you are not helping at present." Harriet Chapell to WPP-NY, March 1917.

48. New York State Woman Suffrage Party resolution, copy dated February 9, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "N" 1915-1919.

49. Resolutions passed at meeting of the Woman's Peace Party of New York City, March 13, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 9.

50. Crystal Eastman to Mrs. Leigh French, February 28, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

51. The statement concluded: "we are unalterably opposed to the United States entering the war, and in accordance with this conviction have today resigned from said organization." It was signed by: Katherine Anthony, Helen Boardman, Olivia Howard Dunbar, Elizabeth Freeman, Elsie Borg Goldsmith, Martha Gruening, Anne Herendeen, Mary Alden Hopkins, Jesse Wallace Hughan, Enid Johnson, Freda Kirchwey, Margaret Lane, Tracy D. Mygatt, Mary White Ovington, Brenda Ueland, Fannie M. Witherspoon. See Katherine Anthony, etc., to Hon. Charles S. Whitman, February 9, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "N" 1915-1919. See also a telegram from Margaret Lane to Jane Addams, February 9, 1917, box 17, folder "New York City branch," 1917, in which Lane tells the WPP national chairman: "suffragists indignant at being handed over by officers to government for war work are making strenuous protest."

52. Vira Whitehouse to the WPP-NY, February 9, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "N" 1915-1919.

53. Vira Whitehouse to the WPP-NY, February 9, 1917.

54. See Harriet Hyman Alonso, Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 74-76; Steinson, pp. 236-241; Degen, pp. 188-189, Marchand, pp. 213-217.

55. Crystal Eastman to Carrie Chapman Catt, March 12, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917. See also Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, March 12, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "Jane Addams," 1916-1918.

56. Crystal Eastman to Carrie Chapman Catt, March 12, 1917; Carrie Chapman Catt to Crystal Eastman, March 21, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917.

57. Catt also resigned from the National WPP. See Alonso, pp. 75-76; Alice Post to Crystal Eastman, March 12, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "P" 1915-1919. For correspondence regarding one member's resignation from the WPP-NY due to the branch's stand on the war work issue, see Margaret Lane to Mrs. Harold A. Hatch, February 24, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

While the WPP-NY's relations with NAWSA and NYSWSP deteriorated, the branch maintained networks with other women's and suffrage groups which were truly neutral on the war issue. See WPP-NY to Margaret Sanger, February 2, 1917; WPP-NY to Mrs. William Kent (Congressional Union), February 24, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13; Alice Paul (Congressional Union) to Crystal Eastman, February 14, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

58. Crystal Eastman to Members, March 3, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. See also Harriet Chapell to WPP-NY, March 1917, in which Chapell contradicts Eastman's membership estimates, citing Eastman's March 3 letter and commenting: "since this shows how little attention is paid to remonstrances by your members, and requests to be crossed off your lists, you cannot expect me to be much impressed by your figures." In a letter dated March 31, Margaret Lane quotes membership statistics since February 1, 1917: "we have had 37 resignations and 116 new members." Margaret Lane to Oswald Garrison Villard, March 31, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "V" 1915-1919.

59. "Plan Adopted by Executive Board: Tell-Your-Congressman Campaign," March 16, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 4; Marion Tilden Burritt, Leader of 21st Congressional District, to members, March 20, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. For information on the national WPP's activities during this period, see Harriet Thomas to members, March 26, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "Woman's Peace Party (National)," 1915-1919.

60. "Plan Adopted by Executive Board: Tell-Your-Congressman Campaign," March 16, 1917.

61. Margaret Lane to members, March 29, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

62. See Woodrow Wilson, "We Must Accept War: Message to the Congress, April 2, 1917," and "A State of War: The President's Proclamation of April 6, 1917," in Wilson, Why We Are At War, pp. 41-59, 63-68. Tracy D. Mygatt and Frances M. Witherspoon were in Washington during the first week of April. Margaret Lane to Theresa Mayer, April 9, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1917.

63. "Brief Statement of Policies Adopted at General Meeting of Woman's Peace Party of New York City," April 16, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. The resolution on the lowering of labour standards for women was a response to the Johnson bill introduced into the New York state legislature. The bill granted the Industrial Commission "power to make changes which it thinks desirable in time of crisis in the labor law for women and children." According to a press release reporting on the branch's meeting of April 16: "it was the opinion of Woman's Peace Party members present that this bill is such a vicious backward step in the labor laws of the State, that all women, whatever their views on peace and war, need only to be told of it in order to rally its opposition." Press release, April 18, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

64. The last statement concluded: "with the hope that negotiations for peace shall be entered into at the earliest possible moment." The WPP-NY continued to demand a statement of war aims and peace terms from the U.S. government during 1917-1918. See Margaret Lane to members, April 10, 1917; Margaret Lane to board members, April 14, 1917; "Brief Statement of Policies Adopted at General Meeting of Woman's Peace Party of New York City," April 16, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

65. The second statement was underlined in the copy of Mead's letter in the WPP-NY files. Lucia Ames Mead to "State Chairman," April 6, 1917, WPP records, box 17, "Lucia Ames Mead," 1916-1919.

66. Margaret Lane to Lucia Ames Mead, May 1, 1917, WPP records, box 17, "Lucia Ames Mead," 1916-1919. For information on the Espionage Bill, see discussion in chapter 5, page 149.

67. Margaret Lane to members, April 18, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. See also Margaret Lane to Mrs. F. Holt, May 14, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

68. Margaret Lane to members, April 18, 1917; Press release, April 20, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

69. Margaret Lane to Madeleine Z. Doty, undated letter, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917. See also Margaret Lane to Harriet Thomas, April 9, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "T" 1915-1919.

70. Crystal Eastman, "War and Peace," *The Survey*, December 30, 1916, reprinted in Cook, ed., Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 252-254.

CHAPTER 5. "IN A WORLD AT WAR, THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT ALONE HAS KEPT THE INTERNATIONAL FLAG FLYING": CIVIL LIBERTIES AND WORLD FEDERATION, MAY - DECEMBER, 1917

Once the United States had declared war on Germany, the opportunities for peace protest, and the form of that protest, were transformed. Most peace and social reform organizations decided that the best course of action would be to assist the government in working towards an early peace, placing their peace programs on hold until the after the war was over. The Woman's Peace Party of New York City (WPP-NY) opted for a different course of action, and while the declaration of war caused a dramatic decline in the peace activities of the national women's peace movement, the New York branch saw it as their responsibility to protest against the restrictions of freedoms which accompanied America's preparations for war. During the summer and fall of 1917, the WPP-NY would again join forces with the remnants of the pre-intervention peace movement and work to protect American institutions from the crippling effects of militarism. This protest would begin with the most pressing issue for the peace movement after the declaration of war, conscription.

The implementation of a system of compulsory military training in America targeted the very core of the WPP-NY's definition of peace: the primary value of human life and human relationships over the political or economic disputes of nations. Organized opposition to compulsory military service took many forms; initially, the party joined with

other peace organizations in lobbying congressmen to oppose conscription legislation.[1] Branch members were encouraged to write their congressmen and "tell him that although you are not yet a voter, you consider compulsory military service unnecessary and contrary to American principles."[2] On April 18, Margaret Lane distributed a statement to congressmen on behalf of "three hundred citizens" who discussed the issue at a meeting the previous night, and resolved that "if the people want this war they will volunteer," concluding, "compulsory service is militarism and contrary to American traditions."[3]

A second component of the protest against conscription, in the event that conscription was passed into law, was securing the rights of conscientious objectors to war. Because of women's traditional position as non-combatants, peace historian Linda Schott maintains that the issues surrounding conscription and conscientious objection "affected women less directly than did compulsory military education in high schools and colleges where many women taught."[4] However, members of the New York branch consistently identified conscription as one of the primary indignities of militarism, and recognized how compulsory military service for men and boys would inflict major social, economic and emotional consequences on women and their families.[5] Their protest over the impact of conscription on the economic and emotional security of women and children would be coupled with demands for increased employment opportunities for women, and improvements in women's economic and legal status in 1918-1919. Meanwhile, party members cooperated with organizations like the Emergency Peace Federation (EPF), the

American Union Against Militarism (AUAM) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in opposing conscription measures and demanding that the rights of conscientious objectors to war be protected.[6]

For the U.S. peace movement, their work on the issues of conscription and protections for conscientious objectors (or COs) was fundamentally a protest against the violation of democratic rights and limitations of freedom of conscience. This movement for the preservation of basic freedoms, broadly defined as the civil liberties movement, was at the centre of the WPP-NY's activities during 1917. The civil liberties movement also protested government harassment and monitoring of active peace organizations (an act which would affect the party during 1917). Soon after the declaration of war, the executive board of the WPP-NY recognized the potential for anti-pacifist sentiment, which had previously been relegated to the pro-war press and militarist organizations, to develop into official government policy. During April, the party was beginning to receive complaints from members that mail from the branch had been tampered with, or "not delivered properly," and was experiencing difficulty in securing venues for events.[7] A meeting scheduled for April 17 in Washington, at which branch member Marion Tilden Burritt was to be key speaker, was "broken up... the doors locked before the crowd had a chance to get in." Burritt wrote Lane that "8 bullying policemen" were present at the meeting "to watch the poor little group of us;" she concluded that "there is no doubt that the spirit of autocracy, expelled from Russia, has found a congenial home in America."[8]

Opposition to the Espionage Bill (which assigned harsh penalties for citizens convicted of broadly defined acts, such as aiding the enemy, disseminating false information aimed at interference with the war effort, or encouraging acts of insubordination or disloyalty) had been primarily directed by the AUAM, but after the declaration of war, branch members called for specific action on this bill on behalf of the WPP-NY. In Freda Kirchwey's opinion, "next to compulsory training," the Espionage Bill was "the most important question up," and since "all peace activity from now on will depend on the framing of that measure," it was the responsibility of "all peace organizations to force a decent one."[9] While the peace organizations hoped that their efforts would defeat the Espionage Bill, they recognized the necessity of establishing a body which would monitor such legislation, and act as an information bureau on the legal consequences of peace agitation and conscientious objection. However, conflict arose within the peace movement over the wisdom of instituting such a committee, since the impending legislation made opposition to any government war policies illegal.

This conflict was particularly evident in the reaction of the AUAM to the formation of a Bureau for Conscientious Objectors. Formed as a committee of the AUAM by Roger Baldwin, Crystal Eastman, Norman Thomas and several other radical AUAM supporters in the spring of 1917, the bureau was organized to address the legal concerns of conscientious objectors, specifically, to lobby for the repeal of legislation penalizing conscientious objection, recruit lawyers to assist COs, and encourage COs to make their beliefs known by

registration with government authorities.[10] Certain members of the AUAM, particularly Lillian Wald and Paul U. Kellogg, "feared that the Union would lose all its influence if it became identified with an issue directly opposed to the administration's policy."[11] Supporters of the Bureau for COs maintained that defense of COs fell within the AUAM's mandate, arguing that the organization should feel a responsibility to act on behalf of COs. "Having created conscientious objectors to war," remarked Roger Baldwin, "we ought to stand by them."[12] However, once conscription became law with the passage of the Selective Service Act in May, Wald and Kellogg threatened to resign over the organization's involvement in activities in defense of conscientious objectors. Kellogg felt that the AUAM needed to "distinguish between opposition to militarism and war and active opposition to this war," and Wald stated that the AUAM could not maintain "continuance of our program which entails friendly governmental relations... and at the same time drift into being a *party of opposition* to the government."[13]

Crystal Eastman's response to these arguments was to remind the antimilitarists of their history of vigorous opposition to governmental policies on preparedness, writing that the Union's recent emphasis on COs did not make the AUAM an "opposition party" any more than their efforts in the anti-preparedness campaign. Eastman also pointed out that throughout the AUAM's participation in the anti-preparedness campaigns of 1916, "we were able always to secure an interview with the President or with any Department we thought it necessary to approach."[14] In Eastman's opinion, "ours is not a policy of

obstruction," rather, "ours is a 'democracy first' movement," and "our Conscientious Objectors' Bureau is only part of that movement." Eastman recognized Kellogg's fear that, through their involvement with COs, the AUAM "might well become so hopelessly identified in the public mind with 'anti-war' agitation as to make it impossible for us to lead the liberal sentiment for peace"; to avoid such a scenario, she advised "a reorganization of our work," the establishment of "one legal bureau for the maintenance of fundamental rights in war time - free press, free speech, freedom of assembly and liberty of conscience."[15] The Bureau for Conscientious Objectors was renamed the Civil Liberties Bureau (CLB), and continued as a committee of the AUAM until autumn 1917, when the CLB officially separated from the diminishing AUAM.[16]

By May 1917, the WPP-NY was reconsidering its tradition of dramatic and daring stunts and beginning to plan their activities and affiliations more carefully. Although the branch remained "unalterably opposed to conscription," after the passage of the Selective Service Act the party decided to refrain from sponsoring "active propaganda against it."[17] Recognizing the need for a committee to address the concerns of all individuals and agencies affected by the impending wartime legislation, from pacifist writers to COs, the party became directly involved in the defense of civil liberties in wartime through their role in the formation of the New York Bureau of Legal First Aid. The New York branch contributed one-hundred dollars in initial funding to the bureau, which was originally founded to assist the American Legal Defense League by handling requests for legal

assistance from individuals charged under wartime legislation, overseeing publicity regarding such cases, and acting as an information bureau for peace or antimilitarist organizations and individuals seeking legal information. Staffed by WPP-NY members Frances Witherspoon and Tracy Mygatt, the bureau provided legal aid and support services from April to the late autumn of 1917, when it came under the direction of the newly independent Civil Liberties Bureau.[18]

During this time of war preparations, membership and financial support for the New York branch diminished. After the U.S. entered the war, the organization lost several prominent members, including the branch's treasurer, Carrie Creighton, and renowned socialist Rose Pastor Stokes, who had been a financial contributor to the party.[19] The branch was often accused by resigning members of behaviour "most unAmerican" and "pro-German," and many simply declared that they were leaving the party because "the time has passed to work for peace."[20] Some members wrote that while they continued to believe in peace and oppose war, they could not maintain membership in the party while the U.S. was engaged in war. "In this national crisis, when we are attacked boldly, and American lives are sacrificed," wrote Mrs. Clarence C. Buel, "I do not consider it in conformity with my feelings and aims" to be a member of the WPP-NY. Buel explained that she was "still working for peace, but as an ultimate, which cannot be reached by standing still and crying 'Peace, peace! when there is no peace.'"[21] Others wrote that while they agreed with the "ultimate aims of the party," the organization's recent activities and policies were "totally

inadequate" and even "harmful and mischievous," considering America's current position in the international conflict.[22] One woman explained that while she was "devoted to the ideals of peace," peace activity was not appropriate in all circumstances, asserting that "we who love our country so much mean to safeguard her honor by being good citizens and true Americans and not embarrass our government in this crisis."[23] At its most extreme, this patriotic sentiment set peace activity and loyalty as mutually exclusive categories, as expressed by a Brooklyn member: "under existing conditions I am not a 'pacifist' but an American."[24]

While the party was losing ground in these traditional areas of support for the women's peace movement (suffrage and social reform) due to America's entry into war, the branch was also encountering problems in its attempts to reach working-class women with their peace activities. Shortly before the declaration of war, member L.B. Blan sent a letter to the party which outlined one of the fundamental problems for the WPP-NY in mobilizing this portion of their membership:

> I may have no right to say anything on this subject since I do so little myself, but I assure you that it is because I cannot and not because I lack the will. I am handicapped in the same way as are the thousands of other workingmen and workingwomen who attended last night's meeting: I can applaud and attend an occasional public assembly; but the leisure and the means to sound such resounding trumpet blasts as to awaken the whole country, is not mine as it is not theirs.[25]

While the party maintained affiliations with local women's trade unions and boasted prominent labour women Rose Schneiderman and Leonora O'Reilly as members of their

executive board, the fact was that most working-class women were without "the leisure and the means" to pursue active membership in the organization.[26] Primarily, the interests of working-class women were represented in the party by women active in the labour movement (who were also unable to commit to much active participation in the branch's policies and events) and women with a history of pushing improvements in standards of working conditions, protection and wages for women, such as Crystal Eastman and Florence Kelley. This recognition of the restrictions on the activities of working women was one of the factors which led New York branch members to expand their protest against the war system to include a challenge to capitalism and increased involvement in the local labour movement.[27] The issue of working-class women's voice in the women's movement, the labour movement and the movement for a new internationalism and world federation would receive more attention from the branch during its activities in 1918-1919.

