

76/178

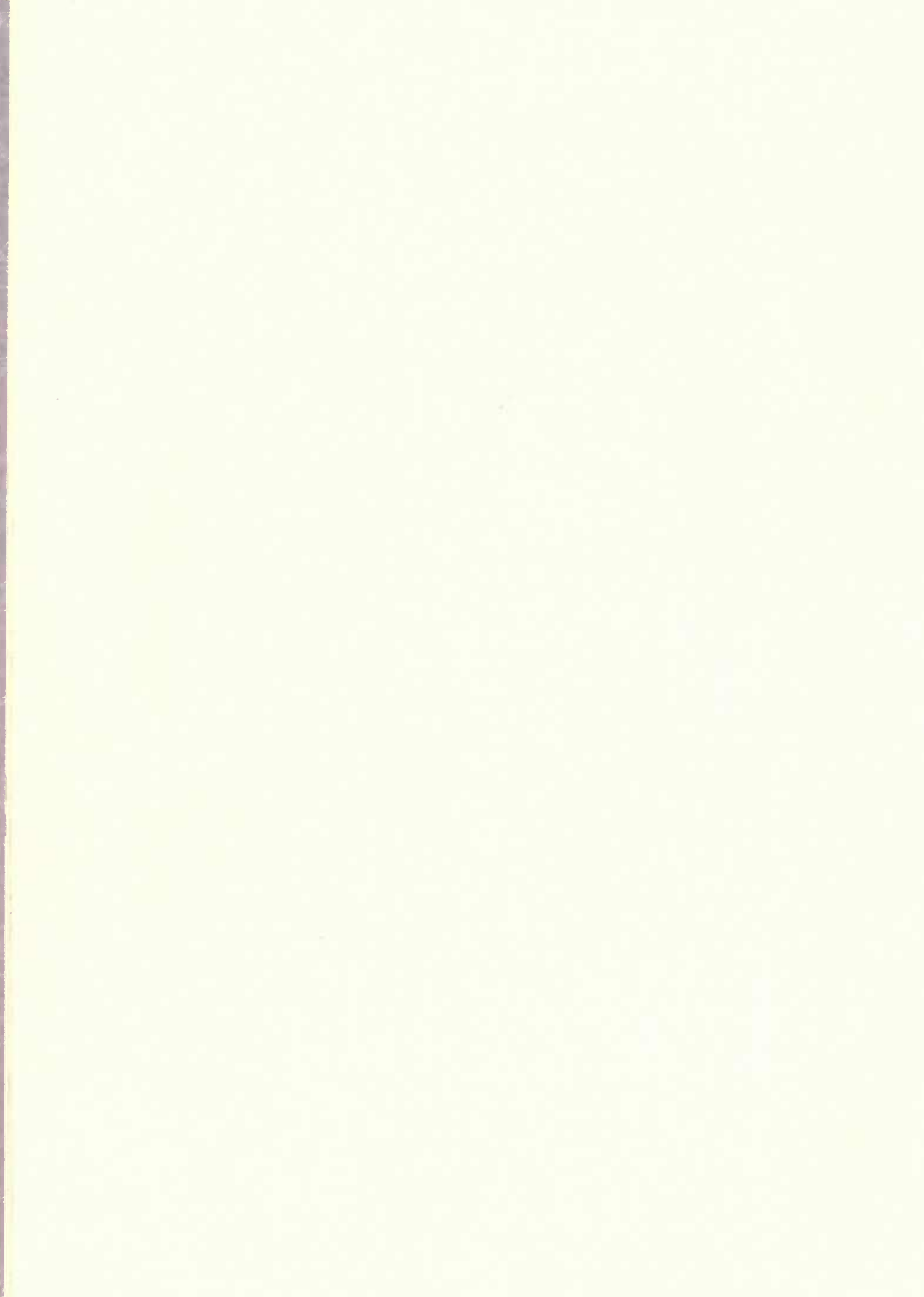
C

V. 1



The Bancroft Library

University of California • Berkeley



This manuscript is made available for research purposes. No part of the manuscript may be quoted for publication without the written permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

Requests for permission to quote for publication should be addressed to the Regional Oral History Office, 486 Library, and should include identification of the specific passages to be quoted, anticipated use of the passages, and identification of the user.

The Bancroft Library

University of California/Berkeley
Regional Oral History Office

Suffragists Oral History Project

Mabel Vernon

SPEAKER FOR SUFFRAGE AND PETITIONER FOR PEACE

With an Introduction by
Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan
Rebecca Hourwich Reyher
Consuelo Reyes-Calderón

An Interview Conducted by
Amelia R. Fry

Copy No. 1





MABEL VERNON
1914

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Mabel Vernon

PREFACE	i
INTRODUCTION: THREE VIEWS OF MABEL VERNON	iv
INTERVIEW HISTORY by Amelia Fry and Fern Ingersoll	x
PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY -- Mabel Vernon	xviii
I FAMILY AND SCHOOLING	1
<u>Independence: Taught By Mother</u>	1
<u>Quaker Influence: Father's Family and Wilmington Friends School</u>	4
<u>Father: Editor of Wilmington Daily Republican</u>	6
<u>Early Language Study and Influential Teachers</u>	8
<u>Swarthmore College, 1903-1906: Meeting With Alice Paul</u>	13
<u>Teaching and Earliest Suffrage Interest</u>	18
<u>Reception By Woodrow Wilson: Plan For Pickets, 1917</u>	20
II CAMPAIGNING FOR SUFFRAGE	23
<u>Speaking For Suffrage, 1913: East Coast Resorts, Washington, D.C., and Delaware</u>	23
<u>Relationship Among the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the Congressional Committee, and the Congressional Union, 1913-1914</u>	35
<u>Organizing in the South and West</u>	39
<u>Nevada Campaigns: Suffrage, 1914; Anne Martin For Senate, 1918, 1920</u>	41
<u>Cross-country Envoys, 1915: Advance Planning</u>	48
<u>Nevada Campaign, 1916: Opposing the Party in Power</u>	55

<u>Woman's Party Convention, 1916</u>	56
<u>Notes and Memories of Events in 1916</u>	58
Meeting With Woodrow Wilson, Kansas; "Suffrage Special"; "Suffrage First" Luncheon	58
Interruption of Woodrow Wilson's July 4 Speech	61
Colorado Springs: Campaigns Against Party in Power	64
Unfurling Suffrage Banner in Congress	67
<u>Events of 1917</u>	70
Woodrow Wilson's War Words Used For Suffrage	70
Picketing, Arrest, Trial, Jail, and Publicity	72
<u>Religious and Political Orientations</u>	76
<u>Peace Delegation to Adlai Stevenson, 1952</u>	78
III POST-SUFFRAGE ACTIVITIES	81
<u>Talks With European Women, 1920</u>	81
<u>Superintendent of Swarthmore Chatauqua: Lectures on Feminism</u>	85
<u>Return to the Woman's Party: Executive Secretary, 1926-1930</u>	87
Women-for-Congress Campaign, 1924: Reminder of 1915 Motor Trip	88
Equal Rights Amendment: Hoover Campaign, 1928	92
Tenth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1926: Speech for the Woman's Party	95
Nationality of Women and Children, Hague Conference, 1930: Work for Appointment of a Woman to Delegation	98
<u>Campaign Director for Women's International League: Trans- continental Peace Caravan, 1931</u>	101
<u>Peoples Mandate Committee, 1935-1955: Use of Suffrage Campaign Techniques for Peace</u>	105
Meetings with Franklin D. Roosevelt Before the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936	106
Inter-American Commission of Women: Banquet Furthering Communications	111
Delegation to Urge Peace Treaty Support, 1937; Cross-country Trip for Latin American Women, 1939	114

United Nations, 1945: Luncheon for Latin American Delegates; Work for Rights Clause in Charter and Against Veto Power	118
IV ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON PEOPLE AND TECHNIQUES IN CAMPAIGNS FOR SUFFRAGE AND EQUAL RIGHTS	122
<u>Campaigning for Suffrage in the South and West, 1914</u>	122
<u>Portrait of Anne Martin</u>	129
<u>Cross-country Envoys, 1915: Syracuse Stop</u>	137
<u>Shafroth-Palmer Amendment, 1914: Confusion Caused</u>	138
<u>Woman's Party: Three "Generations" of Suffrage Workers</u>	141
Virginia Arnold, Margaret Whittemore, Doris Stevens, Beulah Amidon, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan, Iris Calderhead, Vivian Pierce, Clara Louise Rowe, Joy and Matilda Young, Mary Gertrude Fendall, Pauline Clark, Alice Henkel, Rebecca Hourwich Reyher, Anita Pollitzer, Betty Gram	
<u>Campaigns of the 1920s: Anne Martin for Senate; Suffrage Amendment in Georgia</u>	158
<u>Woman's Party: Relationship to Major Parties, 1921</u>	161
<u>Conflict in Suffrage Campaign: Women's Rights vs. Political Results</u>	163
<u>Degree from Columbia, 1923: Influential Professors</u>	165
<u>Equal Rights Amendment</u>	168
Relationship to Women-for-Congress Campaign	169
Endorsement by Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party; Passage in Wisconsin	172
Misgivings about Role of Woman's Party at Women's Industrial Conference, 1926	174
V MORE ON CAMPAIGNS FOR SUFFRAGE AND PEACE	178
<u>Suffrage Workers: Married and Unmarried; Directed by Alice Paul</u>	178

<u>Suffrage Organizations</u>	181
Resolutions Committees of Major Parties, 1916; Defeat for the Woman's Party	188
Difficulties in the South, 1917	189
Membership Statistics Evaluated	190
<u>Delegation to Charles Evans Hughes, 1916</u>	191
<u>Campaign Director for Women's International League (1930-1935): Suffrage Techniques Used</u>	193
Signatures on Disarmament Petition, 1931; Presentation to President, and Farewell to U.S. Delegation to Geneva Disarmament Conference, 1932	195
"Disarmament Envoys" Tour; Local Celebrations of Anniversary of Peace Pact, 1933	199
Celebration of Twentieth Anniversary of WIL, 1935	201
<u>Peoples Mandate Committee</u>	203
Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936, Described Further	203
Declaration of Principles Presented at Paris Peace Conference, 1946	204
United Nations Conference on International Organization, 1945, Discussed Further	209
APPENDIX	214
INDEX	310

PREFACE

The Suffragists Oral History Project was designed to tape record interviews with the leaders of the woman's suffrage movement in order to document their activities in behalf of passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and their continuing careers as leaders of movements for welfare and labor reform, world peace, and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Because the existing documentation of the suffrage struggle indicates a need for additional material on the campaign of the National Woman's Party, the contribution of this small but highly active group has been the major focus of the series.

The project, underwritten by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, enabled the Regional Oral History Office to record first-hand accounts of this early period in the development of women's rights with twelve women representing both the leadership and the rank and file of the movement. Five held important positions in the National Woman's Party. They are Sara Bard Field, Burnita Shelton Matthews, Alice Paul, Rebecca Hourwich Reyher, and Mabel Vernon. Seven interviews are with women who campaigned for suffrage at state and local levels, working with other suffrage organizations. Among this group is Jeannette Rankin, who capped a successful campaign for suffrage in Montana with election to the House of Representatives, the first woman to achieve this distinction. Others are Valeska Bary, Jessie Haver Butler, Miriam Allen de Ford, Ernestine Kettler, Laura Ellsworth Seiler, and Sylvie Thygeson.

Planning for the Suffragists Project and some preliminary interviews had been undertaken prior to receipt of the grant. The age of the women--74 to 104--was a compelling motivation. A number of these interviews were conducted by Sherna Gluck, Director of the Feminist History Research Project in Los Angeles, who has been recording interviews with women active in the suffrage campaigns and the early labor movement. Jacqueline Parker, who was doing post-doctoral research on the history of the social welfare movement, taped interviews with Valeska Bary. A small grant from a local donor permitted Malca Chall to record four sessions with Jeannette Rankin. Both Valeska Bary and Jeannette Rankin died within a few months of their last interviewing session.

The grant request submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation covered funding both to complete these already-recorded interviews and to broaden the scope and enrich the value of the project by the inclusion of several women not part of the leadership. The grant, made in April, 1973, also provided for the deposit of all the completed interviews in five major manuscript repositories which collect women's history materials.

In the process of research, a conference with Anita Politzer (who served more than three decades in the highest offices of the National Woman's Party, but was not well enough to tape record that story) produced the entire series of Equal Rights and those volumes of the Suffragist missing from Alice Paul's collection; negotiations are currently underway so that these in-party organs can be available to scholars everywhere.

The Suffragists Project as conceived by the Regional Oral History Office is to be the first unit in a series on women in politics. Unit two will focus on interviews with politically active and successful women during the years 1920-1970; and unit three, interviews with women who are incumbents in elective office today.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in the history of the West and the nation. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library.

Malca Chall, Director
Suffragists Oral History Project

Amelia Fry, Interviewer-Editor

Willa Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

2 January 1974
Regional Oral History Office
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California at Berkeley

SUFFRAGISTS ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

BARY, Helen Valeska. Labor Administration and Social Security:
A Woman's Life. 1974

MATTHEWS, Burnita Shelton. Pathfinder in the Legal Aspects of
Women. 1975

PAUL, Alice. Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage
and the Equal Rights Amendment. 1976

RANKIN, Jeannette. Activist for World Peace, Women's Rights,
and Democratic Government. 1974

REYHER, Rebecca Hourwich. Working for Women's Equality. In process

THE SUFFRAGISTS: FROM TEA-PARTIES TO PRISON. 1975

Thygeson, Sylvie, "In the Parlor"
Butler, Jessie Haver, "On the Platform"
deFord, Miriam Allen, "In the Streets"
Seiler, Laura Ellsworth, "On the Soapbox"
Kettler, Ernestine, "Behind Bars"

VERNON, Mabel. The Suffrage Campaign, Peace and International
Relations. 1976

INTRODUCTION: THREE VIEWS OF MABEL VERNON*

The view of Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan who worked for suffrage at headquarters of the National Woman's Party, Washington, D.C. from 1916 to 1920.

Mabel was a very quiet personality and very retiring, never pushing herself forward. She was very conciliatory and always managed to bring warring factions together. She never strove to augment herself; she was never a climber. Mabel was dedicated to the cause. She had Quaker influences in her life; and thought she may not have been a Quaker, I always thought of her as one.

She was the stand-by of Alice Paul, very firm and dependable. Alice Paul's intuition was very good. She knew that Mabel wouldn't ever "put a foot wrong." Perhaps it was because they had the same Quaker streak.

Mabel was speaking to groups of people all the time, an excellent speaker who was very direct, very convincing. She had a marvelous resonant voice that carried well, before the time of amplifiers. You should have seen her when she spoke to raise money for the Woman's Party. We had big meetings with nationally-known speakers in the Belasco Theatre in Washington. The stage was always lovely; A.P. [Alice Paul] was very good at arranging settings. Mabel Vernon, as the last speaker, always wore a white outfit, with white shoes and stockings. After the nationally-known speakers had spoken, Mabel would get up and tell how we needed money. Striding back and forth behind the footlights, Mabel would ask first for a thousand dollars; and she'd get it because someone would be planted to respond that first time. Then she'd say, "Now the next thousand." And the people would begin responding on their own initiative. Before long she'd have \$5,000, sometimes \$10,000. Then we small-fry would go up and down the aisles to collect silver by the bushel. I never saw a woman bleed an audience as Mabel did. Nobody else could do it. I don't think the Woman's Party ever raised money like that after Mabel became a "peacenik." It always amazed me, because there were other emotional causes for people to support at that time, causes like child health with much more popular appeal.

*The remarks of Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan are excerpts from a conversation she had with Mabel Vernon, Consuelo Reyes, and me in Mabel Vernon's apartment on January 21, 1975. An interview taped the following day is in the appendix. The insights of Rebecca Reyher were told to me March 6, 1975. Consuelo Reyes-Calderón jotted down her past and present views of her long-time friend, Mabel Vernon during the early months of 1975. All three women approved this written version of their views. [Ed.]

But Mabel could always get money for the Woman's Party. I really don't think the Woman's Party could have survived without her fund-raising skills.

There was a trio--Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and Mabel Vernon. They were to my mind the dedicated triumvirate of the National Woman's Party.

The view of Rebecca Reyher, who knew Mabel Vernon during the years of working for suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment and later aided her in her Peoples Mandate work for peace.

Mabel was really so completely selfless. She symbolized an inner force working toward a cause, but never gave the impression that she was dedicated to that cause while you were selfish. She was like a wind blowing in a certain direction, making you feel that you wanted to work toward her goal. And with this ability to inspire, she had an ability to organize. She would get my commitment to a task and then call to remind me of what I had promised to do.

When she sent me out to get money for the Woman's Party or for the Peoples Mandate Committee, I always felt it was really she who got the money. Her aura of dedication both inspired me to go ahead and make the request, and also gave the wealthy person a sense of commitment because of the letter he received from Mabel before I arrived. Once she sent me to see the head of the United Fruit Lines. Although I had met him socially, I would never have thought to go to him for money. She wrote him about the organization but told me, "You must go to see him." With Mabel behind me, I was able to ask him for \$1000 and get it.

But Mabel never cultivated people just because they had money--never went on a far-fetched journey hoping to get money. She always cultivated people who might have some real interest in the cause.

She had a feel for language and was a perfectionist. Her father had been an editor, and every phrase, every word, had to be just right. She once told me, "You must be sure that every word is right because you can't afford to ruin your message with inaccurate language." This perfectionism carried into everything she did. Every detail of every banquet, every meeting, had to be just right.

In her early days, she always wore suits with a perfectly laundered, white silk blouse. I asked her how she managed to look so immaculate always, and she said, "But I always do my own washing and I like to do the ironing. I do some of my best thinking while I'm ironing." And I could see her moving toward a goal of something she wanted to think out even while she was getting something else important accomplished. Whatever needed to be done, Mabel always did.

She wasn't a pretty woman. Her mouth was a little large, her nose a little long. But she was a beautiful woman. She had intense, piercing blue eyes, a face framed in a halo of blond curls, and an expression of eagerness, and penetration, and sympathy, and understanding, and awareness of the person she was with, so that her face had an expression that you remembered long after being with her, and her features were blurred and subordinate to the other memory.

There was such unity between Mabel's face and body. Her face as well as her figure gave the impression of dynamism. She moved with determination and rapidity. You got the impression that there was a person whose mind and body were never at rest--and that she enjoyed it. It wasn't a martyr-like exhaustion, but a joy in doing the things that she believed in.

For years, whenever she had an important meeting, she would always have beautiful hats that Florence Bayard Hilles gave her. Mabel always chose a hat that was on an angle, up on one end, down on the other. She had an understanding of modern line. As she faced an audience to give them an expression of movement and goal, she would take a stance where the head was slanted, one foot was forward, and her whole body was projected toward the audience. It was a subconscious understanding of how she could visually get her idea and feelings across to people.

Mabel just never bought clothes for herself. She took practically no money for her work. She did have a black evening dress for speaking, but it was very starkly black. She felt that if she only had a brooch it would liven the dress. Within three months, I found in our incinerator a really lovely brooch, though it had two stones gone. I remembered that on Thirty-eighth Street I had seen a shop that would replace stones. For less than a dollar the stones were replaced, the whole thing polished, and it was very lovely. When I took it to Mabel and told her how much it had cost, it was even more pleasurable to her than something really valuable.

She had so much personal warmth for people--particularly for children. There was a little Spanish boy, the son of someone working at the Spanish embassy in Washington. He was a leukemia victim. Mabel's face was just transfixed with love for that little boy when his mother brought him to visit. Though I thought him a nuisance, Mabel was endlessly patient. She always had such love for my daughter, Faith. As a distinguished alumna of Swarthmore, she wrote to the college, when Faith was a little girl, and said she would like to have Faith put on the list of potential students, to be considered as her own daughter. I want to emphasize that she was always thinking of doing lovely things for other people, whatever was in her power to do. Though she was dedicated to causes, she was never oblivious to the wants and needs of her friends.

Mabel knew how to help. One of the women who worked for both suffrage and peace was an alcoholic. When she went on a bender, she would be apt to turn up in another city as an absolute tramp. There was only one person she

ever notified where she was--a man here in New York. Mabel didn't like him; but when she didn't know where the woman was, she would have to get in touch with the man. The woman had a chance to teach on a faculty in the South; she was a brilliant woman. When she wasn't available the night before her interview, Mabel contacted a newspaperman she knew the woman drank with. Mabel insisted that he take her to every place the woman might be drinking. Finally, she found her. Mabel walked the woman in the night air until she was relatively sober. Then she took her home and gave her coffee until she was clear headed. When the woman felt that she could never go to the interview, Mabel encouraged her, stayed with her. She did go to the interview, got the job, and held it. No one would ever think that Mabel Vernon knew exactly what to do for a drunk. She did. And her sympathy and understanding transcended her friend's weakness.

Unlike many women in the feminist movement, Mabel was never animated by bitter hostility, but rather by a deep love and understanding of every kind of person, and a desire to widen the opportunities of women, to give them opportunity and fulfillment. She had good humor. She loved pretty clothes and and liked to look well, but she always made do with what she had. She always had hope, always had a feeling that things were worth striving for because eventually they would be achieved. In all the years I've known her, I've never heard her say one mean, bitter thing about anyone. If I got mad, as I sometimes would, she would say, "Now, Becky"--not in a school-marmish way, but in a way that indicated, "Oh, Becky, that feeling isn't worthy of you." And "Now, Becky," would be followed by a laugh. She is always above petty things; they just never penetrate. That's why she has always been able to move on to the next thing.

In our telephone conversations through the years, as soon as we exchanged affection, Mabel would launch into something she felt very strongly about although it was likely to be going on in some distant part of the world. For years she listened to Eric Severeid. When he was very much for the Korean War, she said "Eric has disappointed me." It was as though she were talking about her own son. Then when Eric Severeid was against the Vietnam war, it was as though a wandering son had returned. She has always had that warm, personal sense of identity with people and the things they stand for.

The view of Consuelo Reyes-Calderón, who met Mabel Vernon two weeks after coming to the United States from Costa Rica in 1942, began to work with her on the Peoples Mandate in 1943, and has shared an apartment with her since 1951.

Miss Vernon never has had a appetite for food. In her view, meals and business do not combine. You could never see a cup of tea or coffee on her desk. When she had a piece of work to be done, she concentrated entirely on it regardless of anything else. Her assistants could not mention meals because she did not like it. Sometimes they questioned her, using her own words: "Mabel, is there anything obscene about meals?" She went hour after hour at work without eating anything, until she felt faint. This has continued through the years. Only sudden lack of sight makes her turn to a meal until her strength returns.

As a perfectionist she worked over and over on a paer and was never satisfied with what she had done. The booklets she published for the Peoples Mandate Committee represent endless time consumed by night on reading proofs until the form and the contents were exactly right.* Writing never came to her as naturally as speaking, and so she never enjoyed it as much.

She has always been able to bring people of all kinds, all different educational levels, together and find something for them to talk about in common. She, herself, on her travels, would always talk with taxi drivers, hotel clerks, everybody. A friend once said, "I wouldn't be the least surprised to hear that Mabel had married a taxi driver."

She does not like parties where nobody can talk about anything of real interest and where there is nothing of import that is left on the minds and hearts of the people conversing. She wants her parties to be different, where

*"There Must Be No Bitterness," edited by Rebecca Hourwich Reyher. Washington, D.C., 1943.

Pan American Principles Fundamental to World Cooperation, by Florence Brewer Boeckel. Washington, D.C., 1944. On file at The Bancroft Library.

United American Action for Lasting Peace. Washington, D.C., 1944. On file at The Bancroft Library.

Peoples Mandate Committee at the Paris Peace Conference: World Statesmen Support Declaration of Principles. Washington, D.C., 1946. See appendix.

you always have at least one person who speaks well and who will tell you something that makes you think, leaving aside the trivialities of life.

When minded, she listens with unusual attention to the smallest detail of a story. Then she asks the most pertinent and intelligent question. It makes you feel thankful for her interest in something that you felt nobody else cared about.

In social gatherings, she likes to have everyone listen to everyone else. She calls you by your own name even if she has just learned it. Mabel has shown a marvelous memory for foreign names. Particularly among Latin American ladies, this caused great admiration and charmed them.

As chairman of a meeting, she was very strict. Nobody could speak more than necessary and no one should speak while another person was talking. A matter had to be brought clearly to the point.

During the years she was working on the Peoples Mandate Committee for peace, there was much talk and fear of communism. One of her best workers, Ana del Pulgar de Burke, who was the wife of a State Department official, wrote to Mabel Vernon that she would have to leave the committee so that she would not be suspected of communism. Although very hurt, Mabel never blamed her. Mabel Vernon was always a loyal friend.

As chairman of the Peoples Mandate, she fought with officials in the State Department with the greatest determination. She sometimes felt they didn't know what they were doing and told them so.

Although she is a kind and open-minded woman, she has always been a woman of principles. When confronted by a person of high rank with an opinion contrary to her own, she would never give in if the issue concerned a principle in which she deeply believed.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Although Mabel Vernon and I had met during my visit to Washington, D.C. in 1967, it was four years and many visits later before we actually taped these interviews. So many obstacles plagued the project that today the actual existence of this volume seems like some great cosmic miracle. There was the demon of distance and the poverty of budget. Mabel was three thousand miles away and there were no funds for travel, manuscript processing or, for that matter, the researcher/interviewer. A further obstacle--understandable but frustrating--was Mabel's reluctance to record anything short of a formal script written and polished beforehand, similar to her work as narrator for the slide-sound shows on National Woman's Party history that her younger, live-in companion, Consuelo Reyes, was producing.

It is true that Mabel had taped a very limited session with me January 4, 1968, shortly after we met. But this was limited to a four-month episode of her life, was not a richly productive interview, and was not to be transcribed since it was only to supplement my personal research for a saga I was writing for American West. In the following transcript, Mabel does not dwell on the story, since publication of the article in 1969 relegated it to a position of lower priority for the interview.* The story was of an incredible coast-to-coast suffrage campaign in the fall of 1915 entirely by automobile. Alice Paul had sent Mabel ahead by train to organize every city from San Francisco to Boston and finally Washington, D.C., where a suffrage petition four miles long was presented to President Wilson. She arranged parades, bands, autocades, governors' and mayors' receptions, and publicity. In city after city the stage was set when the banner-bedecked little car rattled onto the scene and NWP's speaker Sara Bard Field cast her eloquence upon the throngs that Mabel unfailingly gathered.

The sources for background research were rich in those days. The library in the National Woman's Party headquarters at Belmont House in Washington had old clippings scrapbooks, all the weekly issues of The Suffragist, numerous articles and books, and boxes of uncatalogued papers; permission was readily given by Alice Paul to delve into other suffrage records which were "on loan" in the Library of Congress manuscripts room.

That mother lode had evaporated for all scholarly purposes by the time of our first recorded session on November 14, 1972. That session did, in fact, just "happen." There was still no funding available for suffragist oral

*Fry, Amelia R., "Along the Suffrage Trail," American West, January, 1969.

histories, I was in Washington for an entirely different project, and our efforts in that city to organize a few eager research people into a volunteer brigade for a "Significant Suffragists Oral History Program" had fizzled. When we decided on our date for tea (which had become a hallowed tradition of my Washington trips by this time) Consuelo quietly suggested that I bring the tape recorder, that she thought Mabel "would talk to us perhaps." I had two days to brush up on National Woman's Party history at the headquarters library.

Elation turned to disbelief and then horror when I called the NWP and was told that no one could use the library, for pre-interview research or anything else. Nor would I be allowed to see one of the copies of Inez Irwin's 1921 book, The Story of The Woman's Party.^{*} This news represented a double loss, for Alice Paul had just moved into semi-retirement in Connecticut, and had agreed to start an oral history also.

A check at the Library of Congress across the street showed that most issues of The Suffragist and Equal Rights were lost but perhaps they could be traced in about thirty days. NWP also denied access to the party papers in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. The only cheering thought was that an interview with Mabel Vernon would have substantial historic value under any conditions; also, the portion on her girlhood would be impossible to research anyhow.

The "interview" was close to a conspiracy between Consuelo and myself, embarrassingly close because Mabel was well aware of our game but chose to go along. Consuelo of Costa Rica, this gentle, creative little woman (most North American women tower over her) served our tea and explained to her beloved friend that we needed a full story for her sound productions and for The Bancroft Library's archives. Mabel suggested I ask her questions and take a few notes. I countered that the small, harmless-looking cassette could do that more accurately and leave me free to enjoy my tea and her story. I turned on the recorder and we talked of her childhood, drinking our tea slowly. Consuelo stretched the recording into Swarthmore memories by serving more tea and cookies, then tea with ice cream, then, still later, tea with pound cake. It was a filling afternoon both gastronomically and historically.

Although Mabel was well aware she was being recorded, we could not trust our good luck to continue, and so the microphone was laid discreetly on my tray, unflaunted. With each new serving, Consuelo, as an agonized sound technician, would nudge my tray and chair a bit closer to Mabel. Soon we were talking knee-to-knee. At any moment this experienced executive might well decide our informal conversation was far below her trademark of the cello voice and winning rhetoric; the read-a-script plan could confront us at any moment. Suffrage scholars should be forever grateful to Consuelo's agile

¹
*New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

footwork as she carried tea trays over cords, notebooks, and cassette packets. But now our precedent apparently was well-established, and the taping of the rest of Mabel Vernon's autobiography could proceed. As I left, Consuelo, with Mabel's concurrence, invited me back for another session two days later. To compensate for our difficulties, they loaned me books and some pamphlets which could supplement my chronology of the suffrage battles.

At all times Mabel was in control of the interviews. She said no more than she wished to say; she adroitly pushed aside questions which seemed to her too personal for comment; she embellished on matters which she agreed were of true historic import. She looked fragile, sitting deep in the sofa, but her eyebrows were raised in attention, and her power to assess a situation and move along the task at hand--whether suffrage, peace, or a recorded interview--was apparent. In a living room lighted with the low winter sun after a rain, she wove her answers from her memory, lacing them now and then with loving concern for her questioner. ("But Chita dear, your hair is so wet from the rain!") Mabel did not talk with her hands: her mind, her words, and her shining blue eyes did it all. Her voice reflected that strength that always had sprung from its richness of tone and her unfaltering language. It must have swayed many a voter. In her earlier tapes narrating Consuelo Reyes' slide-sound productions, Mabel's voice carries even more strength and beauty.

The third session, held two days later, was even more in earnest, but we were both on new ground: Mabel's peace activities and the Woman's Party in later years. Mabel and I had a rapport born of personal concern for each other and also of political convictions that did not always match the consensus at Belmont House. It seemed that for years Mabel and I had shared a desire for the Vietnam War to end; now Nixon had been re-elected twelve days before our session, and before taping we confided that impeachment would be necessary, that clouds would continue to gather from the budding Watergate episode. Mabel realized, as I sensed, that her pre-World War II peace mobilization was especially relevant.

The tapes from these three sessions were duly filed in the Regional Oral History Office in a limbo caused by a dearth of money and hope for getting them transcribed.

Then, suddenly, like a miraculous harbinger of spring, a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation made everything possible. We began the transcribing in Berkeley, and in April (1973) Mabel and I were at work in Washington on a fourth and final session. It was actually a recapitulation, for in the intervening months many questions had been gathered from research in Alice Paul's personal library in Ridgefield, Connecticut, from her friends in New York, and from Mabel's own correspondence with her Nevada friend Anne Martin. in the latter's collection in The Bancroft Library. (The NWP library at Belmont House was still inexplicably closed.) A bright red and white spring dress had just been sent to Mabel by Rebecca Hourwich Reyher in New York, who

frequently shopped for her long-time friend. We had a trying-on-and-modeling session, with tea, then went to work diligently over the tape recorder. The afternoon sun warmed the room, and unfortunately the open windows brought in the roar of continual buses on Massachusetts Avenue. Although she knew these sounds were rendering the tape impossible for her to use as narrative material for her slides, Consuelo again provided back-up pamphlets and papers when needed. We were all buoyed by the knowledge that transcriptions and final manuscripts would be forthcoming.

As the rough transcriptions were checked over and emended somewhat here at the Regional Oral History Office, it became obvious that great amounts of inaudible spaces could be filled in only by Mabel. Some topics still needed expansion that Mabel could give too. It was at this point that the process entered its next phase: manuscript work by Consuelo, Mabel, and Fern Ingersoll, the talented interviewer-editor in Washington who agreed to take on the task. At least Mabel had become willing to see this through; Consuelo's gentle persuasion, backed up by a good supply of tea in the pantry, had accomplished that.

Amelia R. Fry
Interviewer-Editor

12 November 1975
Regional Oral History Office
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California at Berkeley

THE EDITING

Soon after I began to edit the transcript of the Mabel Vernon memoirs in March 1974 her health became so frail that she no longer left her apartment, and frequently during the year in which we worked together on this project, she had bouts of illness, the most severe of which has confined her to bed for the past six months.

During the preliminary editing of the manuscript I developed chapter titles and subheadings and reviewed sources in order to clarify, correct and check on spelling, dates, names, and places. There were, however, sections of the tape which could not be heard clearly, because when Amelia Fry had recorded the interviews in the late hours of several warm afternoons, the sounds of commuter traffic, picked up through the windows opening onto Massachusetts Avenue, were often louder than Miss Vernon's voice. When it came time for Miss Vernon to review the edited transcript, her eyes, once so accustomed to proofreading for her father's newspaper and later for the Peoples Mandate brochures which she published, were not up to the strain of reading the manuscript. Nor was she strong enough to write in the missing and unclear segments or any additional information she wanted to include. She felt that her companion, Consuelo Reyes-Calderon, already called away from her own creative activities with sight-and-sound productions* to look after the needs of "Miss Vernita," should not be asked to take on this task. Because I had been meet- in with Miss Vernon from time to time during the intial editing phase, I was able to assist with this final review.

The solution, which we both enjoyed, was for me to read the unclear passages to her. Together we clarified them. Later I read to her the rewritten passages for her final approval. Sometimes, as I read the manuscript to her she remembered additional details. She might also recall other incidents of significance to the memoir. Since, however, she was so conscious of the loss of her once beautifully resonant and commanding voice, the making of an additional tape was distasteful to her. But because both of us wanted her recollections to be as complete and accurate as possible, I agreed to take careful notes as she dictated the new material. When these supplemental passages fit into the context already recorded I simply inserted them; when there was no

*These creations which combine slides, music, and narration are on such diverse subjects as Chopin on Majorica, the rosary as it is sung and recited around the world, the beauties of Costa Rica and Guatemala, and the early years of the suffrage movement. In the past, Mabel Vernon narrated Consuelo Reyes' productions.

obvious context or an insertion would cause confusion, I set them in a footnote. Except for these revisions which have clarified and enriched this oral history, the transcript follows the sequence of the interviews originally recorded by Amelia Fry.

Miss Vernon said repeatedly that she wished she had kept a diary. This would have been an excellent resource for aid in checking out the many facts in her long, active, and varied career, for the oral history and for students who have been doing research on suffrage and the history of the Equal Rights Amendment. Very fine source material which I was able to use is, however, available; other sources, not now available, will eventually be open to scholars. Unfortunately some very important material seems to have been lost.

Mabel Vernon's papers related to her efforts for peace are all in the Peace Collection of the library at Swarthmore College, her alma mater. Bernice B. Nichols, curator of the collection, welcomes those who want to use them. To assist with research, she has provided for the appendix to this volume, a checklist of the Peoples Mandate materials. Mabel Vernon's pictures and papers related to her work with the Woman's Party are difficult to locate. They are not at Swarthmore. Mrs. Elizabeth Chittig, present chairman of the Woman's Party, says that all of the Woman's Party material related to suffrage has been given to the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress. Using the Library of Congress checklist to the suffrage collection, I searched the most likely trays for pictures of and correspondence by Mabel Vernon, but I found none.

While taping her interviews, Miss Vernon was constantly frustrated because she could not refresh her memory by reading copies of the Suffragist and Equal Rights. In 1974-1975 these journals were still not available because the National Woman's Party library remains closed. Although the Suffragist (1913-1921) is now available on microfilm at the Library of Congress, the microfilming process destroyed the original issues. Early volumes of Equal Rights (1923-1926) have been microfilmed, but the original issues have also been destroyed. The later volumes (1927-1954) were still on the shelves in 1975 but could not be borrowed.

When I went to the stacks and the microfilm department of the Library of Congress to check the availability of this material for future researchers, I also looked into the 1917 volume of the Suffragist and the 1927-1930 volumes of Equal Rights to add, in footnotes, details which Mabel Vernon had sought. In these volumes references to her work are numerous. Her speeches for suffrage and equal rights seemed so persuasive that I included some of them in footnotes. I read them to Miss Vernon at the time when Consuelo Reyes was in the hospital and when Mabel Vernon herself was very weak. Although she could no longer remember the exact occasions on which she had delivered some of the speeches, she remembered that many such events had occurred. She leaned forward and her eyes brightened, as she recalled how important she had felt it was to get her points across for suffrage and for equal rights.

That Mabel Vernon did get her points across, and that she developed many strong friendships among her contemporaries, a special following among today's younger generation of feminists, and recognition among political leaders for her historical significance, became apparent to me during the time I worked so closely with her.* On several occasions she invited me to share visits with friends from suffrage days who came to see her when they were in Washington. In this way I met Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan, who now lives in England, but whose special responsibility, during the American suffrage campaign, was to keep the watch fires burning in Lafayette Park across from the White House. Mrs. Hallinan, making one of her occasional brief visits to the United States, was staying at the headquarters of the Woman's Party. She had recently been with Alice Paul on the latter's ninetieth birthday and had brought pictures and a newspaper clipping to share with Mabel Vernon. We were in the living-room; it was the first time I had seen Mabel out of her bay-window bed in many weeks, but this was an occasion. Smartly dressed in a black suit and bright blue scarf, Hazel Hallinan sat on the couch close beside her old friend. In two business-filled days, she would return to her home in London; this hour seemed precious to them both.

With me, Mabel Vernon had once wondered just how her friend had gotten into the Woman's Party, and as Mrs. Hallinan recalled the details of 1916, and the road from Billings, Montana, to Colorado Springs, to San Francisco, and then to headquarters of the Woman's Party in Washington, D.C., Mabel Vernon's eyes sparkled as she said, "I'm so glad to know all that."

Then Mrs. Hallinan recalled, with admiration, the times she had heard Mabel Vernon speak to raise money, as no one else could, for the Woman's Party. Mabel Vernon smiled--remembering, agreeing. When Consuelo Reyes added an admiring story about Miss Vernon's speaking ability, Mabel urged, "Oh, but let Hazel talk and tell about what she's doing now."

At another time in Mabel Vernon's apartment, I enjoyed an hour of tea and conversation with Rebecca Hourwich Reyher, visiting in Washington briefly from her home in New York City. She had worked with Miss Vernon both for suffrage and for peace. Miss Vernon had been very concerned that her friend's almost around-the-clock care of her paralyzed sister was making it impossible for "Becky" to work with me to finish reviewing the edited transcript of an oral history interview which she too had taped with Amelia Fry in 1972 for the Suffragist Oral History Project.

*See appendix for greetings from President and Mrs. Nixon, and Theodore Friend, president of Swarthmore College, recognizing Mabel Vernon's achievements at the time of her ninetieth birthday in September, 1973.

I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to share these visits with Miss Vernon and her long-time close friends because they were moving and significant, and also because they have provided me with insights into several of the dominant women leaders of the past and their relationships. I was struck by the strong feelings shared by them--bonds of friendship and loyalty--special emotional ties which these women, who worked for suffrage, have had for each other throughout the years. On Alice Paul's birthday, I sent Mabel Vernon's message, "From your oldest friend."

I met Mabel Vernon's younger admirers too. I was invited at the time Melanie Maholick came to show Miss Vernon "The Emerging Woman," a documentary in which she included scenes of Mabel Vernon commenting on the past and present situation of women.

On New Year's Day, 1975, when I took her downstairs to the lobby of Boston House to see the Christmas tree, Mabel Vernon sat musing over the past. She recalled very vividly her use of Wilson's own words when she spoke to him for suffrage, and she said, "I think that was probably the most important thing I ever did." She may be correct as regards a high-water mark of dramatic confrontation, but a reading of these interviews about her long and active life is likely to leave most readers with the impression that her greatest contribution was widely distributed among innumerable less spectacular achievements of organizing, inspiring, and giving passionate voice to the causes of women's rights and peace.

Fern Ingersoll
Editor

3 June 1975
Washington, D.C.

A PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY--MABEL VERNON

- 1883 Born in Wilmington, Delaware, September 10.
- 1901 Graduated from Wilmington Friends School.
- 1906 B.A., Swarthmore College.
- 1906-1913 Taught Latin and German at Radnor High School, Wayne, Pennsylvania
- 1913-1914 Joined Alice Paul's efforts on the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; spoke and organized for suffrage in many parts of the country.
- 1914 Anne Martin's assistant in Nevada in that state's successful suffrage referendum.
- 1915 Cross-country auto campaign for suffrage, September-December.
- 1916 First militant act for suffrage: interruption of Wilson's speech; unfurling suffrage banner in Congress.
- 1917 Met with Wilson; led pickets, served sentence; spoke throughout middle western states to explain picketing.
- 1918 Managed campaign of Anne Martin for U.S. Senate.
- 1919 Continued to raise funds and speak for the National Woman's Party.
- 1920 Campaign manager again for Anne Martin; work for suffrage amendment in Georgia; trip to Europe to talk with women. Upon return, was superintendent and speaker for the Swarthmore chatauqua program.
- 1923 M.A., Columbia University.
- 1924 Crossed U.S. speaking for the Women-for-Congress campaign.
- 1926-1930 Executive director of National Woman's Party.
- 1930-1935 Campaign director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: cross-country trip for disarmament petitions (1931); Disarmament Envoys tour (1933); U.S. representative at the League Congress in Zurich (1934) and Geneva (1935).

- 1935-1955 Director, and later chairman, of the Peoples Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation: led delegation to Buenos Aires conference (1936); spoke before Lima conference (1938); organized Latin American good-will tour of the U.S. (1939); headed inter-American delegation at the conference for organizing the U.S. (1945); carried an "Appeal to the Pan American Nations" to the Inter-American conference in Bogota (1948); organized delegations to the president and other high officials of nearly every American republic.
- 1944 Received the "Al Merito" from the Republic of Ecuador in recognition of "distinguished service to justice and international cooperation."

Washington Post, 4 September 1975

Wash Post Thursday, Sept 4, 1975
**Mabel Vernon, 91, Leader
 In Women's Suffrage Drive**



1915 photo

MABEL VERNON
 . . . as a suffragette

Mabel Vernon, 91, a leader in the women's suffrage movement and an active worker for many years in the struggle for equal rights and international peace, died Tuesday at her home, 1711 Massachusetts Ave. NW.

Born in Wilmington, Del., the daughter of a newspaper publisher, Miss Vernon was a graduate of Swarthmore College and taught high school Latin and German in Wayne, Pa.

In 1931, she became a national organizer for the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, which later became the National Woman's Party.

Miss Vernon organized a branch of the Congressional Union in Delaware that year and in the following years continued speaking and organizing in almost every state for women's right to vote.

She led suffrage caravans across the country to Washington and was one of a group of women who held banners at the gates of the White House asking for suffrage support. They were sent to jail for "obstructing traffic."

After suffrage was won in 1920, Miss Vernon earned a master's degree in political science and history from Columbia University.

In 1923, she rejoined the National Woman's Party to work for another constitutional amendment stating that equality of rights under the law should not be denied because of sex. She served as executive secretary of the organization from 1926 to

1930, and remained active in it until recent years.

Miss Vernon was campaign director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom during 1930-35, and conducted a national campaign for a universal disarmament petition to the International Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

She was a U.S. representative at the League conferences in Zurich in 1934 and Geneva in 1935.

She then served for two years as director of the Peoples Mandate to End War — a committee of women from the North and South American republics.

Later, as head of this group, she organized and conducted tours of this country by representatives of Latin American countries, headed delegations to peace conferences in Latin America and led the Inter-American delegation at the conference setting up the United Nations in 1945.

Miss Vernon received the "Al Merito" from the Republic of Ecuador for "distinguished service to justice and international cooperation" in 1944.

She was still active as recently as 1971, when she launched an eight-month series of seminars here on "The Role of Women in the Social Order," sponsored by the American Association of University Women's Educational Foundation and the International Institute of Women Studies.

The Washington Star, 4 September 1975

Thurs. 4 Sept 1975 The Washington Star

Mabel Vernon, 91, Dies, Pioneered Women's Vote

Mabel Vernon, 91, for many years a leader in campaigns for equal rights for women and minority groups, for world peace and international understanding, died Tuesday at her home in the Boston House apartments on Massachusetts Avenue NW.

She was among the first women arrested and sent to jail after picketing the White House in behalf of women's suffrage 1917. The charge was obstructing traffic.

Vernon recalled that the seven years she worked for women's suffrage before the adoption of the 19th Amendment in 1920 were like living a whole lifetime.

Vernon was born in Wilmington, Del., where her father founded and served as editor and publisher of the Daily Republican. She attended a Friends school in Wilmington and after three years at Swarthmore College received her B.A. degree. She taught Latin and German in a Wayne, Pa., high school until 1913, when she became a national organizer for the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, a predecessor of the National Woman's Party.



MABEL VERNON
Arrested for picketing

FIRST ASSIGNED by the Congressional Union to Delaware, Vernon organized a branch there and in 1914 she went to Nevada to help in the campaign which won the vote for women in that state.

After suffrage was won, Vernon received a master's degree in political science from Columbia University.

Soon she was helping the National Woman's Party in its campaign for another amendment to the Constitution — one stating that

equality of rights under the law shall not be denied on the basis of sex. From 1926 to 1930 she was executive secretary of the National Woman's Party and for practically all of the time since then was a member of its national council.

In the early 1930s, she was campaign director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was a U.S. representative at the League Congress in Zurich in 1934 and Geneva in 1935, the year she also directed the 70th birthday observance of Jane Addams of Hull House.

From 1935 to 1947 she was the director of the Peoples Mandate to End War, a committee of women in North and South America working for disarmament as the essential foundation for peace. Later she was chairman of the organization. She led the Inter-American delegation at the conference for organization of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945.

She leaves no immediate survivors. It is suggested that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Mabel Vernon, 92, Suffrage Fighter

By WILLIAM P. FRANK

Mabel Vernon, a Wilmington native who was one of the nation's first suffragettes, died yesterday afternoon in her Washington, D.C., apartment. She was 92.

She was the last of "the Delaware 7" — women who went to jail in Washington rather than pay fines for picketing the White House during the period from 1917 to 1919.

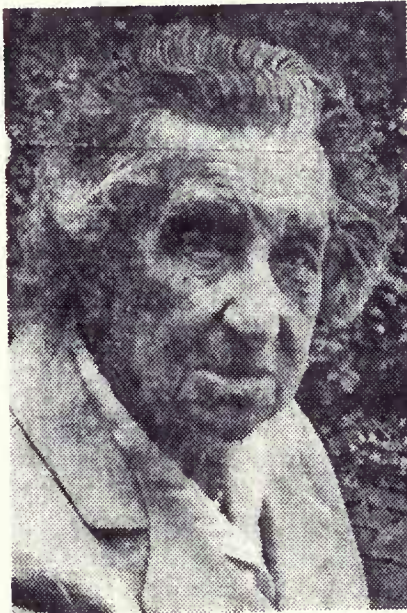
In 1916, she heckled President Woodrow Wilson while he was dedicating the Labor Temple in Washington.

On that occasion, she interrupted the president's speech, demanding to know what he intended to do about women's right to vote. She was quickly escorted off the platform but not arrested.

However, she was arrested twice in 1917 for picketing the White House and she spent 5 days in the dingy District Prison.

In the past several years, Miss Vernon suffered from the infirmities of old age, living quietly in an apartment of the Boston House, attended by a nurse-companion.

A memorial service for her is planned in Washington. According to her grandnephew, Chandler Davies, she will be cremated. Miss Vernon is not survived by any close relative but does have nieces and nephews.



Mabel Vernon

Miss Vernon was the daughter of George Vernon, who published The Wilmington Daily Republican at 3d and King Sts.

In an interview several years ago, Miss Vernon recalled she had inherited a spirit of independence from her parents and had always been a staunch champion of women's rights. She had intended to become a teacher of Latin and German in Wayne, Pa., but gave it up in 1913 to join the Congressional Union, which later became the National Woman's Party.

Miss Vernon became secretary of the party and took the cause of women's rights to almost every state in the nation.

As the Congress approached the crucial time for action on the 19th amendment, the women's vote amendment, she centered almost all of her activities in Washington.

She participated in another confrontation with President Wilson in 1917 as a part of a five-member commission to persuade Wilson to support woman suffrage.

She later reported that the president was curt and suggested to her that the women had to develop public opinion.

"And that was when we took to picketing the White House in earnest," Miss Vernon recently recalled. "In those days we didn't have ugly placards but beautiful banners, white, gold and purple."

After the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920, Miss Vernon relaxed into a quiet life in Washington, spending most of her time at the National Women's Party headquarters.

Several years ago Miss Vernon was presented with a citation by the Delaware Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) as "one of the heroic foremothers of the movement to liberate women from the shackles of male chauvinism and male domination."

At that time, the aging Miss Vernon told a representative of NOW:

"Finish up on the Equal Rights Amendment just as we had to come in and finish the fight for the national suffrage amendment. Keep on pressing for the equal rights amendments. I'm proud my native state of Delaware has already approved it."

I FAMILY AND SCHOOLING
(Interview I, November 14, 1972)

Independence: Taught by Mother

Fry: What gave your mother the idea of raising you to be an independent young lady, able to take care of yourself?

Vernon: I don't know. [Looking at a picture of her mother] Do you see some of the same things about us?

Fry: Stop smiling and let me look. Yes, I do. You have your hair kind of parted in the middle like hers. I can see the similarities there. Yes. Well, was she a Quaker?

Vernon: No. I must say this about her. I'm not sure, but Alice Paul, who is a Quaker, you know, from Moorestown, New Jersey, is sure there must be a family relationship between us. My mother came from Gloucester, which is right near Moorestown; and there was in Moorestown what was called the Mary Hooten farm. Well, that was my mother's name--Mary H-o-o-t-e-n, Hutten, they pronounce it. And Alice Paul's family lived on the Mary Hooten farm. Now we are going to trace this down some day.

Fry: Oh, that's funny.

Vernon: And Alice Paul's brother lived in Moorestown in what was called the Mary Hooten house. That was on the Mary Hooten farm, I think.

Fry: And your mother's name was Mary Hooten?

Vernon: Yes, but that was, of course--

Fry: A later generation. Do you have your genealogy anywhere?

Vernon: I don't have my mother's. I have my father's. But this is something Alice and I have been intending to do a little research on. But then did you ever hear of Elizabeth Hooten? There was a book called Rebel

Vernon: Saints. I think it's out of print now. It was written by Molly Best, if you can find it in your library. One of her rebel saints was Elizabeth Hooten. Now we think that Elizabeth--don't do that to your hair, darling.

Fry: It's wet. [Laughter]

Vernon: Shall I get you a comb?

Fry: No. That doesn't help. It's past redemption.

Vernon: If you combed it, it might dry better. [Laughter] Well, Elizabeth Hooten was one of George Fox's preachers. Do you know about George Fox?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Oh, you don't. Your Quaker history is bad, darling.

Fry: It is, it's very poor.

Vernon: Oh, I'm sorry for that. George Fox was a founder of the Quakers.

Fry: Oh, I thought that was William Penn.

Vernon: Oh no. He came later, after George Fox. Well, at any rate, I must find those dates. I must know when George Fox founded the Quakers, the Society of Friends. That's its real name.. "Quakers" was given to it in a derogatory way. It was Friends, and I never call them Quakers. I always call them Friends.

Well, George Fox's first woman preacher was Elizabeth Hooten, rebel saint. And she came to this country, well it was the time of the Puritans. I wish I could get my dates better. William Penn came in 1682, I think; but Elizabeth was before all of this.

Fry: I see. Well, you don't have family records that tell you who your mother and grandmother was or anything like that.

Vernon: No. We would have to do that by a little bit of research.

Fry: That would be very interesting to know. I guess we could check on the records we have in those townships probably.

Vernon: That's what we thought. That was my thought. Alice said we could find it if we went to the Library of Congress. She is very anxious to prove that we're cousins or something.

Fry: That's right. It might be right here in the Library of Congress.

Vernon: Yes. She thinks so, I think.

Fry: Well, if we get our grant maybe we'll have time to research that for you.

Vernon: Oh, that would be wonderful. Wouldn't that be wonderful? Well, now, I'll tell you the story that Consuelo likes.* My mother lived down near Gloucester, which is near Morrestown; and she had a sister who married a southern New Jersey oyster man.

Fry: An oyster man? Is that his name or his occupation?

Vernon: That was his occupation. And he lived down in Newport, New Jersey. It's down below Bridgeton; does that name mean anything to you?

Fry: No. Now you've lost me with Bridgeton.

Vernon: Newport, New Jersey, is about twelve miles or so from Bridgeton. My aunt lived down there, and she would come up and spend a little while in Wilmington with us. I don't know how she got there--maybe my mother went for her; but when it came time for her to return to Newport from Wilmington, my mother sent me to take her. We got on the train in Wilmington--the Pennsylvania Railroad--and went to Philadelphia, Broad Street Station. I'm afraid that's gone now, I don't know. And then we crossed the city to go to the Camden Ferry that was at the end of Market Street. We took the ferry to Camden where she got a train to Bridgeton. Well, I took her to the Camden Station, which was at the end of the ferry line; and then I went back home. I was nine years old.

Fry: And that was two years after your mother sent you to school, and your first day--you were seven years old.** How many blocks did you count up that you walked to school?

Vernon: Ten.

Fry: Ten blocks. When you got to school and told the school mistress that your mother told you to come to school that day, did she--

Vernon: She didn't inquire how I got there. [Laughter]

Fry: She just took you at your word and went ahead and put you in school.

*Consuelo Reyes-Calderón is the companion of Mabel Vernon.

**Mabel Vernon told the following story before the tape recorder was turned on. She repeated it June 17, 1974: "My mother called me on Wednesday morning, September 10, and said, 'I want you to go down to Miss Bigger's school. And you tell her I sent you down.' I was just seven and a little late for starting the term."

Quaker Influence: Father's Family and Wilmington Friends School

- Fry: Well, now did you tell me that you were not a member of Friends as you were growing up?
- Vernon: My father's family was altogether Quaker. I do have all of his genealogy--it's quite interesting.* His ancestors came to this country around 1782 or 1783, about the same time William Penn first came. And my father's ancestors were Quakers, if you insist on using that name.
- Fry: Oh, no, I use "Friends." I prefer "Friends" too, and actually in the West that is what we call them. We don't call them Quakers.
- Vernon: But, at any rate, I date the family from 1683; I could verify that. And they were all Friends; they had been weavers, I think, in Wales. The family came originally from France, Vernon, V-e-r-n-o-n. And there is a little town in France called Vernon; I don't know just where, but I learned about it at the time of the war.
- Fry: That may be the town of your family.
- Vernon: And they went with William the Conqueror, I think, to England. When my father's ancestors came to this country, there were three brothers. My ancestor was Randall Vernon. When they came, they were leaders in the Friends' meeting. Often they had meetings in their home. That was my father's family. But he didn't remain a Quaker as he grew up.
- Fry: He did not remain a Friend?
- Vernon: He did not. He didn't go to the Friends' meeting, although we used to have relatives come visit us who used to use the plain language--you know the plain language?
- Fry: The vowels and the--yes.
- Vernon: Although they weren't very correct. They didn't say "thou," they said "thee."

*Mabel Vernon's father was named George Washington Vernon. His grandson, Harvey Vernon, using earlier work on the family genealogy as well as the knowledge of living family members, compiled the Vernon Family History and Genealogy: Following the Line of George Washington Vernon 1820-1901, and distributed it in mimeographed form in 1961.

Fry: Well, at any rate, what I am really wondering is if you experienced any direct influence on your life by the Friends and their philosophy.

Vernon: I went to Wilmington Friends School.

I had gone to Miss Bigger's School from the time I was seven until I was fourteen, I think it was. That was just a small private school.

Fry: That was the one with just the two rooms and very few students.

Vernon: But we used to have teachers come from outside who taught German. That's where I got my first German. And Latin--Mr. Heath, the reverend, used to come and teach us that.

Fry: That must have taken you up into something comparable to our junior highs today.

Vernon: When I graduated from Miss Bigger's School, Reverend Keigwin [Albert], who was the minister of the Presbyterian church where my family and I went, gave the commencement address. I was the only student graduating at that time. I didn't know where I was going to go to school next. We were going downtown to my father's office in a surrey. I can remember it so well. Mr. Keigwin came up to talk to us, leaning against the surrey. He highly recommended that I go to Friends School. We went there almost immediately to enroll me; and that made such a difference in my life.

Well, then I went to Friends School, Wilmington branch, which is really an admirable school and that was only a block from my house. And there we had all the Friendly influences. We went to meetings every fifth day--you know what the fifth day is?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday--

Fry: Oh, Thursday?