In addition to experiencing this shrinking support base, the strained relations between the WPP-NY and the national WPP persisted during the months which followed U.S. entry into the war. Both branches of the party continued the course established earlier in 1917; the national branch became increasingly involved in war relief efforts, placing less emphasis on direct peace or antiwar agitation, while the New York branch moved toward closer alliances with radical organizations and culture. The WPP-NY's affiliation with the First American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace, or People's Council, strengthened the branch's relationship with local pacifist and socialist organizations, and

further isolated the New Yorkers from the conservative positions of the national WPP leadership. This growing distance between the WPP leadership and the New York branch members was exacerbated by the branch's bi-weekly publication on peace and internationalism, *Four Lights*. Published throughout most of 1917, *Four Lights* brought the organization into closer contact with the local radical press and civil liberties/free speech efforts, but was a frequent source of controversy between the New York branch and the national WPP.

The First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace occurred May 30 and 31, 1917, in New York City. The event was sponsored by the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace, a loosely-organized coalition of pacifist and socialist groups and individuals formed in April 1917.[28] The People's Council was led by members of the Emergency Peace Federation (which was absorbed by the People's Council in May) and local anti-war socialists; WPP-NY members Crystal Eastman, Elizabeth Freeman and Fola La Follette were members of the People's Council from its inception.[29] Described as "the most important organization fighting for a quick peace" during the war, the People's Council was formed to advance "international reorganization for the maintenance of peace," supporting defense of civil liberties and the negotiation of democratic peace terms similar to those advanced by European pacifists, specifically, "no forcible annexation of territory, no punitive indemnities, free development of all nationalities."[30] The council's membership

was diverse, and included socialist, pacifists, antimilitarists, labour leaders, cultural and political radicals and intellectuals.[31]

Peace historians and contemporaries considered the People's Council "the most radical phase of the early twentieth century peace movement," evident in the council's integration of peace concerns with domestic radicalism and the organization's reference to the recent Russian Revolution as a model for U.S. reorganization.[32] The People's Council aimed to replace the "industrial plutocracy" (which played an important role in U.S. intervention in the war) with "industrial democracy," and organized local councils to provide Americans with "an instrument through which their will may be more directly expressed than through a government organized for the conduct of war." "In its full implications," writes historian C. Roland Marchand, the People's Council's program "was an ambitious and revolutionary proposal": it called for "the creation of a separate political structure paralleling that of the existing government with the notion that it, like the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in Russia, might aspire to assume sovereign power during the next national crisis."[33] Overall, the People's Council differed from previous U.S. peace groups in its more left-leaning membership and policies, and the ambitious scope of its program; while most peace organizations planned to resume their activities for peace and internationalism in the post-war period, the People's Council espoused a program of organizing the world for internationalism, democracy and peace without delay.

While some members of the WPP and the AUAM supported the program and activities of the People's Council, many leaders in both organizations were suspicious of the radical new coalition. Reminiscent of their concerns regarding the Bureau for Conscientious Objectors, AUAM officers Lillian Wald and Paul U. Kellogg rejected invitations to the council's first conference in May, deciding that the AUAM should try to distance itself from the council to maintain its reputation as a liberal peace group. National WPP officers Jane Addams and Lucia Ames Mead appeared to agree with Wald's assessment that the People's Council represented "impulsive radicalism" and not "the organized reflective thought of those opposed to war."[34] While the national WPP held no authority over the activities of local branches, Addams declined to attend any People's Council events, and Mead actively dissuaded members from affiliating with the council. At the branch level, responses to the organization varied from the WPP-NY's enthusiastic support of the People's Council as "one of the most hopeful things on the horizon," to the Massachusetts branch's assessment that the group was pro-German, divisive and dangerous.[35]

In the end, the council was rendered ineffective by erratic support combined with consistent government and police harassment (which culminated in a clash with the National Guard during the council's constituent assembly meeting in Chicago in September 1917).[36] The WPP-NY was attracted to the council because it found expression of the party's own objectives, particularly immediate work to restructure international relations

and domestic society for permanent peace, in the council's program. Despite the brevity of their involvement with the council, members were inspired by the group's exciting discussions of initiatives for internationalism and freedom in the party's future activities as a radical representative of the women's peace movement. Finally, branch members witnessed the treatment of the People's Council at the hands of the U.S. government and local authorities, and this was an important lesson regarding the extent of official fears concerning particular expressions of protest. This event motivated the party to continue its own work on behalf of civil liberties, and consequently, re-examine its activities to determine how the branch could learn from their experiences with the council and avoid a similar fate.

The party activity which sparked intervention from the U.S. government, and a second point of conflict between the WPP-NY and the national branch, was the New Yorkers' journal, *Four Lights*. Subtitled *An Adventure in Internationalism*, the first issue of *Four Lights* was published on January 27, 1917.[37] The journal, which editor Frances Witherspoon hoped would represent the "young, uncompromising woman's peace movement," was produced by a rotating board of editors who endeavoured "to see the note of internationalism struck in a really vigorous way." The "note of internationalism" which editor Tracy Mygatt felt the journal "must strike with constant stress" should focus upon "the distinction between people and government in each of the nations at war." "We have called Four Lights 'An Adventure' and this name fits it in more ways than I care to admit,"

wrote Margaret Lane in March, explaining "not only do we adventure by promising to issue twelve copies of it, each with a new group of editors, but we further beyond reason, took a chance by promising to issue it at all."[38] Tracy Mygatt described *Four Lights* as "a little bulletin" which sought to "interest the newspapers of the country in the other side of the pacifist question." Early in 1917, Mygatt outlined the purpose of *Four Lights*: the publication would "gather from every possible source what the radical peace movements of Europe are doing" and "collect vital news from abroad which now appears in obscure sections of the press, and so re-accent them as to bring out their true significance."[39] *Four Lights* was distributed "free to a large list of newspapers throughout the country in the hope of sounding the new note of internationalism in the American Press." The bulletin was also distributed to active members of the WPP, congressmen, public libraries and college students, all those who, in the WPP-NY's opinion, "need to have the faith brought to them."[40]

The tone and content of *Four Lights* made it a popular bulletin with active peace organizations; the journal presented political commentary on domestic and international concerns with a satirical bite, publishing theme issues on feminism, the death of democracy, the role of women in war and peace, civil liberties and a "special atrocity number" featuring "thoughts for bandage rollers."[41] The journal's criticism and humour directed towards women's relief efforts made it a controversial publication in the opinion of many WPP branches, but New York members and many others active in peace work welcomed the wit

of *Four Lights*, a relief from the increasingly harrowing work of defending democracy and peace. "Thank you for the Four Lights," wrote Zona Gale, remarking that "to show forth the fallacies and sophistries of war talk is a service to real democracy --- though I confess that I feel shy about using the word democracy anymore, for fear of being taken for one of her new acquaintances."[42] The tone of the journal and the distribution strategy also aimed to reach beyond the committed pacifists and peace advocates; Frances Witherspoon hoped that *Four Lights* could "conceivably act as [an] opening wedge in the minds of a great many people of natural conservatism and who are inclined to look toward the past rather than the future."[43]

The New York branch came into conflict over *Four Lights* with both the WPP and the U.S. government during the summer of 1917. In June, an issue of *Four Lights* was refused mailing privileges and held by the postal authorities as seditious material, despite the fact that the journal's editors "had two lawyers of some standing read proof of this number of FOUR LIGHTS" and assured the party "that there was nothing in it contrary to the laws of the state or country."[44] The branch took this matter to George Creel, the progressive journalist who now headed the Committee on Public Information, and explained that the post office had informed them that their journal was "held up for the present," adding that "no reason was given us as to why and no promise was given that we should ever be informed of a decision."[45] Party members were hopeful that Creel would support their case, considering his past "devotion to the essential principles of liberty," but

Creel was unable to lift the ban on the journal.[46] When the first July issue of *Four Lights* was also held by the post office, Lane again wrote to Creel asking if he could "please rescue us.... we are most careful not to act contrary to the law and we do not publish a number without having had legal assurance that we are keeping well within it."[47] Creel responded in mid-July that he had "tried in every possible manner to be of assistance to you, but without avail," since "under the espionage law the Post Office Department is given entire control in these matters." Creel explained that he was not "in sympathy with these things that the law seeks to suppress, but simply that I believe in the freedom of the press and am opposed to the suppression of opinion of any kind." Creel also took this opportunity to "call your attention to some very glaring misstatements in your fourth of July number," advising that "it is this sort of loose and reckless lying that makes your literature less than effective."[48]

This experience with *Four Lights* brought WPP-NY members into closer contact with members of the local radical press and civil liberties movements.[49] When their journal was held by the postal authorities, the branch recognized that *Four Lights* was "only one of a number of small publications which have been choked out in this way," noting that "most of the others are Socialist papers."[50] In mid-July, the WPP-NY cooperated with a number of other publications experiencing censorship in efforts to protect freedom of speech. At a press conference sponsored by the Civil Liberties Bureau of the AUAM, representatives of pacifist, socialist and radical papers called for the organization of a committee to appeal to

the Postmaster General and the President "against the methods by which a dozen or more periodicals have been excluded recently from the United States mails." According to *The Masses*' Max Eastman, the situation was descending to the point where "you can't even collect your thoughts without being arrested for unlawful assemblage."[51]

In July, the Woman's Peace Party of New York City received an enquiry from the U.S. government regarding the background of *Four Lights* editors. "The Department of Justice is inquiring into the nationality of all our editors of FOUR LIGHTS," Margaret Lane wrote to a member on July 24, "and I am glad to say that it was quite easy to convince the agent of the Department of Justice that we are not alien enemies." Lane noted that "upon really looking into the nationality of our editors, I find that the vast majority of them come from stock which came over on the Mayflower or shortly after," and "in order to lay this bugaboo of pro-germanism [to rest] forever, I want to print the lineage of all the 30 who have been our editors so far."[52] The branch had a field day with this incident, publishing a supplement in the journal titled "Who's Who Among The Editors of Four Lights."[53] The supplement raised some interesting points regarding the branch's perspective on American citizenship and internationalism. Many of the twenty-eight women who submitted sketches on their national backgrounds noted the histories of military men in their families as a means of illustrating longstanding U.S. heritage. Often, this was presented in an offhand, humorous manner, as in the case of Jessie Ashley's contribution: "my great-grandfather fought in the Battle of Bennington. My father was a Colonel in the Civil War. Many

Revolutionary fighters - members of Congress and all the rest of it." Zoe Beckley's contribution had a similar tone, noting that a family member "fought Indians and has some lakes named after him for services rendered in the Mexican wars or something." Most of the editors traced their families through the male line, again reflecting the traditional definition of citizenship as masculine.[54]

The supplement rejected and ridiculed the criticism that *Four Lights* was the product of "Pro-Germans" or "Alien Enemies," but fell back on very traditional definitions of Americanism in doing so. In a concluding commentary, the editors addressed this matter of homogeneity in the party with some pride and humour, but the implications of this issue on the party's future work were quite serious:

> In all good faith we embarked upon an Adventure in Internationalism. Now, to our amazement, we find that we have been most provincial in our choice of a crew. Instead of drawing our editors from the Four Winds of the Earth we have lazily accepted the assistance of a few Mayflower descendants (good sailors forward liberty though they undoubtably are). Half our twenty-eight editors, so far, could join the D.A.R. to-morrow, if they thought it worth while. Where is our boasted internationalism?
>
> Bowing our heads in shame, we promise to do everything in our power to widen our horizon. Henceforth our columns stand wide open to any race under the sun, black white and yellow.[55]

The issue of representation of women of diverse backgrounds in the work of the WPP-NY would reoccur in 1918-1919.

The national Woman's Peace Party entered the discussion concerning the New York branch's journal after the publication of the July 14 issue of *Four Lights*, the "Sister Susie

Number."[56] An article by Katherine Anthony, entitled "The 'Sister Susie' Peril," criticized women who volunteered for war work on the basis that the "women who yearn to give unpaid service" through this "peculiarly infantile form of patriotism" were "throwing other women [in the garment industry] out of work."[57] Anthony's article angered many WPP members who were participating in war relief work, and while the New York branch received much criticism over the piece, it stood by the sentiments expressed in "The 'Sister Susie' Peril." The branch's executive secretary responded to one member by agreeing with her comments on Anthony's piece, but adding "yet there is an annoying smugness about many women who are doing a little war work that seems to me almost justifies this article."[58]

This controversy and the general public hostility towards pacifist activity influenced WPP national secretary Lucia Ames Mead to request that the August 11 issue of *Four Lights*, which she edited, be ascribed to an anonymous member. The day before printing, Margaret Lane wrote Mead "to make one more appeal to you to subscribe your name as editor of this issue." Lane acknowledged the need for anonymity or pseudonyms in certain circumstances: "I appreciate the effectiveness of your 'Congraves' and 'Mackayes' when signed to letters in the daily papers," but pointed out that "there is no use pretending that we are men, in this case, for we are frankly the Woman's Peace Party." Lane concluded her correspondence with the assertion "if this issue of Four Lights is worth your spending your time on it is surely worth your signing," but Mead insisted on remaining anonymous.[59] "An

influential member of our WPP whom I am much attached and under obligations was much disturbed over the Sister Susie and some other members begged me not to sign my name," Mead wrote, explaining that "as I yielded to her request I can do nothing now."[60]

Four Lights continued to publish regularly throughout the summer, but by September, the editors began to reconsider the journal's tone and approach. Admitting to Lucia Ames Mead that "your criticism of the paper that is [*sic*] chief characteristic is an ironic nagging and futile sarcasm has been voiced by many people," members met to address this accusation that the journal was simply "flippant and casual, with sarcasm futile and nagging policy, ineffective although clever."[61] "I do wish we could make Four Lights more truly international," Margaret Lane confided to a fellow pacifist in August, since "it is really just local anti-militarism, it seems to me."[62] It was proposed that because many "world problems... have been discussed by men only from the man's point of view," *Four Lights*, as "the official bulletin of the woman's organization should be the logical instrument for conveying to the public woman's intelligent, constructive, pacifist opinions and ideas."[63] While editors agreed with this move, they were slow to implement this policy, and the journal continued to emphasize "those inconsistencies with the patriotic and democratic protestations of the press, administration, etc." in its September and October issues.[64] By November, after witnessing problems other radical publications were encountering (the *New York Call* had been refused second-class mailing privileges, and the editors of *The Masses* had been charged under the espionage laws), the executive board considered three

options for the future of the journal: to cease publication, to make the journal "a mere new sheet to help in any political work we might undertake," or "to reorganize it into a woman's journal of internationalism."[65] A committee was appointed to examine the possibility of the third option for *Four Lights*, but the board decided that "the time and money spent upon it might produce more effective propaganda in another way," and the journal was discontinued "for the present."[66]

The radicalism of the New York branch, particularly its persistence in ridiculing women's war relief work and criticizing government policies in *Four Lights*, continued to aggravate members of the national WPP.[67] The party's strong stand on war work (the executive board maintained that "there is no moral difference between actual participation in the war, and indirect aid of it") also alienated some of the branch's more moderate members, evident in this letter sent to the branch on June 14, 1917:

> I am very much troubled about my relationship to the Woman's Peace Party. I do not wish to abandon the party in its time of trial and fundamentally I am in sympathy with it. I believe that the future is to the Pacifists and I respect the courage and convictions of those who are following what seems to me an extreme policy just now. I am therefore enclosing a check for my dues but I wish to enter a protest.
>
> I am quite out of sympathy with all movements to hamper the President or the Government in its conduct of the war; for instance, I registered promptly and with no expressed criticism.[68] I think that as the war is here that we can accomplish nothing by hampering it, and personally, I prefer to help. It seems to me that a pacifism which holds closely to the one idea that war is wrong and that therefore is not able to recognize the extreme complexity of the present situation is narrow and unenlightened. As an Internationalist, I am anxious to have us Americans bear our share of sorrow and I feel that there is a spiritual gain in entering whole-heartedly.... I believe that if we Pacifists could be in the movement rather than standing outside

> of it and criticizing, that we could count as a force towards spiritualizing and democratizing the movement.[69]

The New York branch continued to experience what one historian calls a "process of radicalization" during the autumn of 1917, and while individual members may have respected or shared the sentiments expressed above, the executive board and leadership of the party was moving further away from the moderate position on peace held by the national Woman's Peace Party.[70] By December, Margaret Lane wrote member Agnes Leach to discuss the fact that she had "discovered a number of Board members who were not Socialists," noting with some concern that board member Agnes Warbasse "is no longer a Socialist -- she calls herself a philosophic anarchist."[71] The branch's increasing identification with socialism and radical organizations would reach its peak during 1918-1919, particularly once the party began to publicly explore the relationship between militarism, peace and the status of women.

Before this, however, the WPP-NY was making efforts to balance its coalition activities with other antimilitarist and peace groups with its commitment to representing the women's peace movement. In response to Jane Addams' mid-1917 call for suggestions regarding the WPP's role in "the present situation," Crystal Eastman wrote that "I have thought a good deal... about the various peace organizations and how they might function without overlapping and without being absolutely futile." Eastman explained:

> It seems to me that the Woman's Peace Party, if it is going to be a real power, ought frankly to make capital out of the fact that it expresses a woman's protest. From the beginning, it seemed to me that the only reason for having a Woman's Peace Party is

> that women are mothers, or potential mothers, [and] therefore have a more intimate sense of the value of human life and that... there can be more meaning and passion in the determination of a woman's organization to end war than in an organization of men and women with the same aim.
>
> It seems to me we established the Woman's Peace Party with this in our minds, but that we have been losing sight of it perhaps and becoming a little too distinguished and intellectual. Therefore, I would like to see a call go out from the National Woman's Peace Party headquarters to all the locals and to all the members asking them to organize mothers' mass meetings to call upon the President for an exact statement of the terms of peace, or mothers' mass meetings to demand an amendment to the Conscription Act which would prevent the government from taking any conscript for overseas service without his written voluntary consent, etc.[72] That is, whatever the pacifists of the country decide to strike for... the peculiar part of the Woman's Peace Party would be to organize on a large scale the instinctive feeling of the common women of the people, back of it.
>
> If the Woman's Peace movement does not frankly capitalize the woman's greater regard for life, both intellectually and emotionally, then I cannot see any justification for a woman's peace movement as apart from a general peace movement; but if we do, I think there is a great work ahead.[73]

Eastman's reference to "the instinctive feeling of the common women" and her belief that the efforts of a women's peace organization featured "more meaning and passion" than those of a group composed of both sexes are prime examples of the continuing influence of the feminine distinctiveness concept of gender on the philosophy of the women's peace movement. In a note at the bottom of the letter, Eastman added: "you'll think I've suddenly become emotional about this because I have a baby! But its [*sic*] not that. The above is the line I had to take originally to convince myself that a Woman's Peace Movement was a good thing."[74] She would become more "convinced" of the appropriateness of a women's peace movement as the New York branch's expression of "woman's greater regard for life"

led them to challenge elements of economic and social inequality, in addition to militarism and war, during 1918-1919.

The New York branch responded strongly to Eastman's call, and many of the group's activities during the autumn of 1917 were striking expressions of women's protest against war. The branch sponsored a women's mass meeting on August 29. Organized "to demand concrete statement of America's peace terms" from the Wilson administration, Eastman hoped that this event "will be unique among peace meetings, with only mothers speaking and only women in the audience."[75] The party's efforts "to keep the meeting one in which only women['s] views shall be expressed exclusively in the presence of other women" was an attempt to encourage women to come to the meeting and speak publicly (secure in the knowledge that they were with a women-only audience) and promote the event as entirely a women's protest. (The party also requested that the media and the police assign only women reporters and officers to the event).[76] In August, Margaret Lane wrote that "day after day, the mail has brought me such pitiful appeals from women all over the country that there should continue to be one woman's organization against war," and "such enthusiastic comments on even the little that we have been able to do" indicated that the party was "doing the right thing in sitting tight."[77]

The branch's major emphasis toward the end of 1917, however, was "the thing we are all too poorly equipped for... an intelligent influence on the peace settlement."[78] The New York branch sponsored an ambitious public education activity, an eight week program

of current events lectures on world politics which aimed to make WPP-NY members and other interested women "a vital part" of the "intelligent public opinion" which would influence America's role in the peace conference.[79] The lectures were led by Emily Greene Balch. The party intended "that this course should reach far beyond our own membership and should take in just as many pro-war people as possible," and decided "for the sake of a wider appeal and to avoid unnecessary antagonism and opposition," that the party's name and "the word 'peace' should be kept as far as possible in the background."[80] Despite badgering Lucia Ames Mead just months before for wishing to remain unidentified, the executive board implemented this new policy of anonymity as a tactic to avoid the full effect of the press and public's hostility towards pacifism and the peace movement on the branch's public education program; the branch would devise similar pseudo-committees and strategies in the future to allow it to continue its peace education activities.[81]

By the end of 1917, the women of New York State had won the right to vote in local and state elections. This had a great impact on the program and enthusiasm of the WPP-NY. Now, "we have an opportunity to do something more than discuss the world situation," wrote the members of the executive board; "we have an opportunity to ACT -- a more real and immediate opportunity than most of us realize."[82] The major political projects which the party undertook in late 1917 were, first, the campaign to declare a vacancy in the seat of New York City Congressman Fiorello H. LaGuardia (now serving overseas in the U.S. army), and second, a publicity campaign on the Congressional by-

elections.[83] The By-Election Campaign Committee of the WPP-NY publicly supported "Congressional candidates who endorse our international platform, and those candidates for state and city office who endorse our anti-militarist platform."[84] The campaigns were an exhilarating introduction to political activity, and the party professed that "in recognition of our new power as voters we lay particular emphasis on definite political work in the future."[85] Education for women on international affairs (the party's current events classes) and women-only public demonstrations and activities (woman's mass meetings) played an important role in preparing members for political work in 1918-1919.

Crystal Eastman wrote WPP national chairman Jane Addams in December 1917 that she felt "that the time of extreme intolerance" towards peace activities "is passing."[86] At the end of the party's current events classes, the branch sponsored three joint lectures on world politics, conducted by Emily Greene Balch and Norman Angell. Eastman's address at the close of the final lecture, "Our War Record: A Plea for Tolerance," was an expression of this optimism. "It is true that we opposed the entrance of this country into the war and used every honorable means at our command to prevent it," Eastman began, emphasizing that "once the war and conscription became the law of this land, our agitation to them ceased."[87] Eastman addressed the branch's activities since the U.S. entered the war, reviewing the party's work concerning "the need for a full, free and continuous discussion in the press and on the platform of America's war aims and peace terms" and the branch's participation in campaigns to urge the U.S. government towards mediation. Asserting "we

have at no time demanded an immediate peace or a separate peace," she reiterated the party's demand that the peace settlement agreements "shall include Free Markets and Free Seas, Universal Disarmament, and A League of Nations, the obvious essentials of an enduring peace, " and "since we are wise enough to know that these ends cannot be achieved at a gathering of military personages and appointed diplomats," the WPP-NY also demanded "direct democratic representation of the people of all countries at the peace conference."[88]

The New York branch chairman concluded her speech with this "plea for tolerance:"

> This is our complete war record. We hold that there is nothing treasonable or unpatriotic or even emotional about it. On the basis of that record we ask protection from the government for our propaganda no matter how unpopular it may become. We ask tolerance from those who think our ideas are wrong. And from those who think our ideas are fundamentally right, whether they agreed with us about the question of entering the war or not, we ask friendship and loyalty and support.[89]

Eastman told Addams that "there were about 300 people" at this final lecture, "a great many" of whom were "pro-war people" and appreciated her statement. "I am happy to say it was received with a great deal of applause, much of it obviously from non-pacifists," she wrote.[90] While Eastman felt "that the time has come for the sanest of those in both groups to counsel together for the future of the world," Margaret Lane was quick to note that "Miss Eastman and I must not make the mistake of thinking that just because we have grown enthusiastic over the possibilities for work in the next year, our membership shares this enthusiasm."[91]

Similar miscalculations regarding members' enthusiasm for the party's antimilitarist program translated into both a loss of support from the conservative and moderate portions of the women's peace movement, and a strengthening of affiliations with local radical and left-leaning groups during 1917. The branch continued to challenge wartime limitations on rights and freedoms, and this protest would expand in the coming years to include broader challenges to systemic injustice based on gender and class. The party's experiences with *Four Lights* brought members into closer contact with the growing civil liberties movement, and the journal's editorial problems exposed the need for the branch to re-evaluate its commitment to "true internationalism" and the expression of a women's peace voice. Events during the latter part of 1917 saw the WPP-NY concentrate on these activities -- international education for women and the expression of a distinct women's peace protest. These events, combined with New York women's successful bid for the right to vote in November, influenced the branch to embrace feminism and women's new political voice as the focus of their work during 1918-1919.

ENDNOTES

1. See correspondence between Margaret Lane, Pauline Angell and Charles T. Hallinan (AUAM), April 1917, Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 14, folder "A" 1917-1919.

The quotation in the title of this chapter is from a Woman's Peace Party of New York City leaflet. WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

2. Margaret Lane to "Fighting Pacifist of the 14th Congressional District," April 17, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

3. Margaret Lane to Hon. William H. Calder, April 18, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "United States, Executive Dept., 1915-1919, and Legislative Dept., 1915-1918."

4. Linda Schott, Women Against War: Pacifism, Feminism and Social Justice in the United States, 1915-1941 (Ph. D. thesis, Stanford University, 1986), p. 181.

5. See WPP-NY member Alice Carpenter to Margaret DeSilver, May 7, 1917: "I know just how you are feeling -- that this matter is fast becoming an immediate personal one instead of one of abstract idealism. I am beginning to dread conscription for my husband, too." WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917.

6. See Margaret Lane to Mrs. Walt Louchback, May 31, 1917, in which Lane discusses the branch's formal and informal coalitions with other peace organizations on the conscription and conscientious objector issues. WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

7. Margaret Lane to L.B. Blan, April 27, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917; Margaret Lane to Mrs. Harold Hatch, April 9, 1917, and Margaret Lane to Dr. John Haynes Holmes, April 30, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

8. Marion Tilden Burritt to Margaret Lane, April 18, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917.

9. Freda Kirchwey to Margaret Lane, April 10, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1916-1917.

10. See Barbara Steinson, American Women's Activism in World War I (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 256-257; C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 254; Peggy Lamson, Roger Baldwin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), pp. 70-73. Steinson and

Marchand state that the C.O. Bureau was formed on April 9; Lamson maintains that the bureau was formed the day after the passage of the Selective Service Act, May 19.

11. Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), p. 210.

12. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, p. 212.

13. Quoted in Marchand, p. 254; Crystal Eastman to Emily Greene Balch, June 14, 1917, reprinted in Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, edited by Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 255. Emphasis in original.

14. Crystal Eastman to Emily Greene Balch, June 14, 1917, pp. 255-256.

15. Crystal Eastman to Emily Greene Balch, June 14, 1917, p. 258.

16. Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 222-224; Steinson, p. 284. For information on Eastman's role as a mediator between the members and supporters of the Bureau for C.O.s and the leadership of the AUAM, see Steinson, p. 257, Marchand, pp. 255, 257-258. For information on the American Civil Liberties Union, see William A. Donohue, Twilight of Liberty: The Legacy of the American Civil Liberties Union (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994).

17. Crystal Eastman to Charlotte Perkins Gilman, May 28, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "G" 1915-1917.