Vernon: We went to meeting, at eleven o'clock, I think it was, every Thursday, every fifth day. We always used the plain language with the teachers and friends who were Friends. There were some who weren't. And there are all my influences.

Fry: You really got into the whole philosophy of peaceful coexistence there, I guess.

Vernon: Yes. And then I went to Swarthmore, which is a Friends' college. Of course, with associations like that, all of my friends were Friends--almost all of them--although I used to be very religious when I was young, and I went to the Presbyterian church.

Fry: That was while you were in Miss--

Vernon: In Friends School.

Fry: Why didn't you go to the Friends' church?

Vernon: I don't know. I guess because my family went to the Presbyterian church. And we loved the pastor of that church. He had a great influence.

Fry: What kind of a person was your mother? It intrigues me that she would bring her daughter up to get her out on her own at the age of seven and things like this. Really, she must have been unusual.

Vernon: I think she was; she was unusual. She was very capable and self-reliant. My father was married twice. She married my father when the children of his first wife were still very small. Maybe two years old or something like that. I've forgotten. But she was a wonderful mother.

Fry: And then she had you--

Vernon: Oh, she had many before me. She had seven children who lived, and I think there were a couple who died. Can you imagine? And through it all she remained so calm and even-tempered. She really was a wonderful woman.

Fry: So you had two half sisters and brothers and four full sisters and brothers? Is that right?

Vernon: Well, I don't see how you measure that. I think there were four half brothers and one half sister--five all together. And then my own sisters and brothers. I had five brothers and one sister. We had a wonderful family. But of course my father's first family was older. They married and had set up establishments of their own by the time I was growing up. But they all lived in Wilmington.

Father: Editor of Wilmington Daily Republican

Fry: What did your father do for a living?

Vernon: You didn't know? He was an editor and publisher. He used to write his editorials at my nursery table. He wrote on one side, while I sat reading across from him. My mother would sit reading too. He ran the Wilmington Daily Republican.

Fry: I never knew that. The Daily Republican!

Vernon: The Daily Republican. You said it like a native.

Fry: Oh, I just can't imagine you living in a family with Republicans.
[Laughter]

Vernon: My father was a strong Republican. He would be horrified if he thought that I was the independent that I am. But he was a Lincoln Republican. He belonged to that era of the Republican party. He did much to establish the Republican party.

Fry: I see. It just hit me. Of course, that's when the whole thing got started.

Vernon: And he lived in a Democratic state, and he lived in a state that was partly a slave state. It took courage, what he did.

Fry: Did you ever work with him on his paper or anything? Did he have you setting the ads or something?

Vernon: Well, it was quite a paper by this time, darling. We used to sit down in the front office, and what he saw was everybody who came into that newspaper office. He died the year that I graduated from Friends. Oh, he was so proud of me because I had written an essay on Martin Luther, of all people; and when my graduation time came at Friends--June, 1901--I was selected to speak for my class by delivering an oration. And my father was there. He was always very kind about coming to things where I was going to participate, and he took the essay down to the paper and printed it the next day in its entirety.

Fry: Oh, really. How wonderful. I wonder if we can still get hold of that in the old files.

Vernon: What do they call those? They are produced on movies.

Fry: Oh, microfilmed.

Vernon: That's what I wanted to say--microfilm.

Fry: That would probably be at the Library of Congress also.

Vernon: I don't know about that, but it is in the Wilmington Library.

I should have shown you that piece that Bill Frank wrote. You see, my father's paper merged with the [Wilmington] Evening Journal after he died. I must say his sons were not as clever newspaper men as he was. And he died in 1901, shortly after I graduated from Friends. I think he died in July; I graduated in June. But he had the satisfaction of seeing me graduate and deliver the graduation essay, et cetera, et cetera.

Fry: And what article is that you are talking about?

Vernon: Oh, yes. Bill Frank of the Evening Journal came down here, when was it,

Vernon: darling?--well, I have a copy of the paper. I am not as careful about saving these things as I should be. But Bill Frank wrote, "After seventy years, Mabel Vernon is" et cetera. "And she is still going strong." He wrote quite an article, didn't he, darling?

Fry: Oh, I would like to see that.

Vernon: Well, I probably have it there. I'm sure I have it some place.*

Fry: We can make copies of that too. Enough for you to have some extra ones to show to the public that comes to you for these things and one for me to take back.

Vernon: They wouldn't be interested in this ancient history.

Fry: Well, now they are. That woman you mentioned will probably come to you wanting your views on present women's lib and all that sort of thing.

Early Language Study and Influential Teachers

Fry: Let's see. I was going to ask you if you remember any other special things you were interested in in your childhood. What were your favorite subjects in school?

Vernon: Oh, I specialized. I kept on specializing in German and Latin.

Fry: Right from your earlier German courses in the grammar school?

Vernon: I don't know what you mean by the grammar school.

Fry: Miss Bigger's School. You said you had some German there. Did you like that?

Vernon: Oh, of course; that's the reason I kept going.

Fry: How did they teach there with kids in different age groups in the same room?

*Although at the time of editing Mabel Vernon no longer had this article, Bill Frank sent copies, which are on file at The Bancroft Library. There are two articles: "She's Fought for Women's Rights Since 1913" in the April 13, 1972 issue of the Wilmington Evening Journal and "No Generation Gap on Women's Rights" in the November 2, 1973 issue.

Vernon: Well, I was almost always in a class by myself.

Fry: That's a true statement, Mabel! [Laughter] That lasted the rest of your life.

Vernon: I was the only person in the class. I can still remember mental arithmetic; have you ever heard of mental arithmetic?

Fry: Oh, I've heard of mental arithmetic, oh yes.

Vernon: It was wonderful. Miss Bigger herself taught me.

Fry: You are not supposed to use pencil and paper.

Vernon: Oh, no. You do it in your head.

Fry: That freezes me to even think about it.

Vernon: Are you taping this?

Fry: I am taping it so we can type it out at our office. Then I will send you a copy. It's easier that way than to try to write down all your words.

Vernon: Is it right there?

Fry: It's just right here in the little black box.

Vernon: Oh, I never saw such an inoffensive one.

Fry: I could be a spy. [Laughter]

Vernon: Have you tried?

Fry: No, not yet. But I thought about it before the election [November, 1972].

Vernon: Mr. Nixon [Richard M.] would just pounce upon you.

Fry: I think the Democrats needed me; the Republicans seem to be doing all right. [Laughter]

Vernon: I wasn't aware of that kind of a tape recorder at all. It's marvelous.

Fry: It's a wonderful way to take notes, and I've gotten to rely on this so much that I almost can't take comprehensible notes anymore, in my handwriting. I can't write fast enough and reduce it all to summary form the way I used to be able to do in college. So this is marvelous 'cause I get down the whole story and then I can go back to my office--

Vernon: Let me tell you about my studies.

Fry: You were about to tell me.

Vernon: Well, then when I went to Friends School I had a marvelous teacher-- Carolyn Ladd Crew. And she was a very superior poet, highly educated, from Smith. I guess that's the reason I first went to Smith. I didn't tell you that I first went to Smith. But I didn't stay long. I got out and was so glad that I had changed. I would much rather be a graduate of Swarthmore. I love Swarthmore. Do you know anything about Swarthmore?

Fry: Well, I know some current things about it, but I don't know what it was like when you were there.

Vernon: Have you ever been on the campus?

Fry: No, but I know I would have liked that school.

Vernon: Have you heard about it?

Fry: Yes, I have heard about it. They had a marvelous honors program for quite a while, didn't they?

Vernon: Yes. Frank Aydelotte, whom I admired very greatly, started the honors program--not that he was there when I was there.

Well, I will go back to telling about Friends School and Carolyn Ladd Crew. She was a German teacher and she was excellent. After I graduated from Friends in 1901, I went back again, because I went to Smith and then came home and I didn't know what I was going to do. But I went back to Friends to do postgraduate work. And I studied German. I studied Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea for a long time. I still remember "Mignon's Lied." Do you know any German?

Fry: No. You and I just don't know the same things, do we? You know all the towns in New Jersey, and you know German. [Laughter]

This article says, then, that your postgraduate work at Friends School gave you extra credits at Swarthmore.*

Vernon: That's right. I finished there in three years.

Fry: Now, why didn't you stay at Smith? I'll bet there is a good story there.

*"Mabel Vernon Still Works for Rights," Wilmington Friends School Bulletin, Spring 1969, p. 9. See appendix.

- Vernon: I don't know whether there is or not. I lived in a little place; I didn't live on the campus. I lived with Miss Scorp, as I remember her name. My mother was ill, and I guess I was homesick. But, at any rate, I remember wiring to my mother: "Since you are ill, I am coming home." That was about a month after I had gotten there. I didn't give it a fair try.
- Fry: Oh, I see.
- Vernon: But I think there must have been a destiny about it too, darling. Do you think there was?
- Fry: Well, your destiny seems to have worked out, looking at it from this end.
- Vernon: Well, the first year I was in Swarthmore I met Alice [Paul]. All of this would not have happened if I had stayed at Smith.
- Fry: Well, probably not. How did you meet Alice?
- Vernon: Well, that's a story. I had graduated from Friends in 1901. I entered Swarthmore in September, 1903.
- Fry: You were at home then with your mother.
- Vernon: Yes. I was going to tell you about reading proof down at--
- Fry: At your father's paper?
- Vernon: Yes. He had died, and my brothers were trying to run the paper. And I went down to read proof I guess one summer, and I just continued for about a year. I was a good proof-reader. My brother-in-law, Arthur Davies, of whom I was very fond--he's dead now--was the city editor, and he taught me a lot, oh, about the numbers that you put on the headlines and so forth. Do you know anything about reading proof?
- Fry: I've never done it.
- Vernon: Well, I think it's a fascinating business. I am so critical of present day proof reading.
- Fry: I don't think they have proof readers; it doesn't look like it.
- Vernon: They aren't good. I know a man on the New York Times who lives up near Berlin, New York, in the summertime, and I asked him, "What is the matter

Vernon: with the proof reading in the New York Times?" And he said it was mainly time.*

Fry: Oh, really. Everything is faster these days. Well, how did you do proof? Did you have to look at every letter? It must take a very, very acute perception.

Vernon: It takes a good eye. And I think I am still a good proof reader. But here the other day on one of Consuelo's slides of St. Matthew's Cathedral, we found a word that I'd not seen before. The choir master, Mr. Stewart, who came to see us, immediately saw on one of the slides, "Shepherds." But how did I, with my proof-reading eye, not see that?

Fry: Oh, you missed it. Well, you have been retired as a proof reader now for quite a while. [Laughter]

Vernon: But I still have a good proof-reading eye, I think.

Fry: Well, Mabel, you will have a chance to vindicate yourself when I send you my typing back. You will have a big proofing job to do there.

Vernon: I love to read proof.

Fry: So you worked there for quite a while. Then what made you decide to go back [to studying]?

Vernon: Oh, my Miss Crew, my teacher. And Mr. Norris. I haven't told you about Herschel Norris. He is mentioned in this article in the Wilmington Friends School Bulletin about me.

Fry: Yes, he is. What did he teach?

Vernon: He was the principal of the school, Herschel Norris. He could teach anything, but he taught Latin wonderfully. That accounts for it, you see. Miss Crew and Mr. Norris. German and Latin.

And I can remember this about Mr. Norris. I never will forget it. I took Greek for, I guess, two years. But the first month I had Greek with a new teacher who had just come out of Princeton, George Gordon (I remember his name), I failed. And I went to Mr. Norris. I loved

*"I always spent the summer with Alma Lutz, who has written splendid biographies of women in the women's movement. Alma had a summer home near Berlin, New York. I haven't gone since Alma died two years ago." Untaped conversation with Mabel Vernon, June 20, 1974.

Vernon: Mr. Norris and he liked me. I showed him the paper and said, "Mr. Norris, what does this mean?" And Mr. Norris--there were only five of us, I think, in the Greek class--said, "Come in after school." And he took the five of us for about an hour, three or four days a week, to teach us Greek. He just apparently put Gordon aside entirely. We had the regular work with Gordon, but this extra work with Mr. Norris. And we took an examination at the end of that month. I got everything perfect except one accent. That's the kind of teacher he was. Of course, Norris could teach me anything.

I guess I will have to go.

Fry: Do you want me to move your tray?

Vernon: Oh, that's all right. I think that I had better finish that. [To Consuelo Reyes] Darling, I want my milk. Now don't forget, I wash the dishes. That is my great contribution.

Fry: Oh, you're the dish washer.

Vernon: I'm a good one.

Fry: You'll have to come and visit me more often.

Vernon: What do you do with your dishes?

Fry: I have a machine to put them in! But still somebody has to load them into the machine, and this is where the system breaks down.

Vernon: There you are, darling. I think I'm through.

Fry: [After Mabel Vernon's return] Well, let me see. We were talking about Herschel Norris and how he managed to teach you Greek when the Princeton man didn't.

Vernon: I can hear Mr. Norris saying, "Mabel, this is not like thy work" when he looked at that paper. And then he took us. And I went on with Greek for two years, but I didn't continue it after I went to college.

Swarthmore College, 1903-1906: Meeting with Alice Paul

Fry: As you look back on it, was there a lot of talk and influence in the air then, about egalitarianism for all people?

Vernon: Oh, no. I don't remember. Well, I went to Swarthmore in the fall. Miss Crew and Mr. Norris had both come to see me after I went back to Friends School from Smith, and they persisted in the idea that I must

Vernon: go to college. They truly were very good friends, weren't they?

Fry: Yes, they were. They really had an interest in you.

Vernon: They really had an interest. And I can remember going down to see Mr. Norris at his home; and he said, "Mabel, if you need help"--or "thee," as he called me--"in going to college, I am sure William Bancroft would help thee." William Bancroft was a wonderful Friend. I remember him. He was president or something of the great Bancroft mills in Wilmington, and he was a respected man. And so I went out to see William Bancroft, and he said he would help me. And I got a scholarship at Swarthmore; they gave out scholarships. I think it was a hundred dollars a year or something like that. Maybe it was my tuition, I've forgotten; but at any rate, I got a scholarship and William Bancroft gave me enough money to pay the other expenses. I calculated how much I would need. I went to Swarthmore, and there at Swarthmore I met Alice. My whole future was affected, although I didn't know it at the time.

Fry: You were about to tell me, a while ago, how you met Alice.

Vernon: I think it was in the spring of my freshman year, we had extemp speaking contests. I wanted to enter and you had to pass a preliminary (I guess that is what they were called). Do you know about extemp speaking contests?

Fry: Yes, I remember those; we used to have them. You were given a topic and you had to speak extemporaneously on it, right?

Vernon: Yes. Well, Alice and I both entered that same speaking contest. After the trials were over, Alice said, "Come on, will you go down with me for a walk near the Crum?" The "Crum" is the Crum Creek that goes along the edge of the Swarthmore campus. And so Alice and I went down.

And this is very characteristic. She was so certain that she wasn't going to make the prelims, she wasn't going to be chosen for the finals. She was sure I would be chosen for the finals, but that she wouldn't. I think that feeling continues in her, don't you think it does?

Fry: Always a gloomier prediction than necessary?

Vernon: Well, self-disparaging in some way.

Fry: Oh, I see. You mean not confident in her own abilities. Yes. I don't know, Mabel, because you know her a lot better than I do. See, I've just come into Alice's life kind of on the edges.

Vernon: That was a surprising remark: that she thought I was sure to be chosen for the finals but that she wouldn't. Well, she was. But I got a

Vernon: prize and she didn't, I will say that, in the finals. You have to appear before the whole college in the finals. They are held in Collection Hall. Collection Hall [laughter], that was our assembly room.

Fry: Sounds like the fund-raising center.

Vernon: Does it? [Laughter] Well, but I had luck in that. I was given some topic, take whatever topic appeals to you, or something like that; and I took the Negro. I had been doing considerable work on the equality of the Negro. There was the first--I had deep feelings about that.

Fry: And that was your first real activity that would manifest this deep feeling; is that what you mean?

Vernon: But I didn't carry on. That was the topic of my extemp speaking contest and I got a prize; I got first prize--\$25 or something.

Fry: And Alice? What did she get?

Vernon: I don't remember.

Fry: But, if I understand you, she made the finals also.

Vernon: Oh, yes. She made the finals.

Fry: I see.

Vernon: But she didn't get a prize.

Fry: Oh. And you got first prize. Well, you must have inherited some of your father's editorializing ability.

Vernon: I don't know. I never was a writer, darling. I have no ability in writing at all.

Fry: But you can organize your ideas to persuade people.

Vernon: Well, that is a nice way of putting it, isn't it? [Picking up a journal] Speaking of persuading people, I didn't like the start of this article.* Did you like it?

*Lynne Cheney, "How Alice Paul Became the Most Militant Feminist of Them All," Smithsonian, November, 1972, pp. 94-100. On file at The Bancroft Library. The article opens with a description of suffragists and young feminists who met together at a tea at Alva Belmont House in 1972.

Fry: Oh, no. I didn't. And I knew Alice Paul would be most unhappy with it too.

Vernon: Well, this reference to my "rhetorical techniques"--the same ones that I had used on the street corner to persuade the other women--

Fry: Oh, yes.

Vernon: I will acknowledge that there was sort of a disturbance that day and I exerted myself a little bit to command attention. I wanted those people who were down there making the noise to be quiet. It was schoolteachers. This was at the tea. Did you notice the disturbance at the beginning?

Fry: Yes, I did notice it, but I was trying to recreate in my mind what it was you said there.

Vernon: Well, I couldn't get it either entirely, but I know that I objected to the noise. Didn't give us a very good position, did they?

Such a silly way to start. "Mabel Vernon was there," (Don't you think it was silly?) "lecturing the younger women who were gathered around her, using the same rhetorical techniques to educate them that she once used on anti-suffrage crowds." I don't think that's good.

Fry: This must be a popular magazine and they feel it has to be journalistic.

Vernon: Well, this girl is a free-lance.

Fry: A free-lance journalist.

Vernon: She is not a member of their staff. But why they accepted the article, I don't know. We had a girl come to see us about pictures--what was her name? Gossert or something. I asked her about this lady, Cheney, and we got the impression from her that they weren't going to use the article. She said that she wasn't on their staff and that she was just a free-lance. Well.

Fry: Well, I think Smithsonian is a popular thing sent out by the Smithsonian to anyone who buys its memberships and that therefore--

Vernon: You say this is a popular magazine.

Fry: I think it is. It seems to be what they distribute to people who buy a membership into the Smithsonian Society, and so their articles are aimed at catching people's interest and they feel they have to be more journalistic. I think that distorted that one on Alice Paul.

Vernon: But they didn't take any responsibility for the article. I said to that Gossert girl, "Has this been submitted to Miss Paul?" She didn't know.

Fry: I'll bet it wasn't.

Vernon: And when Alice sees this picture, I don't know.

Fry: Well, let's see now. We got you in Swarthmore. What else did you do besides extemporize? [Laughter]

Vernon: Oh, I went into oratorical contests. That's the reason Alice is so impressed with my speaking ability.

Fry: What was Alice like in Swarthmore? Did you already talk to her at that point about women's equality?

Vernon: No, and the strange thing of it is, dear, I graduated in 1906. Susan B. Anthony died in 1906. I scarcely knew the name of Susan B. Anthony. She never was invited to Swarthmore. Now the only women I could remember who were invited to speak were, first, Baroness Bertha von Suttner. I don't suppose that name means anything to you. Well, she was a woman who wrote a book called Die Waffen Nieder (Down With Your Arms). It was a book about disarmament. It must have been a wonderful book. And she came, I remember her. Florence Kelley, I remember her as coming to speak at our assemblies. But no Susan B. Anthony. And we were the college of Lucretia Mott. Just think of that. Lucretia Mott helped to found Swarthmore.* She was one of those who insisted that it should be coeducational. Of course, the Friends would insist on its being that way. But Lucretia insisted even more that it must be a coeducational college. But--

Fry: So nothing on women's rights. But you later worked for world understanding and world cooperation between nations and so forth. Did that have any groundings in your work at Swarthmore?

Vernon: I don't know, darling; I don't know.

Fry: It's hard to look back and say, "Yes, this influence was later brought to bear when I went to Europe to work on the--"

Vernon: Well, I do know that I now wonder why, with those two famous women who were invited there, Susan B. Anthony wasn't invited. I wish she had been.

Fry: Was Alice Paul getting interested in the suffrage movement there?

*"We had a beautiful picture of Lucretia Mott hanging in the girls' parlor at Swarthmore. One of the last things I did before I left the college was to take it to Philadelphia to have it appropriately framed. I don't think I asked anyone's permission; I just went ahead and did it. It's a beautiful picture." Untaped conversation with Mabel Vernon, June 20, 1974.

Vernon: No. That's what I'm telling you; there wasn't anything in our college about suffrage, that I know of, that could have influenced her life. She graduated the year before I did--1905.

Fry: Then she went on to England, didn't she?

Vernon: I don't know where she went--to the University of Pennsylvania, I think. I am not very familiar--

Fry: I think that is when she came back from England, maybe.

Vernon: I think that when she came out of Swarthmore she went to the University of Pennsylvania for a year or something. I don't have that straight.

Fry: Maybe I will have a chance to talk to her about it.

Teaching and Earliest Suffrage Interest

Fry: After you finished Swarthmore in three years, did you immediately start teaching Latin and German at Radnor High School?

Vernon: Yes. At Radnor High School. I certainly struck pleasant places. Radnor High School was a delightful place.

Fry: Oh, it was? Was that a public high school?

Vernon: It was a public high school but in a very favored community. Do you know the main line of the Pennsylvania [Railroad] at all? Do you know Haverford, Bryn Mawr?

Fry: Oh, no.

Vernon: That part of the country means nothing to you, you are so very western.

Fry: I have gone across Pennsylvania.

Vernon: Well, right outside Philadelphia, on what is called the main line of the Pennsylvania, there's beautiful, beautiful country, select residential country. That's where Bryn Mawr College is, that's where Haverford College is; ever hear of Haverford?

Fry: I've heard of both of the colleges. I just wouldn't be able to hitch-hike to them because I would never make it.

Vernon: And then you go on up the line a little bit and you come to Radnor. That was the name of the township; that explains the school. That rail

- Vernon: line goes through St. Davids, Wayne, Devon and Paoli. As I tell you, it [Wayne] is really a favored community.
- Fry: You mean economically and educationally?
- Vernon: Every way. Its people are very, I think, exceptional. They are so nice. And the kind of kids--well, of course, I didn't teach all the millionaire kids. But all the kids I taught were extremely nice--small classes. I taught there seven years; never went anyplace else.
- Fry: Where did you live? Did you live with a family?
- Vernon: That was another place in which I was extremely fortunate. I lived with a lovely family. It was the Conkle family, and Mary Conkle is still a friend of mine. I must telephone her. I haven't heard from her in a long time.
- Fry: So they must have been a young couple, just your age.
- Vernon: No. Mary Conkle was the youngest daughter of the family.
- Fry: I could go on and on and on. But the strain is on you. So why don't we stop. Let's finish whatever else you want to say about your school-teaching days here, and then let's stop and let you relax.
- Vernon: Well, I don't know whether I can say a great deal more about the school-teaching days.
- Fry: You were not working with the down-and-out laboring people of the world or anything like that.
- Vernon: Not at all, darling. I don't mean to say, just as I said before, that they were all the children of favored families, because they represented all types. But they were all nice.
- Fry: Were you in touch with Alice Paul or any other Swarthmore friends at this point?
- Vernon: I didn't see anything [more] of Alice until--I think it was in 1910 or something like that--I was interested in suffrage. I had become interested in suffrage.
- Fry: Oh, you did?
- Vernon: Oh, sure. We had the Radnor Township Society, and I was active in the suffrage movement from about 1910, I think it must have been; Alice would know. Alice came to Philadelphia and organized a meeting down in Independence Square; that was a wonderful idea, wasn't it? And they had very well-known suffragists there. I don't know whether Mrs. Blatch [Harriot S.] was there, but I remember Inez [Milholland] was there.

Vernon: And of course we people from Wayne all went in to take part, to be in the audience at any rate. I didn't see Alice there.

And then in 1912 the National American Woman Suffrage Association met.*

Fry: I want to write down those names of the people that were at the Independence Square meeting.

Vernon: Well, you know them very well. Harriot Stanton Blatch [who was] Elizabeth Cady Stanton's daughter.

Fry: I know that one, but I think there was another one.

Vernon: Inez Milholland.

Fry: Oh, Inez. In my western ways I have read her name and in my mind I always pronounced it Inéz.

Vernon: No. You mustn't do that, darling. "Ee-nez." Vida corrected me on that, I think. Inez used to have a sister, Vida, who was a very dear friend of mine; and I think I used to call her Inéz, and I got corrected by Vida. Eé-nez.

Fry: All right.

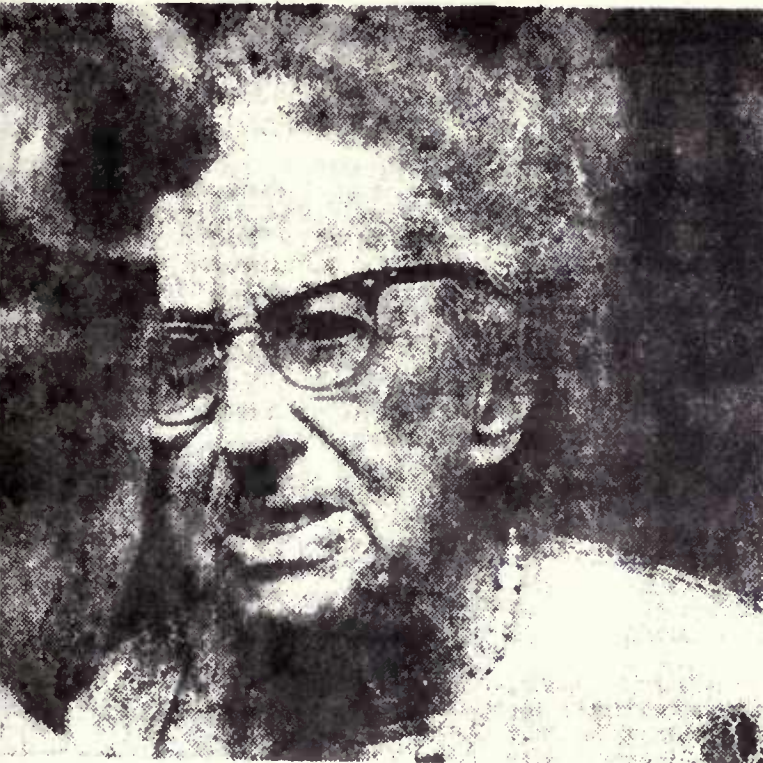
Reception by Woodrow Wilson: Plan for Pickets, 1917

Vernon: What this girl says [in article appearing in Smithsonian, previously discussed] about our being received, I have just got to say this while I think of it. I would like you to ask Sara [Bard Field] about this too, this thing Miss Cheney says in her article--do you ever see Sara?

Fry: Yes. I drop in on her and we visit.

Vernon: Well, this girl--and I wish you would ask Sara--this girl said that Wilson gave us a very cold reception. It is not my memory at all. Sara was the one who spoke that day. Well, do you want me to say what this girl says, darling?

*See description in Mabel Vernon, "A Suffragist Recounts the Hard-Won Victory," AAUW Journal, April 1972, p. 27. Appendix.



—Star Photographer Walter Oates

Suffragette Mabel Vernon

Mabel Vernon Recalls a Fight

By DIANA McLELLAN
Star Staff Writer

Mabel Vernon spoke last night.

And lobbyists for women's rights, women working on their doctorates, women concerned about abortions and political power and women's role in government, young, old and middle-aged, came to hear the 88-year-old living legend.

The diminutive figure in fading blue brocade fished obligingly for them all in an ocean of memories that washes luminously over seven decades of struggle for women's equality.

Miss Vernon was launching what is to be an eight-month seminar series on women's nature and behavior, sponsored by the new International Institute of Women Studies at the American Association of University Women's national headquarters here.

"Women's Position in the Social Order" was her topic. But what everyone wanted to hear was what it was really like to be midwife at the birth of women's suffrage.

So Mabel Vernon took them back. She took them to the boardwalk in Atlantic City, where she lectured throngs of vacationers from atop a hired wheel chair in 1913. She took them to the Opera House in Philadelphia, where she was an usher while W.E.B. DuBois spoke. She took them to picket the White House and confront President Wilson in 1916 with demands for women's suffrage.

She still remembers what she said: "Mr. President, when you made your appeal before the joint session of Congress for a declaration of war on Germany, you said we should fight for things we hold dear to our hearts—such as

the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

"I think he was impressed by hearing his own words. I tried to say them as elegantly as he had," she remembered.

His answer, however, was negative: "I have always felt that reform should come from the people, not be handed down from above."

He told her, "You must convert public opinion."

And all her life that is what Mabel Vernon has tried to do. As a member of the National Woman's party, as the campaign director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and in countless other revolutionary roles, she pressed her cause.

White House pickets were more stylish in the early days, she observed.

"We had beautiful banners—shiny, yellow sateen with purple letters. They said 'Mr. President, what will you do for women's suffrage?' And 'Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?'"

"I object to some of the awful signs we see nowa-days," she remarked.

She was among the first women pickets to go to jail "which was not very terrible then."

She reminisced about the tension when President Wilson finally took the 19th Amendment before Congress. An emissary had to be sent to Paris to bring back Harris of Georgia to cast a decisive vote.

Her eyes distant, she recalled. "I had been working on it for seven years, from 1913 to 1920. But I think I lived a lifetime then."

- Fry: I remember. She said that you got short-shrift from Wilson and that--
- Vernon: And perhaps he acted that way because the principal orator on that occasion had mentioned the name of Hughes [Charles Evans]. I don't know where she got that. I want to find out.
- Fry: I read that and I thought, well, that must be a previous meeting that they had with Wilson, that I hadn't been aware of.
- Vernon: It was the one where Sara told--
- Fry: In 1915.
- Vernon: '17.
- Fry: Not 1915, 1917. Oh! "A cold reception" is not according to what I read about that. At the time of the presentation of resolutions passed at memorials held in commemoration of Inez Milholland, the women thought that Wilson really was coming around a little bit, right?* Was that your memory of that?
- Vernon: Well, I don't remember what we thought. But of course we had a plan all made before we ever went to see him. We were going to have the pickets, and we knew that Mrs. Blatch was going to propose just what she did propose and so on; that was all planned. But no matter how he had received us [laughter], we would have gone ahead with that. But she [Miss Cheney] makes it appear--
- Fry: Oh, that your picketing was the result of his--
- Vernon: --was the result of his cold reception. She quotes Alice Paul or something and Alice is capable of doing a thing like that, you know: making it appear that it was all rather spontaneous.
- Fry: Well, I think we should rewrite the whole article and resubmit it to the Smithsonian. [Laughter]
- Vernon: Yes. I think I will have to call up the girl and ask her to come and see me; I'd like to talk to her about a few things. Do you think I should? I don't know if she ever did come to see me or not. I know that she--
- Fry: Well, when I was here a few months back, I think the girl had just talked to Alice Paul, and Alice was very upset that she had tried to

*Inez Irwin, Up Hill With Banners Flying, Second edition, pp. 192 ff., p. 202.

Fry: question her at that time.

Vernon: Well, I would like to correct that idea about Wilson. It is sort of silly that he would be affected by the fact that Sara had mentioned Hughes.* Wilson was--I have a high regard for Wilson, you know.

Fry: Yes. I do too.

Vernon: I'm sure Alice has too.

Fry: Well, things like that might also affect the exhibits in the Smithsonian.

Vernon: Well, I wonder.

Fry: I don't know whether--

Vernon: Well, somebody asked me if I wanted to go down and see an exhibit they are having now, I believe.

Fry: That's what I heard. I thought I might try to make that and see what it's like. Apparently they do have something in there about the National Woman's Party.

*Cf. Irwin, Up Hill With Banners Flying, p. 195, quoting Maud Younger's "Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist" in McCall's Magazine.

II CAMPAIGNING FOR SUFFRAGE
(Interview II, November 16, 1972)

Speaking for Suffrage, 1913: East Coast Resorts, Washington, D.C.,
and Delaware

- Fry: Where is your [tape] box? I want to read on to my tape what yours is about. "Donald Stevens, son of Frank Stevens, noted single taxer and suffrage advocater, talks with Mabel Vernon in connection with the suffrage campaign in Delaware."
- Vernon: Well, it was really about my friend, Frank Stevens. I can tell you the story, very briefly, and then you can hear the tape if you want to.
- Fry: Okay, Mabel, want to just tell me something about this?
- Vernon: Have you heard of Arden, darling?
- Fry: Why do you always ask me these things?
- Vernon: Well, Arden is a single-tax colony or it was, I guess. Do you know about the single tax?
- Fry: I know about the single tax, yes. I can say "yes" to that question.
- Vernon: Well, a great advocate of the single tax was Frank Stevens. And he, with the help of Joseph and Mary Bells, founded the colony of Arden, a single-tax colony in Delaware. And it's still there, about eight miles from Wilmington. Consuelo has driven me out there. Chaney--my nephew, Chandler Davis--has driven us around there.

Well, at any rate, I went to Delaware in 1913 to work for woman suffrage. I guess I was the first organizer of the Woman's Party; I think that's correct. And I was sent to the state of Delaware because we thought it offered an opportunity to get suffrage through without a referendum to the people. A great disadvantage, you know, these referendums were. [Where a referendum was necessary] it [the legislation] had to be submitted to the people, and that's just endless work. But

Vernon: in Delaware it could be passed by the legislature. And it was my state. So I went to Delaware, and one of the things that I had to do was to go out on the street corner at Fifth and Market Streets--that was the proverbial place for street-corner meetings--everybody spoke there. The Salvation Army held forth there every night, I think. But I would wait until the Salvation Army had finished and then [laughter] I would hold forth.

Fry: You mean that you would start out "Now that you have all assembled here--" [Laughter] Would you use the same audience?

Vernon: Well, sometimes. The audience would go from one corner to the other corner. If the Salvation Army were assembled on the southwest corner, I would take the northeast corner. But I could get many of the same people. And, of course, I just seized upon everybody I could get to come and speak. And I asked Frank Stevens, who was a lovely person and a fine speaker, if he would come down from Arden and speak at one of our street-corner meetings; and Frank said, "Of course."

We piled into Mrs. Paul Du Pont's automobile. Some of those Du Pont women, and Jean particularly, were very helpful. Jean Du Pont still lives. I wish I could be in touch with her. She is Florence Bayard Hilles' cousin.

But at any rate, I called up Frank and he said he would come. And Mrs. Du Pont sent her car and we used that as our stand. When it came time to stop there at the corner of Fifth and Market, I just could not get up my nerve to speak. I was to introduce Frank, but I couldn't get up my nerve to rise up. And so I told the driver, "Will you please, Fred," or whatever his name was, "drive around the block once more," and we came back to the corner and I still felt the same. So I said, "Go around once more, please." And as we were going around the second or third time, Frank put his hand on me and said, "My dear child. Let a friend speak. Don't you know that every gospel has been preached on the street corner?" And I got up and spoke.

Fry: And that did it. You got out of the car and--

Vernon: Oh, no. You don't get out. Oh, no. Certainly not. The car is your stand, darling.

Fry: Oh, that's your podium.

Vernon: Sure.

Fry: You stand up on the car?

Vernon: You stand up on the back seat or the front seat or whatever.

- Fry: Oh, it was an open car--what we would call a convertible.
- Vernon: I guess. There were more open cars than--
- Fry: Closed. I have to remember that. That's right. That was the day of the elegant automobile hat, wasn't it?
- Vernon: That's right. And I tell that. The conversation on that tape was for an anniversary, in commemoration of Frank. Does it say, darling, what it was?
- Fry: No. And [in 1913] Frank Stevens spoke also for the campaign. Was this a repeated effort of yours? Did you speak there more than one night?
- Vernon: Oh, I spoke there almost every night.
- Fry: Through the whole campaign?
- Vernon: As long as the weather permitted. I went there in the fall. I don't remember the winter of 1913. I guess we were down in Dover at the legislature, but I've forgotten.
- Fry: This street-corner campaign was to get people to write to their legislators and support the--
- Vernon: Yes. It was to agitate for the national suffrage amendment. Directed toward the Delaware legislature, incidentally.
- Fry: Were you also used to lobby the legislature?
- Vernon: Oh, mercy yes.
- Fry: Did you already know a lot of legislators in Delaware?
- Vernon: No. We had to get acquainted with them, darling.
- Fry: I thought maybe because your father had been an important newspaper publisher that your family just naturally knew a lot of them.
- Vernon: He had died twelve years before. This was 1913. He died in 1901. The newspaper had been consolidated with the Evening Journal. I must say that I was aided greatly in publicity because not only did I know the newspaper people, but my brother-in-law [Arthur Davies] was the news editor of the Journal.
- Fry: He still was?
- Vernon: He had nothing to do with the paper when my father lived because he worked on the Republican. But the Republican, after my father's death,

Vernon: was consolidated with the Journal and then Arth went to work for the consolidated paper.

Fry: And that was the one that you were the proof reader for?

Vernon: No. I was with the old Republican.

Fry: Did they cover any of your street-corner appearances?

Vernon: Oh, of course. They loved it. Every morning I would take down what I had said the night before. [Laughter]

Fry: Take it down to the newspaper?

Vernon: Of course. And Arth would see to it that it got in.

Fry: Well, how did that campaign turn out?

Vernon: Not so well.

Fry: I thought we lost it.

Vernon: We did. Delaware was, as Florence Hilles used to say, an ignorant little state. [Laughter]

Fry: What made woman suffrage lose in Delaware? What other issues were mixed up? Anything?

Vernon: I don't know.

Fry: Did you feel that you were having pretty good luck with the legislators whom you talked to?

Vernon: No, we never felt it.

Fry: They were opposed to women having the right to vote. Or was it something else.

Vernon: I don't know.

Fry: Was this your first time--it must have been your first time--to talk like that on street corners?

Vernon: Well, I had, during the summer--you don't know my history for the Woman's Party?

Fry: No, I don't, Mabel.

Vernon: The way I started was--did you read the article that was in the AAUW [American Association of University Women] Journal?* Have you ever seen that?

Fry: Yes, I read that.

Vernon: In that article, I tell all about that first campaign. I'm sure I told that--how we went down through the summer resorts in New Jersey. Well, I had done a lot of speaking standing up in wheel chairs and places like that. That's a real good article, darling.

Fry: Okay. I'm sure I have a copy of that in my file. So that's something we can use then, and you think it is fairly accurate.

Vernon: Well, I said it.

Fry: Is that the one you wrote?

Vernon: Well, I didn't write it; I delivered it. And then the AAUW sent me the copies and I edited them. I had a reputation with the AAUW of being a very good editor.

Fry: According to that article, Alice Paul sent a letter to you at Radnor High School where you were teaching in Wayne, Pennsylvania, and asked you to be a suffrage organizer, and you mentioned that you had been doing some suffrage work in Radnor and that you had gone to the NAWSA convention the previous fall--1912, I guess.

I thought maybe you could tell me more about your work in Wayne and in Radnor Township.

Vernon: Oh, it was just as a public school teacher would take part in some community. We had a small committee of some of those nice people I told you lived in Wayne. I have forgotten their names. Mrs. Choat, which is quite a well-known name in Wayne, was the chairman. We had meetings at her house.

Fry: Was this a part of NAWSA?

Vernon: I suppose it was.

Fry: And is that how you happened to go to the convention?

*Mabel Vernon, "A Suffragist Recounts the Hard-Won Victory," in AAUW Journal, April 1972, pp. 26-28. Excerpted from talk given October 18, 1971. See appendix.

Vernon: Yes. I was interested. I did actually go to the national convention in Philadelphia. W.E.B. DuBois came. Well, that was at a big Sunday afternoon meeting in Philadelphia. It was in the Hammerstein Theatre there, the opera house. Do you know anything about Philadelphia?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Well, the old Academy of Music was a traditional meeting place; but this was in the new Hammerstein Opera House. I don't know whether it still exists or not. But that's where the convention was. That's where the Sunday afternoon mass meeting was held.

Fry: Did this have any really special effects on you? Did you come away fired up and inspired, or did you meet people there who later on were important in your work?

Vernon: Well, of course, people like Jane Addams and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. I don't remember others.

Fry: Jane Addams presided according to the book I read.

Vernon: I don't know whether she presided at that particular--I guess she did. She was elected chairman, I guess, at that convention. I have forgotten the details. But, of course, I met people whom I met again afterwards, people like Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Cannon.

Fry: Well, you said it was in June of 1913, then, when you came down to talk to Alice.

Vernon: Came down to talk to Alice, that's right.*

Fry: You must have come to Washington just as the amendment had been voted out onto the floor of the Senate because it was voted out on June 13. This was the first one in twenty-one years, and they had voted it out of committee onto the floor of the Senate.

Vernon: Well, you see at the time they had to get expressions from all parts of the country. I don't remember what the situation was in Congress particularly, but we were having delegations from all parts of the country and gathering an immense petition. Edith Marsden--I think she was a

*In an interview with Melanie Maholick taped in 1974 and broadcast on the Feminist Radio Network, Washington, on February 25, 1975, Mabel Vernon said, "When I got to Washington, Alice invited me to come out to sit on a bench in Lafayette Park. She asked me how much I would need to live, and I calculated \$60 a month."

Vernon: teacher; she didn't continue in the suffrage movement--and I went on an expedition. I guess we met in Atlantic City right after school was out in June. I had seen Alice before that. Do you know anything about the Jersey coast?

Fry: No. [Laughter]

Vernon: Well, we were to make a tour of the resort places, and we began at Atlantic City. That's where we stood up in wheel chairs. Do you know the character of the place at all?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Well, it's very easy to gather a crowd on the boardwalk. All you have to do is say "Ladies and Gentlemen," and they will flock around you. We had to go to the mayor to get permission. I made a friend of him and he gave me \$5 when I left, as a contribution to the cause. Ritter, I think his name was.

Fry: I thought that you might be going up with fear and trembling to ask the mayor if you could speak on the boardwalk and he would feel it was too undignified.

Vernon: Oh, no, he liked the idea. And so we had our meetings. I don't know how long we stayed at Atlantic City, but then we went on--Ocean City, Wildwood; that's about the way those resorts go. Then, after we'd been down the coast to the resorts, we cut in pretty soon to go to Maryland. (I don't remember stopping at Wilmington on that expedition, but I guess I did. I wouldn't tell about that because I don't remember very much.)

Fry: Were you just trying to get people acquainted with the suffrage issue or were you trying to get petitions?

Vernon: We had a big petition, darling; that was the point. We were bringing it to Washington. And we were the delegation to gather petitions from New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland--that was our route, you see.* Then we got to Maryland, the whole delegation from various parts of the country--

*Inez Irwin in Up Hill With Banners Flying writes: "A summer campaign, carried on by Mabel Vernon and Edith Marsden, covered the resort regions of New Jersey, Long Island, and Rhode Island, and extended into the South." When asked if this was correct, Mabel Vernon replied, "Someone else must have covered Long Island, Rhode Island, and the South. We didn't." Untaped interview with Mabel Vernon, June 24, 1974.

- Fry: Who were doing this same thing--
- Vernon: Who were doing the same thing, gathered out at Hyattsville. Have I told you about that?
- Fry: Well, that was mentioned and you had a big something.
- Vernon: Oh, yes. It was a wonderful demonstration out there with senators from the suffrage states coming out to speak to us, senators who were leading the fight for the amendment; and then we got in to automobiles, and there was a big automobile procession into the capital. You see, Alice always had the idea--processions.
- Fry: Irwin [Inez] wrote that your meeting in Hyattsville was at the village grandstand, and members of the Senate committee addressed your crowd. That's in Irwin's book.
- Vernon: At the village what?
- Fry: Grandstand.
- Vernon: It was more like a stadium of some kind, darling. It wasn't in the center of town. It was like a ball park, or someplace like that. Alice would probably know.
- Fry: At any rate, the biggest gathering place in the little town of Hyattsville, I guess. And she said you got the key to the town.
- Vernon: Well, I have forgotten the details of it.
- Fry: But then you motorcaded into the capital, and then--
- Vernon: And then we were received in the reception room of the Senate. And all of our senators came. Then we called upon the senators to present the petition.
- Fry: That meant that you went to the New Jersey senator?
- Vernon: No. I was from Delaware. There undoubtedly were women there from New Jersey.
- Fry: I wanted to ask you about the National Council of Women Voters. It met here the following month, and I guess that was a council made up of women from voting states.
- Vernon: That's right. It was.
- Fry: And Jane Addams was the national vice-president. I wondered if you could explain to me their role and their comparative functioning role

- Fry: in the whole movement.
- Vernon: Well, Dr. Cora Smith King was at the meeting. She lived here [Washington, D.C.]. Do you have her name?
- Fry: Yes, and I also have Emma Smith Devoe, the national president of the council.
- Vernon: That's right. She came from Oregon or some place like that. But they were the heads of it. And we had a big mass meeting for them; I guess I insisted on getting up the mass meeting. And it was down at the Belasco Theatre or maybe the Columbia Theatre; we had so many meetings I have forgotten.
- Fry: Well, Irwin writes it is Belasco, so your memory must be matching hers.
- Vernon: Well, I am not sure that it was there, although Irwin is good, Irwin's detailed.
- Fry: Well, she wrote The Story of the Woman's Party fairly soon after the amendment.
- Vernon: I guess she wrote it around '21 or '22, didn't she?
- Fry: Yes--1921.
- Vernon: She told me once that she put more in about me because I wrote better reports from the states. [Laughter] She could find them in the Suffragist.
- Fry: And she could quote from you without worrying about the prose. Well, I'm awfully glad she did. Yes, and at that mass meeting did you raise any money or anything?
- Vernon: I didn't on that occasion, but I soon began my money-raising activities. That used to be my role.
- Fry: There was a lot of activity in Congress that fall, with the congressmen.
- Vernon: Oh, for sure. And activity in Washington. We used to go down to Seventh and Pennsylvania Avenue practically every night and hold forth there from an automobile.* We have pictures of that, haven't we,

*"We had spoken on Seventh and Pennsylvania during the summer of 1913 too. Ethel Brewster, whom I had known at Swarthmore, came to help me; and so did Mary Conkle. We lived in Elsie Hill's apartment for the summer. Elsie Hill, whose father was Congressman Ebenezer Hill, was a great worker for suffrage." Untaped conversation with Mabel Vernon, June 17, 1974.

Vernon: Consuelo?

Reyes: Yes [not now available].

Vernon: [Looking at another photo] Oh, that was much later, darling. That came in, I guess, in a meeting in Philadelphia where a man got up when I said, "Who will give a thousand dollars?" The man laughed out loud, and immediately Mary Winsor got up and said, "I will give a thousand dollars." Now Anita Pollitzer was my right hand on these occasions. I can see it now; I never speak of raising money, but what I see Anita, looking up at me at that time. Do you know Anita at all?

Fry: No. I haven't been able to find her.

Vernon: She is in New York.

Fry: Oh, is she?

Vernon: Of course. But I'll tell you about her. I said to Anita, "How did Mary happen to give that thousand dollars?" And Anita said, "Because that man laughed. She wasn't going to have any man laughing at the idea of a woman giving a thousand dollars."

But that came considerably later. I don't think that was in the suffrage campaign at all; I think it was in the Women-for-Congress campaign. That comes later in 1924. I would like to speak more about that. But that comes very much later.

Fry: Well, in 1913 the other major events which you may have taken part in or known about were, first of all--

Vernon: I can remember 1913 fairly well, darling.

Fry: That was your freshman year in this. Well, on November 17 a delegation of seventy-three New Jersey women came to talk to President Wilson.

Vernon: That's the reason I said that there were undoubtedly New Jersey women in that delegation that came to present those petitions. I thought immediately of Mrs. Feickert. She was the president of the association in New Jersey, and she was one of those who came on that very early occasion. Were there seventy-three?

Fry: Yes, and I guess the story is that Alice Paul tried to get an appointment with the President, and he kept not saying yes, and not saying no. Finally Alice Paul said, "Well, the women are coming over."

Vernon: This was to his office. Yes. I remember. I'm familiar with the story that Irwin tells. I wasn't here [Washington] then. I had to go on to Delaware.

Fry: Oh. What were you doing in Delaware?

Vernon: I was to be the organizer of the congressional movement--we were going to start the congressional movement, in Delaware. I think I told you something about that, that Delaware was a state where we found out that the suffrage amendment could be passed by the legislature, and wouldn't have to be submitted to the voters. Of course, that was our big objection all along, through the campaign of the National American [National American Woman Suffrage Association--NAWSA], that after they would get it through the legislature, it had to be submitted to the voters. That's what the action of the legislature meant. But in Delaware the legislature could have done it, but it didn't.

Fry: And that was the occasion of your street-corner talks there.

Vernon: Oh, yes. We had many kinds of meetings in Delaware.

Fry: When was your first experience at street-corner speaking? Was that in New Jersey?

Vernon: Well, of course, we had this street-corner speaking there. That's practically what the expedition, the talking on the boardwalk, was. The resort stops were just in place of street corners.

Fry: Yes. That's what I mean; was that your first experience there, Mabel? Just standing up and starting to talk to a crowd?

Vernon: Well, I never did it before I got into the suffrage campaign. [Laughter]

Fry: I'm trying to get the sequence straight here. You--

Vernon: Well, I had never done street-corner speaking or any kind of speaking practically until I got into the suffrage campaign, darling. But I did plenty of it afterwards.

Fry: Well, I thought maybe your first experience was here on the streets of Washington, but it wasn't.

Vernon: It was among my first, but I had spoken at Atlantic City and Wildwood, New Jersey.

Fry: On your wheel chairs! [Laughter] What kind of response did you get in the resorts?

Vernon: Oh, excellent. Always friendly, interested, so far as I can remember.

Fry: Were you able to raise money, too?

Vernon: Oh, we didn't try. I guess we always took up a collection. I am sure

Vernon: we did, because that was the practice of the Congressional Committee from the very first, all of our street-corner meetings down at Seventh and Pennsylvania [1913].

Oh, I know--do you know who Benton Mackaye was, darling?

Fry: Benton Mackaye? No.

Vernon: Well, Benton Mackaye tells the story of money-raising on a Washington street corner. He was in the Forest Service and married Jessie Hardy who worked in the Woman's Party. Benton Mackaye was the brother of Hazel Mackaye who arranged the pageants for the Woman's Party. Does her name mean anything to you? You still have a lot of education to get.

Fry: I'm learning at your knee.

Vernon: Well, at any rate, Benton Mackaye used to come to the street-corner meetings, and Benton's role was, at a certain point in the meeting, to raise his hand and say, "What can the men of the District do for you?" And that was my cue, of course. "You can give your money. Now will you please pass the hat." Oh, I love Benton's telling that, and it's true. Benton would be present at every meeting.

Fry: And it was so much better for a man to say that, than for a woman to.

Vernon: "What can the men of the District" because, of course, the men of the District didn't vote, darling. Only now [1972] are they nearing that. So that's where their money came in. Men in the District couldn't be of any help to us in getting the amendment through as far as voting was concerned. But they could give their money. So we always took up a collection at those street-corner meetings.

Relationship among the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the Congressional Committee, and the Congressional Union, 1913-1914

Fry: And you were still just a congressional committee at this time, and in December of 1913, at the Columbia Theatre, NAWSA had its forty-fifth annual convention.

Vernon: Well, it wasn't at the Columbia Theatre. That was just one meeting. I think we met at the Masons--what do you call it?

Fry: Oh, the Masonic Hall?

Vernon: Yes. That is down on Twelfth Street. But we had the Sunday afternoon

Vernon: meeting at the Columbia; we were strong on Sunday afternoons.

Fry: Oh, so you opened at the Columbia?

Vernon: Well, I don't know. At any rate, we had a Sunday afternoon at the Columbia Theatre. What were you going to say about that?

Fry: Well, I just wanted to know how NAWSA felt at that time about the activities of the Congressional Committee, because in March of that year, just the day before Wilson was inaugurated, Alice Paul and her girls had marched.

Vernon: I don't follow you, darling. She had been appointed before that.

Fry: She had been appointed before that, but this was the first national meeting of NAWSA after Alice Paul's strategy became clear.

Vernon: Yes. That was the first national convention.

Fry: And Alice Paul's strategy of a more--what would you use? I don't want to say militant, but in other words, the parades and things like this--

Vernon: Well, her strategy was to concentrate on the national amendment. It wasn't on methods like that; it was on--

Fry: Well, I'm talking about her tactic of staging the parades and the demonstrations and things like that, to which NAWSA later objected. Now did that come up as an issue, do you remember?

Vernon: I'm sure--Alice probably wouldn't remember this, or if she did, she probably would deny it--I am sure I heard Carrie Chapman Catt say, "Are we listening to the report of a committee or the report of a rival organization?" Because they had formed a congressional union to support the work in Congress.* Inez Irwin [Up Hill With Banners Flying, p. 38] makes this all very clear.

Fry: I think that was a year later?

*Mabel Vernon further explained in an untaped interview on June 24, 1974, "Carrie Chapman Catt's remark was made when Lucy Burns was reporting. Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, Crystal Eastman and the others on the Congressional Committee had formed the Congressional Union of people who believed that the time had come to concentrate on the national amendment rather than devoting themselves to state work."

Vernon: It was that conyention, I am sure. Yes. [Mabel Vernon speaks on telephone with someone]

Fry: Yes, in my notes here I have that the Congressional Union was formed on April 7, 1913. So your memory is correct. It was formed as the Congressional Union in 1913.

Vernon: It was all rather a loose organization.

Fry: It was new.

Vernon: It just was formed as the supporters of the national suffrage amendment.

Fry: Then I think it was stated in a report that the Union had raised and spent \$27,000 and had many mass meetings and a summer campaign.

It seems to me that this was the crucial point in the relationship between NAWSA and the Congressional Union, because early in the year 1914 the Congressional Union resigned from the NAW--

Vernon: But it didn't, darling. It wasn't that way; I'll have to check with Alice about some of the details, but they made some new arrangement in the National Association of being an affiliated member--affiliated organization or--has Inez said anything about that?

Fry: Yes. She says both. In one place she says that the Congressional Union resigned early in 1914 [Irwin, 2nd ed., p. 48], and then in another place she says that the Congressional Union became an affiliate of NAWSA.

Vernon: But it didn't; I am sure it didn't.

Fry: It did not become an affiliate?

Vernon: I think we had to pay a hundred dollars, and we just decided we weren't going to do that. Alice will have to straighten this out because--my only memory of it is Alice was sick at the time. Have you ever heard the story of that illness when Alice was sick?

Fry: No. I just ran across something on that last night and I thought, my goodness, what on earth is this illness? It must have been very serious.

Vernon: Where did you run across a reference to it?

Fry: It was mentioned in one line in Irwin.

Vernon: It was.

Fry: What on earth was she sick with?

- Vernon: The same Dr. Cora Smith King was her physician. And I don't know whether she sent the wrong specimen to a laboratory or if the report was faulty. The diagnosis came out that Alice had practically a fatal kidney disease or something like that. And Alice was in Dr. King's private hospital. I have forgotten all the harrowing details. But I can remember, here in Washington, my going to see her, and this action [of NAWSA] was taken, and Alice regretted very greatly that they hadn't accepted our application, or whatever it was [to be an associated body]. She thought we all ought to remain together. And I said I thought that it was a good thing that we weren't accepted--that if we had these different ideas, in order to concentrate, let's go ahead and do it.
- Fry: I thought maybe--
- Vernon: It is incorrect to say that we resigned; maybe we resigned as a national committee.
- Fry: And became just an affiliated body, but independent--
- Vernon: Well, I don't know what we were, but we weren't a part of it [NAWSA].
- Fry: Now, Alice told me, when I asked her about this, four or five years ago, she said, "Well, most of the same people were members of both."
- Vernon: Sure, they were. These people who joined the Congressional Union for 25¢ a membership were all members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, most of them were, at any rate.
- Fry: But the leadership was quite different.
- Vernon: I can remember Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; this must have been in July of 1913--something like that. Dr. Shaw was here [Washington], and we had had that conference with her. Alice and I took her to the Pennsylvania Station for her to take a train to New York. I can always remember her as she left: "God bless you, children." And that was her parting to us. She was wonderfully appreciative. She had probably been down here speaking before a committee of Congress or something like that. She was most grateful for what this committee [the Congressional Committee] was doing. And that was another thing I didn't like in the Cheney article: it gave the idea that we had separated.
- Fry: Yes. Well, that separation isn't clear at all. Probably one reason that it's not clear is that so many people remained involved.

Organizing in the South and West

Fry: Let me see, Mabel, in early 1914--

Vernon: That's when I started for Nevada.

Fry: And on your way you were organizing the southwestern states. This was again when Congress was not in session and you were trying to get popular support.

Vernon: Well, I will tell you when it was, darling. We were going to have a demonstration on May 2.* We were going to have a big demonstration in practically every city in the country, if we could get people to have a demonstration. In hamlets, cities--all these places where they could get something together, they were to have demonstrations on the second; and then they were to send their petitions and their delegations, if they could, to Washington for May 9.