18. Kathleen Anne Kennedy, "We Mourn for Liberty in America": Socialist Women, Anti-Militarism, and State Repression, 1914-1922 (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Irvine, 1992), p. 217; Steinson, p. 284; WPP-NY to Lella Faye Secor (EPF), April 24, 1917, and Margaret Lane to Harry Weinberger (American Legal Defense League), April 24, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "E" 1915-1919; WPP-NY to Theresa Mayer, May 3, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1917; also see WPP-NY correspondence with Bureau of Legal First Aid, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

19. Carrie H. Creighton to Margaret Lane, June 7, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917; Rose Pastor Stokes to WPP-NY, April 27, 1916, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1915-1916; Rose Pastor Stokes to WPP-NY, March 17, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1917. See also Mabel Hyde Kittredge to Crystal Eastman, March 6, 1917 (Kittredge's resignation letter), WPP records, box 16, folder "K"1916-1917.

20. Grace E. Bennett to WPP-NY, March 31, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917; Pauline S. Keene to Margaret Lane, April 19, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1916-1917; Sarah H. Merrill to WPP-NY, March 7, 1917, and E. Morris to WPP-NY, undated letter, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1917.

21. Mrs. Clarence C. Buel to Mrs. Henry Leach, March 24, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917. These sentiments were echoed by a Mrs. Burnham, who wrote: "like the President I have changed my mind in a year and if I had doubt, I would support the President now with all my might. I am for preparing for war to preserve peace." Mrs. S.P. Burnham to WPP-NY, undated letter, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917.

22. Gertrude Cornwell Hopkins to A. Evelyn Newman, March 5, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "H" 1917. See also Lillian W. Betts to Margaret Lane: "since war has been declared I am wholly out of sympathy with the [party's] methods and it would be unmoral for me to longer retain membership." Lillian W. Betts to Margaret Lane, June 14, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917.

23. Madeleine H---- to WPP-NY, March 30, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "H" 1917. See also Mrs. B. Banks to WPP-NY: "kindly accept my resignation to the Woman's Peace party. I am in sympathy with many of its policies but will not interfere with the Government." Mrs. B. Banks to WPP-NY, undated letter, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917.

24. Mrs. George Horn to WPP-NY, March 5, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "H" 1917. There are approximately 35 resignation letters filed in the WPP records for March 1 to June 30, 1917. For an interesting set of correspondence regarding a resignation, see Anne Hard to Crystal Eastman, March 6, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917, and Crystal Eastman to Margaret Lane, March 9, 1917: "I wish you would write a good, stiff little letter to Mrs. Hard, if you feel like it, to the effect that while we have had several resignations, none of them have been so bad tempered as hers. I'd like to get under her skin, somehow." WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

25. L.B. Blan to Margaret Lane, March 26, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917.

26. See Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, May 9, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918; Crystal Eastman to Rose Schneiderman, May 16, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1917; Florence Kelley to Crystal Eastman, June 6, 1916, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1916-1917; Crystal Eastman to Leonora O'Reilly, March

7, 1916, WPP records, box 18, folder "O" 1915-1919. For information on Schneiderman and O'Reilly's labour movement activities, see Nancy S. Dye, As Equals and Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980), *passim*, and Annelise Orleck, Common Sense and A Little Fire: Women and Working Class Politics in the United States, 1900-1965 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), *passim*.

27. Helen R. James of Brooklyn echoed Blan's sentiments in a letter to the party on April 11: "it is impossible for me to attend the meetings of the Woman's Peace Party, but I want you to know that I am in hearty accord with all that has been done and that the organization has my unflinching sympathy and support." Helen R. James to Margaret Lane, April 11, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "J" 1915-1919.

28. For information on the People's Council, see Harriet Hyman Alonso, A Shared Responsibility: The Women and Men of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace (M.A. thesis, Lawrence College, 1982); Marchand, pp. 294-326; Charles Chatfield, The American Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism (Toronto: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 40-43; Morris Hillquit, Loose Leaves from a Busy Life (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), pp. 172-179; Norma Fain Pratt, Morris Hillquit: A Political History of an American Jewish Socialist (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 127-129; H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War, 1917-1918 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957), p. 74-80. For information on the Socialist Party's attitude toward the People's Council, see James Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 131, 188-189.

29. Other members included Emily Greene Balch, Louis Lochner, Rebecca Shelley, Lella Faye Secor, Morris Hillquit, Scott Nearing and Rabbi Judah Magnes. Early organization meetings of the council took place at the WPP-NY headquarters. See Marchand, p. 307.

30. Peterson, p. 74; "Resolutions of the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace," May 30-31, 1917, in The Eagle and the Dove: The American Peace Movement and United States Foreign Policy, 1900-1922, edited by John Whiteclay Chambers (New York: Garland, 1976), p. 375.

31. Marchand contends that the People's Council differed from other pacifist organizations because it finally "tapped a source of support long discussed within the peace movement but rarely drawn upon - the workingman," writing that the council was "supported by leading Socialists and by the heads of the largest New York City Unions." The council's declaration that they represented the interests of workers was met with great hostility and

protest from the American Federation of Labor. Marchand, p. 267; Weinstein, pp.188-189; David M. Kennedy, Over Here: the First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 28-29.

32. Marchand, pp. 302-312, Chatfield, The American Peace Movement, p. 41. The word "council" was chosen as a comparative English term for the Russian "soviet."

33. "A Call to Action to Men and Women Everywhere Who Are Allies of Real Democracy," People's Council pamphlet, June 3, 1917, quoted in Marchand, pp. 309-311: Marchand, pp. 303-305, 309-311. See also Louis P. Lochner (People's Council) to Margaret Lane, May 15, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

34. Marchand, pp. 304-305; Lillian Wald, quoted in Steinson, p. 274. John Haynes Holmes and Oswald Garrison Villard also supported the AUAM's decision not to endorse the People's Council.

35. Margaret Lane to C.G. Kuhn, June 19, 1917, quoted in Steinson, pp. 273-274.

36. This meeting of the People's Council had been moved to Chicago from its original location in Minneapolis (due to hostile reception from local government and press); before being invited to Chicago by Mayor William Thompson, the council had failed at efforts to secure an alternate meeting place in Hudson, Wisconsin and Fargo, North Dakota. For information on this conference and the demise of the People's Council, see Alonso, A Shared Responsibility pp. 85-125; Hillquit, Loose Leaves from a Busy Life, pp. 173-179; Peterson, pp. 76-78; Marchand, pp. 319-322.

37. The WPP-NY produced twenty-one issues of *Four Lights*. These can be found in the WPP records, box 3, folder 6.

38. Quoted in Steinson, p. 222; Tracy D. Mygatt to Mary Johnson, January 11, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "J" 1915-1919; *Four Lights* subscription letter, undated, WPP records, box 5, folder 13; Margaret Lane to Mary Pinchot Eno, March 17, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "E" 1915-1919.

Editors of *Four Lights* included: Pauline Angell, Jessie Ashley, Sarah N. Cleghorn, Dorothy G. Dana, Mary Ware Dennett, Madeleine Z. Doty, Anne Herendeen, Jesse Wallace Hughan, Mary Johnson, Freda Kirchwey, Margaret Lane, Lucia Ames Mead, Tracy Mygatt, Mary White Ovington, Miriam Teichner, Agnes Warbasse and Frances Witherspoon.

39. Tracy D. Mygatt to Anna Howard Shaw, January 23, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1917; Tracy D. Mygatt to Mary Johnson, January 11, 1917.

40. The party believed that "many people who are averse to joining a pacifist organization still take an intelligent interest in the movement." See *Four Lights* subscription form, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

Statements detailing the distribution and cost of *Four Lights* vary; in a letter dated February 26, the cost per issue is estimated at "about $250." In a letter dated March 14, Margaret Lane states: "Four Lights costs us about $350 a month. Each number has an issue of 5000 copies which are distributed as follows: 2000 copies go to newspapers free, the material released ahead of time so that the newspapers can copy anything that they find useful in their Saturday and Sunday editions (much of this material has been printed especially in little mid-western newspapers). 300 to young college men. 250 copies to the most active members of the WPP. 250 copies to secretaries and other prominent leaders of various kinds of peace movements..." The remaining text is unreadable. See WPP-NY to Charlotte Shaw, February 26, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13; Margaret Lane to Mary Pinchot Eno, March 17, 1917; *Four Lights* subscription letter; WPP-NY to Mrs. William H. Seaman, June 13, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1917, (which states 6000 as the number of printings per issue); WPP-NY to Mrs. W.L. Graves, June 21, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "G" 1915-1917.

The National Single Tax League in Cincinnati, Ohio ordered several hundred issues of the March 24 issue of *Four Lights*. National Single Tax League to WPP-NY, undated letter, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1916-1917.

41. See issues of *Four Lights*, all published in 1917: February 24, May 5, June 2 ("special atrocity number"), June 30 ("fourth of July number"), and July 14 ("sister Susie number"), WPP records, box 3, folder 6. See also Tracy D. Mygatt to Mary Johnson, January 11, 1917: "it seems to us that each number might be characterized by a special note of its own. I have accordingly suggested that our number... should strike the feminist note, and all the material that I have would do that."

42. Zona Gale to WPP-NY, undated letter, WPP records, box 15, folder "G" 1915-1917.

43. Frances Witherspoon to Ernest Poole, February 26, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "P" 1915-1919.

44. Margaret Lane to David Lawrence, June 16, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13; see also Schott, Women Against War, p. 188.

45. Margaret Lane to George Creel, June 25, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

46. Crystal Eastman to George Creel, June 21, 1917; see also Margaret Lane to George Creel, June 25, 1917: "we in New York feel that the right of freedom of speech and the expression of a minority opinion even in wartime are safe in your hands." WPP records, box 5, folder 13. Others in the peace movement did not share the branch's trust in Creel's judgement; Cook argues that critics were justified in expressing doubt over Creel's commitment to free speech. See Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, pp. 206-207.

47. Lane continued: "I know that even though you do not sympathize with our point of view on the question of this war, that you are none the less as firm a believer as ever in the right of freedom of speech." Margaret Lane to George Creel, July 7, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13. See also press release, July 16, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

48. George Creel to Margaret Lane, July 12, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13. The branch continued to have problems with the New York City postal authorities during the autumn of 1917; see, for example, Margaret Lane to Rita Littman, November 27, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

49. For example, members of *The Masses* staff regularly contributed to *Four Lights*; see Max Eastman's piece on conscription in the February 24, 1917 issue. See also WPP-NY to Boardman Robinson (cartoonist for *The New York Call*), July 12, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

50. Margaret Lane to Board Members, July 14, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

51. "Malone Aids Fight of Anti-Draft Press; Collector Advises Papers Barred from Mails to Appeal to Wilson," undated press clipping, WPP records, box 5, folder 13. See also Roger Baldwin (Civil Liberties Bureau) to "the members of the committee appointed to arrange for a public meeting to protest against suppression of periodicals," July 31, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1917-1919.

52. Margaret Lane to Mrs. Stillman, July 24, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1917.

53. "Who's Who Among The Editors of Four Lights," subtitled "especially compiled for the United States Department of Justice," WPP records, box 5, folder 13. The supplement was probably published in the July 28 issue. See also press release, August 13, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

54. Margaret Lane registered a note of protest on this point in her contribution: "my husband's ancestors (since under our archaic laws a woman's citizenship is still determined

by her husband's) missed the Mayflower by 15 years." "Who's Who Among The Editors of Four Lights."

55. "Who's Who Among The Editors of Four Lights." Anne Herendeen directly referred to the Daughters of the American Revolution in her contribution: "I am qualified for membership in the D.A.R. but am more interested in the future than in the past."

56. The Massachusetts branch of the WPP, which was very active in war relief efforts, disapproved of many of the WPP-NY's activities, particularly *Four Lights*. The Massachusetts branch, in Marchand's words, "resented what they considered the overly critical and obstructionist policies" the WPP-NY presented in their journal, and were concerned with the potentially negative effects the New Yorkers' activities might bring to the national party's reputation. Marchand, p. 220.

57. Katherine Anthony, "The 'Sister Susie' Peril," in *Four Lights*, Vol. 1, No. 13, July 14, 1917, WPP records, box 3, folder 6. Anthony also ridiculed the material basis for such volunteer garment production, focusing on socks: "In spite of the common report that the sailors use the knitted garments for cleaning guns and swabbing decks; in spite of the statement of a British officer who openly advised the guardsmen for the good of their feet to refuse to wear home-knit socks; in spite of the fact that the government has ordered three and a half million pairs of socks;--the knitting goes merrily on." See also Alonso, p. 80; Schott, Women Against War, pp. 193-194.

58. Margaret Lane to Mary S. McDowell, August 30, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

59. Margaret Lane to Lucia Ames Mead, August 10, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "Lucia Ames Mead," 1916-1919.

60. Lucia Ames Mead to Margaret Lane, August 11, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "Lucia Ames Mead," 1916-1919. In a letter to Florence Guertin Tuttle, Lane commented that Mead's issue was "going to be a dull number." Margaret Lane to Florence Guertin Tuttle, August 11, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "T" 1915-1919.

61. Lucy Davidson (acting executive secretary) to Lucia Ames Mead, September 13, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "Lucia Ames Mead," 1916-1919; Lucy Davidson to Anne Herendeen, September 6, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

For other examples of criticism of *Four Lights*, see Lelia M. Child to WPP-NY: "please do not send me any more copies of Four Lights, of which I heartily disapprove. I am first, last, and all the time for my own country. One is either for or against our country,

and I certainly do not think Four Lights stands for this country, for it only seems to criticize and find fault and oppose, and generally those not for this country are for Germany." Lelia M. Child to WPP-NY, September 28, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917; see also Phyllis Bard McVicar to WPP-NY, April 23, 1917, WPP records, folder "Mc/Mac" 1915-1919.

62. Margaret Lane to Laura Hughes (the Canadian pacifist, now residing in Chicago), August 13, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

63. Lucy Davidson to Anne Herendeen, September 6, 1917.

64. Lucile Davidson to Edith L. Boyer, September 24, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

65. Minutes of Board Meeting of November 13, 1917, WPP records, box 9, folder 7. The WPP-NY was involved in fundraising efforts for the legal costs of *The Masses* staff. See Margaret Lane to Merrill Rogers, November 15, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1917; Margaret Lane to Randolph Bourne, November 20, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917; Margaret Lane to Allston Dana, November 20, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917; Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, November 20, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

66. Minutes of Board Meeting, November 26, 1917, WPP records, box 9, folder 7; see also Margaret Lane to Miss Case, December 12, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 13.

67. The branch sponsored a public meeting on "Patriotic Service for Women in Peace and War" early in the summer, at which members reiterated their belief that "women who want to serve their country need not roll bandages nor grow potatoes in order to do so." Meeting notice, WPP records, box 5, folder 12; Margaret Lane to Dr. J.L. Blumenthal, May 23, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917.

68. Jenkins is referring to New York State's military census of women, the "Census and Inventory of the Military Resources of the State," which required "every New York State woman between 16 and 50 years of age... to put into the hands of the Government the facts of her education, training and availability for war service." The WPP-NY advised members to register in the census, but to include a statement indicating their objection to participating in war service. See Executive Board to Members, June 12, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8; Crystal Eastman to Margaret Lane, undated letter, WPP records, box 15, folder

"Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918; press release from Committee on Military Census for Women, June 11, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

69. Jenkins continued: "of course I recognize that there is room for an entirely different point of view and I respect those who hold it, but I cannot myself give my approval to what seems to me merely hampering tactics." Hester D. Jenkins to Margaret Lane, June 14, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "J" 1915-1919.

70. Marchand, p. 220.

71. Margaret Lane to Agnes Leach, December 20, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

72. WPP-NY member Pauline Angell was also suggesting the idea of a mother's protest against war at this time; see Pauline Angell to Margaret Lane, April 2, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1915-1917.

73. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, June 28, 1917, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916.

74. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, June 28, 1917. Eastman gave birth to her son, Jeffery, in early 1917. Jeffery Fuller was the first child of Eastman and her second husband, Walter Fuller.

75. See woman's mass meeting poster, and Ada Chase Dudley to Crystal Eastman, August 29, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917; Margaret Lane to Florence Kelley, August 17, 1917 and August 30, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1916-1917; Crystal Eastman to Members, August 21, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8; WPP-NY to Anna Pastor, August 27, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "P" 1915-1919; "The Woman's Peace Terms," August 29, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 2.

76. Margaret Lane to Arthur Woods (Commissioner of Police), August 28, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "P" 1915-1919.

77. Margaret Lane to Agnes Leach, June 18, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1916-1917.

78. Margaret Lane to Lucile Davidson, September 14, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917.

79. The party organized five sets of current events classes, "one in each borough of Greater New York." Crystal Eastman to Members, September 28, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

80. WPP-NY questionnaire to members, September 20, 1917; Lucile Davidson to Members, October 22, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. The classes were officially sponsored by members, or "patronesses," from each of the five boroughs. While the WPP records do not contain any official reports (indicating attendance, etc.) on the current events classes, correspondence among members indicates that the party was very pleased with the outcome of the activity. (The current events classes were repeated in 1918 and 1919). See Margaret Lane to Crystal Eastman, December 18, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

81. For one example of critical mail which the party received at this time, see Mrs. C. Cahill to Crystal Eastman, August 29, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1917. Cahill writes: "in reply to your recent circular I would recommend that your organization disband. The propaganda for peace is a piece of impertinence and has the effect of a pro-German activity. Suppose you leave the matter of peace in the hands of the President."

82. Executive Board to Members, November 28, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

83. See Margaret Lane to Nora Smitheman, November 22, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "S" 1917, in which Lane explains: "the situation is this -- Our Congressman of the 14th Congressional district enlisted 6 months ago in the Aviation Corps and is now in service in France. According to the Constitution of the United States and according to a recent report of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives Mr. LaGuardia cannot hold both positions at the same time. However, the Governor had not issued a proclamation calling for an election and it is up to us to get him to do so." The branch cooperated with the Socialist Party (among others) in this campaign. See Minutes of the Board Meeting of November 15, 1917, and WPP-NY to Robert Bruere, December 29, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917. See also petition regarding F.H. LaGuardia to Hon. Champ Clark (Speaker of the House), undated report to Champ Clark, and copy of Resolution 125 of the 65th Congress, 1st Session, which stated "*Resolved*, That in thus serving his country Mr. LaGuardia does not surrender his seat in Congress..." WPP records, box 18, folder "United States, Executive Dept., 1915-1919, and Legislative Dept., 1915-1918."

84. Margaret Lane to Members, December 14, 1917; Dorothy Baldwin (By-Election Campaign Committee) to "Friend," December 19, 1917 and December 27, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

85. Executive Board to Members, November 28, 1917.

86. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, December 22, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

87. Crystal Eastman, "Our War Record: A Plea for Tolerance," Woman's Peace Party of New York City pamphlet, January 1, 1918, reprinted in Cook, Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 263-265. See also drafts of "Our War Record," WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918. On this subject of tolerance in the women's peace movement (specifically, the WPP), see Elizabeth Glendower Evans to Lucile Davidson, November 16, 1917, WPP records, folder "Elizabeth Glendower Evans," 1916-1917.

88. Eastman, "Our War Record," p. 265.

89. Eastman, "Our War Record," p. 265.

90. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, December 22, 1917.

91. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, December 22, 1917; Margaret Lane to Mrs. Harold A. Hatch, December 18, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917. See also Margaret Lane to Anne Herendeen, December 4, 1917, in which Lane states: I refuse to be executive secretary of an organization of one thousand women, about 55 of whom come to a members' meeting... you... have got to help me build this thing up into a biff-bang affair that will rock the world." WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

CHAPTER 6. WOMAN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, 1918-1919

The Woman's Peace Party of New York City entered 1918 with a renewed enthusiasm for peace work. "The Woman's Peace Party here has been very much revived by our newly won political power," declared party chairman Crystal Eastman, adding that the branch had arranged "a fine plan for almost immediate political action."[1] While the war dragged on in Europe, and public hostility and government-sponsored harassment continued to hinder the efforts of domestic peace and antimilitarist groups, the New York branch rejuvenated its efforts to organize a state-wide women's peace organization.[2] Motivated by their suffrage win, these New York women aspired to provide the newly enfranchised women of their state with the opportunity for political and international education which they felt would enable women to use their political power wisely and effectively. The party's philosophy and activities during 1918-1919 would comprise a radical reworking of the connections between state-sponsored violence and individual freedom (particularly the freedom of women) which originated in the WPP-NY's endeavours during 1915-1917.

1918-1919 also saw the WPP-NY embark on more independent, women-focused activities than in previous years. By 1918, most branches of the Woman's Peace Party had been participating in war relief work for some time, and many of the peace and antimilitarist groups which the New York branch had cooperated with in the past had disbanded due to dwindling support, low morale, and the increasing difficulty of conducting any public peace

campaigns. For example, the American Union Against Militarism (which changed its name to the American Union for Democratic Peace in late 1917) had basically suspended all activities by the end of 1917.[3] This decline in the general activity of the U.S. peace movement led many members of the New York branch to urge that the party strongly and publicly uphold its pacifist and antimilitarist principles. However, the party's officers and members of the executive board felt that the organization's future work lay in women's political action, and while they felt that a joint pursuit of peace and women's freedom was the best course, the branch's new direction would cause controversy and division among the membership in the coming years.

The branch's decision to make a final push at state expansion was a direct result of party members' excitement concerning the new development in local women's rights. "The winning of the vote in New York State," wrote executive secretary Margaret Lane to a member in Syracuse, "has released some of the time and energy of many forward looking women for work toward a world without war." While the suffrage movement continued to lobby for a federal suffrage amendment, women active in the local peace movement hoped that this success would mean a return of those members who were primarily occupied with the suffrage cause during the preceding years. "Those of us who have been working for internationalism before now find ourselves filled with new hope and enthusiasm," wrote Lane, "for we see an opportunity for practical political expression of our international point of view."[4]

This second bid for state expansion rekindled former conflicts among the WPP-NY, the national party and New York state chairman, Ruth C. Williams. One year after the party's first initiative at state organization, the executive board held a membership meeting at which "it was voted to request the National Board to allow the New York City branch to become a state organization." Maintaining that "there is such strong support throughout the state among women" for state organization that "it really isn't right to let it go any longer," Eastman officially presented this request to the national board at the annual meeting of the Woman's Peace Party.[5] The national board suggested that the New York branch organize the necessary state convention to elect a state board and ratify a state branch.[6] National chairman Jane Addams wrote Crystal Eastman in December concerning the national board's position on Williams' tenure as New York state chairman, "namely, that we made a temporary appointment of Mrs. Williams and that a convention should have been called to arrange for a permanent chairman, long since," adding that "the whole thing has been awfully embarrassing and you have been as patient as possible."[7] The national board agreed that the WPP-NY could initiate a second state organization effort. Thus, Eastman issued a call to members to "assemble in convention in New York City, on February first and second, 1918, to organize a New York State Branch of the National Woman's Peace Party."[8]

In mid-January, Ruth Williams wrote Lucia Ames Mead and asked "if Miss Eastman... desired a Convention why doesn't she speak to me?" Williams noted that "last

year she went through this same irregular performance," and although Williams met with members of the WPP-NY early in 1917 and "said we would call a State Convention soon," by April "war was upon us." The state chairman explained that "then, as you know, and for the months following no one could successfully work for the organization of a Peace party," and plans for state organization were abandoned.[9]

Like the first state organization controversy in 1916-1917, this episode also featured much criticism of the New York branch members and activities, with Williams insisting that Eastman's convention call was invalid and that a WPP branch of New York State was already in existence. Instead of expansion of the WPP-NY, Williams recommended a formal separation of the New York State and City branches of the Woman's Peace Party, and advised Jane Addams against permitting the New York branch to organize the state, since Addams "must understand that that group of workers have brought more criticism on the peace party than all other organizations put together - why give them more power." Again, Williams resented what she felt was the mishandling of the affair on the part of the national board, and criticized the New York branch's desire for power "which made those young women restless and helped unconsciously to push them into things dramatic and exciting, which has brought severe and in some cases justified criticism of our Woman's Peace Party." Williams told the national chairman that "neither the other members of the State Committee nor I like the methods of the New York City group" since "they always wish to dominate, not co-operate." Williams described Eastman as "the embodiment of an

aspiring autocrat," and concluded with the assertion that "I did not work hard for suffrage just to put that type of woman into political power in our state."[10]

Despite this controversy, the New York branch's state convention occurred as planned on February 1-2.[11] Eastman reported to national board members that the convention was "a great success," with "500 at the dinner Saturday night, and nearly as many at the Saturday afternoon reception." The branch was renamed the Woman's Peace Party of New York State, Eastman was elected as the branch's state chairman, and the convention pledged "to make political work through Congressional districts organizing" one of the party's "chief activities." Twelve women were elected to the executive board, six of whom were from the New York City area and six from other regions throughout the state. The new branch was organized by congressional district, with the party aiming to secure a woman from each of the state's forty-three congressional districts to serve as an organizer and liaison between members and the new executive board. This reorganization sought to better facilitate the party's major task for 1918; organizing members to ensure "the most effective use of our new political power in support of our program -a democratic world league based on free trade and disarmament."[12]

The New York State branch was quick to turn its attention back to the ongoing political work and public education programs which the party had initiated in 1917. Maintaining a policy which avoided "attacking the present war" while working "for a state of world organization which will do away with war," the party felt that it could play an

important role in informing voters about candidates' views regarding international issues. During the local by-elections in March 1918 and the congressional elections in November, the party distributed questionnaires to all candidates to determine their views on a league of nations, free trade, disarmament strategies, compulsory military training and the democratization of foreign policy. The party released the results of their findings through the local press and handbills distributed in each of the congressional districts. This project was repeated during the elections for the New York state legislature in October, with questionnaires for candidates which focused on local antimilitarist issues (specifically, the repeal of the Welsh, Slater and Stivers Acts of 1916).[13]

This political activity was combined with an ambitious public education program, with lectures and classes on world issues sponsored throughout 1918. Party treasurer Agnes Leach expressed the sentiments of many members concerned about the organization's program when she wrote that "some of the friends of the Peace Party are wondering what can be done just now, while the German drive is arousing such bitter antagonism toward pacifist efforts." While former activities such as mass meetings on peace issues were "out of the question" during the spring of 1918, Leach maintained that "we feel [a] keen responsibility for continuing the steady, quiet work of educating more and more people to demand a settlement of the war which will make future wars impossible."[14] Margaret Lane also advised that the party discontinue mass meeting tactics and concentrate on outreach to a wider public; referring to a July reception, Lane wrote:

> The speeches were excellent and we had 300 people all showing interest and eagerness and yet the spirit of inability to do anything about it was very evident and I came away feeling that it had been a nice party but that nothing in the least had been accomplished. Good speeches made to people who are convinced already seem such utter waste of time and energy.[15]

Therefore, the group opted for the smaller lecture series and current events classes format which they had employed in 1917. In February, the branch sponsored a lecture series titled "Lasting Peace - A Practical Possibility," during which the three points of the party's platform (world organization, universal disarmament, free markets and free seas) were addressed.[16] During April, the party organized a series of congressional district meetings, sponsored a production of a pacifist play ("The Athenian Women"), and revived its training school for speakers, which featured ten sessions under the subject "The Foundation Principles of a League of Nations."[17]

These international education activities reflected the organization's decision to publicly concentrate on what members considered a "purely constructive program," developed at the party's 1918 convention, which held "that it is neither desirable nor useful to oppose the war in any way whatsoever."[18] The party was determined that "now, if ever, the minds of people everywhere must be made to grasp the idea of a League of Nations for Permanent Peace."[19] Recognizing that the party "cannot hope for press publicity" on many of its efforts, public education activities were organized "as a wedge to drive into the public mind our program for truly democratic international reconstruction."[20] During mid-1918, the Woman's Peace Party of New York State organized activities which addressed the peace

settlement and issues surrounding "international reconstruction," sponsoring a four-week study course on the Inter-Allied Labor War Aims during the month of June and organizing a travelling library of materials on international reconstruction.[21]

With this focus on international reconstruction after the war, the WPP-NY was beginning to expand its political vision beyond the U.S. and international suffrage affiliations to include the international socialist movement. (The branch's war aims classes in June used the socialists' Memorandum of War Aims "as a text book"). The party also organized several activities on the issues surrounding the new Russia, including a reception to discuss events in Russia (July) and a mass meeting on Wilson's fourteen points, censorship and Russia (November).[22] These activities in particular brought renewed accusations of "radicalism" from the public and members of the peace movement. Crystal Eastman's statements regarding Russia and those in her and brother Max Eastman's new journal, *The Liberator* (which commenced publication in January, 1918), made the party vulnerable to harassment from government officials and provoked the resignations of some long-time party members.[23] "She disapproved of Crystal and her enthusiasm for Lenine [*sic*]," wrote one member concerning Fanny Garrison Villard's resignation from the party in 1919.[24]

Indeed, by the autumn of 1918, the party felt that in its third political education campaign, "the measures we could ask a Congressman to support or oppose" in the branch's questionnaires "are only a patch to cover the nakedness of the existing social order." While

the party felt that the candidate's answers to their questions "will show which is dearer to him - profits or peace," the branch had much higher aims:

> these answers ought to make good revolutionists out of thousands of middle-class women. Our program ought to sharpen the perception that our government is in the control of commercial powers and that so long as this is true, the removal of causes of war is impossible.... our duty is to show that the capitalist system is bankrupt in relation to international organization.[25]

These sentiments, combined with the branch's discussions of the importance of women's rights for its program at the 1918 convention, represented a refocusing of party objectives, replacing antimilitarism and international mediation with women's rights and action on the economic causes of war as primary issues.[26] This situation also caused the party to rethink the suitability of the name Woman's Peace Party, considering their current emphasis on international affairs.