We would have the big delegation in Washington, and my business was to stop in those towns--the little towns that I stopped in were amazing--on my way to Reno to get them to have some sort of demonstration on May 2 where they could send a petition and a delegation to Congress, to take part in the May 9 demonstration. That's the reason I stopped in all those places.

Fry: And my impression is that you went to a number of states in the Southwest.

Vernon: Oh, I did. All the places I would have to travel through to get to Nevada by a round-about route.

Fry: Did you find that suffrage was a new issue to some?

Vernon: Well, you see, I was going to see the heads of the organizations. For

*In this interview and in interview IV, Mabel Vernon, though not completely sure of the dates of the demonstrations, consistently used May 9 as the date of the demonstrations throughout the country and May 14 as the date of the great Washington, D.C., demonstration. Inez Haynes Irwin dates the nationwide demonstrations as May 2 and the large Washington demonstration as May 9. In her talk before the International Institute of Women Studies in 1971, Mabel Vernon used the dates May 2 and May 9. I have, therefore, changed the dates in this interview and in interview IV to May 2 and May 9. [Ed.]

Vernon: instance, I went to Fairmont, West Virginia, because the president of the West Virginia suffrage organization lived there. I went to some little town in Mississippi--Yazoo City--because the president of the Mississippi organization lived there. I went to San Antonio, Texas, which was one of the notable stops on my route--never will I forget it; it was wonderful.

Fry: How?

Vernon: Well, all that I wanted to say was that they were wonderfully responsive, the women of the [San Antonio] suffrage organization. There was a national convention of men being held there in the principal hotel, and I had to stand up on a chair in the lobby and address that convention just as the men were gathered around in the lobby. Miss Eleanor Brackenridge stood beside me. She knew how scared I was to do it, and she held my hand. A wonderful old lady. Just a wonderful old lady. Some years later, someone who was a great admirer of hers formed the Eleanor Brackenridge Club here in Washington.

The Brackenridge family was famous in San Antonio. Miss Eleanor had a brother, George. Mr. George said they were going on a trip to Panama and asked me if I couldn't give up my trip to Nevada and go with them. I must say I never considered it seriously.

Fry: How did those Texas men accept you? My impression of Texans--

Vernon: I don't know that they were Texas men. It was some national convention. They came from all over, I guess.

Fry: Well, how did they accept you?

Vernon: Oh, very well. They liked me, [laughing] standing up there in the lobby with Miss Eleanor.

Fry: Then you went on across New Mexico and Arizona, I guess.

Vernon: Well, I have forgotten where I stopped.

Fry: And made it to Nevada.

Vernon: Well, I came into California through the south, of course. I came in from that part. And I don't remember where I stopped there. But I stopped in San Francisco, of course.

Fry: Oh!

Vernon: Oh, of course, darling.

Fry: Well, that's on the other side of Nevada. I thought that you were going

Fry: to Nevada.

Vernon: Well, I was going there by way of San Francisco.

Fry: I admit that is the logical way. One should always go to San Francisco, when one can.

Vernon: Well, I went there, that's the way--I guess I made my own itinerary. Gail Laughlin was there; don't forget Gail Laughlin.

Fry: Absolutely.

Vernon: I didn't meet Sara [Bard Field] in San Francisco. I met her in Nevada.

Nevada Campaigns: Suffrage, 1914; Anne Martin for Senate, 1918, 1920.

Fry: Sara worked in that Nevada suffrage campaign, too. Were you and she working together at all in the campaign, or were you fairly independent of each other?

Vernon: Oh, no. We worked together, but Sara didn't spend a great deal of time that I can remember in Nevada.

Fry: No, she did mostly some little mining towns around in the eastern and central part. Was this the first time you met Sara?

Vernon: Oh, yes. Notable meeting.

Fry: And Anne Martin was the head of the campaign.

Vernon: Yes. She was the president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society.*

*When asked in an interview January 14, 1975, how she first met Anne Martin, Mabel Vernon said, "Alice [Paul] promised to send a worker to Nevada to push for suffrage. Anne asked for me because she knew about my work. I don't think I knew her personally before that. If I did, I can't remember.

There is a very lengthy and interesting correspondence between Alice Paul and Anne Martin from March 3, 1914, to November 7, 1914, which brings out the importance Anne Martin attached to Mabel Vernon's assistance in the Nevada campaign and the growing urgency that Alice Paul felt, as the fall election campaign developed, to have Mabel Vernon go elsewhere--Delaware, Arizona--to push for the federal suffrage amendment. Anne Martin mentions Mabel Vernon's ability to "hold

- Fry: So you were killing two birds with one stone in Nevada. Is that right? You were helping their referendum for suffrage--
- Vernon: With the hope that we would add another state; that was the whole idea.
- Fry: And you were successful.
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: To what would you attribute your success in Nevada?
- Vernon: To the character of the people.
- Fry: Were the women able to help you very much there?
- Vernon: Oh, yes. Lots of those women who lived in states like Idaho, where they voted, didn't like the women of Nevada being deprived of the vote.
- Fry: What did you think of Anne Martin?
- Vernon: Well, have you any knowledge of Anne Martin?
- Fry: Very little. Just what Sara has told me.
- Vernon: I wonder what Sara has told you, darling.
- Fry: You know, I can't remember. It was so long ago. But I have the impression that she was a dynamo. Is that wrong?
- Vernon: Well, she was an extremely able woman. I don't think she was appreciated in the National Woman's Party. I shouldn't say that because when we

an audience in her hand." On July 29, 1914, Anne Martin wrote to Alice Paul: "If you could only find an organizer to do the Delaware work, I would make very great sacrifices to keep Miss Vernon until the end of our campaign. We work well together. I value her sturdy honesty and reliability. She is popular with all her audiences and makes votes for us, and I feel that she should be kept in Nevada by all means until election, if such a thing is humanly possible in view of your own arrangements."

The night letters in the appendix of this volume give some indication of the trend of the correspondence. Telegrams and letters, numbering some eighteen pieces, are in the Library of Congress, manuscripts division, papers of the National Woman's Party, tray 5, box 4 (Nevada Correspondence, 1914). They are probably also with the Anne Martin papers in The Bancroft Library. For a sampling, see Appendix. [Ed.]

Vernon: organized the National Woman's Party. Anne was elected chairman, you know.

Fry: Oh, of the whole party. I had forgotten that.

Vernon: Well, we organized the National Woman's Party in Chicago. It wasn't amalgamated with anything. It was the Woman's Party. And Anne was elected the chairman and I was the secretary; because after we got suffrage in Nevada, I became a Nevada citizen. So you see, I was a woman voter too. Inez has it all, about the organization of the Woman's Party.

Fry: In the meantime, Anne Martin had become a congresswoman, hadn't she?

Vernon: Oh, no. Where did you get the idea that Anne was ever in Congress?

Fry: Well, I have her mixed up with somebody.

Vernon: Anne ran for the Senate in 1918 and again in 1920. I don't know whether she did it with my full approval, but I was very fond of Anne, very partial to her. She thought it was the thing to run for the Senate. We got suffrage in 1914 in Nevada, and that was the first chance she had with a vacancy in the Senate. I consented to help her. I left the campaign for the national suffrage amendment and worked for Anne as her campaign manager. I knew every inch of Nevada by that time, you know.

Anne and I were driven all over the state, in the 1918 campaign, by Dr. Margaret Long, who was a medical doctor from Johns Hopkins Hospital. Her father was John D. Long, who was a former governor of Massachusetts and had been secretary of the navy at the time of the Spanish American War. Both Anne and I spoke at each place we stopped. Dr. Long had the car all fixed up so that Anne and I could sleep on the seats at night. We never thought it was anything out of the ordinary.

In that campaign she ran as an independent, which I suppose was an impossible situation. She should have gotten the endorsement, I suppose. I don't know. I never was--well, I always had my hesitations about her running.

Fry: Oh. What were your reservations?

Vernon: Well, my reservations were that we should keep on working as a whole for the national suffrage amendment, and shouldn't go off and try these things. Jeannette Rankin, of course, had been elected in 1916; and she had won suffrage in Montana in 1914 just the same as we did. We didn't know Jeannette intimately in those days.

In 1914 when our national speakers would come out to Nevada they would often times go on to Montana. Or the other way around: they

Vernon: would go to speak in Montana and then come to speak in Nevada. But we didn't have so much help from the National [NAWSA], I remember I made myself very unpopular in the national convention in Nashville in 1914, by getting up and saying on the floor at one time, "If you think so much of these states, why don't you help us more in Nevada." And Antoinette Funk, she was one of the several magnificent phones--that was her name, Antoinette--she said, "Miss Vernon must remember how I went into these mining camps and slept all night on the floor." Very dramatic. But that showed how much they had done for Nevada.

But it was people like Sara who gave the real help, not the national organizers. But Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, she was a good sport. She came and spoke in the theater in Reno, and then we took her up to Virginia City. She spoke at a theater there too. Do you know Virginia City?

Fry: Yes, I do know Virginia City. [Laughter]

Vernon: I didn't catch you that time, did I?

Fry: Well, now we are in the West; I feel more comfortable.

Vernon: We took her up to Virginia City. And I can remember coming down what we called the Geiger Grade from Virginia City, which is quite a precipitous ride at midnight, so Dr. Shaw could catch the train in Reno to come back East. But she was a good sport through it all. She was an elderly woman by that time, so Dr. Shaw helped. She was the president--marvelous orator, darling.

Fry: Well, did her coming out there really impress those people in Nevada?

Vernon: Oh, of course. She impressed them; it wasn't her coming out there. She was a marvelous orator. The people in Reno were quite sophisticated, you know. And up in Virginia City, those are the only two places that she spoke that I can remember. She was marvelous.

Does Sara remember taking part in the Nevada campaign?

Fry: Well, some. But she also was doing some free-lance articles on mining camps at the same time, and I think that the reason she was there was that she was getting her divorce and she had to remain there and then live out a residency requirement.

Vernon: I don't think I knew that at the time.

Fry: I think that's what it was.

Vernon: But coming back to Anne Martin, Anne was a little difficult at first for me to get along with because she was very able and quite a perfectionist. I lived at her house. They had a beautiful old house down on

Vernon: 157 Mill Street. I lived there with Anne, and she and her mother both were wonderfully kind to me. But Anne was a rather rigid sort of person to start with. I can remember Sara consoling me, because I was a little bit--you know.

Fry: You weren't going to be pushed around.

Vernon: Well, I don't know. Maybe I wouldn't arrive at the office at a certain hour, or I wouldn't take that proof to the paper at a certain time. She was a little bit more systematic than I, probably. But we got along all right. We became fast friends. Well, you can tell that we were if I left the National Woman's Party to be her campaign manager. I think that is what Elsie Hill told you about with some critical attitude.

Fry: Oh, she felt that you should have stayed with the suffrage campaign?

Vernon: Till suffrage was won, which I probably should have. But I had wanted to do it. I was very personal about it. I liked Anne. I wanted to do the thing that would help her. I don't think I was so bad.

Fry: Well, I wonder what the attitude was toward having a woman on the floor of Congress, for instance. It seems as though that might have helped.

Vernon: You think the Woman's Party might have considered that?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Well, maybe they might. But the leaders of the Congressional Union, which later became the National Woman's Party, were--I don't need to tell you--they were single-minded. When they sent me out to Nevada in 1914, it was because they felt that if the women got suffrage in Nevada they could then use their strength to help get the national amendment. Then when I decided to work for Anne's campaign in 1918, the leaders of the Woman's Party wanted me to retain my relationship with the party to do whatever was necessary in the national campaign. Actually, Anne felt she would be aiding the cause of women by being elected.

The Woman's Party paid all of my expenses in Nevada. Of course, they weren't heavy because of Anne's putting me up in her house.

Fry: Well, that must have been a big state campaign because my figures on it said you traveled about 3,000 miles around Nevada that summer [1914].

Vernon: I'm sure we did.

Fry: Knowing Nevada, I'd say that's an awful lot of sagebrush.

Vernon: I started by traveling on the train to those committees that Anne had organized over the years. I guess she had worked for three or four

Vernon: years getting committees organized in all of the county seats, and I traveled by train to all of the county seats going down through-- well, you don't know Neyada.

Fry: I know a little bit.

Vernon: Well, I made Fallon and Caliente and Goldfield. There's not a town you can mention that I didn't go to. Some of the places were county seats. Anne had formed committees and I met with them. That was my first trip around Neyada. And then Anne and I went later in the summer in an automobile.

Fry: Oh, I was going to ask you what you did when there were no railroad tracks.

Vernon: I went plenty of places.

Fry: Right. Just rabbit tracks.

Vernon: I love Nevada.

Fry: Was Las Vegas very much in evidence then?

Vernon: Well, it was in evidence as a junction on the Southern Pacific, you know. It was a county seat, but it was very different from the gambling place that it became. I don't remember gambling in Nevada.

And I went to such county seats as Lovelock and Winnemucca.

Fry: All of those are up there near Reno.

Vernon: Well, you might say Reno, but they weren't so near in those days. If you wanted to get from Elko to Reno, you had to take the midnight train. All the trains left at midnight, it seems.

Fry: I guess that's because if they left at a convenient hour from San Francisco, they were getting into Reno at midnight.

Vernon: But I can remember how to get to Fallon--did you ever hear of Fallon?

Fry: Yes. I've actually been through it.

Vernon: I think that is where Pat Nixon [Mrs. Richard] lived or right near there.

Fry: Oh, I missed that.

Vernon: Her father was a miner in Fallon.

Vernon: Well, at any rate, you would go on a little branch railroad in a train with only one car up to Wells; and there you would sit in the railroad station at midnight to wait for the train to come through that would take you to Reno. Oh, I have spent many an hour in those railroad stations.

Fry: What did people think about your traveling alone?

Vernon: Oh, they didn't pay attention.

Fry: But in young ladies' finishing schools then I'm sure that you were taught never to travel alone. [Laughter]

Vernon: But don't forget what kind of mother I had.

Fry: If you could do it at age seven, I guess you could do it later for the suffrage campaign.

Vernon: I was about--what was I in '14? I was born in 1883, that would be seventeen years plus thirteen--thirty. I was thirty when I went to Nevada.

Fry: Well, while all this was taking place the policy to oppose the party-in-power, as long as they did not fight for woman suffrage, was developing.

Vernon: That policy developed, you know. Of course, it was always in Alice's mind because she had worked in England where the party-in-power--

Fry: Was held responsible.

Vernon: It was a new phrase in our language, "the party in power." But sure enough, it was "in power." There was Wilson in the White House with a majority in Congress. It was the party-in-power. And a party that listened to Wilson as the head.

Fry: Then, let me see what else we have in 1914. You have that campaign against the congressmen in the West.

Vernon: Well, it didn't amount to much in '14, darling. It was in '16 that we made our national campaign. But in '14 I was hardly aware of what they were doing. The Woman's Party campaigned in the states that already had suffrage, but our test only came in November when we won suffrage in Nevada.

Fry: Well, they did campaign in those suffrage states.

Vernon: As I say, I was in Nevada and I wasn't conscious of it.

1. The first part of the document
describes the general situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

2. The second part of the document
describes the political situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

3. The third part of the document
describes the economic situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

4. The fourth part of the document
describes the social situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

5. The fifth part of the document
describes the cultural situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

6. The sixth part of the document
describes the international situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

7. The seventh part of the document
describes the military situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

8. The eighth part of the document
describes the legal situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

9. The ninth part of the document
describes the administrative situation
of the country at the time
of the revolution.

10. The tenth part of the document
describes the future prospects
of the country.

11. The eleventh part of the document
describes the conclusion of the
document.

Fry: Were you basically a Democrat then or a Republican?

Vernon: Oh, mercy. Didn't I ever tell you my father was a Republican editor of the only Republican newspaper in Delaware--that he practically made the Republican party in Delaware?

Fry: So at this time you were a Republican?

Vernon: I don't know. I wasn't anything.

Fry: Because some of the women who were strong Democrats at this time must have had to swallow hard to follow--

Vernon: I don't think in '14.

Fry: But in '14 or in '16 it must have been hard for the women who were Democrats to go ahead and campaign against the Democratic congressmen.

You don't remember having to work on that in 1914?

Vernon: I don't know anything about the 1914 campaign. And I don't think it amounted to much. But in 1916, which was a national election, we made a national issue out of it. I remember 1916 all right.

Fry: I think the results were kind of ambiguous in 1914.

Vernon: I don't think there were any results worth speaking about.

Cross-Country Envoys, 1915: Advance Planning

Fry: In 1915, that was the year of the great trip across the country. The great automobile trip.

Vernon: You see, we had the [Women Voters'] Convention in San Francisco.

Fry: With the Panama Pacific [International Exposition].

Vernon: At the Panama. That was supposed to be a convention of women voters. Dont' forget that. Voting women.

Fry: Now that happened in September. Am I skipping anything from the early part of 1915?

Vernon: Oh, I was organizing in various parts of the West. I had been in Washington and Oregon and Idaho. I don't remember the dates that I was there, but finally I made my way to San Francisco for the convention.

Vernon: And from the convention, Sara and I set forth.

Fry: Mabel, when did you first know that you were going to be the appointed advance man for that automobile campaign?

Vernon: Oh, I don't know when I first knew. I guess Alice had me picked out long before we started.

Fry: The plans were announced at the advisory council meeting of March 31 of that year.

Vernon: But not for me.

Fry: But not for a big trip. It just said, "delegates will be appointed to go to Washington, D.C. when Congress opens in December," which sounds fairly innocuous. You can imagine a couple of women enjoying a pleasant train ride across the country.

Vernon: Probably the announcement of the arrival in San Francisco of the Swedes who were going to buy an automobile to get across the country had something to do with it. Alice Paul, darling, the fact of her picking those two Swedes [laughter]--

Fry: Well, I mentioned in my article that one of them was a little bit mad and kept threatening to kill Sara.*

Vernon: I didn't know it was quite that bad, darling. I knew that Ingeborg [Kindstedt]--I think that's what her name was. One was very nice--Kindberg [Maria]; that was the driver.

Fry: And it was the mechanician that felt slighted. Felt she was not--

Vernon: She was jealous.

Fry: Okay. We've got Sara's story down on that, but now we need yours because you were the one who really did have to do the organizing. And you had to go ahead and get the majors all lined up and the bands and everything.

Vernon: Oh, there is no doubt about that, darling.

Fry: Well, you started back in Neyada for some of your first stops. So I guess it was easy for you to arrange for Reno since you knew everybody

*Amelia Fry, "Along the Suffrage Trail," The American West, January, 1969, pp. 16-25.

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

Fry: there.

Vernon: Oh, sure, sure. I didn't have to do anything in Reno practically. But that was one of many stops, darling.

Fry: I know. Then you went to Utah as I remember and--

Vernon: That was wonderful. Never will I ever forget that meeting; I don't think Sara will either. The meeting was at the capitol--do you know Salt Lake City? Do you know where the capitol is? The people at the meeting looked out over that city at sunset. The meeting was right at the front door of the capitol--on the steps.

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Well, I did about a hundred of those meetings. I wonder how many.

Fry: Oh, there must have been a hundred. And just zigzagging up and down, north and south, clear across the United States.

Vernon: That's the way we went. I know because I made the itinerary.

Fry: Now you always went ahead. How did you manage to go into a town cold and find a band and get the newspaper organized, and the--

Vernon: Oh, well, I just did it, that's all. Of course, in most towns I had some names of some people who were friendly or could be interested or something.

Fry: Had Alice Paul furnished you with very much information before you left?

Vernon: I don't remember, darling. She couldn't have, because I don't think there was a great deal of information to furnish.

Fry: There certainly wasn't information on roads, because I've gone through map collections and I can't find any evidence that there was a road map of the United States at that year. So I know there wasn't road information.

Vernon: Well, I was thinking more of the people.

Fry: Yes. Personal contacts.

Vernon: But when I got there I found out who had been to suffrage meetings; or if they hadn't had any meetings beforehand, I got names of interested people when I arrived.

Fry: But, Mabel, where did you go to get the names?

Vernon: Oh, there are newspapers and there are interested people who will tell you. Newspapers are a great fund of information. And I like newspapers and they like me.

Fry: That was your heritage. Well, did you ever have to hold a crowd because Sara was late?

Vernon: Oh, sure. You tell about that in the article.

Fry: I thought there was a place; I can't remember where it was--Kansas?

Vernon: Yes. I can remember Topeka, the capital of Kansas; but that is all in your article, darling.

Fry: Well, I must not have said much about it, because I don't remember the details of it.

Vernon: I don't either, but I think Sara was late then. But Governor Arthur Capper was a friend of ours, and I knew we had to hold the crowd for a reception with the governor; and we did.

Fry: You didn't have much time to organize these receptions.

Vernon: Of course not. We had to get there and get on.

Fry: That must have taken some quick cookie baking on the part of the governor's wife, or someone.

Vernon: I don't remember how long that trip lasted; how long was it?

Fry: Well, I think you left about September 16 or somewhere around there and you got into Washington, D.C. about December 5.

Vernon: Yes, that's what I thought. I wonder how we did it.

Fry: Oh, Mabel, I was going to ask you if you could give us any little anecdotes about that trip, something that happened in the major cities like Chicago or with Big Bill Thompson. Did you have any difficulties anywhere organizing anything?

Vernon: Oh, I expect we did. I don't remember in particular. In Chicago there was a famous reception. I think you tell about that.

Fry: Well, my information on Chicago came from the Suffragist and Sara's report.

Vernon: And the information in the Suffragist came from me, probably.

Fry: Probably, at the time. Big Bill Thompson was the man in charge at

Very faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or title.

Second line of very faint, illegible text.

Third line of very faint, illegible text.

Fourth line of very faint, illegible text.

Fifth line of very faint, illegible text.

Sixth line of very faint, illegible text.

Seventh line of very faint, illegible text.

Eighth line of very faint, illegible text.

Ninth line of very faint, illegible text.

Tenth line of very faint, illegible text.

Eleventh line of very faint, illegible text.

Fry: Chicago. You weren't in the mud-hole incident, were you, in Kansas? You were on trains. And Cleveland had a snow storm.* And then in Syracuse you had the broken axel.

Vernon: Oh, that was a marvelous reception. I don't remember about the broken axel, but I remember about Mrs. Dora Hazard. She had organized a wonderful reception for us. "Hazard" was a powerful name in Syracuse. She isn't mentioned there? Sara wouldn't be as much impressed with that as I would be.

Fry: I had to cut an awful lot of this.

Vernon: You did?

Fry: Yes. We went through and cut this article down twice, so there's quite a lot cut out; and I had to cut out a lot of the political background.

After Syracuse you went to Utica and then to Albany; and New York State had just voted down woman suffrage again.

Vernon: What was the governor's name? He was a very good person.

Fry: The governor. I guess he will be forever anonymous, because I don't give his name in my article [laughter], but he's mentioned in the Suffragist reports of course.

Vernon: It was Governor Whitman [Charles S.]. He received Sara, didn't he, darling? I think it is there some place.

Fry: Yes, he did. And they had a big reception in the executive mansion.

Vernon: Yes, that's what I remember.

Fry: And the fact that he was going against the popular vote in his state was kind of interesting.

Vernon: I don't think I had much to do with that. I don't know how it worked out. I don't remember.

Fry: Then [from Providence, R.I.] they--you floated the car down [by boat] to Washington, didn't you?

Vernon: You see, this part I didn't have much to do with. We had branches all

*The tape at this point is blurred. Mabel Vernon seems to have mentioned a Lucy Baker, but when questioned later had no recollection of such a person. She also said that it could not have been Lucy Branham. [Ed.]

Vernon: through the East, you see: New Jersey, for instance. So those people could start to look after things. I don't remember these places.

Fry: I think Sara just rode the train to Washington or something.

Vernon: I don't think she did, darling.

Fry: No, she didn't because--let's see.

Vernon: Because I remember her--

Fry: "She endured parades and speeches," I say, "in Newark, Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore."

Vernon: I remember her coming into Wilmington; I was there. I had arranged the reception there. My blessed Florence Bayard Hilles, a very prominent woman in Delaware, came out on the steps of the courthouse and received Sara. Florence's father, Thomas F. Bayard, had been senator from Delaware for many years and was President Cleveland's first secretary of state. He was our first ambassador to Great Britain--we'd only had ministers before that. So Florence was "tops" in Delaware. She later became chairman of the National Woman's Party.

Let me tell you what happened in Massachusetts during that auto trip. We were being received in the State House.

Fry: You and Sara?

Vernon: Yes. I was standing up beside Governor Walsh while Sara was holding forth, and Walsh kept muttering to me, "Don't ask me to sign the petition; don't ask me to sign the petition."

Fry: Oh, yes. Under his breath while you were standing up there in front of everybody.

Vernon: And I was alongside of him and could hear it--"Don't ask me to sign the petition." Did I tell that?

Fry: I know you told that to me. Now, let me see if it is cut out of my article because if it is then you ought to go ahead and tell what happened. Let me see, "Governor Walsh--"

Vernon: It was Governor Walsh. I guess he was also a senator later.

Fry: Yes. "He offered his letter of personal endorsement of the amendment" is what I have in my article, "but during Sara's ringing speech he whispered to Mabel Vernon, 'Don't ask me to sign the petition, don't ask me to sign.'" Is that right?

Vernon: That's right. I remember that very well.

Fry: I wonder, where is that petition now? I wonder if it's saved?

Vernon: Somewhere in the archives of Congress, darling.

Fry: Is it in that Library of Congress collection?

Vernon: You see, we presented it to Congress, darling. That petition passed out of our hands. It's in the archives of Congress, if it is any place.

Fry: Well, they may not have saved it. I was thinking what a great exhibit that would be, if the Smithsonian wants something to illustrate the fight for suffrage. That petition would make a marvelous display. In Washington, did you go in with them to see President Wilson and all the pageantry?

Vernon: Oh, of course I did. That was an immense delegation. Why wouldn't I be there?

Fry: Well, I thought maybe you were busy behind scenes for the next act.

Vernon: Oh, this had been done before I ever arrived in Washington.

That is the reason that I object to the Cheney article, the way it describes Wilson's response [in 1917]. I would like to check with Sara sometime.

Fry: Well, according to what Wilson said, there was some ice broken in that meeting. And Sara says that the women went out jubilant after that meeting, because Sara had told him that she knew that he was a great man and could change his mind.

Vernon: That's what I wanted to refer to. I always remember that. And he was pleased.

Fry: He was very pleased, and he said, "This visit of yours will remain in my mind not only as a delightful compliment, but also as a very impressive thing which undoubtedly will make it necessary for all of us to consider very carefully what is right for us to do."

Vernon: You see, now that's the reason that I object to that girl [Lynne Cheney].

Fry: Well, then everyone thought that he was going to back the amendment, right away then, but he didn't. But they did see this as a turning point in his attitude.

Vernon: Sara was superb that day in the way that she spoke to him. You know, Sara has that ability to be very personal, just like telling him that

- Vernon: she knew that he was a great man and as a great man he would have the ability to change his mind. Of course he was pleased.
- Fry: Well, and then you had that great big petition by that time because you'd been gathering signatures, both at the exposition in San Francisco and all across the country.
- Vernon: Well, that's the petition we presented--
- Fry: To him.
- Vernon: No, we presented it to Congress first.
- Fry: Yes. Did you work in the booth any in San Francisco?
- Vernon: In the booth, no. Doris [Stevens] was in charge there.

Nevada Campaign, 1916: Opposing the Party in Power

- Fry: Then you had that big 1916 campaign. What was your role in that? In 1916?
- Vernon: I was in Nevada, you see. I had gone back to Nevada. Anne and I both were in Nevada in 1916, to campaign against Key Pittman, our Friend. What was it he told Mary Walsh one time? "I think Miss Vernon opposed me politically but she liked me personally." [Laughter] But we had to campaign against Pittman who had been a friend of suffrage. It is as you say: it was extremely difficult.
- Fry: Yes, because this was where I guess some of the women questioned the tactic as to the wisdom of campaigning against all Democrats whether they had supported suffrage or not.
- Vernon: The campaign had logic to it, I think; it had validity. But I was never terribly enthusiastic about it--I was never enthusiastic about the results of it. I don't know. I guess what Inez [Irwin] says about it is as fair a summary as any.
- Fry: Well, you know, what do you think of it just being a psychological threat to the Democrats as a party?
- Vernon: I don't know that it was a sufficient psychological threat. Was it?
- Fry: I don't know. I did read of a reaction in a committee where a couple of committee members in the Senate suffrage committee were hostile toward Alice as a result of being anti-Democratic in their campaign.

Fry: That sounds as though they at least noticed.

Vernon: Inez Irwin writes about all of this very well.

Fry: Yes, she gives you a good outline of all the ins and outs of going through the committees and out on the floor--

Vernon: And many of the things they said--they're all in Inez Irwin's book. I have read them recently.

Fry: Did you stay then in Nevada for that entire 1916 campaign?

Vernon: Well, that ended you see, with the election.

Woman's Party Convention, 1916

Fry: The National Woman's Party was formed in Chicago that summer, is that right?

Vernon: Well, whenever the convention was.

Fry: Along with the other political conventions.

Vernon: Oh, yes, I was there. I'll tell you a story about that that I always remember. This was in the Blackstone Theatre in Chicago. I was there getting ready for the mass meeting we were going to have. Anne [Martin] was going to be the chairman, and I was to make a collection speech there. But I was organizing before. I can remember very well. I had an elegant dress that I was going to put on for the mass meeting, and I put it down in a ladies' dressing room while I attended to all of my chores. When I went back to get it, it was gone. And I had a white suit on, I think, but I didn't have the dress that I was going to wear at the mass meeting. At any rate, Dudley Field Malone came to speak for the Democrats.

Fry: Oh, really?

Vernon: Yes. Alma [Lutz] tells this story in the book she wrote with Harriot Blatch, Challenging Years.* Dudley Field Malone came to appeal to the

*Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch. New York: Putnam's, 1940. Pp. 261-264.

- Vernon: women to support the Democrats and Dudley was superb, you know. Dudley was a great orator--an Irishman with all the great--well, a finished speaker. And I went up to Anne, who was the chairman, and said, "I can't speak after Dudley," and I said, "I have asked Mrs. Blatch who is up on the platform" (I whispered all of this to Anne) "so don't call on me, call on Mrs. Blatch." I had gone to Mrs. Blatch and arranged this all with her. And, by gum, she did. Dudley tells about it someplace--that Mrs. Blatch took his audience away from him. She was superb too. I always gave myself credit for knowing that I couldn't come up against Dudley, but Mrs. Blatch could.
- Fry: He was trying to convince the Party to support the Democrats, is that it?
- Vernon: Oh, sure.
- Fry: And Mrs. Blatch was able to answer him, why you were not going to support the Democrats.
- Vernon: Well, I would have to look at Mrs. Blatch's book to know just what she said. Darling [to Consuelo Reyes-Calderón], you just put these things out there and I will wash the dishes.
- Fry: I think I ought to be the dishwasher this time.
- Vernon: Oh, no, darling, I have a system and nobody is permitted, even Consuelo. [Laughter] Is it getting cold in here? How do you feel, darling?
- Fry: I feel fine. How do you feel; are you getting tired of answering questions and dredging up stories? Would you like to take a break and then go on, or would you like to call it a day?
- Vernon: How do you feel, darling?
- Fry: Mabel, I want to go on and on and on.
- Vernon: Now you sould like Alice.
- Reyes: I will get you a cup of tea.
- Fry: Fine.
- Reyes: So then you will have a little recess.
- Fry: I wanted you to explain why I sounded like Alice.
- Vernon: Because when Alice says anything like that, "Do you want to go on," she says it always in threes, "I want to go on and on and on."

Notes and Memories of Events in 1916

Meeting with Woodrow Wilson, Kansas; "Suffrage Special";
"Suffrage First" Luncheon

- Vernon: I remember that in early 1916 President Wilson made a "Preparedness Tour" which included Kansas. I was there. It was the first time since his inauguration that he had visited a suffrage state. Kansas was the first. I think Inez tells this [cf. Irwin, 2nd ed., pp. 150-151].
- Fry: You met Tumulty [Joseph] in Kansas?
- Vernon: Oh, we met the President, you just wait, darling.
- Fry: This must have been during his 1916 campaign.
- Vernon: [Reading from her notes]* "1916, February. Presidential speaking trip on his preparedness campaign. And I had gone out to Kansas ahead. When Secretary Tumulty alighted from the train in Topeka, M.V. carried a note from Kansas women asking the President to see them for five minutes. And Tumulty said to telephone him at the house of Governor Capper, a strong suffragist, the next day or something like that."
- Fry: And M.V. was you.
- Vernon: Well, I am sure. "It was finally arranged that the delegation should come to the governor's house at twenty minutes to one. The women waited for an hour in the snow"--I can remember that; there was snow on the ground--"with the temperature at 0°. Lila Day Monroe, a leading woman in Kansas, made a short speech and led the women in double file up the steps to the President. The President murmured, 'Pleased to meet you' repeatedly as they filed by. They gave no expression of opinion."
- Fry: Did anyone make an effort to propose Wilson's support for the suffrage amendment at that time?
- Vernon: Well, that was the point of Lila Day Monroe's speech.
- Fry: That was her speech. I see. That came to naught then. Do you know where these notes were taken from?
- Vernon: My head.

*The following notes, which are no longer available, are from Inez Irwin's and Harriot Stanton Blatch's books combined with Mabel Vernon's memories of events.

- Fry: This was in preparation for the program you were going to tape record with Consuelo, right?
- Vernon: It was for when I worked with Alice writing the history of the Woman's Party from 1912 to 1920. I didn't realize that I had this much done.
- Fry: Well, I'm glad you went on into 1916 because that's where we are.
[Laughter]
- There was a meeting of the national and state officers and the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union on April 8 and 9 of 1916 in which they decided to meet in Chicago in June to form a woman's party. Were you there?
- Vernon: No, I wasn't on the Advisory Council.
- Fry: What were your feelings about forming a new party?
- Vernon: I was all for it. I think most of the women were.
- Fry: After the meeting, the train called the "Suffrage Special" carried envoys to the suffrage states. Inez Irwin [2nd ed., p. 155] says that "Ahead of them went the organizers." Did you have anything to do with organizing for this?
- Vernon: Just the places where I was when they stopped. I was in Reno, and it seems to me I was in Chicago. But I don't remember why I would have been in Chicago or the meeting there.
- Fry: Do you remember the Reno meeting?
- Vernon: Probably we had a meeting in the theatre in Reno. I remember that we all went down to Carson City and were received by Governor Boyle [Emmet D.] at the capitol. Afterwards he took us all to lunch at the governor's mansion.
- Fry: And you were at the convention in Chicago when the Woman's Party was formed, weren't you?
- Vernon: Yes, that was where my dress got stolen and I arranged for Mrs. Blatch to speak against Dudley Field Malone.
- Fry: At that convention, you were made secretary of the new National Woman's Party. What did that office entail?
- Vernon: Nothing very special--whatever a secretary usually does. I continued with the work I had been doing--organizing in Nevada.
- Fry: Inez Irwin writes that the convention appointed women representing

Fry: the Woman's Party to speak at the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive conventions. Were you by any chance one of these speakers?

Vernon: I don't remember whether I was or not, but it was a common thing for me to speak at conventions.

Fry: Were you at the "Suffrage First" luncheon that was held just after the convention forming the new National Woman's Party?

Vernon: [Reading from notes and interpreting remarks] "'Suffrage First' luncheon in Chicago. First speaker, Helen Keller. Inez--that would be Inez Milholland--Crystal Eastman, and Rheta Childe Dorr." I spoke too, as I remember, to raise money, because I remember how nobly Inez came to my aid when I got bogged down. She said, "Let's have a dollar shower," and she took off her big hat, and her big hat went around to everybody for a dollar.

There was a monstrous parade of women at the time of the Republican convention, and it rained; but it was a great procession and it ended up with that luncheon at the Auditorium, I guess it was--the Auditorium Hotel. Do you know Chicago?

Fry: Oh, yes. I know Chicago.

Vernon: Well, we had our luncheon there, and that's where those women spoke whose names I was reading. Helen Keller--that was wonderful, wasn't it?

Fry: Yes. Quite a stroke of genius to get her there.

Vernon: And Inez Milholland was wonderful.

Fry: She must have been very beautiful.

Vernon: She was.

Fry: Everything I've read about her mentions her beauty.

Vernon: Not only beautiful, but brilliant. She was a graduate of Vassar; you know that, I think.

You ought to hear Dorothy Gruening's tape some time; did you ever hear Mrs. Gruening's tape?

Fry: I have heard Mrs. Gruening on one of your tapes. Is that the one?

Vernon: She tells the story of the meeting up at Vassar.*

Fry: Yes. In the graveyard at Vassar. I thought that was marvelous. Because they wouldn't let them talk about it on campus.

Vernon: [Reading from notes] "August 1, 1916 is the date. Hughes [Charles Evans] sent a telegram to Senator Sutherland [of Utah] declaring himself in favor of the federal suffrage amendment. The first time that any presidential candidate of either party had publicly declared a federal amendment a part of his policy." This must all come from Inez [Irwin, 2nd ed., p. 165].

Fry: That is interesting about Hughes because he had been a hold-out up to that time, as I remember. Did you ever have anything to do with putting pressure on Hughes?

Vernon: When I was in Nevada and he came there, we had a delegation to him. I don't remember anything else about it.

Interruption of Woodrow Wilson's July 4 Speech

Vernon: I put a note on that August 1 incident, but I should have mentioned it a little later because I want to put this in--[reading from notes] "July 4, 1916, President Wilson was laying the cornerstone of the Labor Temple [of the American Federation of Labor] in Washington--" well, you know that story well enough, don't you?

Fry: No.

Vernon: You don't? Oh, you must. It's a threadbare story--how I interrupted Wilson at a meeting.

Fry: Oh, I didn't know that he was laying a cornerstone.

*Mabel Vernon told the story on July 8, 1974, as she remembered it from Dorothy Gruening: "Dorothy Smith and Inez Milholland were in college together. I think Dorothy was in the class of 1908 and Inez in the class of 1909. In 1908, I believe, a group of Vassar women wanted to hold a suffrage meeting at the college, but President Taylor said no. Right across a wall from Vassar, there was a graveyard. So the women said, 'If we can't have it here on campus, what about in the graveyard?' So they had their meeting sitting on the gravestones. Dorothy Smith married Mr. Ernest Gruening, governor and Senator from Alaska."

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

Additionally, it is noted that regular audits are essential to identify any discrepancies or errors early on. This proactive approach helps in maintaining the integrity of the financial statements and prevents any potential issues from escalating.

The second section focuses on the role of technology in modern accounting. It highlights how software solutions have revolutionized the way businesses manage their finances. From automated data entry to real-time reporting, these tools significantly reduce the risk of human error and save valuable time.

However, it also points out that while technology is a powerful asset, it must be used responsibly. Proper training and security measures are necessary to protect sensitive financial information from unauthorized access or cyber threats.

In conclusion, the document stresses that a combination of sound accounting practices and the effective use of technology is key to achieving financial success. By adhering to these principles, businesses can ensure their financial health and make informed decisions for the future.

The final part of the document provides a summary of the key takeaways and offers some practical advice for implementing these strategies. It encourages businesses to stay updated on the latest trends and regulations in the accounting industry to remain competitive and compliant.

Vernon: The Labor Temple in Washington.

Fry: And that was the first act of militancy by any suffragist during Wilson's administration?

Vernon: I think maybe that is true.

Fry: Well, I think you ought to tell me the story as though I didn't even know it.

Vernon: As though you didn't know it. Well, I was in Wilmington, spending the Fourth of July, I thought; and I had a telephone call from Lucy Burns asking me if I would come back immediately to Washington. This must have been the day before. She said to be there at such and such an hour in the morning. "We want you to help with a demonstration." So I said I would come, of course. And I went, and Alice and Lucy met me at the railroad station. We went immediately to, I think it is, Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue, or something like that, where the Labor Temple is.

It is a good story. I think Inez must tell it very well.

Fry: It must have been outdoors, and were people--

Vernon: Yes, there was a great assembly with the President speaking to a crowd. We had gotten tickets from some congressman or someone to admit us to the platform. As the President was speaking, at the appropriate moment I lifted my voice and said, "Mr. President, if you consider it necessary to forward the interests of all the people, why do you oppose the national suffrage amendment?" And of course, there wasn't any answer. Then a little while later I said, "Answer, Mr. President."

Fry: What was the reaction of your audience when you did that?

Vernon: There was no reaction that I know about. The President was very good about that kind of thing. He was very bland; he just went right on as if he hadn't heard anything. I am sure I spoke in loud tones. But then, after the first time I spoke, I think, a secret service man made his way to us and said, "Now you mustn't do this again." And I said, "I won't unless it seems necessary." [Laughter] And then I spoke up again. He took me by the arm and very kindly and gently assisted me down from the platform. I was always amused because the secret service man said to me, "What makes you act this way?" and Joy Webster, with whom I lived, said to me afterwards, "Why didn't you say, 'She does.'"

Fry: Meaning Alice?

Vernon: I had to use my judgment about those things because Alice would say, no matter what the President would say, "Do it now, do it now, do it now." And I thought that I had to wait till he said the proper thing for me to pick up. And I did. I had self-control on that. I have forgotten what he had said, but something to the effect that all the people must be consulted; and at that moment I asked "Why do you--"

Fry: Oh, I see. So you could pick this up and say, "If you believe that, then why don't you--"

Vernon: Yes. "What about the women? Why do you oppose the national suffrage amendment?" My note here says page 166, so that must have come from Inez Irwin [1st ed.].

Fry: Well, you have given us a lot more detail, I'm sure, than would have been found in Inez Irwin's book.

Vernon: I went right home to Delaware after the cornerstone laying. When I got there, my mother, who seldom made a remark about what I did, said, "I don't think that was very polite to the President." And I made a speech to her on politeness and principle. Later, when I was put in jail, she came right down to Washington to see if she could help.

[Reading notes from Irwin] "July 24, 1916. Deputation from Democratic women to the President. Mrs Blatch and Helen Todd."

Fry: Did you have anything to do with the deputation of Democratic women who went to see President Wilson at that time?

Vernon: No, I don't think I was there.

Fry: Your notes mention Harriot Stanton Blatch. Did you know her?

Vernon: Yes, I did. We were very friendly. I liked her; we got along. She was the leader of the New York group when they were working for a state suffrage movement.

Fry: Did you know Helen Todd?

Vernon: Yes, but I didn't know she was a Democrat. She had worked in the New York campaign too.

Colorado Springs: Campaigns against Party in Power

- Vernon: [Reading notes from Irwin and interjecting remarks] "Newly formed National Woman's Party held a conference to formulate a policy." Colorado Springs--oh, I remember that conference. Anne [Martin] and I together got up that conference in Colorado Springs in August of 1916 at the Antlers Hotel. And Alice Paul came out. That was our first National Woman's Party conference, "to formulate a policy for the coming presidential campaign."
- Fry: I see. Would that be like a platform committee?
- Vernon: Well, it was a conference, just as it says.
- Fry: You already had your platform, I guess. You knew that.
- Vernon: Resolution: "Resolved that the National Woman's Party...pledges itself to use its best efforts in the twelve states where women vote for President to defeat the Democratic candidate for President; and in the states where women vote for members of Congress, to defeat the candidates of the Democratic Party for Congress." That's from Inez, too.
- Fry: I guess that is the party-in-power theory again.
- Vernon: Oh, it was. It was the 1916 campaign, you see. I can remember this campaign of the newly enfranchised again. "Stream of organizers started for western states, to prepare the way for national speakers." [Irwin, 2nd ed., p. 177]
- Inez Milholland was a special speaker. You know she married Jean Boissevain.* Well, she was the "special flying envoy." I have that quote from Inez.
- Fry: Special flying envoy?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: She was the one who was free to move around rapidly.

*In a later conversation, Mabel Vernon was asked if she knew Jean Boissevain. She answered, "Only by reputation. After Inez died he married Edna St. Vincent Millay. Just think--a man married to those two great women."

- Vernon: Yes. She made a regular tour. I can remember very well when she got to Reno: we had a beautiful meeting for her in the National Theater in Reno--just Anne and Inez on the stage. And some of our Reno women had arranged a beautiful bouquet of American Beauty roses. And it happened that both Anne and Inez were dressed in white. After the meeting, Senator Newlands [Francis G.], who was there--he was a very fine person, a Democrat, who was a senator from Nevada for many years--said, "I see there are reasons for having women, besides the political reasons. They add beauty to the scene." I can remember his saying that. It pleased me so to be able to tell Anne that. She was a great friend of Senator Newlands, and she and Inez were both charming and beautiful. And the American Beauty roses. Anne did the introduction and Inez spoke. It was very simple.
- Fry: Was that one of the meetings that you helped set up?
- Vernon: I did it. I was the organizer in Nevada, darling.
- Fry: Okay. Just wanted to get this down.
- Vernon: I probably did the principal organizing for it, but we had help in Nevada. We had won suffrage. We had still the women who had worked for suffrage in Nevada. I don't know that they all helped in this campaign, but some of them did.
- Fry: Well, if you were the organizer, you would have borne the brunt of convincing the women that they should vote against their own party to establish suffrage.
- Vernon: Well, I was one.
- Fry: I thought you might have some stories or examples of how you managed to convince the women to do this.
- Vernon: I don't. Remember this was 1916.
- Fry: Yes. And Wilson was in and the Democrats were going to win again. It seems as though it would be a really tough job to go out and talk to Democratic women.
- Vernon: Well, I can remember one street-corner meeting in Reno when Anne was away. Anne was out of town, but Mrs. Martin came and stood beside me. She was in this work too. Well, I held that street-corner meeting standing up on a chair; and a drunken woman--she must have been drunk--had a banner in her hand for Wilson, and she would keep poking that banner out at me saying, "He kept us out of war." Remember this was 1916.
- Fry: Yes. That was his motto.

Vernon: That was his great appeal: he kept us out of war. That woman kept shouting this; she would poke the banner in my face and shout, "He kept us out of war, he kept us out of war." And finally the chief of police arrived, and he begged me to stop speaking, to get down off of that chair and go home. And he appealed to Mrs. Martin, "Won't you take her home?" Well, I don't know how long it was; but I finally got off the chair. And I guess we went home.

And I can remember another street meeting where Dudley Field Malone comes into the picture. He came to Reno and was speaking at the movie theatre there, right down on the main street, and of course for Wilson--he was a great Wilson advocate. I stood as near the theatre as I could get on the other side of the street. It was almost directly across, and when I began to speak I got the people as they came out of the theatre. But Dudley told me afterwards--Dudley was quite a friend of mine--Dudley told me afterwards, "How could I go to sleep that night, Mabel"--he went to the Riverside Hotel--"with you down on the street corner shouting?" [Laughter] I used to have a powerful voice. So he heard me even though I was across the Truckee River bridge about a block away from the Riverside Hotel.*

Fry: Isn't he the same one who came to your aid when the girls were really having problems in the Occoquan Workhouse?

Vernon: Oh, very decidedly. You see, he was in love with Doris, whom he offered to marry. He divorced his wife and got married to Doris. I don't know how long he stayed married to her, but he did marry her. And he did come to our aid: he went to Wilson [1917]. Inez Irwin has a masterly discussion of it. She's got more details there than I could ever have.

We went down, Lucy Burns and I--I don't know where Alice was at that time--Lucy Burns and I went down to Occoquan to see the sixteen women who were there who were afterwards pardoned [1917]. Women like Eunice Dana Brannan, whose father was editor of the New York Sun; and Florence Bayard Hilles; and Elizabeth Rogers--oh, notable women, you know, who were down there. And we went down to see them to see how they were getting along. Dudley and Gilson Gardner--Mrs. Gilson Gardner was one of them--Gilson Gardner was a noted Washington cor-

*During the taped interview, Mabel Vernon told the stories of the drunk woman who opposed her speech and of her speech at which she drew Dudley Field Malone's crowd, as though they occurred on a single evening. When going over the tapescript she felt strongly that they were two separate occasions. "Anne Martin would never have been away if Dudley Field Malone were to speak," Mabel Vernon asserted.

Vernon: respondent for the Scripps newspapers. And we went down to Occoquan, and then Dudley went to the White House to see the President. Inez Irwin tells a thrilling story about how Dudley talked to the President and the President pardoned the women. And Dudley resigned.

Fry: Yes. A very eloquent letter of resignation.

Vernon: Yes, that is all in Inez. I had never known of anything like this [the wording of the letter of resignation] until I read it in Inez.

Fry: Really

Fry: Really? I thought the newspapers would have been full of his resignation--port commissioner in New York.

Vernon: Yes, he was. I doubt that the newspapers gave that letter. I don't know.

Fry: Well, let's see then; back to 1916.

Vernon: I guess I stopped there with Nevada, darling.

Fry: The only other thing that I was kind of wondering about was if you had any groups that were good allies during the 1916 campaign? If there were any other political groups or special interest groups that you felt were good allies.

Vernon: I don't know, darling.

Fry: Like labor groups; something like that.

Vernon: Well, you see, I was in Nevada during all of the campaign. Alice would know more about that than I. I really know very little about that campaign, just what we did in Nevada.

Fry: Where were you when the results of the election came in in November? In Nevada?

Vernon: I judge. I would stay there for the election.

Unfurling Suffrage Banner in Congress

Fry: Consuelo was telling me about a time when you unfurled a banner in Congress when Wilson was speaking.

Vernon: Yes, that was 1916 [December 4].* But Inez has that; she has a very good description of that.

Fry: You know, what isn't clear in Inez, as I remember, is exactly where you were, Mabel. Was this in the Senate chamber?

Vernon: Now, this was a joint session of Congress. It was in the House. All joint sessions are held in the House of Representatives.

Fry: Yes. It is the only one with enough chairs, I guess.

Vernon: We had gotten tickets from congressmen beforehand so that we were allowed into the gallery. We were in the gallery immediately in front of the Speaker's desk from where the President speaks.

Fry: Oh, yes. I know where that is. And you were down next to the rail, right?

Vernon: That's right. We had gone up very early. It may have been a mistake to have gone, but we had to be the first in line. I had the banner on my hips, and Mary Gertrude [Fendall] was my guard, was my attendant. Mary Gertrude and I must have gotten up there at seven o'clock because I remember standing out on the--well, those great places alongside of the Capitol, you know, where you go out and look over the city--we walked around those.

Fry: Oh, those parapets up there, yes.

Vernon: Well, we walked around those.

Fry: How did you keep the banner from slipping down?

Vernon: That's what I was going to tell you. Florence Hilles--was she one of the women? I guess not, but she was assisting--Florence Hilles was down here [Washington, D.C.] She had a great big coat-- Florence was quite a big woman--and I was to wear the coat. Mary Gertrude had a big belt pin, if you know what belt pins were; they were very ornate, you know, and quite large--

Fry: Oh, it is like a brooch, you know, only you wear it on your belt?

*In the interview with Melanie Maholick, Mabel Vernon said: "Newspaper people did take up my interruption of the President on the Fourth of July, but we decided that interruptions were not really very effective. And that's what led to our dropping the banner."

Vernon: I don't remember. But at any rate, Mary Gertrude's belt pin was the principal pin to hold the banner on my hips. I guess we had several pins, but Mary Gertrude's was the mainstay; and the banner was folded very neatly to my--whatever my underpinning was. [Laughter] And then Florence's coat covered me--a brown coat. Florence said it made me look very much like a pregnant woman. [Laughter] Mary Gertrude and I arrived in the gallery, and the doors still weren't open. I can remember that, when I approached looking like a pregnant woman, the guard got up and gave me his chair--most unusual thing. [Laughter] So I sat until it was time.

Fry: That is unusual. If those guards are like they are now, that is very unusual.

Vernon: Well, Inez tells the names of the women: there were five of us, and we were seated down in the front row. And at the appointed moment--again I had to wait until I thought it would be appropriate for our banner to be displayed--I took Mary Gertrude's belt pin off and spread the banner. I can see myself doing it now, feel myself doing it. There were two women on each side of me.

Fry: And they passed the ends down to each other, I guess.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: And spread it out.

Vernon: Yes. I took hold and it went this way [gestures to indicate how banner fell]. It had strings on it; and at a given signal, when I thought the appropriate moment had come, we lifted it up and put it over.

Fry: The rail.

Vernon: The rail, yes. "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" was printed on the banner. I think he had been talking about suffrage for Puerto Ricans when we dropped it. And suddenly we felt a yank--Inez tells about this too, I think--and the banner was snatched out of our hands. Gilson Gardner said that I got up and looked over the gallery as if to say, "Who stole my candy?" He was up in the press gallery.

Fry: It was a yank from below?

Vernon: From the floor. I don't think Inez tells it quite correctly. We learned about it afterwards: a page boy had stood up on the shoulders of some one of the attendants in the House and had snatched the banner away from us.

- Vernon: I think Inez says that I regretted afterwards that those strings that attached the banner were quite so long. I did regret it.
- Fry: What do you have here, Consuelo?
- Reyes: A picture of them after they dropped the banner.
- Fry: Oh, my. It's a black-and-white slide of all you banner holders. One, two, three, four, five are in the picture. Okay, we will have to have that to illustrate this part of the transcript.
- Vernon: Inez has their names; I have forgotten them. I remember Dr. Spencer from Colorado Springs, and Mrs. Lowenburg from Philadelphia.*

Events of 1917

Woodrow Wilson's War Words Used for Suffrage

- Fry: And as the amendment went in committees, and was stalled in committees and came out for votes and didn't make it through '16, and '17 and '18 and '19, and World War I started, what I wanted to ask you was did you get involved in any of the antiwar movement in World War I?
- Vernon: No.
- Fry: You stuck with suffrage all the time?
- Vernon: Oh, yes. I remember we had a meeting at Cameron House at one time to decide whether we would throw in our lot with the war effort, but we decided we would have to stick to getting suffrage, absolutely.

*Inez Irwin writes that the five women in the front row were: Mrs. John Rogers, Jr.; Mrs. Harry Lowenburg; Dr. Caroline Spencer; Florence Bayard Hilles; Mabel Vernon. "In a casual manner, other members of the Union seated themselves behind them and on the gallery steps beside them: Lucy Burns; Elizabeth Papandre; Mildred Gilbert, Mrs. William L. Colt; Mrs. Townsend Scott." [2nd ed., p. 184]

In a picture of five women taken after the dropping of the banner, however, Mrs. William L. Colt appears rather than Dr. Caroline Spencer.

Mabel Vernon cannot see the pictures but she says that the names of those who dropped the banner are correct as they appear in Irwin. [Ed.]

Vernon:

I remember well that once I used the President's own words concerning our purposes in the war, for suffrage. Mr. J.A.H. Hopkins, the husband of Allison Hopkins who was so active in the Woman's Party, wanted to arrange a meeting with President Wilson so people could tell him how they felt about his policies. Mr. Hopkins had supported Wilson strongly during the last election. Out at the Hopkins' beautiful country home in New Jersey, about seven of us planned the interview and then, on the appointed day [May 14, 1917], went to the White House. Those of us who went were J.A.H. Hopkins; Dr. Edward Rumely, editor of the New York Mail; John Spargo, a Socialist; Virgil Hinshaw, a Prohibitionist; and myself.

When the President came in, Mr. Hopkins said, "Mr. President, how long may we have?" And Wilson answered, "All the time you want. That's why I'm here." He was so nice. I don't really see how we had the nerve to oppose him; but we did, on the one issue of support for suffrage.

I said, "Mr. President, when you spoke before the Congress the other day and asked for a declaration of war [April 2, 1917], you said you would fight for the things we hold closest to our hearts, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government. You exactly express the feelings of the women of this country in asking you to support the national suffrage amendment.*

*A cartoon in the Suffragist shows a young woman behind a sign bearing the President's words.

In the May 19, 1917 issue of the Suffragist, there is a picture of Mabel Vernon with others in the group and an article on their visit to President Wilson. This article's lengthier quote from Mabel Vernon's remarks to the President show them to have been more persuasive than her memory of them now. Mabel Vernon's statement to President Wilson, May 14, 1917:

"Mr. President, the feelings of many women in this country are best expressed in your own words in your war message to Congress when you said: We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments.

"To every woman who reads that message must come at once the question: If the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments is so sacred in the case of foreign peoples as to constitute a reason for entering upon

Vernon: The men who were there with me said he was deeply moved. When I reported to our group afterwards, Mrs. Kent said, "The President was deeply moved by his own words."

Picketing, Arrest, Trial, Jail, and Publicity

Fry: Were you mostly right here in Washington during 1917, or did you continue to work in Nevada?

Vernon: I would have to think where I was. In 1917 I was managing the pickets. That was my job.

Fry: Oh, you were at the White House?

Vernon: Of course. Didn't you know I organized the pickets and led the first ones out? [January]. [Laughter] Then I was with the first ones who were sent to jail [June].

Fry: I remember you were one of the first ones who got arrested.

Vernon: Yes. Well, I was the first one who went to jail. There were six of us, I guess, who went to jail. Now, that was all in '17. That's where I was.