This dissatisfaction with the branch's name was not new. Discussions surrounding a change in the name of the organization had occurred in 1916 (when national WPP member Alice Post's suggestion that the New York branch change its name to avoid any public confusion regarding the New York and national parties) and again in late 1917. That year, the executive board proposed "that we change our name to some such title as Woman's Union for International Democracy," a name which did not represent "a departure from our belief in the futility of war, but simply a more effective title under which to work for peace and internationalism."[27] The suggestion, however, was unpopular with the majority of members; at a membership meeting on December 3, 1917, "we voted to stand or fall by the

name Woman's Peace Party."[28] Member Anne Herendeen wrote Lane the day before the membership meeting to explain her feelings on the issue. Considering this change in name, Herendeen wrote:

> I can't think of a new one because I don't want to think of a new one and can't see the slightest sense in thinking of a new one.... I wouldn't mind changing it if we hadn't yet entered the war or if peace had been declared but to change in [*sic*] NOW when above all the needful thing is to show a syaedfastness [*sic*] of purpose and a high courage --- well, its changing horses in the middle of the stream or something of that sort.
>
> The main point of the organization to my mind is that it voiced the spontaneous objection of WOMEN to WAR at the very beginning of the mess and it will have justified its existence and brought credit upon our sex IF it appears to remain unchanged in its principles in storm as well as when things were tranquil.[29]

While similar arguments were debated in 1918, the movement "that the name be changed to Woman's International League - the name under which the English organization which is affiliated with ours is doing active work" had increased in momentum.[30] "Shall We Change the Name?," a bulletin distributed to members in the early summer of 1918, outlined members' arguments for and against the name change and revealed early divisions among members regarding the purpose and future of the organization. Those in favour of the change included nine members of the party's executive board.[31] Believing that "our name very seriously limits our growth and effectiveness," they argued that changing the organization's name to Woman's International League "would more truly indicate the aim we have always had... to win internationalism as well as peace." The change was also an effort to attract pro-war liberals to the group's program:

> We have proved after twelve months of valiant effort that it is impossible to grow under our present name.... we ought not to miss a single chance for uniting the strength of all groups and individuals who truly want a democratic and permanent peace. Past differences are nothing now compared to future solidarity and might. If pro-war liberals accept our program and join us it is they who will be advancing to our position not we who will be backing down to theirs.[32]

As for those who recommended the party keep its original name, their major concern was "the elimination of the word 'Peace' from the title of our organization." They listed several reasons against changing the name: eliminating the word 'peace' "during a period of abnormal war psychology would be construed as an abandonment of our position," and "all the advantages for constructive work in the term 'International' may be secured without the sacrifice of the word 'Peace.'" Members opposing the change felt that "the practical and far-reaching task" before the organization was "to maintain the morale of pacifist women" until the opportunities to pursue peace arose. The supporters of the current name concluded: "we consider short-sighted any impairment of this morale by an apparent abandonment of position for a doubtful immediate gain."[33]

The name change was decided by a mail referendum; most of the correspondence from members in the organization's records supported a change in name, but agreed that the word 'peace' should remain in the group's title. "I should prefer Woman's International League for Permanent Peace as just International League means nothing," wrote one member.[34] Julie Newman agreed, writing that "the name 'Woman's International League' is to me meaningless. There are so many different kinds of international leagues - baseball,

suffrage, etc., etc." Newman added that she felt "the present name is a comfort and an assurance to those whose ideas and ideals regarding Peace are the same today as they were before the World War."[35] "I doubt if the name 'Woman's International League' is sufficiently dynamic," wrote member Angela Morgan. She expressed the feelings of many women who feared that the rejection of the word "peace" in favour of "internationalism" was a dismissal of the organization's primary purpose: "in my judgement something should indicate the fact that women have at last leagued themselves actively against war as a method of settling international disputes.... we should not be afraid to stand by our main object, which really is the abolition of war."[36] However, the belief that the name Woman's Peace Party was not "truly descriptive of the constructive program which the organization has adopted" predominated, and the name Woman's International League (or WIL) was accepted "by a five to one vote" on June 10, 1918. "With this as an impetus," wrote Margaret Lane to the membership, "we should be able now to get into the field with live energetic work on our international program."[37]

The 1918 debate over the name change and the ensuing discussion regarding the objectives and vision of the organization revealed divisions among the membership. Specifically, the rejection of the word "peace" in the New York branch's new name and the subsequent belief that this act was a rejection of the pacifist principles which helped initiate the group in 1914, caused many of the pacifist and absolute pacifist members to rethink their relationship with the branch. Caroline A. Skinner promptly resigned from the branch,

citing the name change as her motivation. "I am extremely sorry to know that you feel so keenly about the change of name," Margaret Lane wrote in her response. "It does seem so much more possible to work for lasting peace under such a name as the Woman's International League," she argued," and after all it seems so much more important to work, under whatever name, than simply to remain idle under the old name." While Lane maintained that Skinner was "the only member who has written in this tone," the distrust which the name change promoted among the pacifists and "internationalists" in the League would cause further splinters in the organization's membership base during 1918-1919.[38]

Two additional factors which precipitated these divisions were the increasing participation of absolute pacifist and socialist women in the group's activities, and the League's organization of a Woman's Freedom Congress in conjunction with its annual convention in 1919. Elinor Byrns (who would take over Eastman's position as chairman of the League in early 1919) was a New York City attorney, suffragist and absolute pacifist who joined the group in early 1917, at the height of the pre-intervention crisis. Byrns explained then that she had "not joined the Woman's Peace Party before this time, because I have felt that you did not go far enough," but had decided that "the right thing for me to do is to go with you as far as you go."[39] After the name change, Byrns proposed that the absolute pacifists in the League separate and organize a group of their own, thus avoiding any ideological conflict with other members and maintaining an organization for pacifist

women who were feeling alienated from the League.[40] Her proposal was not acted upon, but the conflicts which she predicted would emerge strongly during her term as chairman.

Meanwhile, by the autumn of 1918, the end of the war was imminent. Members of the Central Powers were abandoning the war effort, with Bulgaria pulling out on September 29, Turkey on October 30, and Austria-Hungary on November 3. By November 11, the war was over, and the members of the Woman's International League were quick to release a statement of "certain immediate steps which we believe all liberal-minded Americans will agree in urgently demanding of our Government." The League's "Immediate Steps" were:

> 1. "That censorship, national and international, over mail, telegraph, cable and wireless shall cease."
> 2. The repeal of the Espionage Act and the release of all political prisoners convicted under such legislation.
> 3. The repeal of the Selective Service Act and the release of all conscientious objectors.
> 4. The withdrawal of U.S. troops from Russia ("at once") and France ("as soon as practicable"), and a guarantee "that no part of the American Army remaining in Europe during the peace negotiations shall be used to suppress social revolutionary movements in any country."
> 5. The participation of American women delegates at the peace conference.
> 6. "That there shall be no hindrance, by denial of passports or otherwise, to the gathering of all accredited representatives of labor, socialist or other groups at the time and place of the official peace conference, or at any other time or place."
> 7. That the United States "shall stand at the coming world conference for a true Wilson peace - for the full meaning and intention of the 14 points as first stated and, above all, for a Democratic League of all nations, based upon free trade, and universal disarmament."[41]

Entering 1919, WIL's demands for an end to wartime repression and U.S. military intervention, combined with the call for representation of women at the peace negotiations,

were an expression of their broad vision of peace and freedom. Crystal Eastman would later write that what the women in WIL were "really after... in common with all the rest of the struggling world, is *freedom*. Freedom is a large word."[42] To aid women in determining the path to freedom, Eastman and the League developed the concept of a Woman's Freedom Congress, a "time for women to get together for constructive discussion of the immediate problems which must be solved to free all women from the restrictions that have hampered them through the ages."[43]

The Congress was incorporated with the Woman's International League's annual convention, February 28 to March 1, 1919. In the call to the convention, Eastman explained the importance of addressing the subject of women's freedom at this meeting:

> The war is over; the Peace Conference is in session; a so-called "League of Nations" is in the process of formation. And we find that in the Councils of peace, as in those of war, women are unrepresented.
>
> The problems of reconstruction are before us. Are women to have a part in the Councils of reconstruction? Or is their experience to go unvalued, their point of view disregarded, their demands - economic, political, educational - ignored, in this day of change and upheaval?
>
> All this will depend on women themselves - their courage and vigor and intelligence, and their power of organization.[44]

The Congress, which occurred on the last day of the convention, was comprised of three sessions: education and industry, the family, and government. The first session featured short presentations and discussions on issues surrounding modern education for girls, professional opportunities for women, the social and economic struggle of black women, unorganized women workers, labour legislation for women, and women and trade unions.

This session brought the League into closer contact with the working-class women who had been unable to participate in the group's activities during much of the war. The session on the family strengthened the League's affiliations with the birth control movement and highlighted the political dimensions of motherhood, as women discussed birth control, day care, community kitchens, the cooperative movement, the unmarried mother, marriage and divorce and the rights of married women. The evening session addressed a number of aspects of women and government, including women and international government, political action, civil liberty, direct action and "women under the soviets."[45]

The participation of socialist, labour and radical women in the Woman's Freedom Congress aggravated some members. For the Congress, the League made a point of conducting outreach beyond their own membership, sending invitations to "all organizations in which at least 75% of the members are women," particularly radical groups and trade unions.[46] Originally, organizers wanted to call the event a "Conference of Radical Women"; some members did not think this was a very wise or apt choice, but the second name - "Conference of Liberal Women" - sounded very unexciting. In the end, "the Committee overwhelmingly and unanimously insisted upon Woman's Freedom Congress," a title which described the aim of the event.[47]

The subjects addressed at the Woman's Freedom Congress, which ranged from global politics to women's individual rights, represented WIL's philosophy in 1919: a belief that the movement for lasting peace would not succeed if unaccompanied by the

achievement of freedom for women. The League estimated that "six hundred people attended the morning and the afternoon sessions," with "two to three hundred" present at the evening assembly. The organizers were delighted that "all in all we must have reached 1,000 different women with our daring program, and started them thinking along constructive and vital lines."[48] Despite this success, and the League's efforts to inform members that the Woman's Freedom Congress was designed to "supplement, not supplant, the regular Convention," this emphasis on women's freedom escalated pacifist members' fears that the organization was disregarding the peace issue. Jessie Smith, the secretary for the convention, tried to reassure pacifist members by insisting that, just as protest against local manifestations of militarism were integral to the movement against international warfare, "if the international peace we are working for is to be a real one, we must first look to the solution of our internal problems, particularly those concerning women." While Smith asserted that "the fact that we will give over this conference to a discussion of women's freedom does not mean that we will neglect our international programs," the promotion of a Woman's Freedom Congress, however necessary, was interpreted by many as a rejection of pacifist principles among the leadership of the organization.[49]

The 1919 convention did witness a change in the purpose of the Woman's International League; in addition to women's objectives of "arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and abolish war," "safeguard American democracy against the dangers of militarism" and "make constructive effort toward true internationalism," WIL's

constitution was amended to include the following clause in the organization's purpose: "recognizing, however, the impotence of women to accomplish this or any other great object until freed from the special restrictions, social, economic, political, educational, under which we labor, we endorse all constructive efforts to secure the freedom of women." Newly elected chairman Elinor Byrns wrote a friend and member describing the "great feeling of feminine solidarity and rebellion" at the Woman's Freedom Congress, and explained that the purpose of the League was amended "because we all realize that women have to have more power in order to get peace and keep it." She concluded with the question: "now how are we to get the power?"[50]

At the first executive board meeting of the League after the Congress, the discussion of the future plans of the group illustrated the diversity of opinion regarding the League's priorities and the way to peace. Mary Ware Dennett, Katherine Blake, Rose Hicks and other members supported "emphasizing the feminist point of view" and believed that "the interests of women should continue to form an important part of the program of the League in the future as in the past." Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Juliet Poyntz recommended the League address "the need of organization and propaganda among working women;" Gurley Flynn noted that "the women within even the radical organizations... are dominated to a great extent by the men in those organizations," and needed the League's support and encouragement "to take an independent stand" and act on women's issues. Crystal Eastman felt that the success of the Woman's Freedom Congress "supported an extreme and definite

program for woman's freedom" for the League, and since the war had driven "those with more conservative views" from their movement, "the League is now ready for radical activity" on the issues of internationalism and woman's freedom.[51]

Jessie Wallace Hughan expressed the most decidedly pacifist position at this meeting, stating that she felt "that propaganda on pacifism is the subject of greatest importance in the work for the League," and although Hughan supported the feminist plans "in many ways," she feared "that the activities of the League may become too thin if covered over too many committees" and promoted "greater concentration."[52] The week previously, Hughan had written Crystal Eastman to express her concern regarding the proposed changes in the purpose and structure of the League. Hughan believed that it was "extremely impractical for any one organization to attempt to be radical on every point at once." She explained: "certain women are radical on birth control, others on the abolition of exploitation, and still others on peace," but "by attempting to please everyone with a universal radicalism... we are likely to please no one, but terrify a different set by each of our paragraphs" in the League's objectives."[53] She feared "that this very radicalism of statement would prevent any serious attempt" for the League to "carry out our peace program." Hughan eloquently argued that the League make an effort to continue to act as a women's peace organization, above all:

> I have not forgotten that we began as a Woman's Peace Party, and that our change of name was not intended at the time to connote a change of purpose. If a Feminist League is contemplated, it is quite practicable to organize such a league in close affiliation with the W.I.L... I trust I am not alone, however, in an ardent desire to

> continue the splendid work of the W.I.L. in its chosen task of "arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and abolish war".... while the war was on, we were prevented as law-abiding citizens from carrying on direct opposition to this incredible evil. When the next war shall arrive, we shall again be prevented. Now, in the respite of a few years that is given us, is our only time to make an aggressive campaign against the war system in cooperation with the women of other countries.[54]

She concluded that if the League decides "this year to slacken our fight against war or to make our cry for peace merely one note in an all-inclusive demand for human perfection," Hughan felt that another organization would "be raised up to carry on the flag which we so proudly carried through the years of persecution."[55]

In response to rumours and frustration among the League's membership concerning this apparent drift from peace sentiment, the executive board released a "restatement of principles" to members on April 28, 1919. Recognizing that "some of our members have interpreted the change of name and the holding of the [woman's freedom] conference to mean a repudiation of the former object of the organization," the board reiterated their "demand and determination that war be abolished," and pledged their support for the philosophy outlined in the WPP's original preamble and platform of 1915.[56]

By May, however, the executive board decided to release another statement to members which addressed the League's reasons for moving towards an emphasis on the struggle for women's freedom. The League's statement of May 29, 1919, was the group's strongest, most passionate and direct call for combined efforts to end both sexism and militarism. In it, the Woman's International League addressed the connections between

militaristic violence and the oppression of women, the reasons for the organization's lack of effectiveness on these broad issues in the past, and the future program of the League. The statement began: "war to end war has proved a failure." While "the war is won... nowhere is there peace, security or happiness" as "hate, fear and greed still rule the world." As for the failure of pacifists to keep the U.S out of war, the League declared that "we failed, not because we were wrong, but because we had no power," stating that the change women sought was impossible while "the control of the world is still in the hands of men who have no respect for human life; who pay no heed to the counsel and needs of women." By combining the movement for "permanent peace" with the struggle for "freedom of women" (the two equal objectives printed upon the League's letterhead), the members and supporters of the Woman's International League embraced an opportunity for radical change. The statement provided members with this challenge:

> WE MUST NOT FAIL AGAIN. WE MUST DEFEAT THE WAR-BREEDING PLANS, SANCTIONED BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE, AND HELP BUILD UP A SANE WORLD ORDER. TO DO THIS WE MUST HAVE FREEDOM IN EVERY FIELD OF ACTIVITY AND THE POWER THAT FREEDOM BRINGS. IN THE STRUGGLE FOR OUR OWN EMANCIPATION WE HAVE NOT DESTROYED A SINGLE LIFE. BY AIDING MEN TO RELEASE THEMSELVES FROM THEIR BONDAGE TO VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED WE SHALL ALSO FREE OURSELVES, FOR WOMEN CAN NEVER KNOW TRUE LIBERTY IN A SOCIETY DOMINATED BY FORCE.[57]

Members of the League believed in "education to end war - organization to end war - economic and political freedom to end war." Thus, the group planned to conduct publicity and education projects on the political, social and industrial conditions which led to the war,

and organize women "to go beyond mere political equality and gain their share of control in the home, the church, the schools, industry and the state." The League formed five committees to oversee its program, under the subjects: peace and international relations, the labor movement, sex problems, democratic education, and political and civil liberties.[58] The League also resumed publication of *Four Lights*, producing an issue on reconstruction issues and the proceedings of the recent International Congress of Women at Zurich.[59]

However, the Woman's International League's efforts in its most ambitious program were disrupted by a number of factors which had been growing during the past year, particularly, financial problems and the resignations or absence of key officers and executive board members. The new board had inherited a deficit from the previous board, and combined with the overall decline in financial contributions and the expense of the League's 1919 activities (particularly the Woman's Freedom Congress), the League was forced to postpone its education and outreach plans.[60] By May 20th, Elinor Byrns wrote that although the executive board had "not been able to do much in the past two months because we found ourselves in debts, now we have taken care of our debts and are ready to start again."[61]

But problems with members' support for the new direction of the League persisted. The League continued to have what Elinor Byrns described as "intellectual difficulties" within the membership, since most members continued to be "of the impression that we had receded from our pacifist position and were rapidly advancing toward a violent

revolutionary attitude." Despite the board's restatement of principles (April 28) and strong statement concerning the League's philosophy on permanent peace and women's freedom (May 29), the perceived change in philosophy combined with the absence of important officers in the party made any strengthening of membership difficult.[62] Margaret Lane had resigned as executive secretary of the party for another job opportunity in August, 1918; Crystal Eastman did not opt for the chairmanship in 1919, and was in Europe during the League's troubles in the spring of that year.[63] The loss of such important members' active support and knowledge left the League in an uncertain state regarding the best course of action during the summer of 1919.

These problems culminated in the resignation of the remainder of the League's executive board in September, 1919. The resigning officers cited "a fundamental lack of unity in the membership as a whole and in the executive committee." Specifically, the women addressed differences among members regarding political affiliations and opinions upon "the way to peace." "We all want to prevent war and help establish international relations which will add to the peace and freedom of the world," but "there our agreement ends." Members also cited the lack of consensus on the use of violence and war itself, as differences between absolute pacifists and members who advocated class war or violent revolution added to the existing divisions caused by the League's recent emphasis on women's freedom. Describing a scenario similar to that predicted earlier in the year by Jessie Wallace Hughan, they explained:

> Some of us are non-resistants. Others justify violence in the class struggle. Some put their faith in organization and education, while others believe that revolution alone will ensure peace. Some accept the proposed League of Nations as the first step toward international co-operation; others condemn as reactionary anyone who speaks a good word for either the Treaty or the League. Some of us wish to build up a strong, international feminist movement, so that never again will women be impotent in a world crisis. Others see in feminism only sex antagonism or a confession of weakness. Some wish us to do relief work in Central Europe. Some urge a legislative program. Others scorn political action, and hope to make us a part of the direct action, left wing movement.
>
> No one is to blame for this lack of unity. The League merely reflects in its small way the chaos in which the whole world is struggling.[64]

Five years after the women of New York organized to express their "peculiar moral passion of revolt" against war and militaristic violence, the organization disbanded. The group would splinter into three societies: a New York branch of the newly formed Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a Woman's Peace Society and a Women's Peace Union. The activities of the Woman's Peace Party of New York and the Woman's International League had culminated in the expression of a broad analysis of the relationship between male power, violence, militarism and the oppression of women. "In a society dominated by violence," wrote chairman Elinor Byrns in 1919, "it is impossible for women either to attain full freedom or do the best work of which they are capable."[65] Future peace activities among New York women would act on this knowledge, seeking both equal rights for women and world peace.[66] This last executive board of the New York branch were aware of their contribution to the future of women's peace activism: "whatever

happens, let us be proud that we have been pioneers in the work of women for international co-operation and permanent peace."[67]

ENDNOTES

1. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, November 28, 1917, Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 14, folder "Jane Addams," 1916-1918.

2. For information on the continuing prosecution and harassment of radical, antimilitarist and peace organizations during 1918, see Roger Baldwin, National Civil Liberties Bureau, to "organizations cooperating with this Bureau," regarding the activities of the American Patriotic League, February 14, 1918, WPP records, box 3, folder "Civil Liberties Bureau," 1917-1918. The WPP-NY continued to receive accusations of being "anti-American" and "pro-German" during this period. See Charles H. Lyttle to Margaret Lane, February 20, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "L" 1918-1919.

3. For information on resignations from the AUAM during 1917 (which included Lillian Wald, Paul U. Kellogg and Jane Addams), the organization's decline in activity, and the change from the AUAM to the American Union for Democratic Peace, see Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), pp. 217-237; Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, November 14, 1917, WPP records, box 4, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1916-1917; Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, November 28, 1917.

4. Margaret Lane to Mrs. Hazard, January 17, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919; see also Emily Balch, Crystal Eastman and Anne Herendeen (for the WPP-NY) to the women delegates of the British Labour Party Conference in Nottingham, England, January 23, 1918. "We pledge our newly won political power to work with you for a League of Nations based on free markets free seas and general disarmament." Press release, January 24, 1918, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

5. Crystal Eastman to Harriet Thomas, January 31, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "T" 1915-1919; Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, December 14, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "Jane Addams," 1916-1918.

6. Crystal Eastman to Harriet Thomas, January 31, 1918. For information on WPP-NY preparations for this national convention, see Minutes of Board Meeting of November 15, 1917, and Minutes of Board Meeting of November 26, 1917, WPP records, box 9, folder 7; list of WPP-NY delegates, WPP records, box 14, folder "D" 1917; Crystal Eastman to Susan Fowler, November 28, 1917, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919. See also program for annual meeting, December 6 and 7, Philadelphia; executive secretary's report on annual meeting, Eleanor Karsten to Members, December 29, 1917; revised constitution

of the national WPP, adopted January 8, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "Woman's Peace Party (National)," 1915-1919.

7. Jane Addams to Crystal Eastman, December 19, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "Jane Addams," 1916-1918.

8. "A Call - To the women of New York State," WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

9. See Ruth C. Williams to Lucia Ames Mead, January 15, 1918, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1918.

10. There were two other women on Williams' state committee, Mary Percy and Marian Tilden Burritt. It appears that all parties (except Williams) agreed that the WPP-NY had the right to call the convention, since after two years, no convention had ratified Williams' appointment as state chairman. Mead wrote Addams that she felt "the whole trouble" between Williams and the WPP-NY was "a deep mistrust [of] each of the other's methods, so that they did not go more than halfway and have a real understanding." See Ruth C. Williams to Lucia Ames Mead, January 15, 1918; Crystal Eastman to Williams, January 23, 1918; Jane Addams to Williams, January 26, 1918; Williams to Addams, January 28, 1918; Ruth C. Williams, "A Statement Regarding the Convention"; Williams to Addams, undated letter; Williams to Mead, January 29, 1918; Williams to Eastman, January 30, 1918; Eastman, Margaret Lane and Agnes Leach to Addams, January 31, 1918; Addams to Williams and Eastman, February 1, 1918; Mead to Addams, February 1, 1918; Mead to Eastman, February 1, 1918, Williams to Jessie Wallace Hughan, February 10, 1918, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1918.

11. A heated exchange of letters between Williams, Eastman and national WPP board members regarding state organization continued throughout February and March. See WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1918.

12. See Crystal Eastman to Lucia Ames Mead, February 9, 1918, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1918; Minutes of the Convention called to organize a New York State Branch of the National Woman's Peace Party, February 1-2, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 4; Press release, February 18, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 10; "A Call - To the women of New York State." See also WPP-NY to Dorothy Dana, May 7, 1918, WPP records, box 15, folder "D" 1918-1919, in which the party claims to have an active district leader in 20 of the 43 congressional districts.

The New York City women elected were: Florence Guertin Tuttle, Agnes B. Hatch, Katherine B. Blake, Madeleine Z. Doty, Mary Ware Dennett and Dorothy Dana.

13. New York State branch (possibly Dorothy Baldwin) to Mrs. Winter Russell, February 28, 1918, WPP records, box 17, folder "R" 1918-1919; Nell Vincent (executive secretary) to "Fellow-Citizen," October 25, 1918; "The Next Congress Will Help Remake the World," questionnaire, October 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 11; undated press release on results of questionnaires to candidates for New York state legislature, WPP records, box 5, folder 10.

14. Agnes Leach to Mrs. Bowker, April 3, 1918, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919.

15. Margaret Lane to Florence Guertin Tuttle, July 24, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "T" 1915-1919.

16. "Three Lectures: Lasting Peace - A Practical Possibility," poster, February 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

17. Program for April, Woman's Peace Party of New York State, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 12; there are seven congressional district meetings listed on this notice. The speakers at the training school included: Crystal Eastman, Emily Greene Balch, Louise Grant, Mary Ware Dennett, Harry Overstreet, Charles T. Hallinan and Morris Hillquit. See WPP-NY to speakers, April 30, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919; "Report on Activities of Woman's Peace Party of New York State, Feb. 2 to May 15," 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 2. "The Athenian Women," by George Cram Cook, was a Provincetown Players production. The play was inspired by Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. See poster advertising "The Athenian Women," April 13, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

18. Margaret Lane to Mrs. E.N. Huyuck, April 1, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919.

19. WPP-NY statement, April 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

20. See Finance Committee (Emily Greene Balch, Catherine O'Day, Agnes Leach, Fanny Garrison Villard and Mrs. Charles P. Soden) to Margaret DeSilver, September 27, 1918, WPP records, box 15, folder "D" 1918-1919.

21. The study course was based the Memorandum of War Aims adopted at the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London, February 25, 1918. The course was organized under four topics: organization of a league of nations, national self-determination, economic relations, and a democratic settlement. See "Inter-Allied Labor War Aims" poster, WPP records, box 5, folder 12. On the travelling library on international reconstruction, see

Margaret Lane to Mrs. Harrison, June 12, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919.

22. "Inter-Allied Labor War Aims" poster, June 1918; WPP-NY to Mr. H.W.L. Dana, December 9, 1918, WPP records, box 15, folder "D" 1918-1919. The party also issued several statements and resolutions on Russia; see, for example, resolutions adopted at the party's convention (February 1-2) and released February 8, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "United States, Executive Dept., 1915-1919, and Legislative Dept., 1915-1918."

23. See Crystal Eastman (for the Woman's Peace Party of New York State), to Maria Spiridonova, President, All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Soviets, undated copy, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919. For one example of government harassment, see Margaret Lane to Eleanor Karsten, March 30, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1918-1919, which describes a visit the party received from "a government officer" regarding the group's activities. For information on *The Liberator*, see Eastman's announcement of publication, Crystal Eastman to Eleanor Karsten, January 16, 1918, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1918. Subtitled *A Magazine of Revolutionary Progress*, *The Liberator* contained much the same staff as *The Masses*: Max Eastman (editor), Floyd Dell (associate editor), and John Reed (foreign correspondent). Crystal Eastman was managing editor. See Crystal Eastman to Jessie Smith, February 19, 1919, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1918-1919.

24. Women's International League to Katherine Blake, April 23, 1919; the member also attributes Villard's resignation to the party's change of name in mid-June, which saw the word "peace" dropped. WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919.

25. Member (possibly Margaret Lane or Nell Vincent, but likely Elinor Byrns, considering the language and philosophy expressed) to Crystal Eastman, September 20, 1918, WPP records, box 15, folder "Crystal Eastman," 1915-1918.

26. See resolutions on the National Suffrage Amendment and representation of women at the peace conference, passed February 1-2, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "United States, Executive Dept., 1915-1919, and Legislative Dept., 1915-1918."

27. See Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, January 27, 1917, WPP records, box 17, folder "New York City branch," 1917; Executive Board to Members, November 28, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8.

28. Margaret Lane to Members, December 14, 1917, WPP records, box 5, folder 8. See also Margaret Lane to Agnes Hatch, December 4, 1917, in which Lane explains that she decided against the name change because of "the feeling of confidence and of loyalty to one's ideals" which keeping the name represented. WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1917.

29. Anne Herendeen to Margaret Lane, December 2, 1917, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 191; see also Margaret Lane to Frances M. Witherspoon, December 3, 1917, WPP records, box 18, folder "W" 1915-1917.

30. "Shall We Change the Name?," Woman's Peace Party of New York State bulletin, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 1.

31. They were: Emily Greene Balch, Katherine Blake, Dorothy G. Dana, Mary Ware Dennett, Madeleine Z. Doty, Crystal Eastman, Emily L. Eaton, Agnes Leach and Florence Guertin Tuttle. See "Shall We Change the Name?"

32. "Shall We Change the Name?"

33. "Shall We Change the Name?" Board members who opposed the change in name were: Laura Collins, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Theresa Malkiel and Lucy Watson.

34. Alice K—— to WPP-NY, June 14, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "K" 1918-1919.

35. Julie Newman to WPP-NY, June 10, 1918, WPP records, box 17, folder "N" 1915-1919.

36. Angela Morgan to WPP-NY, June 8, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1918-1919. Emphasis in original.