And then we started out sending speakers throughout the country to tell about what was happening in Washington, because the pickets were greatly misunderstood, you know.

Fry: Oh, yes.

Vernon: And so we sent speakers out, and I went out to speak in various places.

an international war in its defense, will you not, Mr. President, give immediate aid to the measure before Congress, extending self-government to the women of this country?"

This same issue of the Suffragist has an account of Mabel Vernon's remarks before the Judiciary Committee on May 15. In these remarks she again used the President's war words for suffrage. [Ed.]

Vernon: I can't remember all the places I went. I suppose the Suffragist would tell.* I ought to read the Suffragist more before going into this, because Inez doesn't go into details like this about the speakers. I think she does tell how the country was divided up into sections and various speakers took various sections; she tells that.

*The Suffragist, October 6, 1917, contains an article about Woman's Party members who were telling the pickets' story: "Miss Mabel Vernon has already spoken to a rousing meeting of the first national conference of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League in St. Paul"...."Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Mabel Vernon will interpret the picket in the North and Middle West." According to this article, plans were being made for Mrs. Lewis and Miss Vernon to speak in Duluth, as well as St. Paul, Minnesota; Detroit, Battle Creek, and Grand Rapids, Michigan; Milwaukee, Ford du Lac, Richland Center, Oshkosh, and Kenosha, Wisconsin.

A second article, appearing in the same issue and entitled "Mabel Vernon Speaks at Great Farmers' Conference," gives a more detailed account of Mabel Vernon's speech on September 19 to the members of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League at their "consumers and producers conference," and description of audience response:

"The President has defined the democracy for which we fight. He has not left the definition of this ideal to the mind of any citizen or the loose interpretation of any newspaper. He has said it is the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their governments. What about American women? On what ground does the President consistently deny them a voice in their own government? Do they not submit to authority? I, who have served time in prison because I carried a banner in the streets of Washington appealing to the President for democracy, know that they do.' The audience burst into applause, as if those men who are fighting for industrial freedom wanted to cheer on the women who are so courageously waging their own battle for democracy.

"You have demonstrated you have power to help yourselves,' concluded Mabel Vernon. 'Use that same power to help win freedom for all the people of this land. Send word immediately to the President and Congress that we cannot postpone justice any longer in these United States.'

"We will, we will!' came back the answer from many voices as the prolonged applause indicated that the members of the Non-Partisan League are in the fight for democracy at home."

- Fry: Yes. She tells that but that's about all, and she does not go into detail about the sort of public attitudes with which you had to cope. And I thought maybe you could explain more of that. But I guess the attitude was that you were harming your cause by being unladylike. And I got the idea that the roughing-up that went on, when the police--
- Vernon: That didn't come until much later.*
- Fry: That was later, so this was not something to explain then. Because that seemed to have been misunderstood later on by the public.
- Vernon: Well, that is why we put out some banners that were inflammatory, like "President Kaiser Wilson." **
- Fry: The Kaiser Wilson banner.
- Vernon: I think Inez is pretty good on this, darling.
- Fry: As I read about that first arrest, last night, you were your own attorney in that.
- Vernon: Oh, where did you get that? From Inez?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: That's true. We all were. We didn't have attorneys.
- Fry: I wondered what sort of legal aid you were able to get.
- Vernon: We didn't try for any legal aid. We didn't want it to be legal.

*In a later conversation, February 1975, Mabel Vernon explained a photograph in which she was carrying a banner and being escorted by a policeman. The photograph was marked "August 1917." "I remember that incident very clearly. I was up in Anne Martin's office. She was congressional chairman." [Anne Martin was elected vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party on March 2, 1917, according to Irwin, but Mabel Vernon was quite sure Miss Martin was congressional chairman at the time of this incident.] "I heard shouting outside and I knew what it was. I remember saying, 'They're attacking our girls! Come with me!' Lillian Krantz, who was Anne's secretary, and I both grabbed banners and went out. As the men came up, I said, 'Keep away from me,' and a policeman walked beside me and said, 'Keep away from her.'"

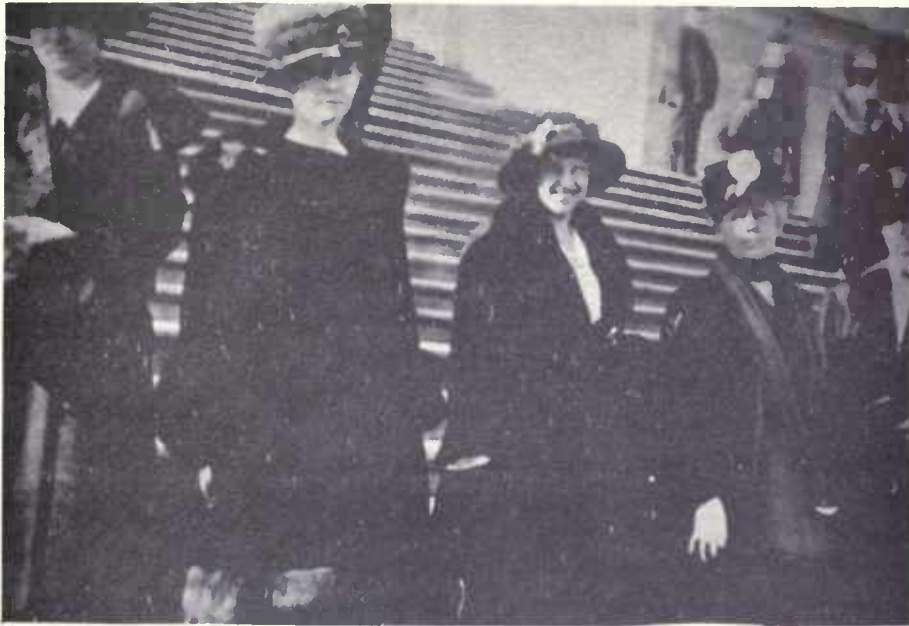
**In a later conversation, Miss Vernon said, "I never approved of the Kaiser Wilson banner. That was going too far."



MABEL VERNON AND SARA BARD FIELD IN THE AUTO-
MOBILE IN WHICH SARA CROSSED THE COUNTRY, 1915.



WOODROW WILSON'S WAR WORDS USED FOR SUFFRAGE.
A CARTOON IN THE SUFFRAGIST, 1917.



MRS. ANNA LOWENBURG (PHILADELPHIA), MRS. WILLIAM COLT (NEW YORK), MISS MABEL VERNON, MRS. JOHN ROGERS, AND MRS. FLORENCE BAYARD HILLES (ALL FROM WILMINGTON, DELAWARE) AFTER DROPPING THE BANNER OVER THE RAILING OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WHILE PRESIDENT WILSON READ HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 4, 1916.



MABEL VERNON CARRYING BANNER AND BEING ESCORTED BY POLICEMAN, AUGUST 1917.

Vernon: Our business was to make a suffrage speech. You never heard of Lavinia Dock?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Well, Lavinia Dock was a very famous woman in the Red Cross, and she was a nurse from Fayetteville, Pennsylvania. She was a wonderful woman, and she was in the first group that was arrested. There were Virginia Arnold and Katherine Morey and Lavinia; there were Maud Jamison and Annie Arniel and I. There were six of us, I guess.

We had a meeting at Cameron House the night before, and we had arranged exactly how we were going to conduct the trial, the next day. I was to be the chief advocate, I guess. When it came time for Lavinia to testify, she began, "And now, your Honor." She gave her name and address, and as she was told to do. "And now, your Honor, I would like to say a few words as to why women should vote." That is the way Lavinia spoke. And the judge said, "But madam, madam, not now; this is not the time." "Very well, your Honor." And in a little while she would say, "Now, your Honor, I would like to say a few words as to why women should vote." [Laughter] I don't remember how the others did, but I always remember Lavinia. And we were sent over to the district jail.

Fry: How was your treatment in the district jail?

Vernon: Very, very good. Of course, it was harder on some than on others. Katherine Morey was in the cell right next to mine. I heard her, in the middle of the night, call to me, "Mabel, are you asleep?" I answered, "Yes." Her reply was, "How can you sleep?" Poor child. That was where the matron allowed me to play the organ for the girls to sing, "God Be With You."

Fry: Oh, it was.

Vernon: Sure.

Fry: Well, start over and tell me from the beginning about that--how the whole thing came up.

Vernon: Well, we were in jail only two nights, I guess--three days; that would be two nights, wouldn't it? And the second night one of the girls among the inmates already there when we arrived asked the matron if we could be allowed to go into the corridor. There was a corridor right outside the cells, and it wasn't a very forbidding place. She asked the matron if we could be allowed to have some music on the organ, and the matron said she thought so. And so the girls asked us, "Can anybody here play the organ?" And I said I could play hymns a little bit. So the matron said that would be

Vernon: all right. And the girls went out of their cells. They were mostly black as I remember. I asked, "What would you like me to play?" They said, "Ask Evelyn what she would like." Evelyn was a quiet girl who was there for drug addiction, I think. And we asked Evelyn, and she said, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again." So we proceeded to sing "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

And just as we were in the midst of it, the door opened into the main part of the jail, and the warden came in with a newspaperman. He was a Hearst man. And I know a little while later I had a letter from Mrs. William Kent [Elizabeth] in Kentfield [California]. Do you know where Kentfield is? Right at the foot of Mount Tamalpais.

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: I had a letter from Mrs. Kent in Kentfield enclosing the column from the Hearst paper. I guess it was the Herald, was it?

Fry: In San Francisco?

Vernon: Yes. The Hearst newspaper told all this in detail: how the suffragists were singing "God Be With You Till We Meet Again" while the warden and the newspaper man stood there. It made wonderful publicity. I guess it hit all the newspapers.

Fry: Are you sure you didn't arrange that, Mabel? [Laughter]

Vernon: No. That was providence.

Religious and Political Orientations

Fry: That brings up a question that I meant to ask you yesterday when we were talking about your childhood, and I failed to. What church did you and your parents go to?

Vernon: Oh, the Presbyterian church. I think we belonged--my mother and I, and my sisters; but I don't think my father did. But he used to go and sit on the end of our pew and take notes to appear in the paper the next morning.

Fry: Oh, I see.

Vernon: Reverend Keigwin [Albert] was delighted to have him attend his church.

Fry: He got his sermons summarized in the paper.

- Vernon: My father used to wear a high silk hat every time he went to church.
- Fry: Oh, how elegant.
- Vernon: How elegant. And what do you call those coats? Prince Albert coats?
- Fry: Oh, yes.
- Vernon: My mother dressed him up, believe me.
- Fry: What did you girls wear?
- Vernon: Oh, we were very nicely dressed.
- Fry: I'll bet you had your Sunday dresses.
- Vernon: Oh, yes.
- Reyes: Did you tell her that you read the Bible?
- Vernon: Every night. Every day.
- Fry: In your home?
- Vernon: No, I personally.
- Reyes: The Psalms.
- Vernon: Oh, of course.
- Fry: Was that what you especially liked?
- Vernon: The Psalms. Well, I liked the poetry of them, I think.
- Fry: Did you remain in the Presbyterian church all during the suffrage campaign?
- Vernon: Well, you see, I went to Swarthmore, and I think my ideas about religion probably changed somewhat. We studied Bible lit. and--
- Fry: And approached it, probably, in a more scholarly way.
- Vernon: Yes, yes.
- Fry: Were you ever actually a member of the Friends church?
- Vernon: No, no. I have thought about it many times. I probably never will be now.

Fry: Was Alice active as a Friend during the time you knew her?

Vernon: Was she active?

Fry: As a Friend, a Quaker?

Vernon: I don't know. I had no knowledge of her life in Moorestown. Well, of course we had to go to Friends meeting on Sunday at Swarthmore. I don't mean that it was required, but we just naturally did. The meeting house was on the campus and most of us--and I presume Alice went; I don't know. But I went home oftentimes for weekends.

Fry: Well, by the time you got suffrage in 1920, did you feel an allegiance to any particular political party? Or were you still independent?

Vernon: No. I was independent. Always have been, since we have had suffrage.

Fry: And it is hard for me to think of you as ever voting for a Republican presidential candidate.

Vernon: Well, I didn't. I didn't vote very many times.* The time that I distinctly remember voting was for Adlai Stevenson. I went to Delaware to vote for Adlai.

Fry: I was thinking about that today. That is probably the last campaign that people had very strong desires. Maybe the Kennedys.

Peace Delegation to Adlai Stevenson, 1952

Vernon: I thought Adlai Stevenson was wonderful. Do you know anything about him, darling?

Fry: Yes. I was in Illinois at the time.

Vernon: And we went out--shall I tell you about Adlai?

*When asked in a later untaped interview why she hadn't voted very many times after she had worked so hard for woman suffrage, Mabel Vernon replied, "Oh, I guess I wasn't very interested. I was busy with other things. I was out of the country sometimes." Consuelo Reyes added, "And often she didn't like the candidates." Mabel Vernon would not confirm or deny this. She only smiled.

Also, much of her work was in the District of Columbia where residents could not vote. [Ed.]

Fry: Oh, yes.

Vernon: I was with the peace people, and we went out to see Adlai [October 20, 1952]. We had a small delegation of six.* Adlai was governor. We went down to Springfield [Illinois], with an appointment, of course, made by Bill Blair who was an extremely nice person. You know William McCormick Blair. He is now [1972] the general director of the Kennedy Center. And after the delegation had presented its formal case for disarmament, world disarmament--we sure were ahead of our time, weren't we?--but that is what we were talking to Adlai about--I went up to him and I said, "Now, Governor, this is probably aside from the business of the delegation, but I want to tell you about a friend of mine with whom I live in Washington. She is Catholic, and every day she goes to the cathedral and she prays, 'God, give life to Adlai.'" And he laughed, and he put his head back and he said, "Bless her dear heart." I was always so glad I could tell him about Consuelo. He was a wonderful person, darling.

Vernon *In Uphill for Peace: Quaker Impact on Congress, E. Raymond Wilson writes of this interview: "John H. Ferguson, professor of government at Penn State University, represented the FCNL [Friends Committee on National Legislation]. Other members of the delegation were Charles F. Boss, Jr., Harold A. Bosley, Elsie Picon, Mabel Vernon and Mrs. Milton Epstein."

Wilson outlines the thrust of the presentation of the committee members and adds: "Mabel Vernon commented that she had read addresses made by Governor Stevenson before his nomination and had found in several of them the assertion that we must end the arms race before it ends us and that we must pursue disarmament with all the intensity and purposefulness with which we build armaments. In the speeches she had read since his nomination, and she had followed them carefully, she had seen only two references to disarmament, one in the San Francisco address on foreign policy and one in the address on atomic energy at Hartford."

Wilson indicates that Mabel Vernon's and Charles Boss' interpretation of the governor's response to their requests was somewhat more optimistic than the interpretations of the other members of the group.

Wilson also describes the parallel interview with General Eisenhower at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on September 30. Mabel Vernon was a member of the delegation and spoke urging Eisenhower to speak out in favor of disarmament. Pp. 325-331.

- Fry: Yes. He was certainly a different governor for Illinois because I guess he was the first one who was every really able to clean house.
- Vernon: Did he?
- Fry: Yes, he did. Very much. To appreciate Adlai you have to know what went on before him, and it was an amazing change.
- Vernon: Wasn't it a pity he had to come up against Eisenhower?
- Fry: Yes. Probably the strongest political candidate of the century.
- Vernon: Yes. Absolutely unbeatable.
- Fry: But when you talked to him on world disarmament, what seemed to be his attitude on that?
- Vernon: Oh, he was very sympathetic. But then I can remember that the men were a little bit perturbed, I think. When I asked Adlai directly, "Well, Governor, why don't you talk about disarmament more; why don't you mention it more?"--which is a very good point, you know--the men in our delegation said only a woman could have said that to him!

III POST-SUFFRAGE ACTIVITIES
(Interview III, November 18, 1972)

Talks With European Women, 1920

- Fry: I want, too, to get anything you can tell me about your trip to Europe right after suffrage was won.
- Vernon: Anne and I went together.
- Fry: You and Anne Martin! That must have been a ball.
- Vernon: We went not as sightseers, you know, not as tourists or anything like that. We really went to talk to women whom we knew and whom we aimed to become acquainted with in Europe. Anne had become interested in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and was very friendly with Jane Addams, who was the president of the League, you know. You did know that, didn't you?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: And Jane had given her certain names of women in Europe whom she wanted her to see.
- Fry: Mabel, did you formally join the Women's International League after suffrage was won?
- Vernon: No, no. I don't remember having very much to do with it until 1930.
- Fry: Well, who supported your trip over there?
- Vernon: We did.
- Fry: You just took it out of your own pockets and went.
- Vernon: Anne sold some stock, and I've forgotten what I did. I guess I had an insurance policy or something like that. But at any rate, we went over there under our own steam. We went over the same way I had gone

Vernon: in 1910; we took a slow boat that went from New York to Naples. It was a long journey but a delightful one. We went to Naples, then up to Rome, and the same old course that Consuelo took.

Fry: Oh, you went that way too, Consuelo?

Vernon: Later, when she went by plane. You never did get to Naples, did you? But from Rome on up, you followed the same course.

Fry: Well, in Italy did you talk to women?

Vernon: I don't remember Italy particularly. I don't think we did. Don't remember Geneva on that trip. I would have to think a little about the trip. What I remember particularly is Germany. We went particularly to see Alida Heymann [Gustava] and Anita Augsburgh who lived in Munich. They had helped to form the Women's International League in 1915 and had been devoted members. Do you know much about this history?

Fry: No, it's fascinating.

Vernon: Well, you know, the WIL was formed in wartime with the idea that the neutral powers could make peace. And they could have if they had fully applied themselves to it.

Well, we went to see Anita Augsburgh and Alida Heymann in Munich, and they had really suffered during the war. They had a little country place outside of Munich, and they went there and lived on potatoes principally. These were women who knew what war was; they were wonderful women. And I can remember we asked them what we could do for them that they would like. We wanted to take them to dinner. So we asked where they would like to go to dinner and then what they would like to do after dinner and what they wanted to see. They wanted to see "Der Rosenkavalier." Wasn't that lovely? So we went to the opera and we went to dinner.

Fry: Did you have a specific mission to help set up?

Vernon: Oh, no, we just went as stragglers, as tourists. We were particularly interested in meeting women who had had war experiences.

When we were on the train to Berlin, we met a woman who suggested we go to see a noted pianist in Berlin. We met her and took her out to dinner. A friend of ours who was, I think, in the American embassy in Berlin, asked us afterwards, "Who was the lady you were with? She has been starved, hasn't she?"*

*In the original interview, Miss Vernon said that the embassy employee had seen and referred to Anita Augsburgh and Alida Heymann in Munich; later she remembered that the incident occurred in Berlin where he was referring to the pianist.

- Vernon: And in Berlin, we met Gertrude Bauer, who was a member of the Reichstag. It was also in Berlin that we ran into Mr. Villard--Oswald Garrison Villard; he was a friend of ours. He was so interested in our meetings with these women. When he heard that we had met the pianist, he said that his mother had sponsored her concert when she played in the U.S.
- Fry: Was he with the Nation when you met him in Berlin?
- Vernon: Oh sure. He was the publisher. Ernest Gruening was actually the editor at the time we were in Berlin; but it was all under Mr. Villard's direction.
- Fry: Back that far. Did he write up this visit at all, Mabel?
- Vernon: I don't know.
- Fry: I wondered if we'd be able to find anything about it in the old Nation.
- Vernon: I don't remember. I was trying to think what he was doing independent of the Nation. I don't remember. Ernest Gruening could probably tell me, because he had just taken over as the editor of the Nation when we got back from Europe. He, Anne, and I were in New York together.*
- Fry: Did you go to France during the trip in Europe?
- Vernon: Yes, but I don't remember--I don't know if the name of Camille Drevet means anything to you? We became acquainted with her there. She was prominent in the League too.** I don't remember other women in France. And then we went to London. Anne belonged to a very hoity-toity club

*In a later untaped conversation, Mabel Vernon added, "When Anne got back from Europe, some time after I did, I went to New York to meet her. Mr. Villard invited us to a luncheon at a restaurant on Vesey Street with all the people on the staff of the Nation. Ernest Gruening asked Anne if she would write the story of Nevada for the book These United States which he was editing. The book was published later. Anne's piece was in the second volume. He had some very distinguished people who wrote chapters on the states."

**During the 1920s, Camille Drevet was the deputy secretary of the French section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

- Vernon: of women; I don't remember the name of it. Maybe you know it--
- Fry: In London? Not a chance.
- Vernon: It was an international club of some kind. People like Lady Pethick-Lawrence [Emmeline]--she wasn't "lady" then--belonged to it, and it was supposed to be a great honor to be invited to belong to that club. Anne had--you don't know Anne's history at all?
- Fry: No, I don't.
- Vernon: She had been in the [English] movement too; it is very interesting about Anne. And when she was arrested, Herbert Hoover, who was a friend of hers and was in London, marched down promptly and bailed her out--which he had no right to do. That was against the rules of the organization, to get bailed out. But Herbert Hoover bailed her out. Anne had been a member of the same sorority to which Hoover's wife belonged at Stanford.
- Fry: This was the same time that Alice Paul was doing her work in London?
- Vernon: I don't know what the dates were that Alice was active in London. Anne was there a little bit before Alice, I think. I wouldn't know.
- Fry: But it was in the Pankhurst movement?
- Vernon: Oh, of course. That's where they were being arrested, jailed and fined.
- Fry: So she knew both the jails and the hoity-toity clubs in London? I assume you chose the hoity-toity clubs when you went back to London.
- Vernon: That's where we stayed. Down on the green. I should remember the name, but I don't remember women in London very much. Then Anne went to Dublin to the meeting of the International Dames League there. I couldn't go; I had to come back and go to "chautauqua." That was my business; it was going to be my business. It must have been the second or third season I had been on chautauqua.
- Fry: So Anne went to Ireland and you came back. Did you come back on the same kind of a slow boat?
- Vernon: No, I came back on an English boat. I went to Southampton and then came back to New York. Isn't it funny how these things will fade from your mind--but I remember the boat trip by myself, a short trip.

Superintendent of Swarthmore Chautauqua: Lectures on Feminism

- Fry: Well, then you came on over for the chautauqua. Where did you go to start your chautauqua work?
- Vernon: Do you know anything about the chautauquas?
- Fry: I know there were the big tents; I have an image in my mind of that.
- Vernon: Well, there were many chautauquas; but Swarthmore chautauqua was one that Dr. Pearson--that was Drew's father, Paul Pearson--had started. He used to do it in connection with his work as a professor at Swarthmore. He wasn't entirely devoted to the chautauqua; he had his job at Swarthmore. His principal job with the chautauqua was in the summertime when he was free. He had superintendents--managers--running the chautauqua during fall and spring seasons. I guess I started with the summer chautauqua and continued for a while in the fall. Do you know the system at all? I told about the chautauqua in that article--
- Fry: In the AAUW article [AAUW Journal, April 1972].
- Vernon: And you know they almost cut the part about the chautauquas out of that article. But when I found that people said, "Oh, I remember the chautauqua. I used to go to it"--Miss Kerwin [neighbor at Boston House] I think was one who told me that she used to go to it in her town--I decided to leave it in.
- Fry: Yes, it was quite a movement, wasn't it?
- Vernon: Yes, and I think it really did something; it had decided educational value.
- Fry: It was the adult education of the day, wasn't it?
- Vernon: Yes, it was. Of course, when it came to the larger towns it stayed seven days; in the smaller towns it stayed for five days. It depended on what people in a town could afford, because they had to guarantee it, you know. Before the chautauqua would come, it had to be guaranteed. There was a board of guarantors who sold the tickets.
- Fry: In each town?
- Vernon: In each town. A well-run affair, I think. And some of the lecturers were very good.
- Fry: What did you do, Mabel?

- Vernon: Well, I was what they called a superintendent, and that means that I stayed in town for the five days or the seven days, whichever it happened to be, and I had to take charge. I had to see that the lecturers were met when they came and that they were properly introduced. I was the master of ceremonies in this. Three afternoons a week I gave a lecture, and I lectured on "What is Feminism?" I must have told something about that in the AAUW article.
- Fry: You did mention that you lectured on "What is Feminism." What did this consist of? Was this a sociological lecture, or basically political?
- Vernon: I don't remember whether it was sociological or political. I just told them something about women and the interest women took through the years in social issues and legislation like child labor and child-labor laws. I had been interested in that principally through Anne. Anne was quite a writer; she wrote for Good Housekeeping. And her writing had interested me in that aspect. I think you can see why I left the suffrage campaign and went to take charge of Anne Martin's campaign. She was interesting--much more interesting than any of the suffragists were then or some of the workers for equal rights for women are today.
- Fry: She was interested in what suffrage could bring about.
- Vernon: Yes, and that interested me, of course. So I remember bringing that kind of talk heavily into the chautauqua lectures. They weren't long; I think they lasted about twenty minutes--something like that.
- Fry: Then, did you go right on into Columbia University?
- Vernon: I was a little bit late in getting my degree because Professor Shepherd [William R.] made a mistake. Shepherd was my major professor. He thought I hadn't handed in a major piece of work. I should have had the degree awarded in June '23, I think. I was in New York in '23. But I talked to Professor Shepherd and got it straightened out. So I got my M.A. in political science later in 1923.
- Fry: And did you go to school full time or did you do something else on the side?
- Vernon: Oh, no, I just went to Columbia. I concentrated there until I got enough credits for my degree. I have forgotten how many there were.
- Fry: What made you decide to go back and get another degree?
- Vernon: Well, I thought that I would probably want to teach again, and I didn't think I could get back into teaching without having something. I think that was the way I reasoned. And after I had gone to Columbia

Vernon: and gotten a degree, I did consider taking a teaching position at a girls' school near Philadelphia called the Ogantz School.

Return to the Woman's Party: Executive Secretary, 1926-1930

Vernon: And I came down here [Washington, D.C.] and talked to Alice [Paul]. I can remember it was Alice. And I said I was considering that position, and she said, "Why don't you come back?" I have forgotten what she wanted to do. Study or something. She wanted me to come back and take charge of the Woman's Party while she did this. That was a mistake, probably; Alice never really wants anybody to take charge.

Fry: Did Alice go out of the country then?

Vernon: Well, she may have been out of the country or she may have gone to school some place. I've forgotten what she did. But she was in touch more or less, directing things. We had the national campaign to win for President Hoover in 1928. And Alice was so anxious to repeat what we had done in 1916 [support a presidential candidate to make a cause an issue] practically, that she persuaded me and I persuaded other people that the thing to do was to support Mr. Hoover in this campaign. And my memory is not clear enough about this (I oughtn't to speak about it without consulting Alice), but my memory is that we had had a delegation to Hoover--this was before he was president in 1928--and that he hadn't made a straight-out declaration for the equal rights amendment. I've forgotten what he did say; must be in Equal Rights some place, but it wasn't a straight-out declaration. We equivocated, I think, and decided to support him. I can remember some of our members objecting. Emma Wold particularly. And Anne and I had to explain to her that it was so necessary to make ERA a political issue that we would have to try to get Hoover's declaration and then support him. I guess that was Alice's reasoning with me. I don't know how effective we were.

Fry: The Woman's Party must have focused on the equal rights amendment just as you came back to work with it.

Vernon: Oh, from the very beginning. That's what it was formed for, darling.

Fry: Well, I mean after suffrage; it didn't submit an amendment until 1923. And that is about the time that you came back to work with it.

Vernon: No, I came back later than that, darling; it was more like 1925 or something like that.

Fry: Oh. Well, you got your degree in 1923 and you came straight from there into the Woman's Party, is that right?

Vernon: No. I promptly went back to the chautauqua.

Fry: And then after a year or two, you came to the Woman's Party.

Vernon: Yes. I think that's the way it was.

Fry: Well, this says that you served as the executive secretary of the Woman's Party from 1926 to 1930.

Vernon: That's what I called it, did I? Executive secretary.

Fry: That's what you called it in the Wilmington Friends School Bulletin story [spring, 1969].

Vernon: I said '26?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Well, that's about right.

Fry: So that the main push then was to get the equal rights amendment through just as you had gotten the suffrage amendment through.*

Women-For-Congress Campaign, 1924: Reminder of 1915 Motor Trip

Vernon: I didn't tell you about supporting the--that's where I was in 1923-24. We ran a woman for Congress. Did you know about that?

Fry: Oh, yes. Now that is what I understood: that you had a year there where you tried to get women in Congress.

Vernon: Yes. It was a very laudable thing to do. I wish we had pushed harder. I wish we had continued onward. I don't know why we didn't. But

*As executive secretary of the National Woman's Party, one of Mabel Vernon's achievements, not discussed in these interviews, was the directing of arrangements for the national convention at Colorado Springs, July 7-10, 1920. See appendix for her statement on equal rights which was the focus of this convention.

- Vernon: there was a woman running in Meadville, Pennsylvania. And I went out to assist in her campaign. Mrs. Culbertson [Elizabeth]. What she was I don't remember.
- Fry: Democrat or Republican?
- Vernon: I don't know whether she had any party or not; perhaps she was an independent. But at any rate, I went out to assist in her campaign, and Lucy Branham was with me part of the time. We ran a good campaign. I remember Zona Gale; well, did you ever hear of Zona Gale?
- Fry: Oh, yes.
- Vernon: Well, Zona Gale came down to speak to a banquet we had in Erie or Meadville. Lovely person.
- Fry: Did Anne Martin do anything political in '24?
- Vernon: No. She didn't assist in that campaign. I don't remember what Anne was doing. I didn't campaign for any other woman. And then Margaret Whittemore and I ran a trip. Did you hear about that trip?
- Fry: No.
- Vernon: Well, Margaret was an expert driver and she had a little car which she called Lucretia Mott. And we started off. I met her in Indianapolis. That must have been in the--sorry, I don't remember the dates, but it was in the spring of 1924--must have been '24.
- Fry: This campaign was for women for Congress and you had a big sign on your car--
- Vernon: Saying "Women for Congress." I don't remember all the places we stopped; but it was extensive, following that southern route to the West. You see, Margaret lived in Santa Barbara. And we were making toward Santa Barbara. San Diego, that is the only time I had stopped in San Diego. And on up to Santa Barbara.
- Fry: Did you go back through Kansas City and Omaha?
- Vernon: I think we started in Indianapolis. Wonderful gatherings there; wonderful women there.
- Fry: Were you again the advance man as you had been before?
- Vernon: No, I was sitting in the car. I was the chief speaker. It was just we two. We didn't have anyone in advance of us that I remember. Just Margaret and I; and we had had our meetings prepared for us, I guess, by good scouts--good members of the Woman's Party. I don't remember

- Vernon: many other places. I do remember Indianapolis. I remember getting stuck in a flood down in Arizona.
- Fry: How did you get out, do you remember?
- Vernon: No. Just drove Liz again. A Ford it was.
- Fry: I guess you didn't have petitions for people to sign this time, did you?
- Vernon: No, we just had to support the idea of women for Congress and there weren't any individual women that I know about except my candidate. I don't remember. But forwarding the idea was my objective.
- Fry: This wasn't in time to try to get women to run, was it? It was too late in the election year for that?
- Vernon: I don't remember.
- Fry: What did you do in San Diego?
- Vernon: Oh, just held meetings and held forth.
- Fry: Then you went on up to Santa Barbara.
- Vernon: There we had marvelous meetings. That was Margaret's home town, you see; at least it was her adopted town--she came from Detroit.
- Fry: Did you get on up to San Francisco?
- Vernon: Yes, but I don't remember it.
- Fry: Well, that could be found in the papers there if we get the dates from here.
- Vernon: I don't remember getting back from that trip either. I don't remember where it was--came back to Washington, I guess.
- Fry: And then that was another presidential election year.
- Vernon: I probably made this trip across the country before I went to Meadville [Pennsylvania], et cetera, to campaign. Because I know that from the campaign in Meadville I went to a big mass meeting we had in Philadelphia. That's where the man laughed. We had a big mass meeting in Philadelphia all about women in Congress. This was to be the finale of that campaign. Frank Walsh came. He had been the chairman of the industrial commission at the time of the war. Oh, Sara [Bard Field] and I could tell you tales about Frank--because

Vernon: he was a Kansas City lawyer and he helped us so in Kansas City when Sara and I were coming there [1915].

Fry: What did Frank Walsh do [1915]?

Vernon: Well, he provided the automobile for me to go to speak in advance of their arrival, you know. I got into Kansas City probably a week ahead, and I went to speak every night down on the street corner. And Frank and his chauffeur would provide the automobile. The chauffeur would stand there beside me to protect me from the crowd.

Fry: What do you mean, protect you from the crowd?

Vernon: Well, he thought--this was ignorance on his part, darling--that he needed to be there to see that nothing happened to me. Very nice boy, Walter. I remember him.

Fry: The only other person I have any information on in that Kansas episode was William Allen White.

Vernon: Oh, yes. We went to see him, at least I went to see him.

Fry: Yes, and I guess he--

Vernon: Maybe that was another campaign stop that I had in Kansas.

Fry: Emporia.

Vernon: Emporia, that's right. But Kansas City was where I first met Malvina Lindsey. She had just become head of the woman's department on the Kansas City Post; and so Frank sent me down to Malvina to give her a story. In later years she had a column in the Washington Post. She became a friend of ours. She lived here [Boston House, Washington, D.C.] recently.

Fry: Now, was this on Sara's trip?

Vernon: Yes. On Sara's trip. 1915. So I am running ahead.

I know what made me think of Frank Walsh. He came to speak at the Philadelphia meeting, and I can remember when I was raising money Frank gallantly stepped forward and pledged a hundred dollars. He was a good scout. He made a splendid speech at the Philadelphia meeting. And it was while I was raising that money that the man laughed, when I said, "Who will give a thousand dollars?" And Mary Winsor immediately piped up, "I will give it." That's the story you recall, isn't it?

Fry: And she just did it in reaction to that man.

- Vernon: I said to Anita, "Why did Mary--how did Mary happen to give a thousand dollars?" She was very well-off, but she wasn't so wealthy. Well, that was all in 1924.
- Fry: Then it was after that that you took over as executive secretary of the Woman's Party. Did you work right with Alice then or did you--
- Vernon: I don't remember seeing much of her. She came and went, as I remember.
- Fry: Well, Alice got involved in her work in Europe in the late '20s, didn't she?
- Vernon: I don't know when she began that. You mean in Geneva?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: That's where we need the Suffragist. We need the Suffragist because Alice on dates is not so good.
- Fry: I hope we can get hold of some. Maybe we could if Alice were here.
- Vernon: We need to get hold of them. I don't know when she began that work.

Equal Rights Amendment: Hoover Campaign, 1928

- Fry: Well, then in the 1928 election your emphasis was on Hoover, is that right?*

*Equal Rights issues of June and July 1928 report that Mabel Vernon led delegations to both the Republican and Democratic conventions and spoke for equal rights before the resolutions committee of each. Mabel Vernon's speech to the resolutions committee of the Republican convention, June 12, 1928, from Equal Rights, June 23, 1928:

"The fight for Equal Rights is just as certain of success as was the fight for votes for women, for education for women, and every other fight to free women from unnatural and unbearable restrictions. The members of this committee know that no matter what their individual sentiments may be, we are bound to reach the goal for which we are striving of equality in every part of life.

Your action at this convention will affect the length of time that will be required for the immediate work of putting women

Vernon: That was it; we were supporting Hoover.

Fry: What was Al Smith's attitude on equal rights?

Vernon: I don't know that he had one. We never got a good clear one from him that I remember. I was in New York for part of that campaign. It was pretty rough.** I never understood Alice on this campaign very well because, as I say, I was in New York trying to get support for Hoover, and Mary Moss Wellborn was there too. She was a southern girl who was just--well, I thought she was wonderful. And Mary Moss had gotten us a store, a vacant store, on Fifth Avenue; we had a display of Hoover material, of women's rights material there and so on. And we arranged to go to a demonstration for Al Smith in a car with a banner supporting Hoover. And they tried to upset our automobile.

Fry: Who?

Vernon: Well, the crowd of Smith supporters. That was a little bit risky. Elizabeth Rogers [Mrs. John, Jr.] was in the car. Seems like I was standing up in the front seat speaking and Mrs. Rogers was in the back. Well, this caused quite a story. And Alice said something that I never understood (she may not have said it; it may have been a false report); namely, that the Republicans wouldn't want the women campaigning for them again, or something like that. Something critical of our efforts.

Fry: That the Republicans would not want the women?

on an equal plane with men before the law. The question you will decide today is whether you will waste your strength in trying to stay the inevitable advance of women or will use your power to pass the amendment, thus speeding the time when men and women as human beings will have Equal Rights, equal privileges and equal responsibilities in all pursuits of life.

We believe your wisdom, experience and love of fair play will lead you to decide to give us your help."

The cover of the June 30 issue features "Our Speakers at the Republican Convention." Mabel Vernon is at the center of the group. Her stance is not like that of any of the other women; it is the dynamically angular one described by Rebecca Reyher in her introduction to this volume. [Ed.]

**A picture of Mabel Vernon and two colleagues about to open the New York office for the Hoover campaign appears on the October 20, 1928 issue of Equal Rights with the caption "Off to the Front." [Ed.]

- Vernon: Yes, if this was the kind of support they gave, with the crowd attacking their speakers and things like that. She may not have said it; it came to me indirectly, via Maud Younger or somebody like that. Ever hear of Maud Younger?
- Fry: Sure. Was she working in New York at that time?
- Vernon: I guess she was in Washington. Did Sara ever talk to you about Maud?
- Fry: Yes, she did. She and Maud were very close friends there for a while.
- Vernon: They had worked in California together.
- Fry: When Hoover won, what happened with the Equal Rights Amendment?
- Vernon: Nothing, that I remember.
- Fry: When did you first decide that maybe it wasn't such a good idea to back Hoover?
- Vernon: That it wasn't?
- Fry: Yes. You told me that you thought that maybe it wasn't a good idea.
- Vernon: I said that some of our members felt that because Hoover hadn't made an out and out commitment we shouldn't support him. I've already mentioned Emma Wold. Great friend of Sara's. Sara called her Thelma. That was the name Emma's sisters called her, and I think Thelma is the equivalent of Emma in Norwegian. Well, Sara and Emma had known each other in Oregon. I think Emma was the first one who said to me that she didn't see how we could consistently support Hoover when he had made such an equivocal statement. And I explained to her, I don't know how clearly, that it was Alice's idea that the issue had to be made political, and we could do it by introducing it into the national campaign. Emma said, "Well, Mabel, I will go along with you if you think this is the right course." We were very good friends; she trusted my judgment, which I don't think was necessarily good. [Laughter]
- Fry: You mean as you look back on it now?
- Vernon: No, I think I felt it at the time. I never felt a great conviction because I think I felt much the same as Emma. But it was politically expedient. I suppose that was it; I don't know.*

*In Equal Rights, September 22, 1928, an editorial makes the point that the vice-presidential candidate on the Republican ticket, Senator Charles Curtis, had introduced the Equal Rights Amendment. Thus, in an

Vernon: But I'm interested in what Burnita [Judge Matthews] talked about.

Tenth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1926:
Speech for the Woman's Party

Fry: Judge Matthews just remembered that there was a great congress.

Vernon: There was a meeting in Paris, which I will tell you about because I was very much identified with that.**

Fry: Well, why don't we go on into your meeting in Paris, then. That's in the thirties, right?

Vernon: No, that was earlier than that. I think it was 1928 [1926--Ed.]. It was the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Did Burnita remember that?

Fry: Yes. That's the one.

Vernon: We had decided--Alice had decided that we should vie as the Woman's Party for admission. So we had a big delegation--Florence Bayard Hilles and several women of that calibre. There were twenty-eight of us in all, something like that.

Fry: My goodness.

Vernon: We had decided--I guess Alice and the council all had decided--that Doris Stevens and I should be co-chairmen of the delegation. The idea all along was that I was to be sent as a delegate and as co-chairman principally because I could speak to the conference; my proverbial [laughter] speaking ability was to be called upon. As I have told Alice many times, she never paid any attention to what I said at all because I said it in a loud voice. [Laughter]

election where it was important to interest the voters in the issue of equal rights, it seemed better to support a ticket on which at least one member was a strong supporter. Mabel Vernon also made a statement in Equal Rights to this effect.

When I mentioned this editorial and her statement to Mabel Vernon, she remembered that the position of Senator Curtis had been important in gaining the support of the Woman's Party for the Republican candidates. [Ed.]

**The New York Times Index for 1926, p. 317, documents this conference extensively. It was held in late May and early June. [Ed.]

Fry: Well, at this particular time, was your language ability necessary too?

Vernon: The meeting was at the Sorbonne, and I don't remember using anything but English. When we got to Paris and it came time for us to speak, for some reason there was a great discussion among the members of the delegation as to whether I should be the one to speak or Doris should be the one to speak. And Anne [Martin] was on this delegation too. The meeting was held up in the room Anne and I shared, in--what was the name of the hotel on the Left Bank? It is the name of Napoleon's mother [Letizia]. That's where Anne and I had headquarters. Anita [Pollitzer] had gone ahead and made all the arrangements. And the meeting was up in our room to decide who should speak to the Sorbonne meeting the next day. Mrs. Corbett Ashby of England was the chairman of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and was presiding at the Sorbonne meeting. It was finally decided that I should be the one to make the speech.

Well, then they all cleared out of our room to give us a chance, and Anita and Anne and I worked until about three or four in the morning to write the speech that I was to make the next day. And I can remember; I can see Anita on that bed. I think I told her, "This is a night I will never forget." She asked me a little while ago, "What was it that night that you will never forget?" Anita, with all sorts of press releases that had come to her from Florence Boeckel, would look over those things and say, "Here, Mabel, here is something good!" [Laughter] And then she would give me something from one of those statements that Florence Boeckel had written. Florence was extremely able, I can't tell you. Boeckel--you must have heard her name.

Fry: Boeckel, B-o-e-c-k-e-l, right?

Vernon: But you pronounce it "Bokel."

Fry: And I do realize that she was extremely able because of the articles here in the Suffragist that she wrote.

Vernon: Well, Anita would pick some gem out of Florence's writing, and I would make note of it and prepare for what I was to say the next morning. Now this is really unbelievable. I spoke the next morning, and we didn't get admitted; but I spoke there at the Sorbonne, and our delegation approved mightily of my speaking. After we came back [to the U.S.], I can remember sitting in the garden of the Woman's Party, and Alice told me about the approval that she had had from all members of the delegation. And she said, "Mabel, it was the time for you to have died." [Laughter] Do you know that I reminded her of that a little while ago and she remembered it. [Laughter] I never thought she would acknowledge it, but she remembered it and did acknowledge it. That's all I know. I think Consuelo was there probably when I told her. That was probably the meeting that Burnita [Matthews] was talking about. We did have a wonderful delegation there, and I think they--I was trying to think of some of

Vernon: the English women there--Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence was there, Lady Rhondda, Anne Archbold--no, her name is not Anne, but something Archbold.*

Fry: Archbold?

Vernon: B-o-l-d. She was a great friend of Lady Rhondda's; worked with her. And they were all pulling for us.

Fry: Well, I don't understand why you didn't get admitted.

Vernon: I don't either.

Fry: Because this was the international organization to provide all kinds of--

Vernon: Well, of course, the National American Woman Suffrage Association was really the big suffrage organization in this country. There is no doubt about that.

Fry: And at that time had they turned into the League of Women Voters?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Did they get admitted?

Vernon: Oh, they always had been members. They were among the original members. I don't know what the situation was in regard to the old suffrage association and the League of Women Voters, but we weren't admitted.

Fry: Do you think that they were saying it was because now your efforts were devoted to equal rights for women or anything like that?

Vernon: No, I don't think so. Just the character of the organization, I think.

Fry: Well, you had certainly shown your willingness to participate by taking over such a large delegation. Wasn't that unusually large?

Vernon: Yes, unusually large, I would think. And some of the women were very distinguished, like Florence Bayard Hilles. I can't remember. Crystal

*Anne Archbold was an officer of the Woman's Party from Maine. It seems likely that Mabel Vernon meant Helen Alexander Archdale was a noted British feminist whose visits to the United States were mentioned in Equal Rights in the late 1920s [Ed.].

Vernon: Eastman was in Paris at that time. I don't know whether she went with us or not. Stunning women, you know. Doris Stevens and Crystal Eastman.

Fry: Who was head of the League of Women Voters?

Vernon: I don't know about the League of Women Voters, but Mrs. Corbett Ashby was the English woman who headed the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Do you want to give us a cup of tea, darling? [To Consuelo Reyes.]

Reyes: Yes, I was going to serve a cup of tea.

Fry: Well, did you go to any other countries or do anything else while you were there? See any of your old friends?

Vernon: No, I don't think we did.

Nationality of Women and Children, Hague Conference, 1930: Work for Appointment of a Woman to Delegation

Fry: There was a later conference, the one on consultation of nationalities.

Vernon: I am not sure whether it was '30 or '31. Maybe Burnita [Matthews] went to that conference after she went to Paris; I have forgotten. Burnita was there, I think.*

Fry: And that's what Alice got so involved in in the '30s. She worked in Geneva for equal rights for the mother in deciding the child's nationality. What was the main issue there, on nationality?

Vernon: What do you mean, the main issue?

Fry: Well, I wonder if I understand it correctly that, as things stood then, if a man lived in a country in Europe that had, for instance, in the Treaty of Versailles, become another country, such as part of Germany was given to Belgium, and he was German he could choose whether he wanted to be German or Belgian.

*Judge Burnita Matthews says that she did not attend the Hague conference concerning nationalities. It was held about April 4-13, 1930, and was part of the Hague Conference on Codification of International Law. The banning of American women and other events of this conference are well documented in the New York Times Index, 1930. [Ed.]

Vernon: Yes, I think so. You will have to talk to Alice about this. But his wife had to take whatever nationality he chose, and then a minor child had to take whatever nationality the parents chose. So it meant that if the mother were Belgian she could not retain her Belgian citizenship if he chose German, and they had to move back to Germany too. So that in some cases--

Vernon: Alice will be the explainer of that, darling.

Fry: And it meant that the child always had the nationality of the father, I guess.

Vernon: But our part of this was that we voted in the council to send a representative to this conference and if possible to get a Woman's Party woman appointed to the United States delegation. And we chose Emma Wold, who had been a student of nationality, to be our representative, the one that we would support. Well, I took this at its face value, so I proceeded to help, or at least try, to get Emma appointed.

And we had an undersecretary of state at that time whom I remember now; I took a particular liking to him--Cotton, C-o-t-t-o-n. I guess his name was Joseph, but I think I may be mixed with the movie actor. [Laughter] But at any rate, his name was Cotton. And we established very nice relations with Mr. Cotton. Mary Moss [Wellborn] had a lot to do with that. Mary Moss was one of these ingratiating southerners that you have met. Talking about accent, hers was Mississippi. So you could see what that did to the English language. But at any rate, she got along with all those State Department men very well and with senators too.

I could always remember this story. The information came through that they weren't going to appoint anybody outside of the department. It was to be a departmental--I think was the term they used, a departmental delegation.

Fry: The State Department, you mean?

*In a 1927 issue of Equal Rights, Emma Wold wrote an article entitled "The Nationality of Women at Home and Abroad." The editor's note to this article describes Miss Wold as a member of the United States Supreme Court Bar and of the Legal Research Department of the National Woman's Party." She is further described as "perhaps the most outstanding authority on this complex subject." [Ed.]

**Referred to as J.P. Cotton in the New York Times Index, 1930.

Vernon: Yes, the State Department. Mary Moss had picked this up over at the Senate. So I sent her down to see Cotton about this to find out whether this was correct or not, and he met her right at the door. She told him this, and he said, "Where did you get that?" And Mary Moss said, "From a newspaperman." And when she came back, I said, "But Mary Moss, we got that report from Senator Capper [Arthur]"--Senator Capper of Kansas. And Mary Moss said, "Yes, Miss Vernon, I know; but he's a newspaperman." [Laughter] That's the kind of girl she was; and sure enough, he was!

Fry: Very shrewd.

Vernon: Yes, very shrewd it was. Well, at any rate, they did appoint Emma then. It was a departmental delegation. Ruth Shipley, who was head of the passport division, and a friend of ours, went as a member of the delegation; and Emma was appointed an advisor (I think that was the term) to the delegation.

I don't know what happened in the Woman's Party at that time. I hesitate to speak about this, but apparently the endorsement of Emma Wold was not entirely satisfactory to some people, I don't know, and they began to start a campaign for Doris Stevens. One of our friends down at the State Department called us up one day--Green Hackworth. I don't know if his name means anything to you; he was afterwards appointed to the World Court as the United States representative. He called us up and said to Mary Moss, "I thought maybe I should tell you that Miss Paul and Mrs. Rogers of New York have just been down here advocating the appointment of Doris Stevens." I never talked to Alice about this. I ought to do it, the way I talked about my dying; but I never have. But that came from Green Hackworth; I never understood why. And, of course, nothing came of it. Doris went at the head of a large party.

Fry: She did go?

Vernon: She did go to the Hague.

Fry: Well, what happened to Emma Wold?

Vernon: She was appointed as a consultant. She was appointed just as Cotton told us she would be. He greatly valued Emma's work.

Fry: So Emma--

Vernon: Emma was the consultant to the United States delegation. It was a position that carried some prestige. And Doris went just as the head of a delegation of women.

Fry: Was that at all a delegation of the Woman's Party?

Vernon: Oh, of course, darling. Alice and I have never talked about it.

Fry: What was the outcome of that conference?

Vernon: I would have to talk to Alice about that.

Fry: Well, did you go?

Vernon: No, my business was to get Emma there and I did. As a consultant. It wasn't all that we had wanted, but it was better than nothing. And it was true, it was a departmental delegation.

That was my last--shortly after that I left the Woman's Party.

Fry: Oh, now what--

Vernon: Now I can't tell you why I left. [Laughter] Maybe Alice can.

Fry: And you at that point went to work where?

Vernon: At the Women's International League. It took me a little while to make up my mind. I went home to Wilmington for a while.

But I can't tell you what happened in the Woman's Party.

Fry: Did you ever feel waylaid by offers to marry and settle down?

Vernon: Oh, mercy no! [Laughter]

Fry: Just thought I'd ask.

Vernon: Did you?

Fry: Yes, I did. I have three sons to prove it. But I don't want to tape record my life here; I want to tape record yours.

Campaign Director for Women's International League: Transcontinental Peace Caravan, 1931

Fry: What about giving us a view of what you did in your first years working for the International League for Peace and Freedom.

Vernon: Oh, darling, that's a long story. I'd have to take a--we had a trip across the country, you know. I've been thinking about this a little bit. It was very similar to the 1915 trip across the country. Sara-- bless her dear heart--came down to Hollywood. We were having a WIL

Vernon: convention in Hollywood--has she ever told you about this?

Fry: No, I knew that she worked some for WIL, but she hasn't told me about anything specific.

Vernon: We had a convention, and there we planned a delegation across the country; and we set off just as we had in San Francisco, you know, from a big meeting. A big meeting was held I have forgotten where--some stadium in Hollywood--and Sara came down and made the speech to send them off. Whenever I wanted a good speaker, I sent for Sara. And Sara came. Erskine Scott Wood, her husband, came with her.

Fry: Oh, how nice.

Vernon: Yes, that was nice. And Sara made a rousing speech such as the WIL--well, I think they appreciated it--I'm sure they did; they hadn't had many speeches of that kind.

Fry: This would have been in the thirties, I guess; is that right?

Vernon: Well, the petition that we were gathering across the country was to be sent to the World Disarmament Conference that was to be held in Geneva, I think it was 1932; is that the date?

Fry: We can look that up and check on the exact date, now that we know what the conference was.* And this petition was to gether signatures for the United States--

Vernon: Oh, they had a--I think they called it the Golden Book. They presented there a mighty petition. From all over the world, you know, all over the world that petition came.

Fry: For disarmament all over the world.

Vernon: Yes, for world disarmament, which is the only sane kind of disarmament.

Fry: Well, along about this time--you go ahead and tell about your trip. I was going to ask you another question.

Vernon: Well, I'd rather you'd ask the question. The trip would be quite a long tale. We got here [Washington, D.C.] and Jane Addams and other leaders in the WIL met us here--I guess it was about a two-months trip.

Fry: Was Sara with you on this trip?

*1932 is correct. [Ed.]

Vernon: No.

Fry: Who was with you?

Vernon: Oh, we had various members. Hannah Clothier Hull. Did you ever meet Mrs. Hull, darling? Her husband [William Isaac Hull] was a professor at my college. I remember when I went to see Mrs. Hull when I first started with the WIL. Dr. Hull received me, "My old friend and student." I can hear him saying that yet. He taught me history at Swarthmore.

Fry: When you got here to Washington, what did you do with the petition?

Vernon: We took it to President Hoover. Jane Addams was a powerful name, darling. We had a big meeting at the Belasco [Theatre]. See, I was using my Woman's Party experience, modeling it on the same lines.

Fry: And as you did with Sara, did you try to get governors' signatures in the--

Vernon: Yes, as we went along.

Fry: In the top of the political establishment in each state?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Then that petition was taken to Europe, was it? To the conference?

Vernon: You see, every country that had any disarmament at all was sending petitions. And this one called the Golden Book, as I told you, was presented to the disarmament conference.

Fry: Do you know who went over to that conference? Did you go?

Vernon: I went later. I didn't go to the conference. I can't remember, darling. The WIL records would have that, if we were interested in it.

Fry: Did you ever take time off and rest, Mabel?

Vernon: Yes, I'll tell you what I did. I left the "caravan," as we called it, I think at Minneapolis and went up to Duluth and took a boat and went down to--where would I land?--someplace in Michigan. I went to Mackinaw for a while and stayed there--I think this was all in about ten days. But that was a wonderful idea to have that trip down the lake.

Fry: Because I wondered how you just kept going and going.

Vernon: I didn't.

- Fry: Because I remember how very difficult Sara's trip was physically in 1915.
- Vernon: Well, I didn't take any time off on that trip, but on this trip I did.
- Fry: You were getting wiser, weren't you?
- Vernon: Well, I was traveling more with the caravan this time, you see. We had a Goucher College student; I think she had curvature of the spine, or something like that. She was driving the car. Dorothy Cook.
- Fry: It must have been a marvelous experience for her, as a student.
- Vernon: It was. I think her mother was that same Joseph Cotton's secretary. I think I can remember telling Mrs. Cook when I met her what a wonderful secretary she was; and she said, "Yes, Mr. Cotton told me when I came here, 'You can make me or break me, Mrs. Cook.'" And I said, "There's no question which you did." She was Dorothy's mother; Dorothy was the one who worked hard, that girl, at the wheel--an excellent driver.
- Fry: The question I was going to ask you was, since this was the time when Hitler was beginning to be at the height of his power in Germany, did you have any chapters in Germany at that time that were working with you on this that you knew of?
- Vernon: No. This was a little early for Hitler.
- Fry: Well, '32 and '33 he was pretty much in power.
- Vernon: Was he? I thought he came along in '37.
- Fry: No, I think he was in by '32, but was not recognized too much as a threat. So that's why I was curious as to whether the disarmament movement had extended to Germany at that time.
- Vernon: I guess we didn't have much to do with Germany at that time. I don't think we did. I don't remember.
- Fry: What were your primary nations?
- Vernon: For world disarmament? Well, of course, I was principally concerned with the United States.

Peoples Mandate Committee, 1935-1955: Use of Suffrage Campaign
Techniques for Peace

Fry: Did you have any serious opposition here in the United States at your efforts for disarmament?

Vernon: I don't know where it came from.

Fry: I was wondering what form it would take. You know it could be anything from just ignoring you to actually campaigning against you.

Later on Roosevelt's [Franklin D.] national defense policy began to increase the armament movement in this country. Remember?

Vernon: We got along very well with Roosevelt.

Fry: You did?

Vernon: That came into the [Peoples] Mandate Committee. We had had more contact with Roosevelt in the Mandate Committee than anywhere else. But I started the Mandate Committee in 1935. By the way, did you know that Mary Woolley was the chairman of the Peoples Mandate? Do you know the name of Mary Woolley at all? Mt. Holyoke, the president of Mt. Holyoke?

Fry: A marvelous woman educator.

Vernon: Well, she was the chairman of the Peoples Mandate. But I was thinking of some of the meetings we had with Roosevelt, face to face meetings which came more in the peoples mandate campaign than it did in the WIL. That's another story that begins with 1935, darling. I left the WIL in 1935.*

*The appendix contains a letter from Mabel Vernon to Anne Martin, May 10, 1935, containing her early thoughts about the possibilities for a mandate campaign. It also contains an indication of the difficulties she faced working within the WIL.

A letter of August 3 indicates that there was more difficulty than the May letter anticipated in launching the European campaign: "Miss Balch wrote Mrs. Hull that much of my plan was 'impracticable' and that the 'stunt aspects' of it were 'alien' to her and 'all the rest of us over here.'"

Other correspondence between Mabel Vernon and Anne Martin, and between Anne Martin and WIL officers, gives further indication that a creative campaign director faced problems in the WIL at that time.

Vernon: We had started the Peoples Mandate before I left there, to get this petition all over the world to end war. That was its name in the beginning: "Peoples Mandate to End War."

Fry: And was that connected with WILPF later, or was it independent?

Vernon: It became independent. It started as a mandate committee, and it was semi-independent then. We had headquarters down at the Willard Hotel, and the WIL had headquarters on Seventeenth Street. It was semi-independent because we were raising money for the mandate campaign.

Meeting with Roosevelt Before the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936.

Fry: Well, tell me about your meetings with Roosevelt. That would be most interesting.

Vernon: Oh, they are marvelous stories.

I admired him greatly. I was trying to think of the first one we had. Ahh, Mr. Welles, too, comes into this picture, doesn't he, darling? He was our powerful friend, Sumner Welles.

Fry: Oh, Sumner Welles.

This correspondence is in the Anne Martin collection, The Bancroft Library.

A mimeographed letter from Mabel Vernon (August 27, 1935) details the plans for an international radio hook-up between Europe and the United States on September 6 to launch the Peoples Mandate. When I [Ed.] asked Mabel Vernon if this hook-up had occurred, she said, "I'm sure it must have."

Mabel Vernon remembers going to Geneva to meet with an international group to begin the mandate campaign. A letter dates this meeting September 12, 1935.

A list of the organizations in the United States which secured signatures to the mandate gives some indication of the scope and method of Mabel Vernon's work

Vernon: Who was the undersécretary of state. When did I make friends with Sumner? Pretty far back, wasn't it?

Reyes: Tommy [Thomas Burke] too.

Vernon: Oh, no, no. Tommy was entirely subsidiary. We made friends with Tommy because of Sumner.* But I can't remember when I made the first contact with Sumner. But it was a contact that rapidly developed, darling. And that helped us greatly with Roosevelt. For instance, we wanted to take a delegation up to Hyde Park to see the President during--I have forgotten which year this was; but at any rate, Mr. Welles arranged it. Well, Mrs. O'Day [helped arrange it.] Does the name Carolyn O'Day mean anything, darling?

She was a member of Congress from Rye, New York. Carolyn O'Day, marvelous woman. Well, she was a member of our committee and a great friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's. And of the President too. This must have been around 1935 because we were getting ready to go to Buenos Aires in 1936.** We soon directed our attention upon the Americas. The War [World War II] was coming on and that's where we had to center our attention. There was to be a conference for the "maintenance of peace." That was its name, the official name of the conference; wonderful name, isn't it? The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. It was held in Buenos Aires in December of 1936. The Peoples Mandate had just been started, so we immediately prepared to send a delegation to the inter-American conference.*** It again

*At a later interview (December 13, 1974) Mabel Vernon explained: "Tommy Burke had a fairly high position in the State Department. The Peoples Mandate Committee had a dinner for Sumner in New York after the Buenos Aires conference (1936). Before the dinner Sumner telephoned us from Washington and asked if he could bring a friend. That was our first contact with Tom Burke. He was very handsome. Sometimes he was called the most handsome man in Washington. He helped very much with the work of the Peoples Mandate Committee. He was the husband of Ana del Pulgar de burke, who was later our chairman for Latin America."

**One of these meetings occurred in August, 1936. Mabel Vernon wrote to Anne Martin, August 29, 1936, "The interview at Hyde Park last Sunday was fine--most impressive." She noted that publicity on the interview appeared in the New York Times.

***A summary of the points in the petition and of the activities of the Peoples Mandate Committee appear in the brochure entitled Peoples Mandate Committee at the Paris Peace Conference: World Statesmen Support Declaration of Principles (pp. 9-11). See appendix.

Vernon: was a wonderful delegation. Mrs. O'Day went on it, and to have a member of Congress was something.

So we went down to Miami and boarded a--oh, that was a very wonderful send-off that we had from here. We flew down to Miami, and Mrs. Roosevelt sent flowers to be presented to, I guess, Mrs. O'Day who was the head of the delegation. We have pictures of that--they're all at Swarthmore--Ray Clapper's little girl, Janet, presenting roses to Mrs. O'Day as she left for Miami. Raymond Clapper was chief correspondent of the United Press, and his wife, Olive Clapper, was secretary of the Peoples Mandate Committee.

And we stopped then in--well, you had to stop every night when you flew to South America in those days, and so we landed in Baranquilla, darling. That's the port in Columbia. And we spent the first night there; and we went on and spent the second night in Guayaquil, the port in Equador. And we stopped someplace else before we got to Lima. These were marvelous receptions, too, that we got there. We went from Lima to Santiago, Chile, and then across the Andes, no stop across the Andes. That's where I was supposed to have called to the pilot, "Go a little higher, Captain!" [Laughter]

Fry: Yes, I hear that's a breathtaking flight across the Andes.

Vernon: Well, I thought we were a little too close to those peaks. Well, I think that is a what-do-you-call-it story. An apocryphal one.

Fry: Well, it sounds very Mabel Vernonish.

Vernon: Well, we had made friends with the captain by that time. Miller, I think his name was. So I may have. "Go a little higher."

Reyes: Mrs. Musser [Elise] was with you.

Vernon: Musser? Oh, darling, she was a member of the United States delegation. She was in Buenos Aires. That's where we became very well-acquainted with her.

Fry: You met her in Buenos Aires?

Vernon: No. We met her before that. I'll tell you how that happened. Do you know that name of Elise Musser, darling?

Fry: No. You had better identify her.

Vernon: Well, she was a member of the United States delegation, but I will tell you a story about her getting appointed. We went to see President Roosevelt about appointing a woman to the United States delegation to Buenos Aires. I don't know who went to see him. We had Mrs.

Vernon: O'Day in mind. The President said to us, "Who is that woman who lives out in Utah or someplace like that and speaks many languages?" And we said we didn't know who she was, but we immediately proceeded to find out who she was. And it was Elise Musser. She was a good Democrat. She had been a Democratic member of the legislature. The President was inclined to appoint her, and he did appoint her.

And then when she came to Washington to stop off on the delegation, we gave a great luncheon for her, down at the Willard Hotel. Olive Clapper, who afterwards became so prominent in CARE, presided at the luncheon.

Fry: Was this a delegation for the consulate or the embassy down there or the delegation for the conference?

Vernon: Oh, she was appointed a member of the United States delegation to the inter-American conference. Secretary Hull [Cordell] was the chairman of the delegation. He was a wonderful person. I had so much more contact with people like that in the Peoples Mandate than I had in the Woman's Party ever--with Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles and people.

Fry: Or more than you had when you were in the Women's International League?

Vernon: Yes, I think so. Because I was the head of the Peoples Mandate Committee after Dr. Woolley. You see, she was the chairman and I was the director. Then when she died--she was a great loss--I became head. And that brought me more into contact with leaders like Sumner. But I took a particular fancy to Sumner and he liked me, so we got along. I have been trying to find a letter of introduction Sumner Welles gave me to the secretary general of the United Nations. In it he wrote something to the effect that he usually didn't give letters of introduction, but he felt I deserved one. Perhaps it's with my papers at Swarthmore.

What are you going to bring us, darling, anything?

Reyes: A picture.

Vernon: What's that, darling?

Fry: Oh, this is a picture of Mrs. Musser being introduced to the governor. Where?

Reyes: In Buenos Aires.

Fry: I see.

Vernon: Not the governor then, darling. Or was that in Cordova?

Reyes: Mr. Verdipaz [?] introduced Mrs. Musser.

Fry: What was the result of this conference? Was there an agreement between the American nations against war?

Vernon: Well, there were the inter-American treaties for the maintenance of peace. The treaties were formed there. And the next year we sent a delegation around Latin America, 1937--and this campaign really had sense to it. It was to get the ratification of the various states for the treaties of Buenos Aires, the peace treaties. We sent a wonderful delegation. We could show her some of those [pictures].

Fry: Yes, I would like to see them. Not right now, though. Maybe if any copies of them exist, we could put them with the transcript.

Vernon: [Looking at pictures of Swarthmore College] I wish you could go to Swarthmore sometime. For various reasons I'd like to have you go--to see the campus, get a feel of the college (remember, it was Alice's college and mine too) and see some of the papers that we have stored there. But you were talking about the pictures. Can you show her some of the pictures, darling? The photographs.

Fry: I think that when I send you a transcript of this, then Consuelo can look at it and probably can choose some relevant pictures that can be put with it.

Vernon: Well, I just wanted you to get an idea of the women who were in this campaign, like [Senora] Ana [del Pulgar de] Burke [chairman for Latin America], for instance. That came later.

Fry: They must have been terribly able.

You said Sumner Welles managed to get an appointment for your group to see the President at Hyde Park?

Vernon: Well, I don't know that Sumner did it. We wanted to go up to Hyde Park--I have forgotten what the date of this was--to see the President. And through the intercession of Mr. Wells and Mrs. O'Day who was such a friend of the Roosevelts'--not only of Mrs. Roosevelt but of the President, too--we arranged for this delegation to go see

Vernon: the President. We all went to Poughkeepsie [New York] and then took cars from there and went out to Hyde Park. And the President was just marvelous. Dr. Woolley spoke to the President; I have forgotten who did speak. We had a rabbi from Buffalo. But the President, of course, couldn't commit himself to anything on disarmament. I can remember when the rabbi spoke to him. "But," he said, "Rabbi, there is another side to this question." But at any rate, we had several delegations to the President at Hyde Park.

I remember one time we took a delegation, and the President looked over the delegation. These delegations were all in his library; and there would be great crowds of us, you know. And he said, "Well, I see the Peoples Mandate Committee is growing. The last time you were here, you had only one man; today you have three." [Laughter]

I liked him. I liked Roosevelt. And that day there were some students. We invited students from colleges round about--of course, this was all in the summer when the President was up there--and there were some students who wanted to come and got there too late. We were still scattered around outside. Mrs. Roosevelt met them and she said, "I presume you want to see the President." They said they did very much. And she arranged to take them into the library. Now you know, the Roosevelts were really awfully nice people.

[To Consuelo Reyes] You liked Mrs. Roosevelt too, didn't you, darling? Consuelo was with the Inter-American Commission of Women. And Mrs. Roosevelt always received them at the White House to tea; and she made it her business to come and sit down beside each one of you, didn't she, darling, for that woman to tell her--

Reyes: About each nation. We had about two or three minutes, all of us, to talk to her.

Fry: Each person?

Reyes: Each one of the women.

Vernon: Well, you see, there was one representative from each Latin American nation..

Inter-American Commission of Women: Banquet Furthering Communications

Fry: And the members of the Inter-American Commission of Women were talking about the status of women?

Vernon: Yes. Now that is something we should have told you about, when we were talking about the 1920s in the Woman's Party. One of our members, Katherine Ward Fisher by name, discovered a resolution in one of the Pan-American conferences, Santiago, 1923, I think, in which it said that women should be taken into account in the inter-American system. How Katherine discovered that resolution, I don't know. She has a character--very clever, very well-informed. And she immediately seized upon it--this was around '27--and said, "Why doesn't the Woman's Party do something about this?" And Alice popped up, as she often did at critical moments like this, and said, "Of course, we should." We should send a delegation to the--now this would be the next conference and that was to be held in Havana, 1928. Burnita [Matthews] didn't mention that, did she?

Fry: Yes, I think she did mention one in Havana. But she didn't remember too much about it.

Vernon: Well, that was the inter-American conference, and Doris [Stevens] went to Willie Vanderbilt and got \$5,000 to send a delegation down to Havana. The point of that delegation was that we should try to get an equal rights resolution for women through that conference. Well, they tried that and didn't succeed; but they compromised on creating the Inter-American Commission of Women. That's all its name is.

Fry: I see. So you had a working commission from then on.

Vernon: And that has gone on; that still exists. There is a woman regularly appointed representative of each nation of the Organization of American States on that commission. They've had some very good women there, haven't they, darling?

Reyes: Later I will talk about PALCO [Pan-American Liaison Committee of Women's Organizations].

Vernon: I don't think she needs to know about PALCO, does she?

Reyes: Starting that was part of your activities--a very important thing that you did.

Vernon: That happened after you arrived, didn't it? They had a chairman here of the Inter-American Commission of Women--Minerva Bernardino, and she came to me--I was the chairman or the director of the Peoples Mandate Committee--and asked me if I couldn't arrange for a luncheon to be given at the time when the Inter-American Commission of Women was in session. I said that I would. And we got representatives of practically all the organizations of women in town, under the direction of the Peoples Mandate Committee, and had a wonderful--was that

Vernon: your first meeting, Consuelo?--luncheon down at the Mayflower Hotel; there must have been a thousand-and-one women there. Wasn't that right, darling?

Reyes: Yes, one thousand persons were there at that luncheon.

Vernon: Yes. Tables up in the balcony there. That big ballroom has a balcony. And we had tables up in the balcony and Mrs. Cordell Hull was there, bless her heart, and the wives of all the inter-American ambassadors. The wife of the chief justice, Harlan Fiske Stone, presided. Oh, it was a famous luncheon.

After the luncheon, Minerva said, "Now it is a shame to let all of this organization die. You have gotten all these women together--representatives from every women's organization in the city. Keep them together." So we organized what we called the Pan-American Liaison Committee of Women's Organizations. That's right, isn't it?

Fry: Liaison between the mandate--

Vernon: No, this was between the Inter-American Commission of Women and the women's organizations right here in Washington.

Fry: For the purpose of disarmament?

Vernon: For the purpose of inter-American exchange.

Reyes: Like an exchange between American women and Latin American women.

Vernon: You see the Inter-American Commission of Women hadn't been able to carry out that equal rights resolution that the 1928 meeting started with. They were just interested in women's affairs, I guess.

Fry: And you felt that if you could increase the communication and the exchange between the women of the countries--

Vernon: Well, we did it just for inter-American cooperation really; wasn't that it, darling, more than anything?

Reyes: Yes.

Fry: Well, I am interested to know if Roosevelt's stand got any firmer as World War II got under way.

Vernon: I don't know.

Delegation to Urge Peace Treaty Support, 1937;
 Cross-country Trip for Latin American Women, 1939

Fry: What did the Peoples Mandate Committee do, Mabel, as the war clouds gathered over Europe and Hitler marched into Austria and so forth?

Vernon: We devoted ourselves more and more to the Americas. In 1937, we sent the delegation down to the capitals to urge support of the inter-American peace treaties.* Then, in 1939, we invited representatives

*"In 1937 Mandate representatives traveled by air to eighteen republics to urge ratification and in every country were received by the President and Foreign Minister, were heard at popular mass meetings and were given front page publicity in the leading newspapers. Ratification by a number of the republics followed this campaign and the part played by the work of the Committee was recognized.

"In the following year a million additional signatures were secured to the Mandate in the Americas and presented to the Eighth Pan American Conference in Lima. Again the Mandate Committee was given official recognition and opportunity to address the Conference." Peoples Mandate Committee For Inter-American Peace and Cooperation, United American Action for Lasting Peace, p. 6-7.

See appendix: Peoples Mandate Committee at the Paris Peace Conference, p. 10, for a somewhat fuller description of the 1937 Flying Caravan and 1939 Good Will Tour. Although this document does not always bring out her own part in these projects, she confirms that, though others may have been the honorary heads, she planned and directed the Flying Caravan and also organized and conducted the Good Will Tour of the United States.

Rebecca Hourwich Reyher gives a vivid description of the 1937 Flying Caravan in her memoirs recorded by the University of California Regional Oral History Office. Section 9 of Mrs. Reyher's memoirs also gives a description of Mabel Vernon at the time she urged Rebecca Reyher to be a member of the Flying Caravan.

In a conversation December 13, 1974, Mabel Vernon said, "I've been trying to remember how we financed the Flying Caravan of envoys who went to Latin America to get support for the Buenos Aires treaties. Now I remember that we got businessmen interested. I used to have meetings of them in New York."

- Vernon: of the Latin American countries in the inter-American organization [to come to the U.S.A.]. We didn't have many; I think we had only five representatives. We had Argentina, Peru, who did come. Consuelo, do you remember them? Well, we had five countries represented. And we took them all over the country [U.S.A.] in a special car. I was following the suffrage practices again. That really was very successful.
- Fry: I am groping around here trying to remember what my history book said on our Latin American relations in those years. Was there any State Department policy?
- Vernon: Well, there was the Good Neighbor Policy.
- Fry: Now, what was your connection with the development of that policy, if anything?
- Vernon: Well, I always thought that Sumner Welles was the author of the Good Neighbor Policy more than any other person, but Ernest Gruening tells me that he, Ernest, was.
- Fry: Well, that is typical in historical research.
- Vernon: Well, that was because Ernest was an advisor to the United States delegation to the Montevideo conference. That was in 1933.
- Fry: So they probably both had a great deal to do with it.
- Vernon: Right.
- Fry: And I suppose that you were keeping both men well informed and they were quite aware of--
- Vernon: Oh, I didn't have any connection with Ernest then. Ernest has told me this in recent years, hasn't he, darling?
- Reyes: Yes.

A letter from Mabel Vernon dated January 27, 1943, states that Mrs. Bancroft Davis of Washington gave \$10,000 to begin the Peoples Mandate in 1935. Letters from Mabel Vernon to Anne Martin during the 1930s indicate that fund raising for the work of the Peoples Mandate Committee was one of her constant concerns. [Ed.]

Vernon: Well, and Ernest is writing his autobiography now [1972], by the way, so Mrs. Gruening tells me. And this [Gruening's role as advisor to the U.S. delegation at the Seventh Inter-American Conference, Montevideo] is in a little book that tells about Gruening of Alaska.* And he tells about his work in the American delegation to Montevideo; that was 1933. And Doris went down there, you know, too. This is Woman's Party history again. I didn't have anything to do with it. But she went down there to get them to adopt a nationality treaty, and they did. I've forgotten just what the sequence was there.

Fry: This would have been in the '30s.

Vernon: That was '32. Was it '32 or '33? Ernest will tell us, he's right there. He's on my windowsill! [Laughter]

Fry: When did you stop work with the Peoples Mandate?

Vernon: Oh, I don't know, and I wish I hadn't. I wish I hadn't, darling. If I had had a leg to walk on, I should have kept it up.

Fry: Did you go on through World War II?

Vernon: When did World War II stop?

Fry: Forty-five.

Vernon: Well, we went beyond that.

Reyes: After Mr. Roosevelt died.

Vernon: Well, we went on till '55, I think.

Fry: Oh, you did. You went through the Korean War, too. What did you do in the Korean War?

Vernon: I don't know.

Reyes: I think that you stopped working on the Peoples Mandate about two years after we came here. [Boston House, Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.]

Vernon: Well, we came here in '51, darling. But I think I went to San Francisco in '55, around there. They had a Republican national convention or something. That would be '54, wouldn't it? I don't know. But I

*Sherwood Ross, Gruening of Alaska, New York: Best Book, 1968, pp. 72-89.

- Vernon: know that I have felt since these terrible things have occurred, I wish I could raise up my voice and protest.
- Fry: Especially now with the Vietnamese situation.
- Vernon: Well, especially with the whole south India, west India--
- Fry: Oh, you mean Bangladesh?
- Vernon: Well, all of it. Don't you call Vietnam Southwest India, darling?
- Fry: No. Indonesia maybe.
- Vernon: No, no.
- Fry: But you are referring to Vietnam?
- Vernon: I am referring to Vietnam and the whole--and Cambodia.
- Fry: The whole Indo-China conflict.
- Vernon: That's what I wanted to say. Indo-China is what I wanted to say, darling.
- Fry: Did the Peoples Mandate Committee go on even when you were no longer working with it?
- Vernon: No, I'm afraid not.
- Fry: Well, Mabel, were you active in anything after Peoples Mandate?
- Vernon: Mercy, no. If I had been able to be active in anything, I would have kept on with it, darling.*
- Fry: Where were you living during your work with the Peoples Mandate?
- Vernon: Well, I lived with Joy Young, whom I knew from Woman's Party days, and later at the Ontario Apartments.
- Fry: Oh, but it was in D.C.

*In a later conversation, February 1975, in which Mabel Vernon and I were discussing the importance of the Peoples Mandate Committee, Mabel Vernon remarked wistfully, "Alice Paul never paid any attention to the Peoples Mandate." [Ed.]

Vernon: We had an office here. We had a very attractive office down at the Hay-Adams House, didn't we, darling? Until 1951. We moved here [Boston House] in '51. But that was a wonderful office down there. It was central, right across from the State Department, you know. So easy to run over.

Fry: Yes, to see your friend Sumner.

Vernon: Well, he left in 1943, I am sorry to say.

Fry: I think you've done a heroic job this afternoon. Bolstered with the tea and sweet bites.

United Nations, 1945: Luncheon for Latin American Delegates; Work for Rights Clause in Charter and Against Veto Power

Fry: And you went to San Francisco in 1945?

Vernon: You know what happened then?

Fry: I think we had a United Nations born.

Vernon: That was it. It was the birth of the United Nations. And we went. The Peoples Mandate had an inter-American delegation there. That's when the sisters from Mexico, Alicia and Esther Saavedra, first appeared. Those have remained our friends.

I think one of the first things we did was to have a luncheon in honor of the Latin American delegates to the conference. And, of course, I invited Sara to come down and be the speaker at the luncheon. I guess it was at the St. Francis. I don't remember where it was, but that was more or less headquarters. That was the hotel that I was most familiar with on account of my Nevada experience. That's where Anne [Martin] always stayed. So I was familiar with the St. Francis. And we had a luncheon there, and that's where Adelia spoke too, darling. Adelia Formoso. She was the head--I wonder if she still is--of a women's university. Your friend Dohenia would know her, in Mexico City. She was at the conference for the organization of the United Nations, and she spoke at the luncheon. Well, it was a beautiful luncheon, and Sara spoke beautifully as usual.

I will never forget Sara's speaking, darling.

Fry: What was the purpose of the luncheon? Was this a push to get an equal rights clause written in?

- Vernon: Oh, no. That came--well, Anita [Pollitzer] came out, and of course Sara helped too. Alice gives Sara great credit because she spoke to Archibald MacLeish. Did you ever hear the story? Alice will tell it to you. I never knew about it much.
- Fry: But Anita also helped to get that in? What did she do?
- Vernon: Oh, of course. One of the people whom I give the principal credit to for it is Bertha Lutz, who was a member of the Brazilian delegation. Does that name mean anything to you?
- Fry: Yes. That sounds familiar.
- Vernon: She is a very able woman in Brazil and a member of the Inter-American Commission of Women. I guess she still is, isn't she, darling? I am not in as close touch with the Inter-American Commission as I should be.
- Fry: Well--
- Vernon: And Minerva [Bernardino]. Minerva was the chairman of the Inter-American Commission, and she came from the Dominican Republic, of all places. But I give those women great credit too. Alice gives all the credit to what we did, and great credit to Sara, because she talked to Archibald MacLeish and Archibald MacLeish talked to somebody. I don't know whether MacLeish was a member of a delegation or an advisor to a delegation, but Alice can tell you about things like that.
- Fry: And what were these other women? What positions were they in?
- Vernon: What women?
- Fry: Bertha Lutz and Minerva Bernardino.
- Vernon: Well, Bertha was a member of the Brazilian delegation, and Minerva was a member of the Dominican delegation. They were women from Latin America. I don't remember whether Bertha spoke to the conference or not. I've forgotten.
- Fry: Was the luncheon just to get all of you together?
- Vernon: Yes, it was in honor of the Latin American delegates, as I remember.
- Fry: Did you work with the Human Rights Commission at all?
- Vernon: It didn't exist then, darling.

- Fry: Didn't they have a committee that was working on the wording of the human rights declaration?
- Vernon: I don't know. But the Human Rights Commission didn't come into existence for some time.
- Fry: Well, I meant a commission or a committee or a group who were trying to work out the tenets.
- Vernon: I don't know. If it existed then, I didn't have any connection with it.
- Fry: Do you have any memory of what some of your tasks were during that very important period during the formation of the United Nations?
- Vernon: What?
- Reyes: Miss Vernita, I remember very well that you worked very much against the veto.
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: The Security Council veto?
- Vernon: That was our principal objective, I think--to defeat the veto. We didn't succeed.
- Fry: Who were you working through principally, to get that veto defeated?
- Vernon: Well, we worked right there with the delegates. And then when I came back here, I worked with members of the Senate. I can remember Bob La Follette who said, "I can tell you, Miss Vernon, you will never get that through. We wouldn't vote for it [the charter] without the veto."
- Fry: So you were having to fight both the U.S. powers and the Russian powers on that veto, weren't you?
- Reyes: And I understand the first nation that used the veto was Russia. The first one.
- Vernon: Well, darling. I did want you to know that I helped Sara at that time.
- Fry: You know, she hardly remembers that at all.
- Vernon: Well, it probably was a very small incident.
- Fry: In her life. Contacting Archibald MacLeish.

Vernon: Oh, I don't know about that. That's Alice's story, darling. Alice has told me, or I have heard her tell other people, that that was the principal thing, which I very much doubt.

Fry: Something like that usually takes the efforts of a number of people. But if you can talk to enough people, you can sort of piece together a picture.

Vernon: And as I remember, the Woman's Party delegation that was principally Mrs. Williams of New York and Anita, didn't appear until quite late-- but I don't tell Alice these things. No use in my disparaging the part that the Woman's Party played.

Fry: Well, their duty is to tell the part that they did play.

Vernon: Well, she will tell you that, and then she will probably add that the principal thing was that Sara Bard Field got Archibald--

Fry: To put the equal rights phrase into the human rights--

Vernon: Into the charter. Into the United Nations charter. It's a good thing it's there--a wonderful thing it's there.

Fry: I always marvel at the fact that it got in.

Did you work at all with Adlai Stevenson?

Vernon: On what, darling?

Fry: On anything at the United Nations?

Vernon: YOU mean after he was appointed?

Fry: No, I mean then--in 1945.

Vernon: No, I don't even remember him in 1945.

Fry: He was there as a part of the American delegation. Well, I really will let you off the hook this time.

IV ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON PEOPLE AND TECHNIQUES IN CAMPAIGNS
FOR SUFFRAGE AND EQUAL RIGHTS
(Interview IV, April 27, 1973)

Campaigning for Suffrage in the South and West, 1914

Fry: These are just kind of chatty little letters from you on June 22, 1914, to Anne Martin. You were kind of holding down her office in Reno while she was somewhere else.

Vernon: June 22, 1914--[Looks at letters]

Fry: Can you read them?

Vernon: Oh, yes. [Tape off briefly]

Fry: Who was Pittman [Key] then?

Vernon: Senator from Nevada.

Fry: Oh. Did you have his endorsement for the campaign?

Vernon: Oh, yes. He was a great friend. [Reading from letter] "I dined with the Belfords yesterday. Mr. Belford was very outspoken in his disapproval of paying any attention to Pittman." [Laughter] That's Belford, Sam Belford. I wonder--[Returns to reading letters]

Here's an interesting thing about Pittman that I didn't know. He didn't vote for the national amendment.* [Pauses and returns to letters]

*The letter being read states, "I had a letter from Miss Paul this morning in which she says that Mrs. Pittman did her best to induce the Senator to vote for the amendment, but he felt that he had nothing to fear from the women of Nevada in refusing to give it his support." Filed in The Bancroft Library. See appendix.

- Vernon: [Laughter, reading from letter] "It would be better to sell lemonade at the Thomas Cafe rather than at the park fountain."
- Fry: Oh, yes. That looked like just an example of the little, small daily hassles that you had to contend with. [Laughter]
- Vernon: Yes. [Reading from letter] "We had another big street meeting last Saturday night." All those Reno meetings were famous." Mr. and Mrs. Bidwell"--that doesn't mean anything--"and I sallied forth about nine o'clock and did not conclude the meeting until 11:20. So, you can guess that the people were interested and asked a great many questions. These street meetings convince me more and more that we are going to win next November, for the sympathy of the crowd was so evidently in favor of suffrage." But Reno went against it.
- Fry: All right. So, it must have been your work in the outlying areas [that brought success].
- Vernon: Oh, it was, and we knew that. We knew that all along. We had Mrs. Belford, who was an officer in the Equal Franchise League. She was helpful.
- Fry: Mrs. who?
- Vernon: Belford. Sam Belford was a prominent politician, a prominent Democrat. He was a lawyer. [Reading from letter] "There is a chance that we can get the first prize of \$75." [Laughter] I wonder if we got it.
- [Reading from letter] "I congratulate you upon obtaining some money for our work!" Mrs. Elizabeth Kent was our big contributor. She was the wife of Representative William Kent of California. He was one of the liberals. Anne had known Mrs. Kent in national suffrage work. So she gave money both to the Nevada suffrage campaign and to Anne's senatorial campaign.
- Fry: Were there others from outside Nevada who gave financial support for the suffrage campaign there?
- Vernon: Many. In fact, I think most of our financial support came from outside of Nevada. [Reading from letter] "Miss Anne Martin, Hotel Cecil, Post and Mason Streets." I don't remember the Cecil. I remember the Bellevue.
- Fry: That sounds as though she was in San Francisco.
- Vernon: Yes, she was. Post and Mason Streets.

Fry: What's the date on that letter, Mabel?

Vernon: June 15. I have two letters here, one June 22, the other June 15. The earlier one is June 15.

[Reads from letter] "Mr. Bidwell stood beside the car and formed an audience of one until I could get a crowd. It did not take long until over two hundred people gathered." [Pause] "The meeting lasted till about 10:45." We got home early that night!

Fry: Yes!

Vernon: [Reading from letter] "I missed you terribly yesterday when I was preparing the column for the [Nevada State] Journal. I was utterly destitute of ideas." [Laughter]

Fry: [Laughter] Do you think you really were?

Vernon: [Continues reading] "I only hope you will approve the one I finally struck. I am enclosing the bulletin for the Journal."

Fry: Did you have a regular column that the Journal gave you space for?

Vernon: Apparently. I had forgotten. I wrote articles for both the Nevada State Journal and the Gazette--both Reno papers. [Begins reading from letter] "I am going to Lovelock tomorrow." [Pause]

[Laughter] "Miss Morrow"--she was the secretary, Nell Morrow--"has advanced to September 1912 of her scrapbook and has used up all the paste." [Laughter]

Fry: [Laughter] Yes! So, it had been a long campaign!

Vernon: Yes. [Pause] [Begins reading from letter] "I would like to have you know that although I have not yet gone to Mrs. Holmes's"--I don't know what that is--"I am eating two square meals every day and therefore am in most vigorous health and spirit."

Fry: Yes. It sounded as though she had been harping on you to eat regularly.

Vernon: Maybe so. [Reads again] "Don't think about suffrage any more than you can possibly help." [Pause] "Judge Coleman [Ben W.] called at headquarters on Saturday." And then I mention "Suffragette Sam--Mr. Belford, better known as Suffragette Sam."

Fry: Oh! [Laughter] Was he one of your major, major helpers?

Vernon: Oh, yes. And Mrs. Belford was one of our good members, a very good-

Vernon: looking woman. Frances Belford--did you ever hear of her? She was on the Denver Post. She was his sister.

Fry: Oh, she was on the Denver Post?

Vernon: Frances Belford. That's Mr. Belford's sister.

[Begins reading from letter] "I was very cordial to Judge Coleman." Well, I don't know who he is. "Mr. Belford had rather alarmed Judge Coleman about your letter to Senator Pittman by saying he thought it might antagonize Pittman and his adherents. I showed Judge Coleman both Senator Pittman's letter and your response to it, and he agreed with me that no harm could possibly come from such a fair and courteous reply." Well, we treated Pittman very well, even though we came to the point in the Wilson campaign (you know, in 1916, after we'd won suffrage in Nevada) where we opposed President Wilson and all Democrats; and that meant we had to oppose the Democrats running for Congress in Nevada. It was very hard to oppose men who had been our friends, good friends.

Fry: And that included Pittman, right?

Vernon: I'm just trying to think whether Pittman was running that year, but it meant opposing Pittman's party.

Fry: Yes. Well, in this letter, which was June of 1914, it sounds as though Pittman was not on your side yet.

Vernon: Was not on our side?

Fry: Was he on your side at the time that letter was written?

Vernon: Yes. He was always on our side in the Nevada campaign.*

Fry; Oh. Are those letters fairly typical of the kind of work that you had to do daily?

Vernon: No.

Fry: No?

*In Mabel Vernon's letter of June 22, 1914 to Anne Martin, she stated that Senator Key Pittman had not voted for the national amendment. However, on the letterhead of that letter he is listed as a member of the advisory board of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society.

Vernon: I did a great deal of campaigning. This was only while Anne was away.

Fry: I see.

Vernon: I traveled through the state. The first thing I did when I got to Nevada was to make a tour of all the county seats in Nevada.

Fry: Oh, yes. Was that for the purpose of getting them acquainted with you, or vice versa?

Vernon: It was for the purpose of getting them stirred up for the campaign, which was approaching in the fall. I got there in April or something like that, or May, and they were going to vote in November. These county committees had to be stirred up, or organized where we didn't have one.

You notice I say something about stirring up twelve counties. Of course, they didn't seem to have much suffrage interest up there. Clark was a big county. I think that's where Las Vegas is. There was no Las Vegas then, except a railroad junction and a county seat. Quite different from what it is today!

Fry: [Laughter] Yes, it certainly is! And before the time of Howard Hughes.

Vernon: How well do you know Nevada, darling?

Fry: Not very well.

Vernon: Reno?

Fry: That's about it. Well, I thought you'd like to see that.

Vernon: Oh, I do.

Fry: Let's see. Mabel, I want to pick up a few questions from last time, if I could just ask you a few.

Vernon: All right, darling.

Fry: In 1914, on your way out to Nevada, you took a round-about way to get there and did a lot of organizing in states along the way.

Vernon: Yes, along the way.

Fry: And you described that. You also made the statement that some of those little towns that you passed through were just wonderful, and I wondered if you could enlarge on that. Do you remember any specifically?

- Vernon: That's what I was wondering when you say that, what little towns I was thinking of.* But the first big town I got to, I guess, was New Orleans. I had a marvelous time there, and I probably introduced open-air meetings. I've forgotten. But I spoke on Canal Street. Do you know New Orleans?
- Fry: Oh, yes. Yes, indeed.
- Vernon: Well, I spoke down from an automobile down on Canal Street. We had a good branch there.
- Fry: You did already?
- Vernon: Well, we had a good branch. We had some good women there--active and interested. Then, I remember, they took me to a place where we got frozen daiquiris.
- Fry: Oh, of course.
- Vernon: It was a famous place. But women weren't allowed to go in. We stood outside and drank. [Laughter]
- Fry: Oh, really?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: Did the women always do that--stand out on the sidewalk and drink them?
- Vernon: I don't know, but they took me there.
- Fry: Mabel, before you get to the West, let me ask you about your impressions of the South, because in the notes and papers that you read, the South had peculiar problems about suffrage because they were very sensitive about the Negro vote that would be enlarged in case women's suffrage passed.
- Vernon: Well, of course, I saw only a selected few. I don't remember the newspapers.
- Fry: Yes. Do you remember having to answer any questions about that?

*Miss Vernon again recalled Fairmont, West Virginia, and Yazoo City, Mississippi, but without further detail. After the New Orleans stop, she again recalled San Antonio, but with no more detail than previously given. [Ed.]

- Vernon: I don't remember that. Do you mean in the street crowds, for instance?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: New Orleans. [Pause] Every place I went, I thought the people were friendly, always so friendly.
- Fry: Did you ever notice any hostility from the crowds in the South?
- Vernon: No, no.
- Fry: What about little western towns, as you went on through Texas and New Mexico and so forth?
- Vernon: I didn't do much speaking in Texas and New Mexico. I went to Albuquerque but I didn't go into the little towns on my way West.
- Fry: Oh. Let's see. You must have gone by train. Is that right?
- Vernon: Oh, sure. How else? [Laughter]
- Fry: I know. [Laughter] That was all there was, wasn't it?
- Vernon: 1914!
- Fry: Yes. You found that out the next year! [Laughter]
- Vernon: That's right, that's right! 1915.
- Fry: Well, I just thought you might have some other little memories in your mind about going through those small towns where people rarely saw--
- Vernon: Well, I didn't speak in many small towns, darling, as I remember it. You see, my purpose was to get in touch with the women who were going to arrange for these demonstrations on the second of May, or something like that, when we were getting up a petition to Congress and a big delegation. That big delegation was to come on the ninth of May. We had a monstrous celebration/demonstration in Washington, and I was preparing people for that. That was the idea.
- Fry: And they were all sending people to Washington for that?
- Vernon: That was the idea, to gather petitions for the representatives to carry to Washington.

Portrait of Anne Martin

Fry: You mentioned that Anne Martin, when you were working for her, let you live in her house with her and her mother on Mill Street.

Vernon: Oh, not "let me live." I was treated as a--[laughter]--

Fry: As a guest?

Vernon: Oh, certainly, and by Dick, the cook. He was Chinese and very temperamental, but his cooking was very good. And I had a beautiful room, a front room.

Fry: Oh, you did?

Vernon: Oh, yes! A guest room that was beautiful.

Fry: Was that a really beautiful house for Nevada in those days?

Vernon: Oh, yes! I guess her father had built it. I don't remember. He was quite a wealthy man, a banker, in Reno. That was Anne's father. William O'Hara his name was. Anne was very proud of her father, and he was the president of the Washoe County Bank. So, they did have a nice house down on Mill Street.

Fry: Tell me all you can tell me about Anne because we have the papers from her campaign, but what I need are descriptions of what she was like and so forth. Now, if her father's name was O'Hara--

Vernon: She was Irish. She had an Irish semblance too--blue eyes and good coloring.

Fry: Why was her name Martin?

Vernon: Well, that was his name--William O'Hara Martin. I was just giving you his first name.

She was extremely well-educated, traveled, cultivated. You don't know anything about her?

Fry: No, I don't.

Vernon: You never saw a picture of her?

Fry: I did. There's a picture over in the collection at The Bancroft, some of her campaign pictures.

Vernon: Very good.

Fry: She looks very healthy.

Vernon: She was. She was very good-looking. She had hair like Consuelo's, but--

Fry: Wavy?

Vernon: Wavy, you know.

Fry: Was it brown?

Vernon: Well, touches of gray were coming--

Fry: When you knew her?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: But it had been brown?

Vernon: Oh, yes.

Well, you know, she lived in England for a long time and was associated with the militants there for a little while. She told a story about going to jail and Herbert Hoover, who was a great friend of hers--did you know that?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Herbert Hoover. She later separated from him, but they were in Stanford [University]. Mrs. Hoover was a member of Anne's fraternity, Kappa Kappa Gamma, and Herbert came to school at Stanford. I don't think it was for many years, but he was there a year or so, and Anne got acquainted with him there. She knew him before he married Lou. Lou Henry her name was.

Fry: Oh. Do you think she and Hoover dated?

Vernon: Anne and Hoover? Not that I know of. But he became an engineer, you know, who traveled all over. He was in China, and he came to England and was living there at the time that Anne was there. But when Anne was arrested, he came down and bailed her out; and that was against the regulations, of course. You weren't permitted to be bailed out.

Fry: Yes. You were supposed to stay there without bail.

- Vernon: Oh, yes. So, Herbert violated the rules. He gave Anne jewelry. He liked her. There's no doubt about it. I used to wear a necklace that he selected for her.
- Fry: Oh, really?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: Well, it does sound like he was very fond of her.
- Vernon: Oh, he was, no doubt.
- Fry: Did you say that their friendship cooled a little later?
- Vernon: Later, later in years.
- Fry: Politically?
- Vernon: When he came here, you know, as the food administrator, I guess it was. Anne differed with some of his policies, I think.
- Fry: In Washington?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: Was she a person who had a calm and placid personality and never got excited, or was she vivacious and lively?
- Vernon: Well, at times she was lively, but she was a person of great dignity, I think. I wonder if--well, you say you have pictures of her. I was very fond of her, became very fond of her. It was a little difficult for me when I first went to Reno because she was a far more rigid person than I'd been, and Sara helped me greatly there.
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: Did Sara ever tell you?
- Fry: No. You mentioned that when I was here before, that Sara had helped--
- Vernon: She helped me understand Anne better and adjust to her better. I was rather unhappy for a little time there because of Anne's strict ideas of what I should do, or something like that. I've forgotten. But I know that Sara, when she found me rather distressed in the toilet one day [laughter], cheered me up.
- Fry: Oh, and she was able to kind of explain Anne to you?

Vernon: That's it, yes, to show me that these things were surface things.

Fry: Yes. How single-minded was Anne in politics and so forth?

Vernon: I don't know what you mean by "single-minded."

Fry: Well, you know how some people can work at a job, like a political campaign or something like this, and this is their entire life. Other people can do that, but they'll also take time off and have a few side interests.

Vernon: I think she was "single-minded" about political concerns. But when we were in Nevada, she was a horseback rider from time to time. She would go up into the mountains. The first expedition I took with her, I'd never been on a horse, except for an old barn horse out on my father's farm. She took me off on an all-day horseback ride in the mountains, up Mt. Rose. It was something for me, believe me, but I survived!

Fry: Oh, poor Mabel! [Laughter]

Vernon: Poor Mabel! But I survived. I don't think I complained. [Laughter]

Fry: But that was a beautiful ride, I'll bet.

Vernon: Yes. We climbed the mountain. And I think Anne had won a tennis championship before I got to Nevada.

Fry: Was she an easy person to be friendly with? Was she outgoing and what you usually think of as a--?

Vernon: Well, she selected the people she liked.

Fry: She was very socially discriminating in the choice of her own friends?

Vernon: I think so.

Fry: What were her mother and father like?

Vernon: I didn't know her father at all. He had died. But her mother was very helpful to the campaign; and it wasn't easy for her, of course, to take our irregular hours and irregular meals and things like that. We had to try to comply with Mrs. Martin's domestic arrangements and Dick's. She had to consider Dick, the Chinese cook, but she was very nice. Probably had been quite prominent in society in Reno in her time.

Vernon: I may have told you--this was later, 1916, in the Wilson campaign--I was speaking down on Virginia Street, right in the principal street, and a woman began to--well, she was probably drunk. I'm not sure. Didn't I tell you that story?

Fry: Oh, yes, you did.

Vernon: And how she said, "Vote for Wilson. He kept us out of war." And some way, Mrs. Martin got down there I guess she heard that I was being besieged, and down she came to stand beside me. She thought that I was in some danger. Well, that shows what kind she was.

The chief of police came and asked Mrs. Martin if she wouldn't please take me home [laughter], get me to go home. So, I said, "Well, you disperse this crowd, and then I'll go."

Fry: Did he disperse the crowd?

Vernon: I guess so. But I always remembered Mrs. Martin standing there beside me.

Fry: What else did Anne like to do in the way of recreation or enjoyment? I'm trying to ask you things that are not in her papers, because her papers are all political, you know.

Vernon: I'm just trying to think what she did here in Washington. She came and was the original chairman of the Woman's Party. You know that, don't you, darling?

Fry: Yes. That was in 1916.

Vernon: Yes. But before we formed the Woman's Party--when we were just the Congressional Union--Anne conducted the famous--do you know about Maud Younger, darling?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Oh, you don't know about her?

Fry: Well, I do, but I want you to tell me. I know a little bit, not much.

Vernon: I don't know. I can't tell you a great deal about Maud. But when Anne came to Washington and became chairman of the legislative department of the Congressional Union in 1916--a central department to the whole effort--Maud was the chairman of the lobbying committee, which led to some, I guess, collision between the two. They weren't particularly congenial.

- Vernon: So, all that I knew about Anne here in Washington was in connection with the work, most of the time.
- Fry: Well, Maud Younger had been working for quite a while in the lobbying and had some pretty well-organized files on it, according to some things I read in--
- Vernon: Maud didn't organize those files, darling.
- Fry: Oh, didn't she?
- Vernon: No, of course not. She had worked on the lobbying and probably had some notes scattered all over. She was that kind--disorganized. But it was Anne who organized those files.
- Fry: Oh, it was?
- Vernon: They became famous.
- Fry: Yes, they did.
- Vernon: But it was Anne's work more than--that is, the organization of them.
- Fry: Yes, organized under the name of each congressman.
- Vernon: Yes. Maud did the personal work, that's true.
- Fry: You mean going out and visiting the congressmen?
- Vernon: Yes. With some congressmen she got along very well, a great friend of Curtis [Senator Charles], for instance.
- Fry: Well, is this to say that Anne did not do the actual office-to-office lobbying? She did more--
- Vernon: I don't know what you mean by--oh, you mean--
- Fry: Anne didn't go over on the Hill as much as Maud Younger. Is that right?
- Vernon: No, but she did selected lobbying, Anne did. Alice might tell you a different story about Maud, because she was very partial to Maud.
- Fry: Oh, she was?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: Well, why did Anne come to Washington?

Vernon: She came to be the congressional chairman for the Woman's Party, darling.

Fry: Was she asked to be it?

Vernon: Of, of course.

Fry: I thought maybe she wrote and said, "Now that my campaign's over, I'd like to do something."

Vernon: Oh, no. She was asked. It was some time in '16, wasn't it, that she came? I have notes on it.

Fry: We'll have to look that up.*

Vernon: Let's see. We came from Nevada, Anne and I, in December of 1914 and went immediately to the national convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Nashville. That was being held in Nashville. We reported on the Nevada campaign there and then came on to Washington. So, Anne first came--that is, after the Nevada campaign--in December of 1914. I can't say exactly when she became, but it's in Alice's notes, the congressional chairman.

Fry: By Alice's notes, you mean some things that she's put together for this narrative that--

Vernon: That we're going to make. I wish we'd make it, darling.

Fry: Yes. We've got to get you two together to do that. It's hard when Alice is in Connecticut and you're down here.

Vernon: Well, we've been trying to. But we could do it together very quickly and, I think, easily; but we're not together.

Fry: Yes. Well, let's see. Did Anne stay with the Woman's Party, then, all through until suffrage?

Vernon: Yes. And, you know, when the Woman's Party was formed, this was still the Congressional Union until we formed the Woman's Party, until 1916, and Anne was the first chairman of the Woman's Party. I was the

*According to Inez Irwin, "during 1916, the central department of the Congressional Union--the legislative--was in the hands of Anne Martin." Her activities in the early months of 1916 and throughout the year are listed. 2nd ed., p. 133ff.

Vernon: secretary. You see, we were women voters in the beginning, when the Woman's Party was organized. Do you know about the organization of the Woman's Party, darling?

Fry: You mean the convention in Chicago?

Vernon: That's right, a women voters' convention, and Anne was elected chairman and I was elected secretary. I've forgotten the rest, but, at any rate, we were at the Blackstone Theatre in Chicago. That was 1916 when the Woman's Party was organized.

Then, when we met--I guess it was in 1917--the Congressional Union decided to merge with--

Fry: The Woman's Party.

Vernon: Yes, with the Woman's Party.

Fry: And you became one. Well, the Woman's Party was made up of voters and you were counted as a voter because you had--

Vernon: Because I had voted in Nevada. I voted in '16, I guess, because I took part in that Wilson campaign.

Fry: You know, some of the books that I've been reading all refer to Alice Paul's very strong administration of the whole organization, including the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party. I wonder what latitude the chairman had who worked under Alice Paul.

Vernon: I don't understand.

Fry: I wonder how much decision-making a chairman could do who worked under Alice Paul.

Vernon: I know, but that didn't continue after the Woman's Party and the Congressional Union joined. Then Alice became the national chairman.

Fry: Oh, I see.

Vernon: Anne Martin was the chairman of the Woman's Party until the Woman's Party and the Congressional Union consolidated. After they consolidated, Alice was elected chairman.

Fry: Yes. Well, how was it up to that time?

Vernon: Oh, it wasn't long enough to be any conflict.

Cross-country Envoys, 1915: Syracuse Stop

- Fry: There's just a small item I need from you, Mabel. When we were talking about your campaign trip in the automobile across the country with Sara in 1915, you said that Mrs. Hazard at Syracuse was a marvelous woman.
- Vernon: She was.
- Fry: And I wanted you to explain what you meant.
- Vernon: Mrs. Hazard?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: Well, Mrs. Hazard had been a member of Mrs. Blatch's society.
- Fry: Oh, Harriot Stanton Blatch?
- Vernon: Harriot Stanton. You know, she organized all through the United States and Mrs. Hazard had been one of her members. So, when we got to Syracuse, we had this very good organization. Mrs. Hazard took us to her home. Did I tell anything about it?
- Fry: No.
- Vernon: A beautiful home. He was the head of some works--chemical or something like that--that were very famous in Syracuse. They had a beautiful home on the edge of town and that's where we stayed while we were in Syracuse.
- Fry: Oh, how nice.
- Vernon: I don't remember what we did in Syracuse.
- Fry: It sounds like she was probably pretty influential too.
- Vernon: Oh, she was, of course. I've had contact with her daughter until the last, I guess, ten years--Mrs. Foster Hunt of Providence. She was Mrs. Hazard's daughter and her name was Dorothy Hazard Thompson. I wish I still had contact with her. She gave us lots of money in her time, Dorothy did.
- Fry: Oh, her daughter?
- Vernon: She continued to support the Peoples Mandate Committee up to the very end.

- Vernon: Did you learn anything from Anne's papers about the Peoples Mandate Committee?
- Fry: Yes. And when we get to that, I have some things to show you. I got some good stuff on it.
- Vernon: We found a good bit of stuff. [Speaking to another person] Well, you should show Chita some of the pamphlets of the Peoples Mandate Committee. I think she'd be interested.
- Fry: Oh, I certainly would.
- Vernon: Do you have any questions on that?
- Fry: Yes. Let's wait. I want to run down these.
- Vernon: All right, honey, you go ahead.

Shafroth-Palmer Amendment, 1914: Confusion Caused

- Fry: Do you remember the Shafroth-Palmer amendment that Senator Shafroth [John Franklin] put up?
- Vernon: Oh, of course, darling. You know about the Shafroth-Palmer?
- Fry: I know it caused a lot of confusion because weren't there two suffrage amendments in Congress at the same time?
- Vernon: Well, you see, when we were working so diligently and with absolute concentration on the national suffrage--I won't call it the Susan B. Anthony amendment, I don't think that's fair, darling--
- Fry: Oh, really?
- Vernon: It wasn't--I notice a book I have, written by Susan B. Anthony's great niece. They speak about the "Susan B. Anthony amendment." Well, it should never have been called that, of course, because it wasn't she who worded that amendment. It was Elizabeth Cady Stanton. I think Alma [Lutz] has pretty well established that, and I agree with her.* But calling it the Susan B. Anthony amendment was Alice

*Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch. New York: Putnam's, 1940. Pp. 248-249.

Vernon: Paul's idea, you see, apparently without Alice's knowing how much Elizabeth Cady Stanton had had to do with it. We were concentrating on the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment and the National Suffrage Association [National Woman Suffrage Association], I guess, felt that it was being cut out of this campaign. And Ruth Hanna McCormick--does that name mean anything to you?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Well, her father was Mark Hanna.

Fry: Oh, Mark Hanna I know from my days in Ohio. He was the most powerful figure in Ohio.

Vernon: Well, she was his daughter, Ruth was. She married Medill McCormick. What was he? Senator, or something? But, at any rate, she got this idea that they would have another amendment. I may not get all of this straight, but this was an amendment to make it possible for the states to vote on woman suffrage. But we didn't need an amendment of that kind. The states already--I'd have to refresh my memory on the Shafroth-Palmer amendment. But she thought Shafroth--I guess it was Shafroth from Colorado and Palmer--was it possible that Mitchell Palmer was in on this thing? But they introduced it into Congress, the Shafroth-Palmer amendment, and it caused a division of effort in the suffrage ranks.* We had to fight the Shafroth-Palmer amendment as well as fight the anti-suffragists.

Fry: Yes. It was a big, long amendment.** I think the main argument against it was that--

*"The board of the National American Association endorsed the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment but it was bitterly debated in their 1914 Convention. ...Finally in December 1915, at their Washington Convention, the National American Association rescinded the previous year's action on the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment and reindorsed the Bristow-Mondell Amendment." [Blatch and Lutz, op. cit., pp. 246-247.]

**The Shafroth-Palmer amendment stated: "Whenever any number of legal voters of any State to a number exceeding eight per cent of the number of legal voters voting at the last preceding General Election held in such a State shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said State of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such State, such question shall be so submitted; and if, upon such submission, a majority of the legal voters of the State voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights,

Vernon: It just made women's getting the vote state by state possible. It was a very, very cumbersome method.

Fry: It didn't add any rights that you didn't already have.

Vernon: No. It gave the right to vote on the amendment if there wasn't--

Fry: And I'm not sure it was an amendment to the Constitution. It was just the right to do it in that one state.

Vernon: I guess so. I've forgotten.

Fry: Yes. Well, at any rate, I wondered, since you were there--

Vernon: I was where?

Fry: In Washington, I mean, here, at the time these two amendments were in Congress. Why, I thought--

Vernon: Well, this continued for quite some time, though. It must have been continued during the whole--

Fry: Congress.

Vernon: Well, I don't know whether it went from convention to convention--the national suffrage amendment--whether they adopted the motion to work on it at a certain convention and then dropped it at the next convention. That I have forgotten. But I know that it diverted us from our work, considerably.

Fry: Yes. Did you do any lobbying on the Hill at this time?

Vernon: On the Hill? Oh, incidentally.

Fry: I wondered if you remembered having to explain to people the difference between them and so forth.

Vernon: You mean explain it in Congress?

Fry: Yes.

the same shall thereupon be established, anything in the Constitution or laws of such State to the contrary notwithstanding."
[Blatch and Lutz, op. cit., p. 246]

Vernon: Probably not. I probably had to do a lot of explaining to the public. Maud and Anne were the people who would have to do that kind of thing.

Woman's Party: Three "Generations" of Suffrage Workers

Fry: There was an interesting thing that I found in, I guess, Inez Haynes Irwin on page 124 [1st ed.] about the three generations of organizers in the Woman's Party. I wanted to throw this out to you and see if you agree with it. She said that in the very first generation, the first organizers who came in 1914 and '13 were you and Elsie Hill, Margaret Whittemore, Doris Stevens, Mrs. Sinclair Thompson, and Virginia Arnold.

Vernon: Who's that who came after Stevens?

Fry: Mrs. Sinclair Thompson.

Vernon: Yes, I knew her.

Fry: And Virginia Arnold.

Vernon: Yes. I wouldn't call Virginia a very active organizer. She was more a secretary-treasurer type, I think; but whether she went out organizing very much, I don't remember that.

Fry: That was a new name to me--Virginia Arnold.

Vernon: Oh, it was? She was very valuable.

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Well, she went to jail with me.

Fry: Oh, did she?

Vernon: I think so. We were "trail-blazers."

Fry: And who was Margaret Whittemore?

Vernon: Oh, my dear, my great pal!

Fry: Your great pal? [Laughter]

Vernon: Yes! You never heard about the trip that Margaret and I took to get women elected to Congress?

Fry: You mentioned Margaret, and I didn't know which one it was.

Vernon: Margaret Whittemore. She was wonderful, wonderful! I can't tell you! Did it mention her among the first organizers?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: I wouldn't say that. Maybe she did some organizing that I didn't know about. She lived in Birmingham, Michigan, and her family were all very prominent and very active in the suffrage movement--her mother and her sister, Mrs. Nelson Whittemore. But I don't remember Margaret being among the first. That's very strange. Alice would know better than I. But certainly she was not among the first active organizers; she came later.

I know when she became very prominent. It was in the election campaign. She went to Oregon. Margaret went to Oregon to conduct the campaign there, and I think Mary Gertrude [went]--you know who Mary Gertrude is, Mary Gertrude Fendall. Mary Gertrude was our treasurer; but when it came time for that election campaign, she went out with Margaret--I think they were the two--to Oregon to conduct the campaign against the Democrats. When was that campaign? 1916?

Fry: Yes. And apparently there was some activity against the Democrats in 1914.

Vernon: 1914, yes.

Fry: But the big push was--

Vernon: That's right. The big push came in '16 because, of course, in '14 it was not a presidential election; but there was some activity.

Fry: Yes. I suppose Alice decided who went where.

Vernon: Oh, yes.

Fry: Did she try to send out mostly Republicans when they had to campaign against Democrats?

Vernon: Oh, I don't think there was any thought about that. I don't know enough about their selection.

Fry: Oh. Well, I wondered how partisan some of the women felt. [Laughter]

Vernon: I don't think we were that way at all.

Fry: Oh. Doris Stevens was prominent for a long time in the party, as long as you were.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Because she went on through the '20s, at least.

Vernon: Yes, she did. But, you see, in the '20s she became the chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women. That was 1928, though. That didn't happen till '28.

Fry: Yes. I have a little chronology here that I've worked out, and I do have that that came about in 1928.

Vernon: We went to Paris in 1928, did we?

Fry: 1926 was Paris and 1928 was Cuba.

Vernon: Yes, Havana.

Fry: Well, let me try this second generation on you and see what you think about that. Now, I see there are no dates on these generations, but all of this happened between 1914 and 1920, so the generations aren't very long. [Laughter] Iris Calderhead, Vivian Pierce--

Vernon: I don't like this awfully much. Well, go ahead, darling. I don't care so much for this division, but go ahead.