37. See Margaret Lane to Mrs. Winter Russell, May 10, 1918, WPP records, box 17, folder "R" 1918-1919; Margaret Lane to District Leaders, May 16, 1918, WPP records, box 15, folder "D" 1918-1919; Eleanor Mills to WPP-NY, undated letter, WPP records, box 16, folder "M" 1918-1919; Grace Isabel Colbron to Margaret Lane, June 10, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 1; Margaret Lane to Jessie Wallace Hughan, June 11, 1918, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919; Margaret Lane to members, June 21, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 7; "A Bulletin for Members of the Woman's International League," June 25, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 12; name change resolution, June 26, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 4; "Report on Activities of Woman's Peace Party of New York State, Feb. 2 to May 15," 1918; Margaret Lane to H.W.L. Dana, December 9, 1918.

38. Margaret Lane to Caroline A. Skinner, July 1, 1918, WPP records, box 18, folder "S" 1918-1919.

39. Elinor Byrns to WPP-NY, February 14, 1917, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1915-1917. Byrns was also a member of the Heterodoxy club. See Judith Schwarz, Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village 1912-1940 (Norwich: New Victoria, 1986), p. 117. Socialist women serving on the League's executive board during 1918-1919 included Jessie Wallace Hughan (who also served as the League's secretary for 1918) Theresa Malkiel, Juliet Poyntz and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

40. Elinor Byrns to Margaret Lane, July 14, 1918, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919.

41. "Immediate Steps," November 11, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

42. Crystal Eastman, "Now We Can Begin," *The Liberator*, December 1920, reprinted in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution, edited by Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 53.

43. Jessie Smith, Secretary for the Convention, to members, February 21, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 7.

44. Crystal Eastman, "A Call - To members of the Women's International League and all other interested women," 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

45. Woman's Freedom Congress program, March 1, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 12.

46. Convention Committee to "Friend," February 15, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 5. See also Crystal Eastman to Jessie Smith, February 13, 1919: "we must surely circulate the New York membership lists of the Woman's Party, Birth Control League, People's Council, Civil Liberties, Woman's Trade Union League and the various woman's professional organizations, teachers, lawyers, etc., mustn't we?," and Crystal Eastman to Jessie Smith, February 13, 1919: "please be very sure to have the Programs pasted on all Bulletin Boards - Socials Settlements - Rand School - and Radical Hangouts. This is the best way to reach people." WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1918-1919; Jessie Smith to Nellie Friedman, February 20, 1919, WPP records, box 15, folder "F" 1915-1919.

47. The event was occasionally referred to as the "important conference of radical women" in correspondence; see Jessica Smith to Dr. Josephine Baker, February [date unclear] 1919,

WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919; WIL to Mary Beard, February 17, 1919, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919.

48. Jessie Smith to Agnes Leach, March 4, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 7.

49. Jessie Smith to Mrs. G. Collins, February 25, 1919, WPP records, box 14, folder "C" 1918-1919.

50. Elinor Byrns to Bertha Searle, March 10, 1919, WPP records, box 18, folder "S" 1918-1919.

51. Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Board, WIL, March 8, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 4.

52. Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Board, WIL, March 8, 1919.

53. Hughan wrote: "I realize, for example, that the [proposed] paragraph on war, in which I heartily agree, is many degrees more radical than our present declaration and would antagonize many women who are not such extreme pacifists as myself." Jessie Wallace Hughan to Crystal Eastman, February 28, 1919, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919. See also the constitution of the Woman's International League, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 2.

54. Jessie Wallace Hughan to Crystal Eastman, February 28, 1919.

55. Jessie Wallace Hughan to Crystal Eastman, February 28, 1919.

56. WIL statement, April 28, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 5. See also statement by Elinor Byrns, March 25, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 4. The statement was passed at the board's meeting on April 25, 1919.

57. Woman's International League statement, May 29, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 12. Capitalized emphasis in original.

58. Woman's International League statement, May 29, 1919; see also Leonora Austin (executive secretary of WIL) to Rose Hicks, May 17, 1919, WPP records, box 16, folder "H" 1918-1919

59. *Four Lights*, June 12, 1919, WPP records, box 3, folder 3.

60. See Crystal Eastman to Dr. Josephine Baker, March 6, 1919, and WIL officer (Nell Vincent or Leonora Austin) to Elinor Byrns, March 26, 1918, WPP records, box 14, folder "B" 1918-1919; Elinor Byrns to Mrs. Adamson, April 24, 1919, WPP records, box 14, folder "A" 1918-1919; financial statement, February 1919, and Minutes of Executive Board Meetings, April 25, 1919, and May 16, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 4. The League's financial problems were not unique; see Albert DeSilver, National Civil Liberties Bureau to Crystal Eastman, March 4, 1919, and National Civil Liberties Bureau to Elinor Byrns, April 15, 1919, WPP records, box 15, folder "D" 1918-1919.

61. Elinor Byrns to Mrs. Alfred Goldsmith, May 20, 1919, WPP records, box 15, folder "G" 1918-1919.

62. Elinor Byrns to Board Members, May 16, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 7. The board estimated the membership at around 1800 in March 1919. However, these appeared to be mostly contact names collected at the Woman's Freedom Congress. See Minutes from Executive Board Meeting, March 8, 1919.

63. Lane maintained her membership with the branch. Margaret Lane to Executive Board of the Woman's International League, August 30, 1918, WPP records, box 5, folder 8; Elinor Byrns to Albert DeSilver, May 2, 1919, WPP records, box 15, folder "D" 1918-1919. During this time, members Emily Greene Balch and Agnes Leach were also in Europe.

64. Executive Board to Members, September 12, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 12. See also Elinor Byrns to Nell Vincent, March 27, 1919, and Elinor Byrns to Fanny Garrison Villard, May 21, 1919, WPP records, box 18, folder "V" 1915-1919.

65. Elinor Byrns to Members of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, April 22, 1919, WPP records, box 5, folder 7.

66. See Appendix B, A Partial Chronology of the Metropolitan New York Branch of WILPF, in Harriet Hyman Alonso, Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 279-283.

67. Executive Board to Members, September 12, 1919.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

The history of the Woman's Peace Party of New York/Woman's International League reveals the processes by which the path to an ambitious and admirable objective - the abolition of war, and the realization of permanent peace - develops into a challenge to the perceived causes of inequality. What began as a call "to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war" would culminate in demands for freedom for women "in every field of activity and the power that freedom brings" since "women can never know true liberty in a society dominated by force."[1] This transformation was a departure from the original objectives of the U.S. women's peace movement, and was accompanied by a gradual estrangement of the New York branch members from the leaders and tactics of the national Woman's Peace Party.

However, both the national and New York parties appeared to continue to hold the belief that women shared "a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war," and it was this conviction of women's unique perspective upon warfare and militarism which inspired the formation of a separate women's peace movement in 1915. These women also united in an expression of protest against the "masculine" politics and values which fostered inequality and warfare; as Jane Addams stated in 1916, "a woman in the midst of household duties, occupied with the great affairs of birth and death," is not half as likely as a man to "catch this war spirit and respond to this panic."[2] Thirdly, women's

separate organization for peace was also an act of protest against the devastating effects of warfare upon human life and social infrastructure, particularly the anticipated deterioration of the progressive social reforms which women peace activists expected to accompany the war. Lastly, the combination of women's protest for peace with the movement for woman suffrage was an essential component of what Addams described as the move towards a "humanizing conception of government," one which contained both women and men's perspectives.[3]

The New York branch of the Woman's Peace Party held that women's "more intimate sense of the value of human life" made the expression of a women's protest more meaningful and effective than the efforts of the broader U.S. peace movement.[4] The WPP-NY's vision of a peaceful world was one in which the values and priorities traditionally identified with women -- human reproduction, the preservation of human life, and the cultivation of a good quality of life -- were international priorities. And while women working in the defence industries, preparedness and relief movements also described their commitment to their work in maternalistic terms (sharing Crystal Eastman's assessment of women as mothers or "potential mothers" motivated to enter war relief or peace work by a desire to protect and preserve U.S. institutions), women in the peace movement sought much more than the preservation of prewar society. They sought a reformation of diplomacy and international and domestic politics which would finally include the values and concerns identified with women. To realize this vision, the party sought to develop a

mass movement of women which would "make war unthinkable" in the minds of governments and citizens worldwide. This could be achieved through an ambitious program of international and peace education for women, eventually combined with activities which promoted equal rights for women in every area where men currently held the power to wage war and end disputes through violent tactics.

The efforts of the WPP-NY members during the war were often met with ridicule and harsh criticism from the press and public. Yet even while the party witnessed declining membership and increasing criticism of its choice to remain an active peace and antimilitarist group during the war, the New York branch was committed to the belief that they represented the interests of American women. During 1917, the decrease in active peace work by many branches of the Woman's Peace Party and the entrance of suffrage organizations into war relief work only increased the commitment of the New York branch to maintaining a women's peace protest. Indeed, during the branch's activities in 1917-1919, members began to increase their focus upon the struggle for women's freedom within the broader movement to achieve lasting peace. The New York branch's conception of the relationship between women's rights and peace developed from their notion that women's higher regard for human life (feminine distinctiveness) necessitated the entry of women into politics and professional life on an equal footing with men (sexual equality). Because, in 1919, "the control of the world" was "still in the hands of men who have no respect for human life; who pay no heed to the counsel and needs of women," the struggle for sexual

equality became the party's priority. Believing that women's distinct values concerning the preservation and protection of human life were a fixed component of women's character, the WPP-NY chose to focus on the struggle for sexual equality so that women could truly influence global power structures to better represent their values.

However, this emphasis upon differing moral values based on sex, while accepted by many in the period under study, has led to conflicting historical assessments of the effectiveness of the women's peace movement upon the movement for women's rights. Considering what Barbara Steinson describes as the "pervasive ideology of nurturant motherhood" which informed women's peace activism, "chances of defining new roles encompassing real sexual equality were mitigated" because "the women activists could not envision a female role distinct from nurturance."[5] Concerning the activities and philosophy of the New York branch, however, I tend to agree with Linda Schott's argument that women peace activists articulated and responded to flexible definitions of gender, and sought an integration of both women and men's values which would "transform a male-dominated society into an androgynous society" (ideally, a peaceful and non-violent society). Furthermore, Schott contends that "to emphasize that these women failed to transcend the traditional ideas of domesticity and womanhood does not do them justice."[6] Members of the Woman's Peace Party and the WPP-NY made a correlation between the peace issue and the movement for women's freedom, believing that any efforts which advanced

international respect for human life and human relationships also promoted the movement for equal rights for women.

Lastly, the WPP-NY was able to continue as an active peace organization during a period in which the Wilson administration and the public were very hostile to dissent of any kind because of two factors: first, the organization's broad definition of peace, and second, the political and social networks which the party maintained during the Great War. The WPP-NY's broad definition of peace led the organization to maintain a philosophy and analysis of global problems which integrated elements of pacifism, feminism and socialism; while this broad perspective attracted and alienated members of the party, the organization's multi-focus allowed it to adapt its program to maintain public education and political agitation while avoiding, for the most part, serious government harassment or legal prosecution. Secondly, under the leadership of feminist-pacifist Crystal Eastman, the New York branch established networks and coalitions with pacifist, antimilitarist, feminist, suffrage and women's organizations, as well as socialist organizations and the socialist press, civil libertarian organizations, labour groups, settlement house workers and radical groups. Such networks provided the party with sources of inspiration, support, skills and knowledge to maintain their peace efforts during periods of intolerance towards dissent, and furnished the organization with a wider membership, fundraising and information base. The New York branch's broad definition of peace and preservation of these political and social networks allowed the party to operate an ambitious program of peace education and

activism during the war, and emerge from this period with a radical analysis of the connections between militarism, sexism and power.

Indeed, the activities of the national Woman's Peace Party and the New York branch have had a lasting impact upon forms of women's social activism and the peace and women's movements. The Woman's Peace Party became the U.S. chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1919, and the League remains an active feminist, peace, environmental and anti-nuclear advocacy organization today.[7] The Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism exists today as the American Civil Liberties Union. Both the WILPF and the ACLU are rooted in concepts of peace, social equality, democracy and internationalism articulated by the women's peace movement of the Great War. In addition, the WPP has been credited a significant role in the formation of Wilsonian diplomacy. While the President was uninterested in the WPP's proposals on mediation of the war, historian Thomas J. Knock asserts that "the fact was that the Woman's Peace party had furnished Wilson with a pioneering American synthesis of the New Diplomacy during the critical year in which his own thinking acquired a definite shape."[8] That members of the organized women's peace movement were able to exert such an impact on national affairs at a time when they were without the right to vote, and during which peace protest or political dissent was virtually synonymous with treason, makes the activities of the Woman's Peace Party significant to our understanding of the history of women in public life.

In conclusion, I believe that the Woman's Peace Party of New York/Woman's International League's progression of analysis from a women's peace group to a feminist organization articulating the need for widespread political, economic and social change is evidence that analysis of the intimate connections between sexism and other global power structures (particularly capitalism and militarism) is not new. The members of the WPP-NY understood that peace, and women's freedom, had to be very broad and challenge both local and international manifestations of injustice. Crystal Eastman's assessment that "freedom is a large word" accurately describes the development of the New York branch's understanding of the relationship between individual freedom and lasting peace.[9]

ENDNOTES

1. Platform of the Woman's Peace Party, January 11, 1915; Woman's International League statement, May 29, 1919, Collected Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, microfilm edition, box 5, folder 12.

2. Quoted in Blanche Wiesen Cook, Woodrow Wilson and the Antimilitarists, 1914-1917 (Ph. D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1970), p. 49.

3. Barbara Steinson, American Women's Activism in World War I (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 37-40.

4. Crystal Eastman to Jane Addams, June 28, 1917, WPP records, box 9, folder "New York City branch," 1915-1916.

5. Barbara Steinson, "The Mother Half of Humanity: American Women in the Peace and Preparedness Movements in World War I," in Women, War, and Revolution, edited by Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980), p.276.

6. Linda Schott, Women Against War: Pacifism, Feminism and Social Justice in the United States, 1915-1941 (Ph. D. thesis, Stanford University, 1986), p. 23.

7. For information on the WILPF's activities in recent decades, see Catherine Foster, Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), chapters 2-5.

8. Thomas J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 57.

9. Crystal Eastman, "Now We Can Begin," *The Liberator* (December 1920), reprinted in Crystal Eastman On Women and Revolution, edited by Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 53.

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____. "Crystal Eastman to Amos Pinchot." January 15, 1917. Reprinted in Toward the Great Change, pp. 268-270.

____. "Crystal Eastman to Dr. James Warbasse." May 27, 1916. Reprinted in Toward the Great Change, pp. 226-228.

____. "Crystal Eastman to Emily Greene Balch." June 14, 1917. Reprinted in Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 254-260.

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