Fry: Oh. Beulah Amidon, Lucy Branham--

Vernon: Beulah Amidon, that's right. Her father was a judge in North Dakota, a name very well-known to me, Beulah Amidon, a beautiful girl. Now, Iris and Beulah--well, go ahead.

Fry: Lucy Branham and Hazel Hunkins.

Vernon: Yes. Hazel came in '16, did she?

Fry: I don't know. It's hard to tell when these women really came, you know.

Vernon: Yes. Well, these names are all right. They were all--

Fry: These were sort of the middle ones, right?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: What was the Hazel Hunkins issue?

Vernon: What about Hazel?

Fry: In my notes, I refer to a "Hazel Hunkins issue."

Vernon: Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan. She married Charles Hallinan. Is that what you're trying to say?

Fry: I don't know, because it was not defined.

Vernon: Well, Hazel Hunkins was Hazel Hunkins. She was a Vassar girl. I don't know whether she was in Alma's class, 1912, or maybe a year later. I've forgotten. But, at any rate, Hazel Hunkins came to join us about '16, I think. I said I'd look that date up, didn't I? I don't know how or where she came; but, at any rate, she turned out to be a wonderful worker, organized and beautiful to look at.*

*When Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan and I [Ed.] had tea with Mabel Vernon, January 21, 1975, we asked her how and when she became involved with the Woman's Party. Her untaped answer was:

"In the summer of 1916, Clara Louise Rowe came to Billings, Montana. She probably had my name from a Vassar friend because Vassar was a hot-bed of people interested in suffrage at that time. I was made Montana state chairman. It didn't last long, though, because Clara Louise Rowe wanted me to go to Colorado Springs where a convention was being held. At Colorado Springs, Mabel Vernon and Alice Paul pushed me into making a speech--from the top of a car, I think--I literally died, right there on my feet, facing a crowd of men. It wasn't an original speech. I guess I just aped you, Mabel.

"Then Alice Paul asked me to go to California, under Doris Stevens' leadership, to the Panama Pacific Exposition. A boy friend of mine in San Francisco, Bill Chrispherson, had a plane. It was one of those very small planes with nothing under you, just the air. We were strapped in separate seats. I was to throw out leaflets holding the Democratic party responsible for holding up in Congress the suffrage amendment and urging people to defeat Woodrow Wilson. I threw the leaflets out over San Francisco. Bill went way up high and dived. He looked as though he were going right into San Francisco Bay. Then he leveled out and we landed in Redding. But that plane was so fragile. I remember I had on a helmet and a black suit. I should have had about a million leaflets instead of a thousand!

"Then A.P. [Alice Paul] asked me to come to Washington, which I did in November [1916] just after the elections."

Fry: Well, how did she become an issue?

Vernon: Was she an issue?

Fry: [Laughter] I think so, but I don't know what it was.

Vernon: I don't think she was any "issue."

Fry: [Laughter] You don't know what that would mean? I was hoping you would know.

Vernon: Well, who said she was?

Fry: Mabel, I don't know where I got it and it may be right here in Inez Irwin, if I have time to look through all of the indexes,* but I thought this might be something you'd just know off the top of your head. There was something about it.

Vernon: Made her an issue?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: I can't think of anything. She was very active all during the--well, you probably--we have pictures here, I think, of Hazel lighting the fire in front of the White House and scaling the Lafayette monument. She and Julia [Emory] were very congenial; and that's the kind of activity they participated in along around '18 and '19, I guess.**

*Not in Irwin, Up Hill With Banners Flying [Ed.]

**At the meeting with Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan, January 21, 1975, she said she had just that morning looked in Lafayette Park for the urn which she had often filled with wood for the watchfires of the Woman's Party, but couldn't find it. "As you look northwest from the White House, the urn was in that corner of the park. There aren't nearly as many trees and bushes in the park now as there were then."

When I [Ed.] called Mrs. Hallinan at the headquarters of the Woman's Party where she was staying on January 22, 1975, just before she left Washington, D.C., to return to England, she said, "I thought you might like to know about some of our stunts that failed. We were always trying to get publicity. Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and I concocted the idea that I would get over the White House fence and start fires on the lawn. Lucy was big and brawny, and she put up her knee to help me climb over the fence. I was little and athletic and had no trouble with that kind of thing. I only got two fires started

- Vernon: Now, she's the one who's in England and I hope you'll meet her if you go to England, darling.
- Fry: Yes. Well, and maybe if I talk to Julia Emory in Maryland, I'll be able to find out some more about her.
- Vernon: Oh, I could tell you plenty about Hazel, darling, without waiting for Julia.
- Fry: Oh, well, tell me, because I'll probably never get to talk to her in England. [Laughter]
- Vernon: I hope you'll go to England. Is it really a serious prospect, darling?
- Fry: Yes, but she may not be there by the time I get there.
- Vernon: Why not?
- Fry: Well, how long is she going to stay?
- Vernon: Oh, she lives in England.
- Fry: Oh, she lives there now? I thought she just--
- Vernon: She's lived there for years, darling. She's very proper. You don't know anything about Hazel, really?
- Fry: I sure don't.
- Vernon: She's very prominent in the British movement. She has been.
- Fry: In which British movement, Mabel?

when a guard appeared. I ran to the fence and Lucy was there with her knee to help me. After I got back over the fence, I ran. Alice and Lucy just sauntered along, because they hadn't done anything. But there was no publicity because I hadn't done enough.

Another idea we had was to put a rope lying in gasoline all along the curb in front of the White House. It wouldn't have been a big fire, but just a little fire going a long distance. Julia Emory and I started the rope burning, but it didn't work. We concocted these things to keep the story running." [Ed.]

- Vernon: The women's movement. I don't know whether she's been the head of the Six Point Group. Does that mean anything to you--the Six Point Group?
- Fry: All I know is that the woman who was head of the Six Point Group [Viscountess Margaret Rhondda] walked out in support of the National Woman's Party when you were not allowed admission to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in Paris in 1926.
- Vernon: Did she? Well, I didn't know that. Who walked out? It wasn't Lady Rhondda, was it?
- Fry: Yes, Lady Rhondda.
- Vernon: She walked out? I didn't know that. I was there.
- Fry: Yes. And she took her Six Point people with her.
- Vernon: I didn't know that. Where did you get that?
- Fry: It may have been after you people had to fold your tents and go away. Where did I get that? I think that came from William O'Neill's book on feminism in America.
- Vernon: He talks about Paris, does he?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: Well, I was there.
- Fry: Well, at any rate, I figured the Six Point movement must have been the feminist movement in England at that time. Is that right?
- Vernon: Yes, it was.
- Fry: [Laughter] Do you think I could get a grant to go to England immediately?
- Vernon: Well, they stood particularly for the rights of the working women, Six Points.*

*In a taped interview with Fern Ingersoll, January 22, 1975, Mrs. Hallinan explained that she became chairman of the Six Point Group after Lady Rhondda retired. The Six Point Group [pamphlet] is on file at The Bancroft Library. Interview in appendix.

Vernon: Hazel has a book. I have a copy. In Her Own Right, that's what she calls it, and it's a compilation of essays, treatises written by British women, which she had put together in a collection. Before you come another time, darling, which I hope will be tomorrow, I will get Hazel's letter because I want you to hear the position to which she has been appointed. She's been appointed to a committee of women, some very distinguished women. I guess she's very much flattered to be on it. Members of Parliament and people like that are on it.*

Fry: Marvelous!

Vernon: I know. She says in a letter, I think to Becky [Reyher], that she hopes she'll be able to do another book along a little different lines, more her own work than just a compilation of work.

Fry: Well, good.

Vernon: Oh, she's an interesting--she's eighty-three, but she looks about sixty-three.

Fry: My goodness!

Vernon: She's so good-looking.

Fry: After I've visited a few of you people, you and Alice Paul and Hazel Hunkins, I've decided that having been a worker for suffrage means that you get younger as you grow older! [Laughter]

Vernon: [Laughter] I'm very interested to have you meet Anita, darling, but I'm very much concerned about Anita's health.

Fry: Yes, I am too.

Vernon: But Hazel Hunkins--she worked with us, I guess, until '20 or something like that. But she married Charles Hallinan, who was a United Press man. He was shortly appointed head of the United Press Bureau in London, and they went to London.** Well, that must have been in the

*In the same interview, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan said that she is now a member of a consultative body made up of parliamentarians and women who are heads of organizations. She explained that the women sound out the public and press and advise the parliamentarians what they should do on issues concerning women.

**Mrs. Hallinan explained in the taped interview that her husband had gone to London as a free-lance writer. He became head of the United Press Bureau later.

Vernon: '20s some time, and she's lived there ever since.

Fry: I see. Well, let me throw out another name to you here. Who was Iris Calderhead?

Vernon: Well, her father had been a congressman from Kansas. Where did Iris go to college? I guess she went to Bryn Mawr. I think so. I knew her quite well, but my memory of her is very dim. I don't know how she came to us or anything about it.

Fry: How about Vivian Pierce?

Vernon: Oh, I knew Vivian very well. She was a California girl, a writer; but how they joined up, I don't know. Can we find anything in Inez [Irwin] about it?

Fry: I'm sure we can.

Vernon: I'm sure ~~we~~ can. But she was a writer who afterwards became editor of the Suffragist. She was a writer and an editor of the Suffragist more than an organizer. If she did any organizing, it was very incidental.

Fry: I see. It seemed to me that Inez Haynes Irwin was using the word "organizer" for everybody who worked.

Vernon: Well, then there was this: Alice, you know, would press a person into service. If there was some particular emergency, she'd say, "Well, Vivian could go do something," but she [that girl] really wasn't an organizer.

I don't know how much Iris did. I worked with Iris, but I don't know how much. She said [Inez Irwin] there were three generations. Was this the latest?

Fry: This is still the middle one we're on.

Vernon: Now, who was the latest?

Fry: There are a lot more in the middle one. I'll just run down the other names. Clara Louise Rowe--

Vernon: Oh, yes.

Fry: Do you know her?

Vernon: **Oh**, yes, very well. She stuck by me for a good many years, helped us in the Peoples Mandate.

Fry: Oh, is that right?

Vernon: Yes. Well, she was one of Mrs. Hazard's proteges, I think. I think the first time we met her was probably when I came through Syracuse with Sara.

Fry: And you met her on that trip?

Vernon: I'm not sure, but I think so. But, at any rate, she came to us highly recommended by Mrs. Hazard.

Fry: What about Joy Young?

Vernon: Joy Young? Oh, she was one of our pickets right here in Washington. We can show you pictures of Joy leading the pickets. She was a girl who worked at headquarters. Her sister, Matilda, is still one of my great friends.

Fry: Oh, did her sister Matilda work also?

Vernon: Oh, yes. Matilda was a picket. I think she was our youngest picket.

Fry: Where is she now?

Vernon: Right here in Washington?

Fry: Oh, really? Maybe I could run over and talk to her.

Vernon: I'm not sure. I'm not sure how much talking she would do. I can ask her. [Tape off briefly]

Fry: Margery Ross.

Vernon: Oh, dear. That would be a hard one. She came from Wyoming. But I think she's [Inez Irwin] used this ["organizer"] very loosely. How much organizing Margery did, I don't know. She probably went out to Wyoming.

Fry: Mary Gertrude Fendall.

Vernon: Well, did she use her as an organizer?

Fry: Well, a worker. At any rate, she's in this middle generation of workers. She was never an organizer?

Vernon: As I say, she went out to Oregon that time [1916], when we were conducting a campaign against the Democrats--but Mary Gertrude was at headquarters almost all the time.

Fry: And Pauline Clarke?

Vernon: Yes. She was with the Suffragist. If you use these as workers, that's all right, but not as organizers.

Fry: Okay.

Vernon: Pauline was one of the editors. She and Vivian together used to edit the Suffragist. Did you get these all from the Story of the Woman's Party, darling?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: And is that the way Inez uses them, as workers?

Fry: Yes. Her main point here was that she divides them into the younger waves that would come into the party as the campaign progressed.

Vernon: Yes. Well, maybe that's all right.

Fry: Let's see. Alice Henkel?

Vernon: She came from Chicago.

Fry: Who were her father and mother? Do you know?

Vernon: Her mother was Margaret Cherdron Henkel. I think the way that we first got in touch with them--I was organizing in Utah, and Margaret Zane Cherdron was a very prominent woman in Salt Lake City. I think she'd been a member of the legislature. And her niece was Alice Henkel. Margaret's sister (who was Alice's mother) had married a very prominent man, Mr. William Henkel, who was with the Illinois Central Bank. I used to go and stay at their house. It was like a second home, in Chicago.

Fry: It sounds as though all of these workers for suffrage come from pretty prominent families.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Rebecca Hourwich?

Vernon: Don't you know Rebecca, darling?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Well, you've missed something. Hasn't she, darling? [To Consuelo]

Vernon: She's our great friend, Rebecca Hourwich Reyher. Does the name "Reyher" mean anything to you?

Fry: Oh.

Vernon: Well, her husband was a writer, I think. Now, Rebecca's name should mean something to you, darling, because she became--[to Consuelo] do you want to tell us something about Rebecca? She became an African! Consuelo's a great friend of Rebecca's too, darling. She's my wonderful--I would count her now my dearest friend, since Mary Gertrude has gone and Vivian [Pierce] has gone.

Fry: Oh. How did you first meet her?

Vernon: At the Woman's Party.

Fry: At the Woman's Party? And what did she do there?

Vernon: Well, Anne [Martin] was speaking up in Boston, and Rebecca had been in the suffrage campaign, or some kind of campaign, in Boston; and Anne got her to come down here to work. That must have been around '17 or '18, I don't know. But Alice wanted her to go to prison and she couldn't go to prison because she was about to be pregnant, or something like that, and I guess Alice never had much opinion of her because she didn't go to prison. [Laughter]

Fry: Was she already pregnant?

Vernon: I really don't think she was.*

Fry: Oh! [Laughter] But she had plans?

Vernon: [Laughter] I don't know how that was. But, at any rate, she's a marvelous speaker. [To Consuelo] Isn't she, darling? We think she's among the best.

Fry: Is she in Washington now?

*Rebecca Reyher, in her taped memoirs, mentions that she did not join the picket line of August 14, 1917, because she was married on August 13. She mentions being pregnant when a large demonstration was planned for President Woodrow Wilson on his way to Versailles [March 4, 1919]. She did not tell Alice Paul of her pregnancy; and Miss Paul was "disgusted" because, on doctor's orders, Rebecca Reyher refused to join the women in the streets. Alice Paul asked for Rebecca Reyher's help at later dates, however. [Ed.]

- Vernon: No, she's in New York, 14 Washington Place East. I try to talk to her every week. Now, Inez has her in the list of workers, is that it?
- Fry: Yes. How long was she with the Woman's Party? Did she stay with it after suffrage?
- Vernon: I've been telling these girls who are getting up the article for Ms that they should go talk to Becky, because she went to Seneca Falls in 1923. She was still with the Woman's Party. She continued with the Woman's Party for--let's see. What was the year I organized the conference at Colorado Springs? 1924, I think. [1927--Ed.] Well, Becky was there. We went up to Rapid City to see Coolidge [President Calvin]. Becky was one of the leaders on that expedition.
- Fry: Before suffrage, was she primarily used as a speaker?
- Vernon: Oh, she went down to Tennessee. She was an organizer. I think that would do. She was advance woman for Mrs. Gould, who went down there on the automobile trip.
- Fry: To Tennessee?
- Vernon: Tennessee, I think it was. Becky could tell you about that.* Mrs. Gould was married to one of the famous Goulds of that day, but I've forgotten what her own name was. Becky's a very colorful person and she was then.
- Fry: How do you mean?
- Vernon: Well, she's vivid. She's--what's that, darling? [To Consuelo]
- Reyes: Some books.
- Fry: Some by Rebecca Hourwich Reyher. Zulu Woman.
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: They're all set in Africa.

*Rebecca Reyher later told of this trip to the South with Maud Younger and Mrs. Frank Gould. Mrs. Gould agreed to furnish the car for Rebecca Reyher and Maud Younger, but caused a problem by speaking herself. [Ed.]

Vernon: That's it.

Fry: I'll be darned.

Vernon: She's had five trips to Africa, hasn't she? My Mother is the Most Beautiful Woman in the World. [Reading book title]

Fry: Yes. It looks like a children's book.

Vernon: It's a Russian story. She's having a contest with "Sesame Street" [television program for children] about it right now. She's bringing suit against them. She gave a lawyer, a friend of hers, \$5,000 to bring the suit--that's a retaining fee--because they've been using material in "Sesame Street" from My Mother is the Most Beautiful Woman without giving any credit and it's a copyrighted story. But you ought to know Zulu Woman, darling.

Fry: You can probably tell me a lot more about Mary Gertrude Fendall.

Vernon: Oh, I could tell you reams about Mary Gertrude Fendall! As I say, she was the treasurer of the Woman's Party and, during the suffrage campaign, she was almost all the time right at headquarters. But I found Mary Gertrude Fendall one of my principal supports. When we were doing the picketing at the White House, I had to see that there was somebody there every hour of the day--you know, from nine o'clock, or whatever it was in the morning, until the quitting time in the afternoon, which was four or five o'clock. I'd get stuck sometimes and wouldn't have anybody to stand there. Then I'd call up Mary Gertrude's office and say, "Mary Gertrude, I need somebody on the picket line. Could you--?" "Ye-e-es, Mabel,"--she had a drawl and she came from Baltimore--"I think I could come for an hour." She'd never refuse.

She was always that way, wasn't she, darling? [To Consuelo] I mean, as we went through the years, all through the Peoples Mandate campaign, she was marvelous. She would come and take charge of the office when I went away. I knew Mary Gertrude better after suffrage than while we were working for it. When I went to Paris in 1951, Mary Gertrude came and--oh, she didn't go in '51. When was it that she went? But Mary Gertrude went on many of these expeditions. She loved Paris. She loved France. She loved the French and she could speak French quite well. She was invaluable to us in the mandate campaign. But I don't remember her as an organizer for the Woman's Party, except as I tell you.

Fry: How long did she stay with the Woman's Party? Do you know?

Vernon: No, I really don't.

Fry: Well, this is interesting meeting all these people. That's the end of the middle generation, and there are just a few here of the ones who came in late in the campaign.

Vernon: For instance?

Fry: She [Inez Irwin] mentions Julia Emory.

Vernon: Came late in the campaign? In the suffrage campaign?

Fry: That's what she said. Julia Emory, Betty Gram, Anita Pollitzer, Mary Dubrow, and Catherine Flanagan were all the third generation.

Vernon: Well, I guess that's right. It seems late to me.

Fry: It was late according to you oldtimers who'd come in in 1913, I guess.

Vernon: Julia Emory certainly got in on a lot of activity, darling. They may have been the third generation of organizers, but they got in in time to do some very active work.

Fry: Oh, yes. Those last two years were extremely active, both in picketing and in congressional work, weren't they?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Anita Pollitzer came in to do what? In what function did she come into the Woman's Party?

Vernon: Elsie Hill was down in Charleston, in South Carolina, making a street speech; and Anita heard her there and got in touch with her. I always felt that Elsie discovered Anita. Anita was rare. She was so spontaneous. Everybody liked her. She was a wonderful worker.

I don't know what her first work was in the Woman's Party, but she proved to be just a marvelous--well, she was very good with political contacts. She made friends very readily. She was down in Tennessee, you know, in that campaign. You'll get all of this from Anita. I hope she still has the strength to talk.

Fry: Well, that's what I hope too. It may have to be pretty shortened if she's not very strong.

There are two Gram's that I noticed--Betty Gram and--

Vernon: Alice Gram. They were sisters.

Fry: Is one of those the woman who was connected with the Congressional Quarterly?

Vernon: Yes. That's Alice.

Fry: I met her a couple of years ago.

Vernon: I think you did.

Fry: Was she never in the suffrage movement?

Vernon: Oh, yes. But I don't remember. You didn't talk to her at that time, darling?

Fry: Yes, I did talk to her for a little while; but I wasn't sure at what point she entered the Woman's Party work, whether it was before or after suffrage.

Vernon: Oh, no. It was during suffrage, I think.

Fry: Well, the Gram that is mentioned here is Betty Gram.

Vernon: She was the one who married Raymond Gram Swing. Don't you know the story of Raymond Gram Swing? He was a radio commentator. When he married Betty, he adopted her name, Gram, as his middle name--Raymond Gram Swing. She became Betty Gram Swing and he became Raymond Gram Swing. But he got divorced from Betty and dropped the "Gram." Let me see. I know Anne [Martin] and I were in Berlin. They were still married then. I guess it was in '23, and Raymond was a correspondent there. He had married Betty and they were living in Berlin at that time. We saw something of them.

Betty was active in--Alice [Paul] could tell you what campaigns Betty was active in.

Fry: Okay. The ones I don't know anything about are Mary Dubrow and Catherine Flanagan.

Vernon: Well, I don't know how much I could tell you about them.

Fry: Well, those are the last two.

Vernon: Mary Dubrow was interested in the labor movement. She was a friend of Becky's. Becky [Reyher] could tell you about her.*

*See Rebecca Reyher transcript. Rebecca Reyher mentions Mary Dubrow as one who gave her assistance when needed, as a result of the feeling of "sisterhood" between those who had worked together for suffrage. [Ed.]

Fry: Oh. Did you say "labor movement?"

Vernon: I think so. And her sister is--Hazel got in touch with Mary's sister--she is one of the organizers for the International Ladies Garment Workers here and a very important lobbyist in Washington, Mary's sister, Evelyn. Hazel wanted to see Mary when she was here, but she didn't. I think she lives out in California some place or other. I have Evelyn's number; we could find out about Mary.

[Tape off]

Vernon: [To Consuelo] Darling, did you see the package?

Reyes: Yes.

Vernon: Well, it's my dress. [Opening package] Becky's sending me a dress. That's the kind of girl this Becky Reyher is. She thinks I need a new dress, so she goes out and visits all the thrift shops and about five department stores and finally gets me a dress at Altman's and sends it to me.

Fry: How nice!

Vernon: You've got to meet her, darling.

Fry: She sounds like quite a person.

Vernon: She is.

Fry: Somebody who really cares about people.

Vernon: And now she's giving practically all of her time to her sister who is ill. But I would love you to talk to her. I think she and Anita [Pollitzer] are not particularly congenial, but I don't know. They never telephoned each other. They never see each other. So, I don't know. She's Jewish, and have you detected Alice's antagonism for Jews, darling?

Fry: I thought maybe there was a hint or two there. It was hard for me to tell.

Vernon: Well, and if you say anything--now, for instance, if I say, "Well, Anita is a Jew," [Alice says,] "Yes, but she's different."

Fry: Oh. [Laughter] How does Alice feel about blacks--Negroes?

Vernon: I don't know. She's very nice to individual Negro women. Mary Church

Vernon: Terrill was a friend of hers. What's the lady's name who was on our council--the black lady, darling?

Reyes: Moses?

Vernon: Mrs. Kendrick, I think. Well, at any rate, Alice is very nice to individuals.

Fry: Yes, but as a whole--as a race?

Vernon: As a race, yes. Isn't it too bad she has those prejudices? What do you do about it, darling?

Fry: I don't know. Did that make any difference or have any effect on the way she ran the suffrage campaign, do you think?

Vernon: I don't know. I would think not.

Campaigns of the 1920s: Anne Martin for Senate; Suffrage Amendment in Georgia

Fry: Okay. Well, I'm about to move on to the National Woman's Party in the 1920s.

Vernon: Are you?

Fry: Yes. The first question I have is that there is a little summary written in The Bancroft Library that introduces you to the Anne Martin collection. These are notes from the archivist. In there, they say that you were Anne's campaign manager in 1920.

Vernon: That's right.

Fry: Oh, what was the campaign?

Vernon: Anne was running for the Senate from Nevada. It interfered, I think. Some of the Woman's Party people didn't forgive me because I went to Nevada to be Anne's campaign manager in 1920 before the suffrage amendment was ratified. Didn't Elsie Hill say something to you rather derogatory of me because I'd done that, that I had deserted the suffrage campaign and gone out to Nevada?

Fry: Oh.

Vernon: I was very personal about it, I'll admit.*

Fry: Oh, I see. I didn't realize that was 1920.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Because you were also on hand for some of the ratification campaigns in 1920 also.

Vernon: I know. I went to Georgia, which was one of the most fruitless things I ever--

Fry: Why was Georgia so difficult?

Vernon: Well, you can imagine, Georgia, and this was to ratify the amendment. This was the first state I tackled to get ratification--the first state anyone tackled. Don't you know what Georgia was like, darling?

Fry: Well, I asked you about the South a while ago. Are you talking about it--

Vernon: I'm talking about ratification.

Fry: Antagonism towards suffrage? Are you talking about its antagonism towards suffrage?

Vernon: I'm talking about its failure to ratify the amendment. There was never anything passed there by the Georgia legislature. And I decided it would be that way, after I'd been there about two or three weeks. Anne came down to join me and she decided, we both decided, that it was just fruitless. And, do you know, after I left there, Alice sent somebody back?

Fry: Back to Georgia?

Vernon: Yes!

Fry: Well, was there anybody in Georgia who was working for it?

Vernon: Not that I discovered.

*When asked later (December 15, 1975) what she had meant by "I was very personal about it," Mabel Vernon replied, "Anne was a friend of mine, and I was personally devoted to her. I wanted to work for her."

Fry: Oh, Mabel, there was one other little thing I wanted to ask you about 1914 that I forgot a while ago. There was a New York Times letter to the editor, probably, by Mrs. Catt in October of 1914, in which she publicly repudiated the Congressional Union and its tactics. Since this appeared in the New York Times, I wondered if you remembered it? You don't remember anything about that?

Vernon: I was out in Nevada, I guess, at that time.

Fry: Yes, you probably were.

Vernon: I probably never saw it.

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: I wonder what its tactics were that she objected to at that time.

Fry: I think it was the advent of fighting the party in power.

Vernon: Yes, that was just beginning. That's right. And, of course, we were concentrating on the national suffrage amendment. I wouldn't think she would object to those tactics. A nasty letter, was it?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Too bad.

Fry: This was kind of at the height of that whole controversy about the Congressional Union and its status within the National Association.

Vernon: Yes. That really came a little later. It came when they had their national convention down here [Washington, D.C.]. Was that 1914?

Fry: Yes, it was. [December 1913--Ed.] In fact, I think this letter was written right after a sort of general agreement that you were going to have to go your separate ways.

Vernon: That might be so. But 1914 seems a little early, darling.

Fry: Yes? Well, it may have been. Maybe I'm a year off in my date. No, I don't think so.

Vernon: I'm trying to think when they had their national convention here at which this was discussed.

Fry: Because, see, this letter was written in October, just before the national elections of that year. Well, anyway, on to the '20s, then.

Vernon: All right.

Woman's Party: Relationship to Major Parties, 1921

- Fry: I know you were in Europe for a while, but I wondered if you could comment any on some of the things that were considered after suffrage was won that the Woman's Party might do? Was there any thought in the early '20s of joining the existing political parties and actively participating in them?
- Vernon: Well, not as an organization, as I can remember.
- Fry: Was there any thought of the National Woman's Party becoming an alternative to the major parties?
- Vernon: I guess these things were suggested, but the decision was made in the convention we held here--it was in 1923--in which we decided we would go on working for the policies that--I guess that came in 1923, didn't it?
- Fry: 1921. February 15 was the final convention of the suffrage group, according to my notes, and in that, Jane Addams spoke for merging with WIL [Women's International League]. Do you remember that? You may not have been here then.
- Vernon: What is that? Say that again.
- Fry: In 1921--were you in Europe then?
- Vernon: No.
- Fry: It was the final convention of the suffrage organization.
- Vernon: The National American Woman's--
- Fry: No, the Woman's Party.
- Vernon: Was Jane Addams there? That doesn't sound right, darling.
- Fry: Really? Yes, Jane Addams was there. Do you think this was National Association?
- Vernon: It sounds like it.
- Fry: Oh. I could be misreading my notes.
- Vernon: AWSA--it sounds like that, but I'm not certain, darling.

Fry: Does it? Well, in April of '21, there were a hundred women who went to see President Harding. Were you aware of that?

Vernon: That was in--I don't know. I remember going to see Harding before he was president, in Columbus, I guess it was.

Fry: Oh, well, this was after he was president.

Vernon: And who would be some of these women?

Fry: I don't know. That's all I know about it, just that a hundred women went to see him.

Vernon: And what did they go to see him about?

Fry: I don't know. If you weren't in that group, then we might as well not go into this.

Alva Belmont [Mrs. Oliver Hazard Perry], according to William O'Neill, at first saw the National Woman's Party as an alternative political party to the Republicans and Democrats and Progressives.

Vernon: I guess she always had that idea.

Fry: Oh, did she?

Vernon: I think so. Alice could tell you these things better than I because she was in intimate contact with Mrs. Belmont. What about this William O'Neill? Who is he, darling?

Fry: He's a professor in Connecticut.

Vernon: How much does he know?

Fry: His book is very well documented.

Vernon: Is it?

Fry: Yes. I haven't met him, but I think his book must be one of the best ones out right now on the whole woman movement, the entire movement.

Vernon: There Must Be No Bitterness, or what's it called?

Fry: It's called The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America.

Vernon: No, he has another book, then--Everyone was Brave. And what is this one?

Fry: Yes, that's the other part of the title--Everyone Was Brave.

Vernon: Well, that's been out some time, darling.

Fry: About three or four years.

Vernon: Yes, three or four years. I know some of the things. I don't think I ever read the book, but some of the things I've heard he wrote-- things I have kind of focused on--didn't seem to me at all accurate.

Fry: Oh, really?

Vernon: Yes.

Conflict in Suffrage Campaign: Women's Rights vs. Political Results

Fry: Well, I should bring Everyone Was Brave down and get from you these things that are not quite right, because they would be important to know.

Vernon: Well, I wouldn't speak about the book because, as I say, I haven't read it. But just a few things--I was thinking of how he seemed to think that we made such a mistake, in making the fight for suffrage, to emphasize the good things we were going to do, that we didn't emphasize just the right, but that we would emphasize the purity, etc., etc. that we were going to bring. Well, I don't think we did. I don't think there were any number of us who did. Maybe so.

Fry: Yes. That didn't come out in my reading of the Suffragist, and when I read that in O'Neill, I thought he might have been talking about people who were campaigning in [the] National Association.

Vernon: I don't know. Maybe so. But you didn't get that in your reading of the Suffragist?

Fry: No.

Vernon: I don't think we did particularly.

Fry: In other words, you weren't promising pie in the sky forever and all kinds of social reform if women got the vote?

Vernon: No, no. When I started out, I may have emphasized that kind of thing, but I certainly didn't continue.

Fry: You didn't?

Vernon: You see, I started out on the campaign down the eastern shore.

Fry: Oh, yes. New Jersey?

Vernon: Yes, down the resort places. I have a friend who was in Wildwood when I was there; and she always reminds me that that was one of the things that I said, and she disagreed with it.* She was very doubtful about women's improving politics. I don't know how much I did emphasize it, but that's the thing that sticks in her mind: in one of those first speeches I made, I was talking about the great improvement that would be made if women voted. [Laughter] I don't know.

Fry: The great improvement that would be made if women voted?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Well, then, later on in your speeches, did you stop this theme?

Vernon: I don't remember ever emphasizing that. I was just starting out. I was fresh from the schoolroom--Wayne, Pennsylvania.

Fry: Yes. Well, the other side of that was the theme that suffrage was demanded because it was women's right.

Vernon: Well, that's what we made our principal claim, that it was right that women should--but she [Emily LeRoy] said that I emphasized, and he [O'Neill] said that we made a mistake, as I remember--the thing that I quoted from him--in emphasizing the improvement that it would make, the purity we would bring, etc., etc.

Do you think he's any good? Is this Everyone Was Brave that you said you had read?

Fry: Yes. It's the only book I've found that goes into both suffrage and the equal rights amendment and then all of these other movements that sprang up after 1920. Do you remember all of those different movements for child labor laws and maternal--

Vernon: Well, there had been quite a fight for child labor. That was one of the things that Anne was so interested in, the child labor laws.

*Mabel Vernon, in January 1975, identified this friend as Emily LeRoy whom she had known at Swarthmore: "I was thinking of her just today, and of the way she was critical of what she remembered I said."

Fry: Anne Martin?

Vernon: Yes. That was one of the things she emphasized.

[Tape off for tea and cookies]

Degree from Columbia, 1923: Influential Professors

Fry: When you came back from Europe, did you go to school at Columbia for a while?

Vernon: Yes. I think I took the degree at Columbia in 1923.

Fry: What were you studying? Were you continuing your language?

Vernon: I took a master's degree in political science. I think it was 1922-'23. I think it was. I'm not too certain.

Fry: And before that, up until that time, your academic work had been primarily in languages, hadn't it?

Vernon: I'd been in German and Latin.

Fry: Yes. So, was this any indication of a new direction?

Vernon: I suppose it was, yes. The professors that I wanted--Giddings was in sociology, you know. You know the name of Giddings? And William R. Shepherd? Names like that, I wanted those. I took the degree in December.

Does Ogburn's name mean anything to you?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: William Fielding Ogburn?

Fry: Oh, yes!

Vernon: Now, how do you connect with him?

Fry: Well, he's one of the old-timers, isn't he, in sociology and poly sci?

Vernon: Is he? Well, he was one of the new-timers! [Laughter]

Fry: The new-timers, then? [Laughter] Did you have him too as a professor?

Vernon: Most decidedly! I probably knew him better than I knew anybody, because we formed a little club and we asked Mr. Villard to come to speak to us and we asked Harriot Stanton Blatch, and we were very much in touch with Ogburn about getting these meetings together. We asked Mr. Villard to come up and have dinner with us at the faculty club before we had the meeting.

Fry: What was this club for--what subjects?

Vernon: It was the sociology club, as I remember. Just a few of us students specializing in sociology thought that we should have some activities that brought in outside people, like Mr. Villard and like Harriot Stanton Blatch, and we had these meetings in the faculty parlors, as I remember it. They were nice. They were interesting. Those were the only two speakers that I remember, and they were the ones I had gotten because they were friends of mine. We had Mr. Villard for dinner at the faculty club.

Fry: What did you write your thesis on?

Vernon: I've forgotten the title. It was about the change in the government in England. [Laughter]*

Fry: Which change?

Vernon: Well, they changed from--

Fry: The current one then?

Vernon: I'd like to read it. I've forgotten. [Laughter]

Fry: Do you mean getting out from under England?

Vernon: I mean Britain getting out from under.

Fry: Well, were you doing any outside activities then?

Vernon: Oh, just incidentally. I wanted a change [from chautauqua travel]. I wanted to see something different.

Fry: So, were you glad that you had taken another degree?

*This is not a clear section on the tape and Mabel Vernon no longer remembers the subject of her thesis. Notes taken by Amelia Fry during the interview indicate that the government of India was mentioned. [Ed.]

Vernon: Oh, yes. I was glad to have the change, to stay in one place for more than one night. [Laughter] I was very fortunate. Did you ever hear the name of Adelaide Nutting, darling?

Fry: No.

Vernon: Well, she was a professor at Teachers College, and she lived right next door to the college in her own home. She had a room in her apartment and she rented me that room. It was wonderful. [Tape off for telephone interruption]

Fry: You were saying that you rented a room.

Vernon: Oh, yes, from Miss Nutting. And right in that same hall, in Lowell, there was the dining room of the faculty club and I could go down there and have my meals.

Fry: Oh, with the faculty?

Vernon: Well, not with the faculty. It was just the faculty club.

Fry: I see.

Vernon: And they had a dining room. I guess I was up on the fifth floor or something like that and the dining room was on the second. So, I lived very comfortably. And Adelaide Nutting was a wonderful woman.

Fry: Who was she?

Vernon: Well, she was the head of the nursing [studies] at Teachers College. She was trying to get degrees for nurses at Teachers College, and she met great opposition from doctors to the idea of awarding degrees to nurses. She had some things to tell about the attitude of doctors. They didn't want the nurses to be well educated and have degrees.

Fry: Was this when the AMA was strong?

Vernon: I guess it was just as strong then as it is now.

Fry: Well, did you remember her talking about opposition from the AMA?

Vernon: She didn't mention the AMA, but she mentioned doctors that she had come in touch with.

Equal Rights Amendment

- Fry: In July of 1923 was the Seneca Falls conference for kicking off the equal rights--
- Vernon: I didn't go to that.
- Fry: You missed that?
- Vernon: But Becky [Reyher] went to that.
- Fry: Oh, did she?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: In December of that year, the Equal Rights Amendment was introduced in the House and the Senate for the first time, according to my notes. That was December of 1923. Were you in on that?
- Vernon: I must have been down there when the Congress decided to introduce it. You see, I worked in [a] chautauqua too, darling, and I did some work on their fall circuits as well as in their summer. Do you know anything about chautauqua?
- Fry: Yes, I know what you told me about it. The only thing I might not know is precisely the subjects that you expounded on.
- Vernon: Well, I didn't expound, really, on any subjects.
- Fry: You just organized?
- Vernon: I was superintendent. That was my position at [the] chautauqua. I had to make a speech about three times a week at the afternoon sections at the chautauqua, and I talked on "What is Feminism?"
- Fry: I see. So, you were continuing your feminist speeches even in the chautauquas then?
- Vernon: Oh, that was a great opportunity.

Relationship to Women-for-Congress Campaign

- Fry: Now, you mentioned to me this campaign in 1924 to get women in Congress.
- Vernon: Yes. That was with Margaret. That was Margaret Whittemore, darling.
- Fry: What was she?
- Vernon: Well, she was the one who was the driver. She'd organized, really, the expedition and she was the driver of the car that conveyed us across the continent. You said I'd mentioned Margaret?
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: Well, that was Margaret Whittemore. Both Margaret and I spoke at the stops we made across the country.
- Fry: I see.
- Vernon: She was one of those organizers that you questioned me about.
- Fry: Yes.
- Vernon: That was a famous expedition. It was like 1915 in reverse.
- Fry: You went thousands and thousands of miles, right?
- Vernon: Well, however many thousand it takes to get across the continent.
- Fry: I'm trying to find my notes on that. [Pause]
- Vernon: I wish we'd pursued that campaign more zealously, getting women into Congress. We dropped it too soon.
- Fry: I wanted to ask you something about the women who were running then.
- Vernon: There weren't many. There weren't many. I don't know who there were. The campaign that I finally got strength from was Mrs. Culbertson's in Erie, Pennsylvania.
- Fry: And she ran?
- Vernon: She ran as an independent.
- Fry: Oh, not in a political party?
- Vernon: That was a strike against her, I guess, to begin with.

Fry: Was your idea to get them into regular parties, into the major parties?

Vernon: Oh, our idea was to get them elected.

Fry: Oh. Well, I think it's William O'Neill who mentions that La Follette's third party, in 1924, picked a Socialist candidate to run, even though Anne Martin had out-pollled him in a previous election.* Do you know anything about Anne Martin's attempt, or her wanting to run in 1924?

Vernon: I don't know about that. 1924?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: I think I would know something about this, since we were trying to get women elected to Congress. I wonder if he's wrong in his year.

Fry: I wonder too. It may have been a different year. Now, O'Neill mentions that in 1919 Anne Martin was annoyed when the National Conference of Republican Women seemed more interested in the cliches of professional politicians than in her own efforts to organize a specifically feminine program. He implies that she kind of gave up on the Republicans after that.** That was in 1919.

Vernon: I don't think she ever had any idea of running with the Republicans. She always wanted to run as an independent. Now, Mr. Milholland--Inez's father, darling--he was a great friend of Anne's and of mine too and a great Republican. He thought Anne made a great mistake not to run as a Republican in Nevada. But the Socialist--who was the Socialist? I don't think I ever heard.

Fry: I don't know, because he didn't give the name of the Socialist candidate, but it was the one that the La Follette party chose.

Vernon: That was in Nevada in '24?

Fry: Yes, and the La Follette party, I guess, backed quite a few.

Let me read you my note. I'll just start at the beginning and read you these few lines. He says that "by 1924 the Woman's Party had given up its old strategy of attempting to hold the party in

*Everyone Was Brave. Quadrangle Paperback Edition, 1971, p. 267.

**Ibid., p. 266.

Fry: power responsible."*

Vernon: Holding it responsible for what?

Fry: For passing the Equal Rights Amendment, in this case,

Vernon: Go ahead, darling.

Fry: [Continues reading from notes] "They were trying to get a sufficient number of congresswomen elected and felt that they would guarantee the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment."**

Vernon: I don't know that we ever thought that, but we did want to get women elected.

Fry: Well, that didn't have anything to do with your efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment?

Vernon: I don't remember that. But we didn't connect it with holding the party in power responsible.

Fry: Yes, that's what he said. [Continues reading from notes] "For a time, the Woman's Party planned to support all women candidates, regardless of their position on the Equal Rights Amendment."***

Vernon: I don't know that that's true either.

Fry: "And they urged women to vote exclusively for members of their own sex."

Vernon: I will have to check on all of this, darling, as to whether--

Fry: That was just at first, but "eventually," he says, "the Woman's Party decided [in this campaign] to support only those women candidates who endorsed the amendment. Five did so.

Vernon: But he doesn't mention those five?

Fry: "And those were all either La Follette or minority candidates."

Vernon: And so, none got elected.

*Everyone Was Brave, Quadrangle Paperback, p. 283.

**Paraphrase of ibid.

***Paraphrase of ibid.

Fry: They were all beaten.

Vernon: He knows more about the Woman's Party than I do on that occasion.

Fry: I wonder if you remember any discussion about whether to support the women who did not support ERA?

Vernon: I don't know where that discussion would have taken place. I don't remember it. As I say, I was concentrating on Mrs. Culbertson's campaign in Meadville, Pennsylvania.

Fry: Yes. I can see how that would be a dilemma. You know, you'd want the women in Congress; but still, if it was a woman who was against the Equal Rights Amendment, that might be--

Vernon: We'd have to take our choice.

Fry: Yes. It seems as though there would have had to be a decision made.

Vernon: But I don't know where. Now, this is where the magazine would help me.

Fry: The Equal Rights magazine, yes.

Vernon: The Equal Rights magazine.

Fry: Well, when we get all of that microfilming done, we'll all be able to read the Equal Rights.

Endorsement by Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party; Passage in Wisconsin

Fry: Do you remember getting the endorsement of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party?

Vernon: I remember going out there to work for it.

Fry: Oh, did you?

Vernon: When was that, darling?

Fry: This was 1924, about March.

Vernon: I was there.

Fry: Oh, good. There was a woman named Myrtle Cain.

Vernon: Yes, a very good friend of mine. She was a good member of the Woman's Party in suffrage days. Well, go ahead.

Fry: Was she a Farmer-Labor member of the state legislature?

Vernon: Well, I don't know about the state legislature, but she was Farmer-Labor.

Fry: She was?

Vernon: Alice could tell you whether she was a member of the legislature. What's O'Neill got to say about her?

Fry: Only that "the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party endorsed the amendment at its convention in March, 1924, thanks to the efforts of Myrtle Cain." Oh, yes, and she was, according to O'Neill, a Farmer-Labor member of the state legislature.

Vernon: Oh, well, she was a member of the Woman's Party, a very good member, very active. When we went to Minnesota, she helped us in every way she could. We tried to get the endorsement, you know, of the Farmer-Labor Party. Alice came there too.

Fry: Alice Paul?

Vernon: Alice Paul.

Fry: Was this at a convention of the party?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: What was your job? How did you go about this?

Vernon: Go about what?

Fry: Getting the endorsement.

Vernon: Oh, just seeing people. Of course, Myrtle knew everybody.

Fry: This is interesting because by 1924 there was a great deal of antagonism between the people in labor who wanted to preserve protective legislation for women and were against the Equal Rights Amendment--

Vernon: I don't think we struck any of that.

Fry: In Minnesota? Why didn't you? It's called the Farmer-Labor Party and there were other labor organizations that were very antagonistic at that time, according to my reading on this.

Vernon: I don't know.

Fry: Also next door--Wisconsin. Do you remember Wisconsin?

Vernon: What about Wisconsin?

Fry: Wisconsin had passed the equal rights bill very early.

Vernon: Yes. Mabel Putnam did that.

Fry: Oh, Mabel Putnam?

Vernon: Mabel Raef Putnam. It was her work, I think. That was around 1920 or '21, wasn't it?

Fry: Yes, I think it was '21. It was very early.

Vernon: It was early. But I think she did that. Alice would know.

Fry: Was she a National Woman's Party person?

Vernon: Oh, most decidedly. She was chairman. Her sister was Alice's secretary for years and a very good one. Marguerite Raef her name was. But Mabel was the one, I think, who did that--Mabel Raef Putnam.

Fry: It's amazing how you still remember all of these people.

Vernon: Oh, I knew them very well.

Fry: I keep picking up these little connections, Mabel, between the La Follette party and Wisconsin, and the Equal Rights Amendment work and other efforts in the National Woman's Party. Was this one of those things where the Progressive Party happened to be for the same things that you were for?

Vernon: I guess so.

Misgivings About Role of Woman's Party at Women's Industrial Conference, 1926

Fry: Well, let's see. Here's something I'll bet you remember!

Vernon: What's this, darling?

Fry: Do you remember the Women's Industrial Conference [1926]?

Vernon: Here? [Washington, D.C.]

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: And it didn't put the Equal Rights Amendment on its agenda.

Vernon: I know!

Fry: Okay, tell me.

Vernon: I never was particularly proud of--*

Fry: Oh, well, what I know about is that Alice Paul then scheduled a meeting of, I guess, the Woman's Party two days before the Women's Industrial Conference was to take place. Then, when the conference--

Vernon: I don't remember that meeting, but I remember the Industrial Conference.

Fry: Yes. It said you were the floor leader, then, of the group that--

Vernon: Where did you get that? Out of some article?

Fry: I got this from two different places and--

Vernon: It quotes something I said that wasn't particularly--I've forgotten that quote, but I've seen that article.

Fry: No, I didn't see you quoted. I think I saw Gail Laughlin quoted.

Vernon: Was Gail there? I'd forgotten Gail. I remember a speech that Doris [Stevens] made, which I never particularly approved of.

Fry: Well, you did accomplish something there.

Vernon: Did we? What was that?

Fry: You did get a study committee appointed.

Vernon: What?

*The tape was not clear at this and other points in this section. By the time I asked her about it, Mabel Vernon no longer remembered the incident at all clearly. [Ed.]

- Fry: You did get the Industrial Conference to appoint a study committee.
- Vernon: Maybe so. I've forgotten.
- Fry: Well, did you expect this shouting match to develop when you went in there?
- Vernon: I didn't know what would develop, but I wasn't particularly enthusiastic about the way [unclear] and not the results that I wanted to get.
- Fry: Let's see. What do I see here in my notes? You did get a debate scheduled for that evening on the Equal Rights Amendment and the conference asked that a study be undertaken.
- Vernon: That's what I was uncertain about--"a study was undertaken." And what were the results?
- Fry: Well, two years later, the Women's Bureau, which sponsored this, published a report that was very anti-Equal Rights Amendment.
- Vernon: Oh, really? I didn't know that.
- Fry: In fact, the quotation I have is that "in view of the facts here [in the Women's Bureau report] soberly set down, nobody except a fanatic or a person with an ax to grind will any longer be able to urge the repeal by blanket enactment, of all the special protective labor laws for women on the grounds that they seriously limit women's employment opportunities in general."*
- Vernon: Was that in the study? Is that so?
- Fry: [Laughter] That was in an issue of the Survey. Henry Raymond Mussey wrote it after reading the report of the study.
- Vernon: That's interesting.
- Fry: So, your feelings were proved to be right later on in this case. It didn't reform anybody in the Women's Bureau.
- Vernon: Apparently not, if that was the results of the study.

*"Law and a Living for Women," Survey, November 1, 1928, p. 195, in William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, Quadrangle Paperback, p. 285.

Fry: Did you have these misgivings about it before you went?

Vernon: Oh, no. I just wanted to take it in my stride.

Fry: Yes. [Laughter]

Vernon: Alice got these ideas about how we ought to press for certain things.

Fry: And how to make it an issue and keep it an issue, I guess.

Vernon: Yes. Now, what year was that, darling?

Fry: That was '26.

Vernon: It was as late as '26?

Fry: Yes.

V MORE ON CAMPAIGNS FOR SUFFRAGE AND PEACE
(Interview V, April 28, 1973)

Suffrage Workers: Married and Unmarried; Directed by Alice Paul

Fry: I wanted to ask you about Doris Stevens and what her main role was in the pre-suffrage years.

Vernon: Well, dear, she's mentioned among the first organizers. I was trying to remember how she came. She came from Dayton, Ohio. She lived there. She was very good-looking. You know that, don't you? Quite the beauty of the Woman's Party, I think.

Fry: Oh!

Vernon: Oh, you didn't know that?

Fry: No.

Vernon: That was one of her great assets, darling. She was so very good-looking. And she married Dudley Field Malone, you know.

Fry: That was later, wasn't it?

Vernon: Oh, yes, considerably later. She'd had time to get acquainted with Dudley. We were in the middle of the picketing period. Doris was one of the women sent to Occoquan; Dudley and other influential men who were friends of President Wilson went to him and protested. Dudley was the collector of the Port of New York, you know?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: And very influential in the administration.

Fry: Was Doris in a position of real leadership in the later years just before suffrage?

Vernon: Well, I don't know whether "real" leadership would describe it. We all lead. Alice was really the leader.

Fry: Alice was really the leader all the way, wasn't she?

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: That brings up another question. A lot of those women that we talked about seemed to--I think they were single. I wondered if at that time women felt that they had to make a choice between either an active life, such as these workers led, and marriage, or not.

Vernon: I wouldn't know about that.

Fry: Because there have been a number of sociological-type books now written that state that at one time women felt they had to choose between home and a family, or a career.

Vernon: I don't know about that. Alice and Lucy were unmarried. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, who was one of our very active people, was married and had a son, Shippen Lewis, who was prominent in Philadelphia. She was one of the first to help Alice Paul form the Woman's Party. Her husband had died when she worked with us. I don't think there was any clear delineation between those who were married and those who weren't.

Fry: I was wondering about the general standard, the society standard.

Vernon: Which society?

Fry: Ours. I mean, on whether it was considered acceptable to run a home and be active in suffrage. Was it just the younger ones in the suffrage movement who were unmarried?

Vernon: I don't think there were any firm lines like that.

Fry: Really?

Vernon: There were some women who were very active in our association who were married. Well, what of it?

Fry: Were they the older ones, as you look back on it?

Vernon: No, not necessarily. I'm trying to think of some of the younger ones. Jessie Hardy Stubbs--she was married. Have you ever heard of her? She was quite active. Mrs. Gilson Gardner--she was active. She was married to Gilson Gardner. She had been Mathilda Hall before she married, but we didn't know her then.

Vernon: Lots of women in the National American Woman Suffrage Association were married. Mrs. Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw were married. Harriet Lees Laidlaw--her husband [James Lees Laidlaw] was so active. He formed the Men's League [for Woman Suffrage]. I don't think being married was considered so much. You were or you were not, just as it happened.

Fry: There wasn't any societal attitude, then, that women--

Vernon: No. That probably came later, darling. I don't know.

Fry: I wondered if women then went through any agonizing decision when they got out of college on whether they would marry or have a career?

Vernon: I wouldn't know! [Laughter]

Fry: I ran across a little note that said the flu epidemic of 1918 hit the Woman's Party hard. Anita--

Vernon: Who said a thing like that? I don't know where--

Fry: At least for the organizers. Even if the organizers didn't get sick, the people they were visiting were sick. [Laughter]

Vernon: Who said a thing like that?

Fry: I guess Anita Pollitzer wrote to Alice Paul and said, "I've visited so many sick houses, I feel like Dr. Rosenberg."

Vernon: Who's Rosenberg?

Fry: I guess he was a doctor who was treating a lot of flu patients.

Vernon: 1918.

Fry: You remember, that was when so many people died from the flu.

Vernon: I'll have to get '18 fixed in my mind. I can't remember '18. What was that?

Fry: Well, it was during the war, and it was when a lot of congressional activity was going on in the Woman's Party.

My little note here says that "in 1916, Doris Stevens was put in charge of the organizational department," and that was a department which coordinated what the organizers were doing and tried to establish chapters out in the states.

Vernon: Oh, that was a perfunctory thing, I think, darling.

Fry: Was it?

Vernon: Alice was always in charge of it. I myself was in charge of it in later years.

Fry: Did you do the same things that Doris did, and did you have the same amount of power she did?

Vernon: Oh! [Laughter] In some ways, more. In some ways, less. The same amount of power? I don't know what power you mean.

Fry: I meant prerogatives in relation to Alice.

Vernon: I don't know what that means, darling.

Fry: Well, you said Alice was really always in charge.

Vernon: Yes, yes.

Fry: And I thought maybe you'd been able to do a little more than Doris had.

Vernon: Over all, about the same, I think. She [Alice Paul] made the plans and we helped carry them out.

Suffrage Organizations

Fry: In organizing out in the states, according to this thesis, there are some letters in the file that say that some of the states resented a second suffrage organization coming into them, that it was very difficult in some states for the Congressional Union to break in.*

Vernon: I don't remember striking anything like that.

Fry: Well, the one I wanted to ask you about especially was Delaware.

*Loretta Ellen Zimmerman, Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920 (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1964)

Vernon: I was just going to say my mind went immediately to Delaware because that's where I started and that's the first state we organized. The state organization welcomed us.

Fry: Well, did you know Mary R. Devoe?

Vernon: Of course!

Fry: Did you know that in January of 1914, she wrote to Alice Paul and said, "I believe that Delaware is too small a state to support two entirely independent suffrage organizations, or perhaps I should say that conditions do not warrant such a move."

Vernon: She wouldn't be so influential.

Fry: Influential?

Vernon: Influential. She was a little bit of a novelty. I remember her very well. She was respected and liked, but a little bit queer.

Fry: I see. So her judgment was not accepted?

Vernon: I don't think it would be. If the judgment--of course, that was 1914. The time I organized in Delaware was 1913. I went to Nevada in April, I think it was. I had been in Delaware shortly before that. Maybe she wrote the thing, I don't know.

Fry: [Laughter] Maybe so!

Vernon: But I think the Delaware organization [NAWSA] welcomed us. Mrs. Martha Cranston was the president of the Delaware State Suffrage Association which was attached to the NAWSA. I was a Delaware woman, you know.

Fry: I know.

Vernon: I had some position in Delaware. My family was a newspaper family. I mean, I had access to newspapers. I could do a great deal more for suffrage than most of the people who had been in the Delaware association.

Fry: Was the National Association very strong in Delaware?

Vernon: Oh, not very strong. Nice women, older women, not very gifted women, but good women, and they continued to work with me, welcomed me.

Fry: Did they?

Vernon: [Laughter] It seemed so to me!

Fry: Mabel, could one woman join both organizations?

Vernon: Sure! You mean the Delaware Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union? All you did was pay a quarter in the Congressional Union.

Fry: So, they could belong both to the National Association--

Vernon: Oh, of course!

Fry: Was the Delaware Suffrage Association a part of NAWSA?

Vernon: Certainly.

Fry: As you went through the other states, did you get resistance from the chapters that had already been formed?

Vernon: Well, I don't remember the other states so well. I did very cursory organizing because I was moving on most of the time. But in Delaware, you see, I stayed and I established the headquarters there, down at the corner of Seventh and Shipley streets.

And then another important thing that I did that gave me influence--Florence Bayard Hilles, who was one of the leading women of our state (her family was the leading family, probably, of the state) became our chairman. She was a wonderful asset. And Florence became chairman of the Woman's Party later. That was wonderful.*

*In a later conversation, Mabel Vernon recounted the following stories about Florence Bayard Hilles:

"At the Delaware State Fair [probably 1913], I was speaking outside a tent on behalf of woman suffrage. As I spoke to the crowd, I noticed that one woman was particularly intent and I spoke directly to her. After I spoke, little cards were turned in saying, 'I believe in woman suffrage' and signed by the listeners. I noticed that the woman who had listened so intently had signed 'Florence Bayard Hilles.' Of course I was familiar with the name because her family was prominent. I called her the next day and asked her to come to our Delaware office where we talked together. That was the beginning of Florence's wonderful service for suffrage. As Florence told me later, she was at the Delaware State Fair showing some prize dogs she raised--West Highlanders. She told me that when she heard me speaking in front of the tent she thought 'this woman is saying the things that I believe.'

Fry: It looks as though the emphasis in 1914 was to organize the western states that had suffrage, to get the Congressional Union in those states. Then, as soon as that was over and the campaign of 1914 was over, attention was turned to try to get Congressional Union societies and chapters in all of the other states.

Vernon: Branches, we called them, not societies. That's entirely too--
[Laughter]

Fry: [Laughter] Not very descriptive! Okay.

Vernon: But I don't think--we never felt that the organization was over in those states. You thought it was completed? Oh, we kept on working at it.

Fry: I guess there was always a chance that the women might start working for the National Association [NAWSA] or decide against working for the federal amendment.

Vernon: Decide against working for it?

Fry: If you didn't keep contact with them and keep communication.

Vernon: Oh, yes. That happened with one of our best branches.

Fry: Which one?

Vernon: I don't know. I'd have to think. I just think about the states where I worked, for instance. All those states were all--wherever I went, I found good women. I camped in Idaho for a while to get Borah's [Senator William Edgar] vote because Borah was opposed to the national amendment, you know.

Fry: Oh, Senator Borah?

"Florence Bayard Hilles went with the Suffrage Special and I used to meet it at various stops. She always liked to have me introduce her because she said I could tell more about her background than anyone else. I can remember standing up on a baggage cart and telling how much she had done for suffrage.

"When Florence was arrested here [Washington] for picketing and was sentenced in Judge Maloney's court, she said, 'I've never been to court, except the court of St. James.'"

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Oh, yes. He was very difficult, wasn't he?

Vernon: Of course!

Fry: And he was ambiguous.

Vernon: That's the reason I camped there in Boise.

Fry: Did you have any luck with him?

Vernon: Well, I wouldn't say that we succeeded with him. We never did get his vote, you know, but we landed him. I got him out of the backwoods one day on the long distance telephone to get him to come back to Washington and receive a delegation.

Fry: Oh, you did? [Laughter]

Vernon: He came!

Fry: What did he tell you then?

Vernon: That it should come by state action.

Fry: State action?

Vernon: He was consistent.

Fry: Oh, I wanted to ask you another thing. In the thesis, Zimmerman says that two women were sent to each western state for the 1914 election campaign.

Vernon: Well, they were, but it was in a very desultory manner. Well, go ahead, darling.

Fry: Well, I wondered if that gives a true picture of it. I thought maybe there really were more than two women working.

Vernon: They were sent as the organizers.

Fry: After they got to the states, what did they do?

Vernon: I was in Nevada working for support for the suffrage amendment, but I wouldn't know about anything to do with this. The ordinary procedure, darling, trying to get the women to support the national amendment.

- Fry: Did they set up state organizations with local women running them?
- Vernon: Oh, there was no form of organization of that kind that I remember. If they could get them, well, they would.
- Fry: But all in all, you think it was rather desultory?
- Vernon: It seems so to me, as I look back at it now. I've forgotten the girls who did it. I'll have to look that up to find out who went to each state. I would know how powerful it was if I knew the girls who went.
- Fry: I don't have the names of which ones went to which states.
- Vernon: No, but we could get them from the Suffragist, the Suffragists to which we do not have access.
- Fry: Yes, we could. One name that we didn't talk about was Alma Lutz.
- Vernon: Well, she wasn't active in the national--
- Fry: I wondered about that and, yet, I think she was at that famous meeting in August of 1914 at Marble House up in Newport.
- Vernon: No, no. Alma wouldn't have been there, darling. What makes you think she was?
- Fry: Well, I just read it in this thesis.
- Vernon: That Alma was there? Oh, no.
- Fry: That she was one of the ones who was present.
- Vernon: Oh, no.
- Fry: And it sort of surprised--
- Vernon: I can tell you quite positively, no.

I'll tell you Alma's history. In North Dakota, where Alma lived, Dr. Shaw [NAWSA] had gone to speak and I think the Lutz family had entertained for her in their house, or something like that. Then, in 1915, when Sara and I were crossing the country, we stopped in Buffalo, New York, where my good friend, Marguerite Smith, lived. Marguerite and Alma had been at Vassar together, and even after college they had remained very good friends. So, Alma was visiting Marguerite's home in Buffalo, and I stayed there. Sara stayed down at the hotel or something like that, and I stayed in Marguerite's house in Buffalo.

- Vernon: So, I can tell you Alma remembers very well the open-air meeting there and then she became more interested after that.
- Fry: Oh, so that would have been--
- Vernon: 1915.
- Fry: In the fall of 1915.
- Vernon: I'm not sure it was fall.
- Fry: Did you say it was when you and--
- Vernon: Yes, yes. I guess it was. When did we leave?
- Fry: September. You left San Francisco.
- Vernon: Well, that was in the fall. That was right, then.
- Fry: What city was this?
- Vernon: Buffalo, New York. That's where Marguerite lived and that's where Alma was visiting. Well, then, she didn't have very much contact with the Woman's Party that I remember during the years we were trying to get suffrage. But she later developed into a most valuable member while we were working for the Equal Rights Amendment.
- In the equal rights campaign--it must have been around '22 or '23 or something, maybe a little bit later--I was in Boston and I called up all the people I had on my list of members of the Woman's Party who lived in Boston. One of them was Alma Lutz and when I called her, I said, "Is this the Alma Lutz who was with my friend Marguerite?" She said, "None else," and I said, "Where is Marguerite?" [She said,] "Right here," and they were living in Boston. Alma and Marguerite had an apartment there. Then I got Alma more and more interested. You haven't talked to Alma, have you?
- Fry: No, I haven't.
- Vernon: Never have seen her?
- Fry: No.
- Vernon: The girls who are writing the Ms. article for the July issue--they've been--Judy [Gurovitz] has been to see Alma.*

*Judy Gurovitz, "The Family of Woman: Suffragists Still Going Strong," in Ms., vol. II, no. 1 (July 1973), pp. 47-53.

Fry: Oh, good. Maybe they'll have a little history there, then, that we can use.

Vernon: I'm not sure. You see, Alma has been more active since suffrage than she was before suffrage.

Resolutions Committees of Major Parties, 1916; Defeat for the Woman's Party

Fry: Yes. I wanted to ask you about the work with the resolutions committees of the political parties in 1916. You know, when all the parties met and the Woman's Party was formed in Chicago.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: And the Woman's Party sent delegations to meet with the resolutions committees of the major political parties.

Vernon: We did this just as a matter of course, just in our stride, darling.

Fry: I know. What I want to ask you about, thought, is did you consider their action a defeat for you or a victory for you?

Vernon: I've forgotten what their action was.

Fry: Well, they did put suffrage in their platforms, but they said, "We want it state by state and not a federal amendment."

Vernon: Well, of course, that would be a setback to have that stated, if it was stated like that.

Fry: Yes. Was this an expected thing? Do you remember much about it?

Vernon: I don't remember much about it, although I was in both Chicago and St. Louis.* I was out on the corner speaking most of the time.

What does Alice tell you about when she gives you her long dissertations?

*The Republican and Progressive conventions were held in Chicago; the Democratic convention was in St. Louis. [Ed.]

Fry: Mabel, I couldn't begin to tell you, and I can't even remember now. There's too much. I just try to ask her a lot of questions and then ask you a lot of questions in hopes that we can get all the versions of it. But I think that now that we have information on some of the letters and things like that, we'll be able to tie this down a little bit better.

Vernon: What I need to do is read the Suffragist, darling. These things would all be refreshed. I have to ponder now and say, "I don't remember. I don't remember." If I could read the Suffragist, all of these things would come back.

Fry: Yes. Maybe you could do that, and maybe I could have another visit in a few months.

Vernon: I don't know.

Difficulties in the South, 1917

Fry: You know, yesterday you and I were talking about the South, and I thought you would enjoy this. There is a letter from Beulah Amidon to Alice Paul in April of 1917. The South still hadn't been organized. This was rather late for organizational efforts, but the South apparently lagged behind.

Vernon: We began our picketing in June of 1917 or so.

Fry: January of 1917.

Vernon: It was in January, was it? Well, go ahead, darling. Oh, you said January, 1917? Yes, because we were picketing during the summer. Yes, you're right, darling. I was confused in my--

Fry: Well, Beulah Amidon wrote from Alabama and said--

Vernon: Where in Alabama?

Fry: I don't know. But she was down there organizing, and she said, "If I didn't know that nothing was impossible, I'd certainly say that Alabama was!" [Laughter] That kind of matches with your comments on Georgia from yesterday.

Vernon: Yes. [Laughter]

Fry: Now, Doris Stevens was in Charleston, and she felt the same way about Charleston.

Vernon: I never knew that Doris was in Charleston. Anita can tell you about that.

Fry: Yes, I thought I'd ask Anita about that. It's probably one of those little errands that Alice sent her on.

At any rate, according to my information, by the end of 1917, there were branches in all forty-eight states.

Vernon: Of a sort.

Fry: Of a sort. Now, what do you think that statistic really meant?

Vernon: We had very sketchy organizations of many states.

Fry: Well, it sounds like the South was extremely difficult because of the attitude toward carpetbagging, for one thing. They didn't like women coming down from the North telling them what to do.

Vernon: Yes.

Fry: Did you run into any other southern attitudes that made this the last bastion?

Vernon: I'm trying to think what I was doing during those years, '17. You see, I was here organizing the picketing.

Fry: You were busy in Washington in '17, I guess.

Vernon: I certainly was.

Fry: Because I have you down here as being the organizer of all the picketing.

Membership Statistics Evaluated

Fry: I want to follow up that question about the chapters all over the United States and ask you about one more statistic. The National Association repeatedly put out information that it had 98% of all the suffragists in its organization.

Vernon: Well, that's probably true.

Fry: I wondered what you all said about that.

Vernon: They had 98%. Oh, probably it was true, if you measure things that way.

Fry: How important was this comparison of numbers in terms of the way you functioned?

Vernon: You see, we had very active, devoted people. It didn't make any difference whether there were few or many. They were still active and prominent, probably much more active than the women in the Woman Suffrage Association. But understand the old suffrage association was very much respected, bound to be. But their tactics were a little different. What they say in regard to numbers is probably true. I don't have any way of measuring it. Was there a corresponding contrast in the amount of activities in the two organizations?

Vernon: All I could tell you about were the states in which I organized. When I came in, I generally found people who were suffragists. It didn't make any difference whether they belonged to the National Association, or to the National Woman's Party, or what not. If I was doing something that they thought was worthy of support, I got it. When we planned a delegation to a congressman, for instance--they would join in.

Fry: And did you frequently have women helping you who didn't even belong to the Congressional Union?

Vernon: Oh, I don't remember particularly. But I don't think I would place that much emphasis on membership. What was important was a good woman who would help, whether she'd paid her 25¢ or not.

Fry: I see. [Laughter] So, in other words, there was not a strict division between the two.

Vernon: No.

Fry: That makes that statistic not mean quite so much.

Vernon: That's what I think too.

Delegation to Charles Evans Hughes, 1916

Fry: Mabel, I think Anne Martin and Abby Scott Baker were sent after Charles Evans Hughes in 1916. Do you know anything about that? He came out for suffrage, too.

Vernon: Yes. I didn't remember that those two were sent. I remember his being in Reno and we went to see him. You see, I was stationed in Reno in 1916.

Fry: Oh, good!

Vernon: And we went to see him. We had a big delegation of women meeting in the Riverside Hotel, and it seems he was out for the suffrage amendment then. But I don't remember a great deal about the campaign of getting him. They were two good women to go after him, both very attractive women and intelligent women.

Fry: Your old friend Anne Martin.

Vernon: That's what I'm saying.

Fry: But it was interesting, because in coming out for the federal amendment, which he did, he went against the platform of his party, which had come out for states' referenda.

Vernon: For the states. Yes, that was greatly to his credit, wasn't it?

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: But I don't remember any contact with him except that one in Reno that I had personally. I don't remember what Anne had. I would think I would know about any that she had.

Fry: Well, that story is probably buried somewhere in her papers.

Vernon: I doubt it.

Fry: You don't think so? Maybe Alice can tell me something about that.

Vernon: She would know more about Charles Evans Hughes. She probably had a hand in it.

Fry: Do you remember Representative Byrnes [James] from South Carolina calling for an investigation of the lobbying finances of the Congressional Union?

Vernon: No. He did that, did he?

Fry: Yes. [Laughter] I thought maybe that was the first indication that you people were really succeeding! He never did have the investigation, but he wondered how come you had so much money.

Vernon: [Laughter] Where did you get that?

Fry: I got it from the thesis, and she [Loretta Ellen Zimmer] got it from some letters and the documents and so forth. The newspapers picked it up.

Vernon: Oh, they did?

Fry: Yes. I thought that was kind of unfortunate for the Congressional Union, because there was a lot of censure of it in the newspapers and then the hearings were never held.

Vernon: I don't have any memory of that.

Campaign Director for Women's International League (1930-1935):
Suffrage Techniques Used

Fry: You might start out by telling me how you chose WIL [Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom] to work for.

Vernon: I'm trying to think. I considered several things. I knew I wanted to work for peace.

Fry: Mabel, why did you choose peace over equal rights at this point?

Vernon: Well, I thought it was more critical, I guess. You know, the president of the Women's International League was Hannah Clothier Hull.* Do you know who she is, darling?

Fry: I just know that she was president, and that's all I know.

Vernon: Well, her husband, William Isaac Hull, was a professor at Swarthmore. He was my professor of history and that, of course, inclined me to Mrs. Hull. I went and talked to Mrs. Hull. She was the daughter of Isaac Clothier, who was a very great patron of Swarthmore. That's why Clothier Memorial, for instance--

Fry: It was named after him?

Vernon: The Clothier family gave the building. It wasn't yet built when I was there, though. They have a big store in Philadelphia now, Strawbridge and Clothier. It was always my mother's favorite store. You don't know Philadelphia, I presume?

*Hannah Clothier Hull is listed as chairman among the national officers on a 1930 letterhead of the U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She is listed as national president on a 1935 letterhead. [Ed.]

Fry: I don't shop there. [Laughter]

Vernon: And the Clothiers are very important in Swarthmore history. I can remember going into Mrs. Hull's house, I guess, for the first interview and Professor Hull said, "My old friend and student."

Fry: Oh, that's when he said that?

Vernon: Yes, I think that was it.

Fry: So, they hired you?

Vernon: I became the campaign director. That was the title. And, of course, I carried over a good many of the Woman's Party tactics, as you could tell from that outline.

Fry: Did you?

Vernon: Yes, considerably. I mean, like the trip across the country. One of the first things I did was to get up the disarmament petition to go to the disarmament conference in Geneva. That's all in that outline, certainly, darling.* I don't think I can tell you about anything I did that isn't there.

Of course, Anne was very active in the WIL. She became one of my principal helpers; more than a helper--she was a leader.

Fry: Was she already active in it before you--

Vernon: Yes, yes. She went to the Dublin conference. We went abroad. I left Anne in London, came home--1923, whenever this was--and Anne went to the Dublin conference of the WIL. So, you see, that far back, she was interested. I've always regretted that I didn't go to that, but I had to come back for chautauqua.

*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States Section. Outline of Activities 1931-1935, on file in The Bancroft Library.

Mabel Vernon may have directed or been associated with more of the activities on the outline than are discussed in the interviews. Those discussed are the ones which are memorable to her. For information on her participation in other activities during her years as campaign director for WIL, the researcher should consult the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Pertinent papers can be found in WIL, U.S. Section: Mabel Vernon Collection.

- Fry: We have here on our outline that WIL in 1931, I guess, worked for the withdrawal of the United States Marines from Nicaragua and from Haiti.
- Vernon: Yes. I didn't have anything to do with that. That was work that they had conducted before I got in on my campaign.
- Fry: I see. What about the work with the League of Nations representatives and with the State Department to help prevent further American financial domination in Liberia?
- Vernon: Oh, I didn't have anything to do with it. Those were the kinds of things that Dorothy Datzer was doing, I guess.
- Fry: Oh. Well, now, you must have had something to do with Fair Play for Cuba, the Institute on Cuban-American Affairs in Washington in 1932.
- Vernon: No. You see, I was concentrating on the disarmament conference.

Signatures on Disarmament Petition, 1931; Presentation to President, and Farewell to U.S. Delegation to Geneva Disarmament Conference, 1932

- Fry: On the disarmament conference? Okay. That was this trans-continental peace caravan in 1931. [Looking at Outline of Activities]
- Vernon: That's it.
- Fry: Didn't you go by train?
- Vernon: Oh, no.
- Fry: How did you go? By car?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: And this says you toured Los Angeles to Washington and had meetings in 130 cities.* That sounds familiar. [Laughter] It does sound like the 1915 suffrage campaign.
- Vernon: Yes! [Laughter] It certainly does. It was modeled on that.
- Fry: And you got 100,000 signatures for your international disarmament petition.

*The figure on the outline is unclear. It may be 130, but more likely is 150. [Ed.]

Vernon: To bring it here to Washington. It was a good campaign, darling.

Fry: Did you present this to President Hoover?

Vernon: Well, the WIL did.

Fry: Were you in the delegation?

Vernon: Of course!

Fry: Did you make a speech or anything?

Vernon: I don't remember it.

Fry: What can you tell me about that? What was Hoover's reaction?

Vernon: Was this Hoover? Well, you know that Hoover had made the proposal to the--well, an international body.* Hoover was all for the disarmament proposition.

Fry: Yes, I think I have--let me see if this paper I xeroxed has something to do with that.** [Looks at paper] Yes. In 1930, January 10, there was a notice sent out to the local branches to please hurry up and get all those petitions and resolutions sent to the White House.

Vernon: Is that so?

Fry: Yes. There had been 15,000 petitions sent out and there had been a discouraging response. So, it said, "The president really needs this backing."

Vernon: Did I say this, or who said this?

Fry: This isn't signed, Mabel. It's just a--

Vernon: General statement.

Fry: A general memo to all the state and local branches, yes.

*"The naval treaty of April 22, 1930, signed at the London Naval Conference of 1930, was the outstanding achievement of his [Hoover's] administration in this field. It placed limits on the number of small naval vessels each nation might construct as well as on battleships and cruisers." Encyclopedia American, 1973, vol. 14, p. 365. [Ed.]

**Memo to state and local branches of the Women's International League, U.S. Section. On file at The Bancroft Library.

- Vernon: Well, I can't tell whether I sent that or whether Dorothy Detzer sent it. She was the [executive] secretary of it [U.S. Section, WIL] and I was campaign director.
- Fry: Well, there was the naval armament conference which was going on about this time. I think it opened on January 21, and Mr. Hoover was apparently supposed to be very much in favor of naval disarmament.* Is that right?
- Vernon: Yes.
- Fry: What else did you do besides present this petition to the President? Mabel, did you try to lobby the Congress any on it?
- Vernon: Well, I know that we were working for the reduction in the naval armaments. I can remember going up to Congress. Anne was very influential, very prominent, at that time, drawing up letters, petitions. I remember Jimmy Byrnes [James F.] describing how we came up there. He was a senator at that time and probably the chairman of the committee. I've forgotten. But that was one of our activities, to work for a reduction. I'm sure it must be in there [the outline]--to work for a reduction in the naval armaments.
- Fry: In January, 1932, there was a big farewell for the United States delegation to the disarmament conference at Geneva.
- Vernon: Oh, yes, in New York.
- Fry: Yes. That I don't know anything about.
- Vernon: Well, the delegation was sailing on the S.S. President Harding from New York to Geneva to the conference, and Dr. Woolley was a member. Mary E. Woolley--does that name mean anything?
- Fry: Oh, sure. Wasn't she in suffrage?
- Vernon: Well, that's another story. But I'm talking about the WIL and the Peoples Mandate Committee. She became the chairman of the Peoples Mandate Committee--Mary E. Woolley. I don't remember her in the suffrage work at all.

*Memo from Women's International League, California Branch, January 21, 1930. On file at The Bancroft Library.

Fry: Oh, well, it may have been in Peoples Mandate research, then, that I saw her name.

Vernon: Of course, as president of Mt. Holyoke, she was, I guess, undoubtedly quoted in suffrage. But, at any rate, Dr. Mary E. Woolley was on this boat, and Dr. and Mrs. Hull were on it too. We had a meeting in some square in New York. It was Madison Square, I guess; not Madison Square Garden but Madison Square. We had a band, and we had Norman Thomas speaking, and we had quite a celebration. Then the band went down to the pier and played, and Ruth Nichols flew down to where the boat was at quarantine. That was it.

Fry: Where?

Vernon: Down to quarantine. The boat stopped at quarantine. [Laughter]

Fry: No. And she flew in a plane over?

Vernon: Ruth was a famous flyer. Do you know the name--Ruth Nichols?

Fry: The first female pilot I knew about was Amelia Earhart.

Vernon: Oh, yes. I went to see Amelia Earhart at that time, I never will forget, because I wanted her--I guess this came a little bit later--I wanted her to do some flying for us. She said to me at that time, "When I come back, if I come back, I will be all the more valuable to you." Wasn't that prophetic?

Fry: My goodness.

Vernon: That was down at the Willard Hotel. She was married to George Putnam, you know.

Fry: Yes. And she sounded doubtful even then?

Vernon: Well, she said it just like that: "When I come back, if I come back, I will be more helpful to you." I never forgot it. A nice person.

But this was Ruth Nichols and she flew down to quarantine. I've forgotten just how that was arranged. But she came down on the boat or perhaps on the water near the boat. She had that kind of plane, you know. And I flew back with her.

Fry: Oh, you did?

Vernon: Yes, to New York, from the boat. But this was to give a farewell to Dr. Woolley, and we had a mass meeting in the Belasco Theatre honoring Dr. Woolley [and the rest of the] delegation to the disarmament con-

Vernon: ference. The WIL had been quite instrumental in getting her appointed, I think, to the conference.

Fry: Oh, did you take part in that operation of getting her appointed?

Vernon: Oh, yes, more or less.

"Disarmament Envoys" Tour; Local Celebrations of Anniversary of Peace Pact, 1933

Fry: Now, you did have another tour, in 1933, according to this, which I guess is the official WIL list of accomplishments. This disarmament convoy tour in 1933 covered twenty-five states and brought a disarmament petition with 125,000 signatures back to the White House. The delegation was presented by Senator Key Pittman--

Vernon: Oh, yes, I remember that.

Fry: Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Do you remember that?

Vernon: Yes. Mary Moss [Wellborn] was a great friend of Pittman's. Well, I was too, because of Nevada, you see. For some reason, the President couldn't receive us and so Pittman received us. I think it was in the Blue Room of the White House, or something like that. But he was most delightful.

Fry: Oh, he was?

Vernon: Oh, of course.

Fry: He was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Vernon: That's right, he was.

Fry: Do you remember the disarmament dinner with Senator Borah, your old friend? [Laughter]

Vernon: Yes, yes!

Fry: Your old enemy. [Laughter]

Vernon: Yes, I was thinking about that when we were talking about Borah. But Borah was all right on this question. He was our friend.

Fry: I wonder if he'd finally come around to women's suffrage by that time.

Vernon: I imagine not. [Laughter]

Fry: And Dr. Harlow Shapley of the Harvard Observatory.

Vernon: Yes. I think that was Mrs. Swope who got him. You know the name of Swope, darling? Gerard Swope? General Electric?

Fry: Yes, the man who was president of General Electric. Was she his wife, or what?

Vernon: She was his wife, Mary Hill Swope. She once lived at Hull House. His name was Gerard, I think. But they were great friends of Miss Addams. Her daughter was studying astronomy with Harlow. Wasn't that wonderful to have him?

Fry: Yes. Was he a good commentator on things like questions of disarmament?

Vernon: Yes. He made good speeches, I remember.

Fry: Now, in 1933, there were all those disarmament meetings through the country celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact.

Vernon: Were there? I'd forgotten this.

Fry: Yes. And you say here in this outline there was a message from the secretary of state to WIL and a nationwide broadcast by a Mr. J. Pierrepont Moffat of the State Department [August 27, 1933].

Vernon: Yes, I remember him.

Fry: And Count de Leusse, representing the French ambassador, [also took part in that broadcast]. Do you remember that?

Vernon: Oh, yes.

Fry: Do you remember very much about those disarmament meetings held throughout the country? That sounds like another Woman's Party technique.

Vernon: Yes. I was imitating the Woman's Party [techniques] considerably in this campaign, and they all came out remarkably well. But this was a grand climax, and it led up to the celebration of Jane Addams and the twentieth anniversary.

Celebration of Twentieth Anniversary of WIL, 1935

- Fry: Where was Jane Addams in this time? She was the head of it [WILPF], wasn't she still?
- Vernon: She was the international head [international president]. We met her, you know, when Jane was celebrating--
- Fry: A birthday.
- Vernon: Yes. We had a celebration of the anniversary, the twentieth anniversary [May 2, 1935]. That was a notable occasion. I've always been proud of that. Mrs. Harold Ickes was the chairman of our local committee to arrange this. Harold was the secretary of the interior and that meant we had all the cooperation. We had an open-air meeting down here at McPherson Square with a platform erected. Vida Millholland opened the celebration. Mrs. Ickes, as chairman of the committee, spoke. We had speakers from all over. Does it tell about that? That was a notable--
- Fry: I read about that somewhere. Oh, I know where I read about it. You wrote a letter to Anne Martin and described the whole thing to her in your letter.
- Vernon: That was just as good as I could do it now.
- Fry: I wondered if that was your main contact with Jane Addams, or if you worked with her?
- Vernon: Anne was very friendly with Jane Addams. When we went abroad, even as far back, I guess it was, as '23 [1920--Ed.], we took letters from Jane to some of the women who were prominent in the WIL. I have a paper in there now--Die Frau Im Stadt, edited by two of the women in the WIL--Anita Augsburg and Gustava Heymann. We saw a great deal of them when we were in Munich. I could tell you stories about them, that would be just so moving, darling.
- Fry: Oh, I see. In other words, you didn't see Jane Addams very much, then, while you were working in WIL.
- Vernon: Well, I only consulted with her if I were near. I can remember I called her up one day and said, "Could I come to see you?" I guess she said, "At nine o'clock," and I said, "Well, I'm leaving at ten." [And she said,] "Well, that gives us an hour. You can't talk about anything for more than an hour." [Laughter.]
- Fry: [Laughter] Is that what she said?

Vernon: Yes, I liked her very much.

Fry: She sounds like a very efficient woman.

Vernon: Oh, she was. I liked her very much and Anne was very friendly with her. But, at any rate, you know about the birthday.

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: And you know how Jane died shortly, don't you?

Fry: Yes. We had a beautiful dinner down at the Willard [Hotel]. Do you know all about that sort of thing?

Fry: Yes, I think I knew about the dinner?

Vernon: Mrs. Roosevelt? She spoke. She was one of the most notable speakers.

Fry: Yes.

Vernon: Mrs. Roosevelt and Oswald Garrison Villard, and the Russian ambassador and the Japanese ambassador--what, darling?

Fry: I was just checking to see if that was right. Yes, I think all of that's in your letter that you wrote describing it.

Vernon: Well, I must have written very thoroughly, then.

Fry: You did. There are several pages.

Vernon: I thought very highly of Anne's advice, and she had some title. I've forgotten what it was.*

Fry: Yes, I remember that. But she's not on the letterhead or anything of WIL.

Vernon: Well, she would be on the mandate, probably.

*Anne Martin was western regional director of the U.S. Section of WIL, 1926-1930. Until her resignation in 1936, she was acting state chairman of Colorado.

Peoples Mandate Committee

Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, 1936,
Described Further

Fry: There seem to have been several techniques that you used for suffrage and also for peace. It strikes me that one you used often was the collecting of signatures on petitions. The Peoples Mandate Committee collected petition signatures for the conference in Buenos Aires, didn't they?

Vernon: I have several clear memories of the Buenos Aires conference [1936] where we presented all those petitions.

While we were preparing for the conference, the Mexican ambassador to the United States, who was a friend of ours, called and asked if we would like to have him make the translation of our petition from English to Spanish.

Then just before we were to present the petitions to Saavedro Lamas, the secretary-general of the conference, Cordell Hull called and asked-if we would like to have him there at the presentation. We were delighted.

There were so many petitions. Dr. Charles F. Fenwick was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Buenos Aires conference and a counselor in the Pan American Union. He was a former professor at Bryn Mawr. Years after the conference, all anyone would have to do was mention my name, and Dr. Fenwick would tell about the long tables covered with petitions at Buenos Aires.

Fry: That's quite a tribute to you, for him to always remember that long table with your petitions on it. Let me recap, Mabel. My research has been very specific, and I don't quite have the picture all pulled together. You went down to Buenos Aires and you had petitions for the inter-American peace treaty. Now eventually, that peace treaty was signed--

Vernon: There were peace treaties signed--more than one.

Fry: Yes, signed by all the countries.

Vernon: I don't know whether they ever all signed or not, but a goodly number.

Fry: Over a period of years.

- Vernon: Yes, I guess somebody down at the Pan-American Union could tell us how many have signed. But that's the thing we kept working on for some time.
- Fry: And this was a part of that whole Good Neighbor Policy at that time?
- Vernon: Yes, that was the foundation of the inter-American peace treaties.
- Fry: What other organizations like yours went down to Buenos Aires?
- Vernon: Well, the WIL had a representative there, but just a representative, Eloise Brainard, who was a friend of ours and, I guess, a member of our committee. I've forgotten, but she was the Latin American representative. She was an American, but she was the inter-American chairman for the WIL; and she was there. We were always very cooperative. Eloise and I were friends and worked together very amicably.
- Fry: Were there any other organizations at that time that were active enough to be of interest?
- Vernon: Not that I remember that I can mention now. That's the reason the State Department was so appreciative of us. Sumner Welles, particularly; he thought we were doing a great service. He was the one who helped us go up to the President at Hyde Park. Of course, he was an intimate friend of the President.

Declaration of Principles Presented at Paris Peace Conference, 1946

- Fry: In the Paris peace conference after World War II, the principles that were drawn up and adopted by the Peoples Mandate Committee--*
- Vernon: Well, we did that at a conference here in Washington before we went to Paris. Must be something about that someplace.
- Fry: Yes, there is. And you presented the principles to each of the delegations there, and what I was most curious about was to get some reactions that you got from Molotov and Bevan and our secretary, Byrnes, to your--
- Vernon: I don't remember any reaction from Bevan. Did he say something?

*Peoples Mandate Committee at the Paris Peace Conference: World Statesmen Support Declaration of Principles. See appendix.

- Fry: That's what I'm going to ask you. Did he tell you anything?
- Vernon: I don't remember. If he isn't quoted there, I'm sure he didn't.
- Fry: Well, these are formal quotations here. But I thought maybe you talked to these men. Did you?
- Vernon: Oh, of course, to get the quotations, darling.
- Fry: I've got their quotations. I don't have what they said when you talked to them.
- Vernon: Practically what they said in the quotation, I guess. But I don't remember Bevan. If he doesn't have a quotation--
- Fry: I don't have a quotation from Molotov, either.
- Vernon: Maybe not. Anybody from the Russian--no. We saw Molotov.
- Fry: Do you remember anything about your meeting with him?
- Vernon: Well, I never saw him.* But someone of our delegation--maybe Mrs. Pepper or somebody like that. She was the wife of a senator, Claude Pepper. He was a senator then; he's a representative now. And Mrs. Pepper would have had considerable prestige, you see. But I don't remember what he said, if anything. If we had our papers, I could easily give you a copy of the pamphlet with the principles and the statements about them, but our papers are all gone, I'm afraid, gone to Swarthmore. We had the declaration of principles in many languages. What languages did we have our declaration of principles in?
- Reyes: I'm not sure.
- Vernon: We had it in Spanish, we had it in Portuguese, and we had it in French. These were the languages of the hemisphere, you see. French for Haiti; Portuguese for Brazil; Spanish--

*When asked, January 31, 1975, if she had attended the Paris Peace Conference, Mabel Vernon said that she was certain she had not. She had interpreted the "you" in the previous questions as referring to the group of people who were trying to get the declaration of principles of the Peoples Mandate Committee before the conference delegates. In the publication Peoples Mandate Committee at the Paris Peace Conference, Mrs. Ana del Pulgar Burke, Mrs. Claude Pepper, and Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall are listed as the representatives of the Peoples Mandate Committee.

- Fry: In here it says it took four years to draw up these principles. So that must have been a long process, all the time the war was going on.
- Vernon: What page was that?
- Fry: I didn't write down the page numbers, but it's such a short--
- Vernon: That's all right. Florence Boeckel worked on them a good bit. We presented them to the [Peoples Mandate] conference, you know, and had them adopted by the conference. The pamphlet on the declaration of principles must have that someplace.
- Fry: Yes, it does.
- Vernon: You know the name of Florence Boeckel?
- Fry: Oh yes. I think we've talked about her. She was one of the editors for the Suffragist magazine.
- Vernon: No, no. She was never one of the editors; she wrote publicity. She was press chairman. Never an editor, though, darling.
- Fry: Oh, I thought she did quite a lot on the Suffragist.
- Vernon: Maybe she did, but I didn't know it. She was press chairman. Maybe she did.
- Fry: You say here that "women of the twenty-one American republics have worked together for more than a decade in the Peoples Mandate Committee."
- Vernon: I guess that's right.
- Fry: But you don't really tell very much about how you went about framing the declaration of principles.
- Vernon: Darling, do you want to say anything about that?
- Fry: Did you know, Consuelo?
- Vernon: She was secretary for Latin America. She did most of the correspondence. Come, darling, tell Chita [Fry] a little bit about how you worked on the declaration of principles for the Peoples Mandate Committee.
- Fry: Yes, you had joined the committee by this time, hadn't you? Because you joined it in 1942?

Reyes: 1943. That is when I came.

Fry: As I read over these principles, I wondered: how were these drawn up? How were they arrived at? Did you have a committee in each country that worked on it?

Vernon: We had a chairman in each country. I wouldn't say that the principle object was to work on these principles, but Consuelo had correspondence in Spanish with all of them.

Reyes: They responded very well, these Latin Americans. I did want to emphasize that they met with other prominent ladies in their country and they spoke with them about the purposes of the Peoples Mandate Committee.

Vernon: It was an informal drawing up; they're quite common principles, you know. But it was something we all agreed upon without any great discussion. But we did have the conference in Washington in 1946 in which the principles were adopted. As I say, Consuelo did a good bit of work to get them arranged in a form that we could present to our conference.

Fry: It seemed to me that some of them could be fairly difficult to get agreement on.

Vernon: You mean difficult for our people to agree on?

Fry: Yes. There was one that atomic energy knowledge should be freely shared between countries. That was pretty controversial right after the atom bomb was dropped because everyone was afraid of Russia getting the secret of atomic energy use.

Vernon: Well, there was agreement in our small circle, at any rate.

Fry: Was there? And, each country to be able to fully develop its resources. I instantly thought of the postwar question of whether the Ruhr Valley should be allowed to develop its industries again. That was a controversy in our Congress at that time, and I thought maybe you'd had a similar controversy.

Reyes: I remember there was a controversy among us, too, because ladies were afraid to belong to something that was against the government and that was called "communist."

Vernon: What are you saying, darling?

Reyes: I said that there was controversy among us, too, because there were ladies who were afraid to take part in something controversial.

- Vernon: But there wasn't so much controversy that we couldn't decide on our principles.
- Reyes: --they don't know very much about things. What they know is this: if we work in this, we will be communists. They were afraid.
- Fry: Were those charges primarily charges here in the United States?
- Reyes: I think in the United States and also in Latin America.
- Vernon: I don't know what she's saying.
- Fry: She's saying that there was the charge that you were communistic because you were going--
- Vernon: Nothing serious, darling?
- Reyes: Nothing serious for the persons who were thoughtful, for the persons who knew exactly what we were doing; but it was serious for those who spoke in general terms.
- Vernon: I remember that once while I was in Latin America I heard that in the State Department we were being called communists. I called Mary Gertrude Fendall and said, "They're accusing us of being communistic. Do something about it." She went right over to State and talked to our friend Adolphe Berle. Berle said, "Oh, aren't we all?" [Laughter] Berle was kidding, you see.
- Fry: Yes. You all were getting the same treatment, including him. [Laughter]
- Vernon: Yes. "Aren't we all?"
- Reyes: One of our representatives was Gabriela Mistral, the famous writer from from Chile.
- Vernon: You know her, don't you, darling?
- Reyes: She was called communist also. She wrote a beautiful article that was entitled, "The Damned Word." In Spanish it would be "La Palabra Maldita." It's a very strong term but it was a beautiful article. She had to write to defend herself.
- Vernon: She was our honorary chairman in Latin America, wasn't she, Consuelo?
- Reyes: Yes. But in those times you couldn't speak about peace because to say "peace" and to say "communism" was the same.

Vernon: Do you know the name of Gabriela, darling?

Fry: I've never read any of her work. I know her name because of those accusations.

Vernon: And you know she has the Nobel Prize for literature. Which year was it, darling? '45?

Reyes; '45, I think.

Fry: That was quite a good name to have on your committee.

Reyes: Yes, wonderful.

Vernon: Wonderful. Wonderful. I remember the telegram she sent us: "Use my signature in any way you please." Wasn't that it, darling? You remember that? I remember how pleased and encouraged I was when we got that cable.

United Nations Conference on International Organization, 1945,
Discussed Further

Fry: We haven't gone into the United Nations work. We only mentioned it. Did you go too, Consuelo, to San Francisco?

Reyes: No, I didn't go.

Miss Vernon's main work was to work against the veto of the United States. Miss Vernita has been mentioned in Who's Who, her name. You can see it. She devoted [herself] almost entirely against the veto.

Fry: Oh, really? You were at the United Nations with the Latin American organization. What was the name of this? I want the proper, formal name of the Latin American organization that you were with at the United Nations in 1945.

Reyes: It was the Peoples Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation.

Vernon: That was the name we took during the war, darling. Our [original] mandate name was Peoples Mandate to Government to End War.

Fry: And this [delegation to the San Francisco conference] was primarily an inter-American delegation, right?

Vernon: I guess it was.

Fry: Were you allowed to meet with the committees?

Vernon: Oh, we could do anything we pleased, darling--just the way we act here in Congress.

Fry: I see. Who did you find most helpful to you there?

Vernon: I can't say that the United States delegation was a great help. I don't know. Some of the Latin Americans were helpful, weren't they? [To Consuelo] Well, you weren't there, though.

Reyes: No.

Vernon: I wouldn't know who was most helpful, darling. Costa Rica was helpful. I had Nellie Echeverria with me, you know, darling. Mexico was helpful.

Fry: Who was Nellie?

Vernon: She was a girl from Costa Rica who worked with us; she wasn't anybody whose name you would know now and would ever hear again.

Fry: But she was Costa Rican. About how many countries were represented in this delegation?

Vernon: We had fifteen, did we say? I think they were principally from Mexico, darling. Costa Rica. Anybody from Ecuador there? I don't remember. But there was fair representation.

Fry: Did it look for a while as though you were going to be successful in keeping the veto out?

Vernon: No, it never looked as if we were. Who was it? Bob La Follette, I guess, said to me, when I was talking to him, that the United States would never join without the veto.

Fry: Were the Soviets at that time also adamant about keepint the veto?

Vernon: I don't remember the Soviets, darling.

Fry: If you have any papers that will help to document your time in San Francisco at the formation of the United Nations, I'd like to have those too to put in.

- Vernon: I don't know where I would get them. Whatever papers I have are in Swarthmore now.*
- Fry: The official record of that is in The Bancroft Library and in our University of California documents; but I looked through it briefly, and it's not detailed enough.
- Vernon: I don't think there's anything that I have.
- Fry: No?
- Vernon: What would it document? Document what, darling?
- Fry: I particularly wanted to get some idea of what your committee was doing.
- Vernon: Just informally. Nothing very formal--talking to delegates. We did have that luncheon for the women who represented Latin American countries, women who were on delegations, like Bertha Lutz from Brazil and Minerva Bernardino from the Dominican Republic.
- Vernon: Sara [Bard Field] spoke, and so did Adelia. What's Adelia's full name, Consuelo? She's head of the women's university in Mexico.
- Reyes: Adelia Formoso de Obregon Santacilia.
- Fry: Did you also do any other entertaining of the delegates who were representing their governments?
- Vernon: I don't remember anything.
- Fry: I think I'm going to let you rest.
- Vernon: I think you'll have to, darling.**

*See appendix for a checklist of Peoples Mandate materials in the Swarthmore Peace Collection, and a brief historical introduction to the materials.

**Letters from Mabel Vernon to Anne Martin in the late 1940s and early 1950s indicate that Miss Vernon was deeply aware of the intricacies of the international situation and was continuing to press for disarmament.

In 1947 she was apparently still busy lobbying, because in a letter, dated only 1947, she asked Anne Martin to please write Senator McCarran "urging him to vote against the Greece-Turkey 'loan.'

I have talked with him and know he wants to vote 'no' but is afraid he will be smeared as an 'isolationist'--a communist or something."

On November 3, 1947, Mabel Vernon wrote "We [Peoples Mandate Committee] are starting on a big campaign against the militarization of the hemisphere that is making rapid progress." And on November 18 she noted the "pressure from the military for quick passage of the bill to arm Latin America" and cited Mr. Villard's pamphlet which called such arming of Latin America "the most sinister proposal ever made in Latin American public affairs." This was, of course, all against the background of the Act of Chapultepec (1945) in which it was stated that an attack on any one of the signers would be considered an attack on all. On December 9, 1947, Mabel Vernon wrote: "The Bogota Conference scheduled for January 17 [1948] has been moved to March 30. This means that the military will try to get the arms bill through Congress before then."

According to an entry in the Vernon Family History and Genealogy which was confirmed in conversation with Mabel Vernon, "she and other Mandate officers carried an 'Appeal to the Pan American Nations' to the Inter-American Conference in Bogota, Columbia, in 1948, which was made famous by one of the most violent uprisings in South American History. The Appeal urging united American action to save mankind from destruction called on the 21 Pan American republics to work in the United Nations for a comprehensive program, creating a world police force, prohibiting all weapons of mass destruction and reducing national armaments to a police force in each country to maintain internal order." In the later conversation [1945], Miss Vernon said, "For a long time after that conference, our delegation called themselves the S.O.B.s--survivors of Bogota."

On February 10, 1950, Mabel Vernon wrote: "I have spent much time getting communications to the President about the H-bomb. Enclosed is a letter the Mandate sent to him. Now we are working on letters urging that the United States try to secure agreements for world disarmament, the greatest deterrent to war."

This same letter indicates her continuing interest in the support of women for office, as indicated by her recounting of the efforts of women on behalf of Burnita Shelton Matthews who was appointed as a federal district judge.

On December 5, 1950, Mabel Vernon wrote concerning her thoughts on the Korean war. She suggested that it might be useful to press for a meeting of the Big Four with India and China taking part--where Truman might "present all our proposals for universal disarmament and world economic reconstruction" as he had put them before the U.N. Assembly on October 24 [1950]. Mabel Vernon is not sure whether she

attended a general session of the United Nations in 1950 or in 1951; but Consuelo Reyes, who was working with her on the Peoples Mandate Committee at that time, remembers that Miss Vernon was going to a United Nations meeting in Paris with a disarmament proposal. After Miss Vernon had left, Miss Reyes read in the newspaper that President Truman would attend the same session with a disarmament proposal very much like that of the Peoples Mandate Committee. She remembers wiring this news to Miss Vernon. It was probably this disarmament proposal to which Mabel Vernon referred during her quandary about the Korean war.

The letters mentioned above are from Anne Martin's papers in The Bancroft Library. Further documentation of Mabel Vernon's work for peace is among her papers in the Peace Collection of Swarthmore Library.

Transcribers: Mary Millman
Lee Steinback
Marilyn White

Final Typist: Lee Steinback

APPENDIX

APPENDIX TABLE OF CONTENTS

Transcript of Interview with Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan	216
Birthday Greetings to Mabel Vernon, 1973	237
"A Suffragist Recounts the Hard-Won Victory" by Mabel Vernon	240
Correspondence between Anne Martin and Alice Paul	244
Correspondence from Mabel Vernon to Anne Martin	250
The Purpose of the Equal Rights Convention, April 30, 1927	255
The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	256
People's Mandate Committee	265
"Suffragists Still Going Strong"	285
Memorial Service for Mabel Vernon, November 16, 1975	292

Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan was among the "second generation" of suffrage workers for the Woman's Party. She was one of their most active pickets during the years when Mabel Vernon worked in the Washington office and in the field. After suffrage was won in the United States, she went to England where she was employed as a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune and soon became interested in the struggle for women's rights there. During World War II she took a job with the U.S. State Department and became one of the first four women ever made "officers" of the Foreign Service. "To add the anti-feminist finale," she laughs, "we were terminated the day after the peace was signed."

The following brief interview was recorded in the parlor of the National Woman's Party on January 22, 1975, the day after her visit to Mabel Vernon.

HAZEL HUNKINS-HALLINAN

INGERSOLL: I thought, after our talk yesterday at Mabel Vernon's house, it might be interesting if we could have a bit of conversation that would bring out both some of the things that you did for the Woman's Party and all of the things that you saw and knew about that Mabel Vernon had done.

HALLINAN: Perhaps life around headquarters would be interesting. It was a completely cooperative community. The only servants there were in the house were a cook and a cleaning woman. We all manned the telephone, we all addressed envelopes, we all stuffed envelopes, we all answered the doorbells, we made our own beds. We kept it going as a clubhouse without any expenses being taken from the National Woman's Party's funds. It meant a lot of work just [laughs] running everything. It was no eight-hour-a-day job, or nine-to-five; it was from early morning till midnight, the last thing being that one or two people had to be on the telephone.

INGERSOLL: You told yesterday how you had come in 1916, just after the election. And it wasn't very long after that that the picketing began.

HALLINAN: It began after Wilson made a speech after the Russian Revolution in which he was attacking--that famous Russian banner would tell you the story--he was attacking ^{the concept} of denying democracy to people. And he was talking about democracy this, democracy that, and

HALLINAN: democracy the other, and we put the great big Russian banner up, "Why not democracy for American women?" and other banners similar to that.

INGERSOLL: You were the one who carried a good many of those banners in demonstrations, weren't you?

HALLINAN: That was part of my business. Part of the business all of us did every day was go out on the picket line.

INGERSOLL: Was Mabel Vernon the woman who was organizing that picket line through 1917?

HALLINAN: Well, A.P. [Alice Paul] did it. Inez Haynes Gilmore said something different, did she?

INGERSOLL: Inez Haynes Gilmore says that Mary Gertrude Fendall was the one who did most of the organizing.

HALLINAN: We all did it; we all did it.

INGERSOLL: Mabel Vernon herself remembers doing a lot of the very early organizing when they first went out and got arrested.

HALLINAN: Oh, yes. Mabel Vernon did a lot of it, Mary Gertrude Fendall did, I did--we all did. We did whatever Alice Paul told us to do. [Pause] Inez Haynes Gilmore got a lot of things wrong in her book, I think; I don't remember what they were now, but we had great laughs over them and criticisms of them when it came out. But she wasn't at headquarters except a day or an afternoon here and there; she wasn't there all the time.

INGERSOLL: Of course, there was so much that she tried to get into that

INGERSOLL: it would have been very difficult, I suppose, to have it all accurate.

HALLINAN: Yes. And she got a lot of it from Julia Emory and Julia's memory was imaginative. [Laughter]

INGERSOLL: Do you have any memories of Mabel Vernon on that picket line at all?

HALLINAN: Oh, yes; she was on the picket line. But Alice Paul didn't want Mabel Vernon to get into jail, I think.

INGERSOLL: Why was that, I wonder?

HALLINAN: She needed her. Alice Paul was ready to go to jail herself because she knew she could leave it to Mabel. But we always thought that Alice Paul was keeping her key people. Like Anne Martin never went on the picket line. Neither did various other moneyed people who came down to see and contribute money; they never went on the picket line. [Laughing] We younger ones were the ones that were on the picket line.

The two sides, the two entrances to the White House-- there was one on each side. Sometimes there were more for a special occasion. There were always more for a special occasion when we got the wind that the president was going out-- he was driving through the gates. Then we'd get as many people as we could near the gates, all with banners. It was expensive to get those banners made; they were sometimes made overnight. It was all done instantly. From minute to minute the plans would change, but always to strike the note that President Wilson had obstructed the amendment.

INGERSOLL: It always amazed me, as Inez Haynes Irwin said, that as some of the banners were torn away, more came back! I always wondered where those banners came from.

HALLINAN: [Laughter] Well, they came from headquarters. They were stored away in headquarters.

INGERSOLL: Did the women sew them themselves or did they order them from a factory?

HALLINAN: I think they were ordered; they were pretty well made. We tried all sorts of things to attract attention to the difference between Woodrow Wilson's statements and his actions, and always there was a pressure to make him use his influence to get the act through, the amendment through. And he never would. We had any number of deputations in the East Room, and prominent women from all over the country came there to plead with him to do this thing. But he always sidestepped it. Oh, he was a disagreeable man! He was a terrible man.

INGERSOLL: You must have had many, many frustrated days, didn't you? Now, Mabel Vernon did go to Occoquan Workhouse at one point, I understand, and you did too, didn't you?

HALLINAN: Oh yes, it was Occoquan that I went to. I was arrested any number of times. We were arrested a lot of times that we weren't sent to prison; we were just arrested and released. Rather than meet the problem, the police released us. The Occoquan crowd--the worst Occoquan crowd--there were about-- I wouldn't know how many there were, but fifteen at least and maybe more lined up on the floor there, sleeping in the corridor. Lucy Burns was in Occoquan with A.P. I don't think Mabel was in Occoquan when I was there, but I don't know.

INGERSOLL: She remembers a time when the matron of the prison was asked if they couldn't go out into the corridor and sing hymns around a piano, I guess, that they had in the corridor. That's not

INGERSOLL: part of your memory of your experience?

HALLINAN: No, because we weren't a singing crowd really. What we did was all sleep together because we were very afraid of the Negroes in the place. Have I told you about that?

INGERSOLL: No, no.

HALLINAN: Alice Paul would never let me [laughing] tell any body about that; she wouldn't talk about it herself. But we were in real danger. There were a lot of Negroes--men--in that place. I don't know why they were there, or why they had women in the same place with men; I just don't know. But we were on one side of this long building over here we'll say [gesture] and the Negroes were over there [gesture]. Sometimes we walked around there because the dining room was at one end. These people were in cells--locked in cells; they were prisoners. And the jailer, who either on his own or on the instigation of higher authority, I don't know, unlocked those cells and let those Negroes out to roam around exactly the way we were roaming around. He didn't tell them to go and rape those white women, but they had the opportunity. And we clustered so near together, we were lying like sardines together like this [demonstrates] in the corridor.

Now, Alice Paul never acknowledges sex, never acknowledges any danger, although I think inside of herself she did. But we were terrified. And the thing that kept those Negro men within bounds was the fact that they knew what would happen to them. I mean, they would have been lynched! It wasn't the authorities didn't protect us, but it was those Negro

HALLINAN: men knew what would happen to them if they went over that territory. But they were free to roam around.

INGERSOLL: And you could never know from one night to the other what might happen under these very odd circumstances that you were under anyway.

HALLINAN: Yes. We were lying just as close together [laughing] as we could get. And it was a hierarchical thing too. A.P. and Lucy Burns were up here [gesture] conferring together all the time, and then we came down, till the last unimportant person that didn't amount to anything as a publicity value-- didn't amount to, you know, a headline in a paper or something like that. And A.P./^{and Lucy} didn't like to be disturbed in their conferences. They were really working out strategy, you see; we didn't disturb them.

INGERSOLL: Working on it all the time, then.

HALLINAN: All the time.

INGERSOLL: Inez Haynes Irwin also writes a good deal about the sorts of things you did when you took special responsibility for that urn in Lafayette Park, gave the impression that really, day after day, week after week, you took this as your responsibility to keep that watchfire burning. Is that the way it was?

HALLINAN: Yes, more or less. I don't know how long it burned. Isn't it funny, these things?

INGERSOLL: They do slip away sometimes.

HALLINAN: They slip away so. One day was just an island; it was a succession of islands. We did what was necessary that day, and I don't

HALLINAN: remember. Those watchfires didn't go so very long. A thing like that doesn't last in publicity value/^{for}very long.

INGERSOLL: You have to get something new, always.

HALLINAN: We had to get something new. Following the watchfires was the bell. We had the bell tolling and the neighbors [laughter]--

INGERSOLL: That bell in the Woman's Party headquarters?

HALLINAN: It was outside the headquarters somewhere. It was in Jackson Place, not Madison Place. I have a feeling that that bell was outside. I have sort of a mental picture of that bell being outside. It wasn't inside, I know [laughter], but I don't know where.

But that bell didn't last long. You see, it was one publicity stunt after another. The thing we wanted was the entire country to know that President Wilson was obstructing the bill, and we did that by getting headlines, and how we got the headlines was A.P.'s business. And she manufactured these things. As pacifists, they were all quite mild.

INGERSOLL: Yes. They were called militant for that day, but actually they were quite mild.

HALLINAN: Yes. They weren't anything like the British, you know. I don't know whether you've studied the British or not.

INGERSOLL: I'd be awfully interested if you could give me just a few of the contrasts that you've seen on both sides of the ocean in your career.

HALLINAN: I wasn't there when these things happened, but I know the people--it's a question of having known them, now. Charlotte Marsh was one very good friend of mine. I don't know what

HALLINAN: date, but it was before the British got the vote--it was during their militancy--when they organized a squad to break the windows up and down Regent Street. Long skirts at that time (this is before 1918)--long skirts, muffs, hats, jackets and so forth. And she walked down Regent Street with a hammer in her muff, and she got in front of Swan and Edgar's on Regent Street, Picadilly Circus, and broke very plate glass in that shop. Bang! Bang! Bang! Swan and Edgar's weren't doing anything about the amendment, but militants break Swan and Edgar's glass. Not only Swan and Edgar's went but a lot of others went. But I just knew Charley Marsh awfully well and knew about her part of it. But other plate glass windows--hotel windows--anything that was big and big glass--they went around with the hammer in the muff and banged it down.

Another thing they did was pour acid in post boxes, which I never liked very much, because you don't know what you're damaging then.

INGERSOLL: No. Now this was all done before the time that you went to live in England, wasn't it?

HALLINAN: This was done when Alice Paul was in London. The thing that they did there, which we didn't do here, probably for a very good reason: every political meeting had people interrupting. A political meeting somewhere, and there'd be a balcony there, and there'd be half a dozen suffragettes in that balcony, "How about votes for women!" "How can you ask for this when

HALLINAN: we haven't votes for women?" and so on and so forth. And every political meeting was interrupted, whether it was Lloyd George or some county official or anybody. Now that takes a lot of organizing. But England's a small country, and the fact that they raised hell in Manchester went all over the country or Brighton or Bristol or anyplace; it went all over the country. Here, you could make a fuss in Washington and it would be D.C. news. Or, it wasn't always because it was focussed differently. But you could go to Detroit and make a fuss and it wouldn't be anything but Detroit news.

So, there wasn't the structural set-up, the intra-structure that would make national news out of a local incident.

INGERSOLL: That's a very interesting comparison. You know, I was so interested in that comparison that you made yesterday between the policy of holding the party in power responsible that had been used in England and which Alice Paul borrowed for the American campaign of 1916. You had some very interesting speculative comments to make on that.

HALLINAN: Did you take them down?

INGERSOLL: No, I didn't at that time.

HALLINAN: Well, I would alter those to a certain extent. I would define the British system--the prime minister is the prime minister. He's the head of the party, he appoints a cabinet, he appoints all the committees in Parliament, he decides policy, and when they vote, they go through the lobby like sheep. He holds the key to everything, and you can hold that party responsible. Now, that's perfectly good in that set-up; we all do that.

HALLINAN: If I may be so rude, they are like sheep. And if a man--if a good Socialist--steps over into the Tory lobby--they go through, they're counted as they go through a gate--not a gate but a lobby. If a Socialist member steps over into the Tory lobby, he's reprimanded and he doesn't get on a committee that he wants to get on, or he isn't given a job that he wants.

In this country, we haven't got two different philosophies at work. The left-wing Democrats and the left-wing Republicans are more or less alike, and the right-wing Democrats and the right-wing Republicans are very much alike. It's all a philosophy of free enterprise (whether it's free or not, I don't know, but we'll call it free enterprise). So you haven't got two philosophies. You have Democrats voting with Republicans all the time. They respond to pressure from their constituency or pressure from their party or something of that kind. It's a conscience vote in a way.

Now, Alice Paul transferred the one philosophy of holding the party responsible to the other country. Academically, as a purist, I don't think it would hold up. But what she did was use the strategy that got results. Nobody defined that difference at that time, and it was a strategy that got results. So it was justifiable. I mean, even though as a purist and an academician and an historian and constitutional historian and all the rest of it, it doesn't quite hold up. Maybe; I don't know. But, it was a tactic

HALLINAN: that worked, and she used that tactic.

INGERSOLL: That's an interesting comparison both on the theoretical level but also on the actual working level.

HALLINAN: What we were after was trying to make Woodrow Wilson an interventionist. We were trying to make him make Congress do something, and he wouldn't do it. Perhaps he didn't have the power; I don't know. But I think there is a little difference there.

But I give it to Alice Paul, she recognized the strategy and it worked.

INGERSOLL: That's very interesting. When was it--speaking of England--that you went to live in England? Was that the early twenties?

HALLINAN: Nineteen-twenty.

INGERSOLL: Nineteen-twenty. And am I right that your husband was the head of the United Press Bureau in London at that time.

HALLINAN: No, no. He freelanced for a long time because he wanted to really take a holiday and do what he wanted for a while, and then he was on the New York Post. He didn't join the UP until about 1930 something (I don't remember the date exactly), and then he left the UP and went to the Daily Mail, a British paper, and then he went back to UP again. But he was head of the financial department; ^{that is,} you called him consultant on finance or something of that kind, I don't know. He wrote his financial story every day. He was there with them a long time. Then he retired from there. But he was a journalist, first and foremost.

I worked on the Chicago Tribune. [Laughter] I was the

HALLINAN: I was one of the London correspondents for the Chicago Tribune for a long time.

INGERSOLL: In the twenties, or longer than that?

HALLINAN: In London. Thirteen years. [Laughter]

I don't know what else I can say about headquarters.

INGERSOLL: Could we just speak a little bit, while we're talking about England, about the sort of things you've done there since you've been there. Did you ever work with Lady Rhondda's [Margaret] Six Point Group?

HALLINAN: Oh yes, yes.

INGERSOLL: Could you say just a few words about that?

HALLINAN: Yes. I was the chairman that succeeded her when she retired.

INGERSOLL: What year would that have been? [Pause]

HALLINAN: The British got the vote in 1918--a very limited vote. It wasn't the vote as we got it; it was women over thirty or women who owned a certain amount of property. It was a very limited vote. But it was a step in advance. They didn't get the vote itself, on the same basis as men, until 1928. That's when they got it on the same basis as men (at 21 it was at that time).

Well, in 1921, Lady Rhondda It will be put down as my opinion rather than--I'm trying to be fair, and I know quite a lot about it. Anyway, these women who won that limited suffrage in 1918 were all tired out; they really were. There was election--what they called the Cocky [?] election after that--and several of them stood for Parliament and none of them got it.

HALLINAN:

Then, they had won the vote. How could they possibly start out new and win it on an equality with men? They just generally sort of retired or sank back. Lady Rhondda, who was too young at the time of militancy to have taken part in it, realized that there were thousands of women who had the vote; what were they going to do with it? Her aim was to organize those women to get something for women. So she organized.

She called all of the prominent women she could together. They had sort of a conference or convention and decided what they wanted to get. What they wanted to get was equal pay for men and women teachers; equal pay for men and women in civil service, which was the place in which most women were qualified; equal guardianship of children, because the father was still the head of the family and could at that time do anything he please/^dwith them; satisfactory legislation for child assault; satisfactory legislation for widows with children-- there were six points. And they didn't know what to call their organization, so they called it the Six Point Group. They went out to work for those six points.

It took them two years to get child assault, which was the most emotional topic in the group. It took them about four years, possibly five years (1926--five years) to get a law on equal guardianship, which the court promptly said was incompatible with English law and it wouldn't work. Although they got it, they didn't get it. It took us forty-five years to get equal pay for civil servants and teachers. And, well, things went on, always with the idea of getting something that

HALLINAN: would do women good. Oh yes, it was the vote on equal standing with men, the sixth point. So that the Six Point Group was fundamentally designed for the betterment of humanity through tapping the talents of women to better the community, to better the world. All of these points a man could agree to.

INGERSOLL: You would think so, surely.

HALLINAN: I mean, it was the betterment of mankind, the betterment of people. And that's what it's always stood for; it's never stood for a thing that helped one class or another class or a group or anything of that kind. What will better mankind. But along with it, the belief that what women have to contribute will come to that end.

INGERSOLL: Surely. Now, when you worked as chairman after Lady Rhonnda--

HALLINAN: I began as a member when I went over there. I was a member for various things; I did all the things that ordinary members do. And then I was on the executive committee and the international committee and finally became secretary. I was secretary for a long time, and then I became chairman. Now I'm honorary vice-chairman. [Laughter]

INGERSOLL: Honorary vice-chairman. Tell me, during those periods of working for some or all of the six points, did you use any of the methods that had been used over here?

HALLINAN: No. We lobbied Parliament. We nailed various parliamentarians-- members of Parliament. We had meetings all over the place. We tried to get other women to do these things. We tried to build up a big organization, and we had, for England, a very big organization at one time. It's not so big now because, in a

HALLINAN: way, we got all six points, and many others besides. [Laughter]
As we got a point--as we got child assault, for instance, very shortly after, we had to have another campaign for child assault because it was ten years and then we wanted it to sixteen; we wanted to better it all the time. So we've always had six points; just technically, we've always kept it at six points, it wasn't always the original six points.

INGERSOLL: Yes. Mabel Vernon told me that fairly recently you had also been elected or appointed to a commission in England. Is that right?

HALLINAN: The work that I do now is more as a member of a parliamentary group which is composed of co-opted women and members of Parliament.

INGERSOLL: Co-opted women. What does that mean?

HALLINAN: Well, you co-opt. [Laughter] You just ask them to be on the committee. Most of the people that are co-opted are women who have been heads of organizations or are the heads of organizations and are prominent in certain fields. We work as liaison with the members of Parliament and the public. It's more prestigious than it is hard-working [laughter] because we will sound out the public and the press and so on and so forth, and then tell the members of Parliament what they ought to do, or suggest what they ought to do.

INGERSOLL: Kind of an advisory--

HALLINAN: Yes. Or it may be the other way around. Baroness Seear will come and say, "We've got to do such and such," and we get busy on it.

INGERSOLL: No, I didn't get what you just said. But if you would start what you were saying about Mabel Vernon, I'd appreciate it so much.

HALLINAN: Well, she was a very quiet personality and very retiring. She never pushed herself forward. She was very conciliatory; she always managed to bring warring factors together. She is a Quaker, isn't she?

INGERSOLL: She went to Quaker schools. She went to the Wilmington Friends School and to Swarthmore. Her family wasn't immediately Quaker; there were Quaker ancestors in her father's background.

HALLINAN: She had the Quaker influence in her life. I always felt of her as a Quaker, as A.P. was. She was the standby of Alice Paul--very firm and dependable. She never strived to augment herself. Now Doris Stevens, if I may make an aside, was always striving to augment herself; no matter what happened, Doris Stevens was what we call a climber. She was very beautiful, very effective and all of that; but she was a climber. Mabel was never that. Neither was Lucy Burns. They were in it, dedicated to it. Doris Stevens was dedicated to Doris Stevens.

INGERSOLL: Did you hear Mabel speak on a variety of occasions?

HALLINAN: Yes. She was speaking all the time. She was a very good speaker, very direct and very convincing. And she had that marvelous

HALLINAN: resonant voice that carried so well.

INGERSOLL: One of the researchers who was working particularly on Anne Martin's campaign thought that maybe Mabel hadn't been used as much as some of the other women had for some of the really important occasions in the Woman's Party and she wondered why that was. Do you have any insight into this?

HALLINAN: I would only say that Mabel was a retiring personality. Anne Martin --I would be afraid to make a judgment there, but she wanted to be the senator from Nevada. She couldn't be the senator from Nevada until she had the vote. So perhaps she wanted to get the vote because she wanted to be senator. [Laughter] I don't know. It's a perfectly logical thing, and not a condemnatory thing in the least. But it made her less dedicated than Mabel. Anne Martin was a very good speaker; she was a rabble-rouser. Alice Paul's intuition was very good. She knew where Mabel was; she knew that Mabel wouldn't put a foot wrong. Perhaps it was because they had the same Quaker streak, I don't know.

Lucy Burns was the same, because Lucy and Alice had been through the whole thing in England. Those trio-- Lucy and Alice and Mabel--were, to my mind, the triumvirate. [Laughter]

INGERSOLL: You would have seen them in that way, would you--as the triumvirate?

HALLINAN: Yes. I ought to give a lot of due to Alva Belmont. Her great big hulk had to be dragged along, you know. [Laughter] The ideas didn't originate with her, but when they were explained

HALLINAN: to her, she took them and gave out money, because we couldn't have done it without that old lady. Yes, in my mind, they are the triumvirate. Certainly, although Doris had a very dramatic part in all this, she's not worthy to be in the triumvirate to my mind; I may be wrong. But she didn't have the affection--we were a bit younger than the others, you see; she didn't have the affection of the younger women. I wasn't all that younger, but I was a few years younger. Let's see, Alice Paul's ninety; I'm eighty-five. We were all about the same age. Mabel's older than Alice.

INGERSOLL: Yes. Mabel has just had her ninety-first birthday. Do you have any memories of Mabel Vernon teaching the younger girls as they came in to work with the Party.

HALLINAN: We all absorbed from each other, and mainly from the upper crust. [Laughter] Alice Paul was young, relatively young, in comparison, but she was very, very much older in maturity and philosophy and infinitely more intelligent.

It was a growth period for me when I came in 1916. Suddenly this whole world of politics opened up.

INGERSOLL: You came from the West, from Billings, Montana. Is that where you had lived pretty much during your life except for those years at Vassar?

HALLINAN: Yes. I was born in Aspen, Colorado, but I left there when I was very young and spent through high school in Billings and then went--the saying was in that day--to finishing school [laughter] and then to Vassar, because the Billings High School couldn't prepare me for Vassar. I had to go to a school in

HALLINAN: between that was college preparatory.

INGERSOLL: And when this whole world of politics opened up for you, then, when you came to Washington in 1916--

HALLINAN: It was thrilling. And it was thrilling in another way too because we were a radical group only on one subject. But it attracted all the nuts in the world, and the headquarters was always entertaining someone who was--well, a labor leader or a conscientious objector or someone like Margaret Sanger-- all the way-out people found a community of spirit. Miss Paul's ambition was not to let the National Woman's Party get nuts, and she wouldn't allow their names to be used. Although they would hang around the headquarters, they would go to the picket line, they would do all sorts of things, she would never let their names be known, because she didn't want the National Woman's Party to bear the burden of being abortionists or contraceptives even (abortion wasn't mentioned in those days) or labor or anything of that kind. She would get (what was the man's name? Not Meany but the man before him--the AF of L, whatever his name was)--she would like to get a statement from him, yes. But if one of his organizers came around and wanted to help out, she'd let them help out, but she wouldn't let them get into the news. It was Simon-pure suffrage and nothing else.

We had a woman--Kitty Moran. She came from England and she was contraceptives--selling them, pushing them, talking about them--and she was bound to get in on this racket, so to speak. We had a terrible time, because if people got on the picket line, they'd talk to the reporters; the reporters came up and

- HALLINAN: interviewed us all the time. If you had this Kitty Moran on the picket line, she'd begin to talk about contraception.
- Washington Post: "National Woman's Party something contraception." And we'd lose it; we'd lose everything. Alice Paul kept it, as I say, Simon-pure all the time. (This is a lot of nonsense, I think, probably for you.)
- INGERSOLL: No. Rebecca Reyher, for instance, made this point in a somewhat different way--that none of these other issues were to call people off or to get publicity from that main issue of suffrage, as far as Alice Paul was concerned.
- HALLINAN: Yes. Becky was in on a lot of them, but she lived in New York and she had to come down when she could, so that if anything happened in the New York end, she was there. But she wasn't around headquarters much.
- INGERSOLL: No. It was only a special occasion.

END OF INTERVIEW

Transcriber: Lee Steinback

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO MABEL VERNON, 1973



*Mrs. Nixon and I are delighted
to join your family and friends in helping you
celebrate this special day - your 90th birthday!
May you always know the peace, joy and
contentment you so richly deserve.*

Richard Nixon

*Mabel Vernon
1751 MacArthur Circle Avenue, North West
Washington, D. C. 20007*

THE WHITE HOUSE

September 11, 1973

Dear Mabel Vernon,

It is truly a pleasure to extend our warmest birthday greetings to one whose contributions have so greatly benefited our Nation. We pay tribute not only to this special anniversary but also to a lifetime of dedicated interest and active commitment to insuring equal rights for women. Your unfailing devotion to this worthy cause elicits our admiration and deepest appreciation.

With every good wish for continued happiness,

Sincerely,



Mabel Vernon
1711 Massachusetts Avenue, North West
Washington, D. C. 20036

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA 19031

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

(215) K1 4-7900

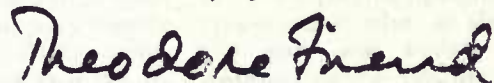
November 12, 1973

Mabel Vernon
1711 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mabel Vernon:

On behalf of Swarthmore College I want to extend to you warmest good wishes in your ninety-first year. I have recently read of some of your achievements, and wish to add to those of many others my own congratulations on your dedicated and effective way of living. Your pioneering accomplishments in the fight for women's rights and in the search for peace show an inspiring independence of spirit. In the first year of my new duties I am proud to recognize you as one of the significant American leaders nurtured by Swarthmore College.

Faithfully yours,



Theodore Friend
President

TF:im

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE PENNSYLVANIA 1938

ICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 12, 1973

Mabel Vernon
1711 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mabel Vernon:

On behalf of Swarthmore College I want to extend to you warmest good wishes in your ninety-first year. I have recently read of some of your achievements, and wish to add to those of many others my own congratulations on your dedicated and effective way of living. Your pioneering accomplishments in the fight for women's rights and in the search for peace show an inspiring independence of spirit. In the first year of my new duties I am proud to recognize you as one of the significant American leaders nurtured by Swarthmore College.

Faithfully yours,



Theodore Friend
President

TF:im

A Suffragist Recounts the Hard- Won Victory

Mabel Vernon

Miss Vernon, a leader in the suffrage movement, recently spoke at the Educational Center at the opening seminar of the International Institute of Women Studies. Following are excerpted remarks in which she reminisces about that valiant movement and comments on woman's position today.

This is the opening class of the International Institute of Women Studies, and the subject of this class is "The Position of Women in the Social Order."

Shortly after the passage of the National Suffrage Amendment, I joined a national chautauqua, the Swarthmore Chautauqua. These chautauques were an important educational institution. The idea was to go to small towns, where there was nothing, really, in the way of outside communication (this was before the days of radio), except probably the weekly newspaper. Crews, mostly of college boys, would go first to erect a big tent, install the chairs and the platform, and then the program would come. In

This article is copyrighted by the International Institute of Women Studies, 1972.



some towns it lasted for five days. Lecturers, often important public figures, musicians, all sorts of artists would furnish the program for the chautauqua. Every afternoon I would lecture on the subject, "What Is Feminism?" What is feminism? I did not adequately answer the question then, and I will say to this class very frankly, I cannot answer it now. That is something I hope and believe that the International Institute of Women Studies will help to remedy.

What is our position in the social order? I would say it is unsatisfactory, which is a mild word. It's unsatisfactory certainly to many women, and they want it changed.

We now come to one of the changes that has been made—do I dare to say in "our" time? Remember, I am going back 50 years and I am thinking particularly of the change that was made when the 19th Amendment was added to our Constitution, giving women the right to vote. That amendment made an historic change in our society. It was only the beginning of the many changes that must be made. May I return to this later?

The suffrage victory was the culmination of long years of hard work by countless women. Of these women we

especially remember Lucretia Mott, the eloquent Quaker minister; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who with Lucretia called the first Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y. in 1848; and Susan B. Anthony, the indomitable leader who suffered the hardships of years of campaigning in rough country and who, as she approached the end, was hailed as Susan B. Anthony of the World.

After Miss Anthony's death in 1906, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt and other able leaders took over the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Final impetus to the National Suffrage Amendment was given by the militant campaign of the National Woman's Party planned and directed by Alice Paul, who has worked without ceasing for the equality of women. Women owe a great debt of gratitude to this indefatigable leader . . .

I read today in so-called histories of the woman movement a statement that the later suffragists based their claim to the vote on the grounds that women would improve things. I object to that. It may be true that some used that argument, but there were others who said that no matter what

Sitting astride a horse, Nora Blatch De Forest speaks on the suffrage cause in City Hall Park, New York City, in 1913.



women did with the vote, it was their right.

“What are you women going to do with the vote when you get it?”

As I say this I remember a meeting on a street corner in Reno. So much of the speaking that I did in the suffrage campaign was done on street corners. It was a good way to get close to people. People who would never go into a hall to hear a woman, particularly a woman speak, would be attracted if they saw a woman standing up in an automobile on a street corner. I can remember a man in that crowd in Reno calling out when I had finished speaking, “What are you women going to do with the vote when you get it? That’s what we want to know.” And I remember my answer—“What we please!” That’s the way I feel now. I am sure we all hoped that men and women would work together to make the world a better place. But let me say this—women have more power now than they exercise. That’s the pity of it. We must arouse women to what they do not know of their position. Incite them, inspire them. We can all help to do it. I heard a beautiful song recently, “Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me!”

That’s the attitude that we must have in this work for the enlargement of the position of women. It is the attitude that says, “Let it begin with me.”

Recently I asked a young woman who was in graduate school, “I suppose you are all for the recognition of women, aren’t you?” And she said, “I’ve never had any reason to be. I’ve always been recognized.” I would think she was an exception. She was entirely indifferent to the position of women because she herself apparently had never been in circumstances where she felt that she wasn’t recognized. I wonder how many of you could say that . . . I suspect that if we were all entirely honest we would acknowledge that every one of us has been in the position of not being recognized all through our life.

I understand that you want me to talk about my own experience in work for the recognition of women, particularly in the suffrage movement.

“How would you like to be a suffrage organizer?”

In the spring of 1913, Alice Paul sent a letter to me when I was teaching at Radnor High School in Wayne, Pa. She wrote, “How would you like to be a suffrage organizer?” And I didn’t know what a suffrage organizer was! Of course I believed firmly in votes for women, as we popularly called it. I was active in the Radnor Township organization working for woman suffrage and I had gone to the National American Woman Suffrage Association national convention held in Philadelphia in 1912. It was a marvelous gathering with Jane Addams there as the national vice president taking a prominent part, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw presiding, and W. E. B. Du Bois as the principal speaker at a great mass meeting. I was an usher. I felt it an honor to be an usher at the national convention. To be a “suffrage organizer” wasn’t quite clear to me. So I told Alice that I would come down to Washington and talk with her.

Alice Paul and I had been good friends at Swarthmore but had lost touch in the intervening years while she had been doing graduate work in this country and abroad. I knew that during the last two years she had been active in the British Militant Movement. In 1912 she returned to this country and began immediately to concentrate on work for the National Suffrage Amendment. She was appointed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association as the chairman of its Congressional Committee and she began the campaign with the great procession of women in Washington on March 3, 1913, the day before President Wilson was

inaugurated. It was this campaign which she now asked me to join.

And so in June when school closed, I began by going to the Jersey shore resorts—Atlantic City, Wildwood, and on to Ocean City. We were gathering signatures throughout the country to petition Congress asking for immediate passage of the Suffrage Amendment. We would rent a wheel chair on the boardwalk, stand up in the chair and proceed to hold a meeting. We got people to listen, even those holiday crowds.

In July 1913 we came to Washington with our petition. Delegations came from all parts of the country and met in Hyattsville, Md. The suffrage committee of the Senate, led by Sen. Ashurst of Arizona, a suffrage state, came to meet us there. We were escorted in a long procession of automobiles to the Capitol and finally into the Senate reception room, where each delegation was received by its senator. That was one of the many processions and deputations that the Congressional Committee led by Alice Paul organized.

Anne Martin of Nevada, who was campaigning in her state for a suffrage amendment to the state constitution, came to Washington seeking help. The women of the Congressional Committee said, “Nevada is a state which it appears can win. We want to direct our energy upon the national amendment, but here is a state which may win, if we give enough help to it now.” So early in 1914 I started for Nevada.

We were preparing to present another petition to Congress and we wanted demonstrations all through the United States in its support. On my way to Nevada I traveled through the southwest to arrange for demonstrations on May 2, all culminating in a great demonstration to be held in Washington on May 9.

“We’ll give you 90 percent of the votes of Rochester!”

Finally I arrived in Reno early in April 1914. Nevada is a beautiful state. I can’t describe to you the sunsets I have seen on the desert that would take your soul right out of you. And the people in it—we were right in believing these were people who would respond to the appeal to give the suffrage to women. We traveled by automobile to all parts of the state to hold suffrage meetings. I clearly remember the little mining town of Rochester. We generally held our meetings in front of the saloon. We would get into the town about ten o’clock in the morning, go to every house and say, “Will you come to the meeting in front of the saloon to-

night? A woman's going to speak about woman suffrage." They came. In Rochester when we finished our discourse that night telling why women should vote, one miner said, "We'll give you 90 percent of the votes of Rochester!" When we got back to Reno and told reporters of the *Nevada State Journal* that Rochester and the mining camps would vote 90 percent for suffrage, they just laughed and said "That's what they tell you women, of course. Think nothing of it."

You can imagine the eagerness with which we awaited the election returns—we knew Reno wasn't going to go with us. Beautiful city, but not for women. We knew that we would have to depend on the outlying places to get our vote. And there was Rochester! One hundred votes cast, 90 of them for us! Nevada won that year, 1914.

Jeanette Rankin had been working in Montana just as we had worked in Nevada. And she won in Montana. You know the sequence of that—how Jeanette Rankin came to the Congress in 1916. When President Wilson went before Congress and asked for a declaration of war against Germany, Jeanette Rankin said, "I love my country but I cannot vote for war." She voted no.

You say you want to hear about President Wilson? The President had the power to put the Suffrage Amendment through Congress. He was the leader of the party which controlled both House and Senate. The whole effort of the Woman's Party campaign was to win the President. I don't remember how many delegations we sent to him representing many different groups of women. One delegation that I will not forget was one at which seven men prominent in different progressive political parties, and I representing the Woman's Party, saw the President in the White House. When it was my turn to speak to him, I said, "Mr. President, when you made your appeal for the declaration of war against Germany, you said 'We shall fight for the thing we hold nearest our hearts. For the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.' Mr. President, when you said that, you expressed exactly the desires of the women who are asking that you help pass the National Suffrage Amendment." And his answer then was that he always felt that reform should come from the people, not be handed down from above, but should come from below, from the masses of the people with their plea, their demand, that these things be done. It wasn't a very satisfactory answer. But he

changed regarding the National Suffrage Amendment. We helped to change him.

I want to tell you about the delegation to President Wilson after Inez Milholland died while she was carrying the appeal of the women of the East to Western women voters. By 1916 something like 12 million Western women had the vote. We said to these women, "You can gain for all women the right to suffrage if you will put woman suffrage ahead of all party considerations. Do not support the party that is blocking passage of the National Suffrage Amendment." The beautiful and brilliant Inez Milholland and other women went to all of the suffrage states.

When she came to Reno where I was stationed, Inez was almost exhausted. But she went right on. When she reached Los Angeles she collapsed on the stage at a mass meeting in the theatre and died a little while later. She died working for the freedom of women. On Christmas Day of 1916 we had a memorial service in Statuary Hall in the Capitol. It was a beautiful and moving ceremony.

"Let us station silent witnesses at the gates of the White House."

Early in January, resolutions from the memorial service were presented by a delegation of 300 women to President Wilson. Again he said, "You must concert public opinion." Harriot Stanton Blatch, the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was a member of the delegation. She said at a meeting held immediately after we left the President, "We have done everything we can think of to concert public opinion. Now what shall we do? Let us station silent witnesses at the gates of the White House."

It's a long story, I can't tell it all. That is what we did. The White House pickets stood before the White House, day in and day out for many months, from nine in the morning when government workers were going to work until five in the afternoon when they were going home. We had beautiful banners. Our big banners that had the slogans on them were of yellow sateen with inscriptions on them in purple, some asking "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" and others.

We had a demonstration in March 1917 when President Wilson was being inaugurated for the second time—the day before his inauguration we marched around the White House like the Walls of Jericho, the newspapers said. We marched in the rain and snow and waited to present our petition but the gates were closed. It made a

marvelous demonstration.

Our "silent witnesses" continued to stand until finally, when the war was on and delegations began to come to the White House, we carried a banner, a beautiful one, saying "We do not have democracy in the United States. The President says we will fight for democracy, but we do not have democracy in this country. Women cannot vote."

This and similar banners were a little too much for the authorities. They said that we couldn't carry those banners, and that we couldn't even stand there. We said picketing was legal. It was, you know. But they said we were obstructing traffic. We produced pictures that showed the broad sidewalk of the White House, the same then as it is today. We produced pictures of the women, standing close against the wall, carrying a banner with the broad sidewalk before them. That didn't deter the authorities. I was in the first group that was sent to jail for three days. It wasn't a terrible experience at first, the way it was later, when longer and longer sentences were given. Afterwards I and other speakers went out into the country telling what was happening to the suffragists in Washington, but there were untold numbers of other women who were arrested, and who were sent to Occoquan.

The President had the power, if he would use it.

From the beginning the Woman's Party had concentrated on the President, calling on him to take the action that would cause his party to pass the amendment. He had the power, if he would use it. On Sept. 30, 1918, the President went before the Senate and made an eloquent speech urging passage of the Suffrage Amendment. It was a wonderful speech, but he came a little late. He didn't secure the two votes that were still needed.

The next year, 1919, a new Congress came into special session in May. The House immediately passed the Suffrage Amendment by an overwhelming majority but we were one vote short in the Senate. The President was in Paris for the Peace Conference. Through the intercession of the Woman's Party the appeal went to the President from influential friends and supporters to secure that last vote. Sen. Harris, newly elected senator from Georgia, was also in Europe. The President asked him to come to Paris to consult with him. Immediately the news came on the cables that Sen. Harris would support the Suffrage Amendment. And he did. On June 4, 1919, the Senate passed the National Suffrage Amendment and it was rati-

fied by the required 36 states in 14 months.

What have we done with it? How many women do we have in the House of Representatives now? Eleven. How many have we in the Senate? One! Margaret Chase Smith. As long as we have this system of government, don't you think women should be more adequately represented in it?

Some time ago my attention was called to an important document issued by the Board of Directors of the American Association of University Women—"Alternatives for Women: The Right to Choose."

Reporting on the document, the *AAUW Journal* said:

Abjuring the notion that all women should be pressed into the same mold—homemaker, careerist or activist—the resolution said, rather, that twentieth century woman should have complete freedom to be a whole person, to live a life style most suited to her own aptitudes and desires. *Prevailing mores, said the resolution, do not allow women this freedom.*

To probe readers' attitudes and experiences in regard to the status of women, the January 1970 *AAUW Journal* carried an "opinionnaire" to which nearly 8,000 people replied, hundreds recounting prejudicial treatment in employment, in politics, social attitudes and under the law. The replies are the basis of an AAUW monograph on sex discrimination. The statistics, shocking as they are, cannot convey the cumulative sense of frustration, alienation—and even despair—expressed by the writers of the reports the *Journal* received.

You may have had similar experiences. Get the monograph from the AAUW, if you do not already have it.

Did I say earlier that the position of women in the social order is "unsatisfactory"?—an understatement, indeed—and must be changed!

I am sure you are all informed about the present status of the Equal Rights Amendment. The amendment was introduced in 1923. Forty-eight years ago! And all that amendment says is, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied, or abridged, on account of sex." I say this to you without reservation: The position of women in the social order demands the passage of this amendment. It has been passed by the House, it is now before the Senate.

If you are women of action as well as belief, you will see to it that your senators vote for this amendment and that its immediate passage is assured.

*Ed note: On March 22, 1972 the Equal Rights Amendment finally passed the Senate. It must now be ratified by 38 states.



Cameron House, headquarters of the National Woman's Party during the suffrage movement, was just one-half block from the White House and conveniently located for the women pickets. One day in 1917, while at Cameron House, Mabel Vernon heard shouting in the streets. Running to the window, she saw men tearing the pickets' banners from their hands. "They are attacking our girls," she cried. Undaunted, she grabbed a banner, marched out into the street, and helped reestablish the picket line. This is a news photo of that moment.

Below, one of the many White House pickets to be arrested is transported to jail in 1917.



It is the duty of the Government to provide for the
welfare of the people and to maintain the
peace and order of the State. The Government
is responsible for the protection of the
rights and liberties of the citizens and for
the promotion of the general welfare of the
Nation. The Government is also responsible
for the maintenance of the national
defense and for the preservation of the
national unity and integrity of the State.

The Government is the servant of the people
and is accountable to them. The Government
is elected by the people and is responsible
to them for the performance of its
duties. The Government is the steward
of the national resources and is
responsible for their wise and economical
use. The Government is the guardian
of the national heritage and is
responsible for its preservation and
transmission to future generations.

The Government is the promoter of
social justice and is responsible for
the elimination of poverty and
the improvement of the living
conditions of the people. The Government
is the defender of the weak and
the oppressed and is responsible for
the protection of their rights and
liberties. The Government is the
organizer of the national economy
and is responsible for the promotion
of economic growth and development.

The Government is the maintainer of
the national security and is responsible
for the protection of the Nation
against external threats. The
Government is the guardian of the
national sovereignty and is responsible
for the maintenance of the
national independence and
territorial integrity of the State.

The Government is the promoter of
cultural and educational development
and is responsible for the
improvement of the intellectual
and moral standards of the
people. The Government is the
organizer of the national
infrastructure and is responsible
for the development of the
transportation, communication,
and public utility services.

The Government is the maintainer
of the national order and is
responsible for the enforcement
of the laws and the maintenance
of the public peace. The
Government is the guardian of
the national honor and is
responsible for the promotion
of the national prestige and
influence in the world.

The Government is the promoter
of international peace and
cooperation and is responsible
for the maintenance of
friendly relations with other
Nations. The Government is
the defender of the principles
of justice and equity and is
responsible for the promotion
of the common good of all
Nations.

The Government is the
organizer of the national
administration and is
responsible for the efficient
and economical performance
of its functions. The
Government is the guardian
of the national interest and
is responsible for the
promotion of the national
welfare and the
prosperity of the Nation.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ANNE MARTIN AND ALICE PAUL

14

WESTERN UNION
NIGHT LETTER
THEO. N. VAN... PRESIDENT

FORM 2287 B

RECEIVED AT

45 SF WH 50 R L

MAY 20 7 07

1936

RENO NEV MAY 20 1914

ALICE PAUL

CHAIRMAN CONGRESSIONAL UNION 1420 F ST NW
WASH DC

YOU WERE ON GROUND YOU WOULD FULLY REALIZE MISS
NON IS DOING MOST DIRECT AND EFFECTIVE WORK POSSIBLE FOR
STOW AMENDMENT BY HELPING NEVADA WIN HELP US WIN THROUGH
S VERNONS ASSISTANCE AND YOU WILL FIND CONGRESSIONAL UNION WORK
L HAVE ALL POSSIBLE NEVADA COOPERATION AS EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATE

ANNE H MARTIN

648AM

Reproduced from the collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

WESTERN UNION

Form 2299 B

NIGHT LETTER

THEO. N. VAIL, PRESIDENT

1576

1914 JUL 29 AM 7 55

RECEIVED AT
45SF XV 50 NL

FENO NEV JUL 28 1914

MISS ALICE PAUL

CHAIRMAN CONGRESSIONAL UNION 1420 F ST NW WASHN DC

TRUSTING IN HAVING VERNON TILL SEPTEMBER FIRST HAVE MADE INDISPENSABLE
PLANS COVERING REMOTE COUNTRY DISTRICTS FOR AUGUST WHICH BEGIN THURS-
DAY SHE MAKES VOTES SERVICES INVALUABLE IF HUMANLY POSSIBLE URGE HAVING
SERVICES FOR AUGUST AT LEAST WORK WILL SUFFER UNLESS YOU
REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE TO CONGRESSIONAL UNION OF WINNING SUFFRAGE HERE

ANNE H MARTIN

755A

WESTERN

BOOKS

1931
The first of the series is a history of the West, written by a leading authority on the subject. It covers the period from the early days of exploration to the present time. The second book is a study of the economic development of the West, showing how the region has become one of the great industrial and agricultural centers of the world. The third book is a collection of stories and poems that capture the spirit of the West in a way that is both entertaining and enlightening. The fourth book is a practical guide to the West, providing information on the best places to visit, the things to see, and the people to meet. The fifth book is a collection of essays that explore the cultural and social aspects of the West, from the cowboy to the modern-day entrepreneur. The sixth book is a collection of photographs that show the beauty and diversity of the West in a way that is both inspiring and awe-inspiring. The seventh book is a collection of recipes that are both delicious and easy to make, showing how the West has influenced the American diet. The eighth book is a collection of travel tips that will help you make the most of your trip to the West. The ninth book is a collection of maps that will help you navigate the West with ease. The tenth book is a collection of facts and figures that will give you a better understanding of the West and its place in the world.

Aug. 4th., 1914.

Miss Anne Martin,
157 Mill St.,
Reno, Nevada.

Dear Miss Martin:

Your letter with regard to Miss Vernon has just arrived. We are indeed glad she has proved so helpful in the Nevada work. We have written her asking her to remain with you until the first of September, saying that we would then need her in our own election campaign work. You know we are hoping to defeat certain members of Congress in the November elections.

We have secured a new organizer in Delaware for the time being at least. She is doing very well.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman.

AP:LO

FROM AND TO
BY
DATE

Your letter with regard to the
is not dated and the
to have been for
will be the
to see the
to obtain
along

to have received a copy of
of the

to be

HONORARY PRESIDENTS

- MR. O. M. P. BELMONT
177 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK
- MR. JOSEPH FELS
D CORNWALL TERRACE, LONDON
- MR. ARTHUR HODGES
31 E. 86TH ST., NEW YORK
- MR. CLARENCE MACKAY
BROOKLYN, LONG ISLAND
- MR. H. STANISLAWSKY
MANTA ROSA, CAL.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

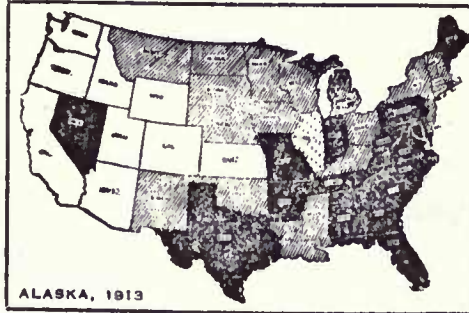
- MISS. B. M. WILSON
GOLDFIELD
- MRS. W. H. HOOD
16 MILL ST., RENO
- MRS. HUGH BROWN
TONOPAN
- MRS. ALEX ORR
MOCHIE
- MRS. GEORGE WEST
YERINGTON
- MRS. F. P. LANGAN
VIRGINIA
- MRS. J. E. BRAY
CARSON
- MISS EFFIE EATHER
EUREKA
- MRS. E. E. CAINE
ELKO

NEVADA EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY NON-PARTISAN

STATE HEADQUARTERS
153 NORTH VIRGINIA STREET, RENO, NEVADA
WASHOE COUNTY BANK BUILDING

MEMBER NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION AND
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

PRESIDENT, MISS ANNE H. MARTIN, 107 MILL STREET, RENO



WHITE STATES, FULL SUFFRAGE
SHADED STATES, PARTIAL SUFFRAGE
DARK STATES, NO SUFFRAGE

VICE-PRESIDENTS

- 10TH. MRS. M. S. BONNIFIELD
WINNEMUCCA
- 11TH. MRS. MINNIE MACDONALD
ELY
- 12TH. MRS. A. J. MCCARTHY
HAWTHORNE
- 13TH. MRS. H. C. TAYLOR
FALLON
- 14TH. MRS. C. P. SQUIRES
LAS VEGAS

RECORDING SECRETARY

- MRS. S. W. BELFORD
709 HUMBOLDT ST., RENO

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

- MISS ALEXANDRINE LA TOURETTE
829 LAKE ST., RENO

TREASURER

- MRS. R. D. EICHELBERGER
THE COLONIAL, RENO

AUDITORS

- 1ST. MRS. W. PRINCE CATLIN
BATTLE MOUNTAIN
- 2ND. MISS MINNIE FLANIGAN
429 W SECOND ST., RENO

ADVISORY BOARD

- ARCHILL COUNTY
MR. C. A. HASCALL, FALLON
- IRON COUNTY
MR. W. H. WILLIAMS, FALLON
- MINNER COUNTY
MR. C. P. SQUIRES, LAS VEGAS
MR. LEVI STYPHUS, ST. THOMAS
- CLATSOP COUNTY
MR. H. A. N. TODD, GARDNERVILLE
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. J. L. TABER, ELKO
- HERALDA COUNTY
MR. PETER SOMERS, GOLDFIELD
- EUREKA COUNTY
MR. T. F. PLUMMER, PALIBADE
MR. A. L. FITZGERALD, EUREKA
- HUMBOLDT COUNTY
MR. J. F. ABEL, WINNEMUCCA
MR. L. N. CARPENTER, LOVELOCK
- ANDERSON COUNTY
MR. J. A. MILLER, AUSTIN
- COLN COUNTY
MR. J. A. DENTON, CALIENTE
MR. H. E. FREUDENTHAL, PIOCHE
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. C. C. BRAUN, DAYTON
MR. J. I. WILSON, YERINGTON
- HERAL COUNTY
MR. EUGENE GRUTT, HAWTHORNE
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. KEY PITTMAN, TONOPAN
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. SUPT. J. E. BRAY, CARSON
MR. S. FARRINGTON, CARSON
MR. F. H. NORCROSS, CARSON
GOVERNOR T. L. ODDIE, CARSON
CONGRESSMAN E. E. ROBERTS, CARSON
MR. GILBERT ROSS, CARSON
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. LYMAN CLARK, JR., VIRGINIA
MR. F. P. LANGAN, VIRGINIA
MR. JAMES M. LEONARD, VIRGINIA
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. J. A. ASCHER, SPARKS
MR. S. W. BELFORD, RENO
MR. C. GULLING, RENO
MR. A. GRANT MILLER, RENO
MR. H. V. MOREHOUSE, RENO
MR. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, RENO
MR. ROBERT M. PRICE, RENO
MR. STUBBS, UNIVERSITY, RENO
MR. GEO. H. TAYLOR, RENO
- WAGNER COUNTY
MR. BEN W. COLEMAN, ELY
MR. A. COMING, ELY

TELEPHONE 1726

September 9, 1914.

Miss Alice Paul,
1420 F Street N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Paul:

I recently wrote you of our very great relief on receiving your letter announcing that Miss Vernon could stay until October first. We are of course counting upon her help if you can possibly arrange it, until the election is over, as she is an invaluable assistance in headquarters and field work both. You have already helped us so much that I should hesitate to ask for more assistance did I not know that you realize as thoroughly as I do we are both working for one great common cause in winning Nevada. A pledge that we counted upon has recently failed us and the National Association has just sent us Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon without providing for her Nevada expenses, as was understood in the beginning. We have been paying Miss Vernon's Nevada expenses since the first of July. If you could ^(all the cost of the campaign) see your way to contributing \$200 toward these expenses, it would be an additional help to our campaign at a rather difficult financial juncture. If you cannot do so, we shall try to meet the difficulty in some other way.

At any rate hoping to hear from you with reference to Miss Vernon's remaining until after election, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

State President

AHM: NKM

Sept. 16th, 1914.

Miss Anne Martin,
157 Mill Street,
Reno, Nev.

Dear Miss Martin:

We have made every effort to get sufficient workers without Miss Vernon for our Congressional election campaign, so that it might be possible for us to leave her in Nevada until after the campaign is over. This has proven impossible, however, for while we can find numbers of workers there are not enough who have been in touch with our federal work sufficiently to make them of any use in our Congressional election campaign. We have, therefore, written to Miss Vernon asking her to leave the 1st of October for Phoenix, Arizona, to conduct the Congressional campaign in that state in conjunction with Miss Jane Pinous, an organizer whom we are sending from Washington this week to open headquarters at Phoenix.

I am afraid that we cannot pay anything more toward the expense of the Nevada campaign. I am sorry that we have not been able to do more. We could, I think, have done more if we had made helping Nevada a part of our plan, but we did not, of course, look forward to doing that in outlining our year's work, as we considered ours, as I have already written you, an organization whose sphere was simply the Federal work.

With all good wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Chairman.

AP/G.

Faint header text at the top of the page, possibly including a date or reference number.

Dear Sir,
I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst. in relation to the above-mentioned matter.

The same has been forwarded to the appropriate authorities for their consideration. I am sorry to hear that you are having some difficulties with the project. We will do our best to assist you in any way possible.

I am sure that you will understand the need for thoroughness in this process. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions or concerns.

Yours faithfully,
[Signature]

cc: [Name]

10/20/20

K

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



Form 108

14 NOV 7 AM 7 09 :

1862

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT Wyatt Building, Cor. 14th and F Sts., Washington, D.C. ALWAYS OPEN

26 SF SC 50 NL

7/10A

RENO NEV NOV 6 1914

MISS ALICE PAUL,

CHAIRMAN CONGRESSIONAL UNION 1420 F ST NW WASH DC

I AM GLAD TO CONFIRM MISS VERNONS GOOD NEWS BY TELLING YOU OUR MAJORITY
NOW OVER TWO THOUSAND AND STILL GROWING EVERY LIKELIHOOD THREE THOU
AND ON BEHALF OF THE NEVADA EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY LET ME AGAIN EXPRESS
APPRECIATION OF ALL YOU DID FOR OUR CAMPAIGN IN SENDING US MISS VERNON.

ANNE H. MARTIN 412AM NOV 7

Reproduced from the collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

1888

RECEIVED AT THE OFFICE OF THE TELEGRAMS

NOV 20 10 AM

TO THE
FROM THE
BY THE
AT THE

HONORARY PRESIDENTS

VICE-PRESIDENTS

- MRS. G. M. P. BELMONT
377 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK
- MRS. JOSEPH FELS
75 COBERTWALL TERRACE, LONDON
- MRS. ARTHUR HODGES
101 S. 65TH ST., NEW YORK
- MRS. CLARENCE HACKAY
ROSLYN, LONG ISLAND
- MRS. N. STANISLAWSKY
SANTA ROSA, CAL.

- 10TH. MRS. M. S. BONFIELD
WINNEMUGA
- 11TH. MRS. BONNIE MASONALD
ELY
- 12TH. MRS. A. J. MCCARTHY
HAWTHORNE
- 13TH. MRS. W. C. TAYLOR
FALLEN
- 14TH. MRS. C. P. SQUIRES
LAS VEGAS

BANCROFT LIBRARY
NEVADA EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
 NON-PARTISAN

STATE HEADQUARTERS
 153 NORTH VIRGINIA STREET, RENO, NEVADA
 WASHOE COUNTY BANK BUILDING

MEMBER NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION AND
 INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

PRESIDENT, MISS ANNE H. MARTIN, 157 MILL STREET, RENO

VICE-PRESIDENTS

RECORDING SECRETARY

- 1ST. MISS E. M. WILSON
GOLDFIELD
- 2ND. MRS. W. H. HOOD
52 MILL ST., RENO
- 3RD. MRS. HUGH BROWN
TOSOPAN
- 4TH. MRS. ALEX ORR
PIGONE
- 5TH. MRS. GEORGE WEST
YERINGTON
- 6TH. MRS. F. P. LANGAN
VIRGINIA
- 7TH. MRS. J. E. BRAY
CARSON
- 8TH. MISS EFFIE EATHER
EUREKA
- 9TH. MRS. E. E. CAINE
ELKO

MRS. S. W. BELFORD
708 HUBBARD ST., RENO

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MISS ALEXANDRINE LA TOURETTE
622 LARK ST., RENO

TREASURER

MRS. R. D. EICHELBERGER
THE COLONIAL, RENO

AUDITORS

- 1ST. MRS. W. PRINCE GATLIN
BATTLE MOUNTAIN
- 2ND. MISS MINNIE FLAMMAN
422 W. 6000TH ST., RENO



WHITE STATES, FULL SUFFRAGE
 SHADED STATES, PARTIAL SUFFRAGE
 DARK STATES, NO SUFFRAGE

ADVISORY BOARD

TELEPHONE 1726

- CHURCHILL COUNTY
DR. C. A. NASCALL, FALLEN
HON. W. H. WILLIAMS, FALLEN
- CLARK COUNTY
MR. C. F. SQUIRES, LAS VEGAS
HON. LEVI SYPHUS, ST. THOMAS
- DOUGLAS COUNTY
HON. H. A. N. TODD, BARGHERVILLE
- ELKO COUNTY
JUDGE E. J. L. TAGER, ELKO
- EMERALDA COUNTY
JUDGE PETER SONERS, GOLDFIELD
- EUREKA COUNTY
MR. T. F. PLUMMER, PALISADE
JUDGE A. L. FITZGERALD, EUREKA
- HUMBOLDT COUNTY
MR. J. F. ABEL, WINNEMUGA
HON. L. N. CARPENTER, LOVELOCK
- LANDER COUNTY
HON. J. A. MILLER, AUSTIN
- LINCOLN COUNTY
HON. J. A. DENTON, CALIENTE
MR. H. E. FREUDENTHAL, MOGHE
- LYON COUNTY
MR. C. C. BRAUN, DAYTON
HON. J. I. WILSON, YERINGTON
- MINERAL COUNTY
MR. EUGENE GRUTT, HAWTHORNE
- MYE COUNTY
SENATOR KEY PITTMAN, TOSOPAN
- ORNSBY COUNTY
STATE SCH. SUPT. J. E. BRAY, CARSON
JUDGE E. S. FARRINGTON, CARSON
JUDGE F. M. HORSBROOK, CARSON
GOVERNOR T. L. OGDEN, CARSON
CONGRESSMAN E. E. ROBERTS, CARSON
LIEUT. GOV. GILBERT ROSS, CARSON
- STOREY COUNTY
MR. LYMAN CLARK, JR., VIRGINIA
JUDGE F. P. LANGAN, VIRGINIA
MR. JAMES M. LEONARD, VIRGINIA
- WASHOE COUNTY
DR. J. A. ASCHER, SPARKS
HON. S. W. BELFORD, RENO
MR. C. GULLING, RENO
MR. A. BRANT MILLER, RENO
HON. H. V. MOREHOUSE, RENO
SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, RENO
MR. ROBERT M. PRICE, RENO
PRESIDENT STURGE, UNIVERSITY, RENO
MR. GEO. H. TAYLOR, RENO
- WHITE PINE COUNTY
JUDGE BEN W. COLEMAN, ELY
HON. H. A. CONING, ELY

Reno Nevada, June 15, 1914.

Miss Anne H. Martin,
 Hotel Cecil,
 Post and Mason Sts.,
 San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Miss Martin:

I have to report that everything is going well in your absence, although needless to say, we all miss you terribly.

We had a splendid open air meeting Saturday night-- the best one, I think, that we have had in Reno not even excepting the first one we held in March. The Reverend Sheldon drove Judge Moran's car for us and Miss LaTourette, Miss Mahan and Mrs. Bidwell sat in the car, while Mr. Bidwell stood on the sidewalk and formed an audience of one until I could get a crowd. It did not take long, for until over two hundred people gathered. I should say that there were that many, although I am not nearly so accurate in my judgement of numbers as you are. The best part of the meeting was the number of questions that were asked, and the crowd always seemed to approve of the answers that showed that woman suffrage is a good thing. The meeting lasted until about ten forty five.

We are getting an immense amount of circularizing done. Miss Mahan has completed all the Washoe County list except Reno, and has offered to do that some day this week. Mrs. Eichelberger and Mrs. Hurst are here working this afternoon. I talked with Mrs. Belford about the Fourth of July celebration and everything in connection with it seems to be going along famously. Mrs. Cassaway is showing a great deal of interest in it and to me her ideas appear splendid. I missed you terribly yesterday when I was preparing the column for the Journal. I was utterly destitute of ideas, and can only hope you will approve the one I finally struck. I

This is for reference only.
 to reproduce in full or in
 obtained in writing from
 The Bancroft Library,
 California, Berkeley,
 94720

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY

THE NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY IS A 501(c)(3) NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION. IT IS DEDICATED TO THE PROMOTION OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE, REGARDLESS OF RACE, ETHNICITY, SEX, ORIENTATION, OR RELIGION. THE SOCIETY PROVIDES EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, LEGAL ASSISTANCE, AND ADVOCACY SERVICES TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF EQUALITY.



MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION
 DUES: \$10.00
 CONTACT: 702-555-1234
 WEBSITE: www.nevadaequality.org

CONTACT INFORMATION
 ADDRESS: 123 Main St, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 PHONE: 702-555-1234
 EMAIL: info@nevadaequality.org

OUR MISSION
 To ensure that every individual in Nevada has the same rights and opportunities as every other individual.

OUR VALUES
 Integrity, Respect, and Equality.

OUR SERVICES
 Legal advocacy, public education, and community support.

OUR HISTORY
 Founded in 1972, we have a long history of fighting for equality.

OUR FUTURE
 We are committed to a future where equality is the norm.

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

NEVADA EQUAL RIGHTS SOCIETY
 123 Main Street, Las Vegas, NV 89101
 Phone: 702-555-1234
 Email: info@nevadaequality.org

Miss ANM-2-

am enclosing you the bulletin for the Journal and must explain that the utter senselessness of the first article is due to the fact that Mr. Rooney, (Darn list) cut out the quotation from Leslie's Weekly concerning the certainty of the enfranchisement of American women. I will send you a copy of our weekly bulletin as soon as it is issued. I am going to Lovelock tomorrow as arranged, and have written to Mrs. Walsler and also to Mrs. Bonnifield concerning a trip to Inlay at this time. I urged Mrs. Bonnifield to come to Lovelock for the meeting tomorrow, and will do my best to make possible a county convention in July with as many precinct leaders present as can be procured by that time.

Miss Morrow has advanced to September 1912 in her scrapbook, and has used up all the paste. I have forwarded all your mail to you, which I hope you have safely received. The letter from the Secretary of State that I am enclosing arrived today, and I opened it, thinking there might be something in it that would demand my attention.

immediate

I would have you know that although I have not yet gone to Mrs. Holmes's I am eating two square meals every day, and am therefore in most vigorous health and spirits. I hope that you are going to have a delightful time while you are away. Don't think about suffrage any more than you can possibly help, and I am sure the change of thought will do you good and send you back ready to grapple with the problems of the next four months. I forgot to tell you that Judge Colman called at headquarters on Saturday, and according to your directions, I was very cordial to him. It seems that Mr. Belford, better known as "Suffragette Sam", had rather alarmed Judge Colman about your letter to Senator Pittman, by saying he thought it might antagonize Pittman and his adherents. I showed Judge Colman both Senator Pittman's letter and your response to it and he agreed with me that no harm could possibly come from such a fair and courteous reply.

I assure that I will do my best to keep things running smoothly while you are away, therefore you need not worry.

Very sincerely yours,

Mabel Fernon

MV-771

This material is for reference only.
It is not to be reproduced in full or in
part without being obtained in writing from
the Director, The Bancroft Library,
University of California, Berkeley,
California 94720

HONORARY PRESIDENTS

MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT
477 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK

MRS. JOSEPH PELS
16 CORNWALL TERRACE, LONDON

MRS. ARTHUR HODGES
191 E. 84TH ST., NEW YORK

MRS. CLARENCE MACKAY
ROSLYN, LONG ISLAND

MRS. N. STANISLAWSKY
SANTA ROSA, CAL.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1ST. MISS. S. M. WILSON
GOLDFIELD

2ND. MRS. W. H. HOOD
50 MILL ST., RENO

3RD. MRS. HUGH BROWN
TONOPAN

4TH. MRS. ALEX ORR
PIECHE

5TH. MRS. GEORGE WEST
VERINGTON

6TH. MRS. F. P. LANGAN
VIRGINIA

7TH. MRS. J. E. BRAY
CARSON

8TH. MISS EFFIE EATHER
EUREKA

9TH. MRS. E. E. CAINE
ELKO

ADVISORY BOARD

CHURCHILL COUNTY
DR. C. A. HASCALL, FALLOH
HON. W. M. WILLIAMS, FALLOH

CLARK COUNTY
MR. C. P. SQUIRES, LAS VEGAS
HON. LEVI BYRNE, ST. THOMAS

DOUGLAS COUNTY
HON. M. A. N. TODD, GARDNERVILLE

ELKO COUNTY
JUDGE S. J. L. TABER, ELKO

EMERALDA COUNTY
JUDGE PETER SOMERS, GOLDFIELD

EUREKA COUNTY
MR. T. F. PLUMMER, PALISADE
JUDGE A. L. FITZGERALD, EUREKA

HUMBOLDT COUNTY
MR. J. F. ABEL, WINNEVUCCA
HON. L. M. CARPENTER, LOVELOCE

LANGER COUNTY
HON. J. A. MILLER, AUSTIN

LINCOLN COUNTY
HON. J. A. DENTON, CALIENTE
MR. M. E. FREUDENTHAL, PIECHE

LYON COUNTY
MR. C. C. BRAUN, DAYTON
HON. J. I. WILSON, VERINGTON

MINERAL COUNTY
MR. EUGENE GRUTT, HAWTHORNE

NYE COUNTY
SENATOR KEY PITTMAN, TONOPAN

ORMSBY COUNTY
STATE SCH. SUPT. J. E. BRAY, CARSON
JUDGE E. B. FARRINGTON, CARSON
JUDGE F. H. HONGROSS, CARSON
GOVERNOR T. L. COBBE, CARSON
CONGRESSMAN E. E. ROBERTS, CARSON
LIEUT. GOV. GILBERT ROSS, CARSON

STOREY COUNTY
MR. LYMAN CLARR, JR., VIRGINIA
JUDGE F. P. LANSAR, VIRGINIA
MR. JAMES M. LEONARD, VIRGINIA

WASHOE COUNTY
DR. J. A. ASCHER, SPARKS
HON. S. W. BELFORD, RENO
MR. C. GULLING, RENO
MR. A. GRANT MILLER, RENO
HON. H. V. MOREHOUSE, RENO
SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, RENO
MR. ROBERT M. PRICE, RENO
PRESIDENT STUBBS, UNIVERSITY, RENO
MR. GEO. H. TAYLOR, RENO

WHITE PINE COUNTY
JUDGE BEN W. COLEMAN, ELY
HON. H. A. CONINE, ELY

ANNE MARTIN GIFT
BANCROFT LIBRARY

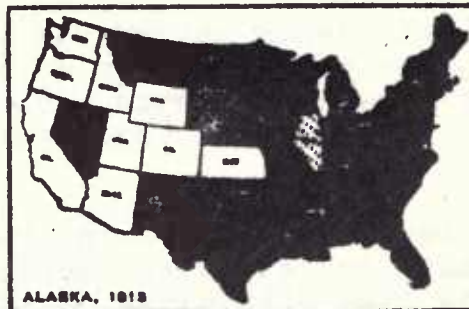
NEVADA EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY

NON-PARTISAN

STATE HEADQUARTERS
153 NORTH VIRGINIA STREET, RENO, NEVADA
WASHOE COUNTY BANK BUILDING

MEMBER NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION AND
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

PRESIDENT, MISS ANNE H. MARTIN, 187 MILL STREET, RENO



WHITE STATES, FULL SUFFRAGE
SHADED STATES, PARTIAL SUFFRAGE
DARK STATES, NO SUFFRAGE

Reno Nevada, June 22, 1914.

TELEPHONE 1726

Miss Anne H. Martin,
Menlo Park,
California.

My dear Miss Martin:

It happens that some literature has been returned from Lyon County, so that I now know exactly how to mark our files. We are sending out rainbow fliers and miscellaneous national literature to the list of voters taken from the Reno directory. Mrs. Malloy, a friend of Mrs. Eichelberger's, has taken charge of the circularization of Reno and other workers who drop in are circularizing Clarke county with the rainbow fliers, booklets and national leaflets. I picked Clarke County out of the list of counties you gave me because of the lack of suffrage activity there. I am taking care that all the literature we send out is stamped. If you will allow an expression of my own humble opinion, I would say not to order any more of the Taylor speech, but rather procure some excellent literature that would be an answer to the speech recently sent out by the Anti Society under the frank of Representative Heflin. I have sent you a copy of this speech. You will notice the gross attacks in it upon the California women. Would it not be wise, therefore, to circularize the entire state as soon as possible with a statement of the results of equal suffrage in California that would be a direct refutation of the Anti speech, which is, I believe, almost entirely pure misrepresentation of the actual facts? I take the liberty to delay the order for the Taylor speech until I have further instructions in the light of this new development.

You will notice from the inclosure that the Pittman letter appeared in our column in the Journal this morning. I dined with the Belfords yesterday, and Mr. Belford was

VICE-PRESIDENTS

10TH. MRS. M. S. BONNFELD
WINNEVUCCA

11TH. MRS. MINNIE MACDONALD
ELY

12TH. MRS. A. J. MCCARTHY
HAWTHORNE

13TH. MRS. H. C. TAYLOR
FALLOH

14TH. MRS. C. P. SQUIRES
LAS VEGAS

RECORDING SECRETARY

MRS. S. W. BELFORD
708 HUMBOLDT ST., RENO

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MISS ALEXANDRINE LA TOURETTE
885 LAKE ST., RENO

TREASURER

MRS. R. D. EICHELBERGER
THE COLONIAL, RENO

AUDITORS

1ST. MRS. W. PRINCE CATLIN
BATTLE MOUNTAIN

2ND. MISS MINNIE PLANIGAN
488 W. 6000TH ST., RENO

This material is for reference only,
and is not to be reproduced in full or in
part without being obtained in writing from
The Bancroft Library,
University of California, Berkeley,
California 94720

NEVADA EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY

103 NORTH VIRGINIA STREET, RENO, NEVADA
WAGNER COUNTY BANK BUILDING



Map of Nevada showing its location within the United States.

MEMBERSHIP LIST

1914

1. Mrs. J. W. ...

2. Mrs. ...

3. Mrs. ...

4. Mrs. ...

5. Mrs. ...

6. Mrs. ...

7. Mrs. ...

8. Mrs. ...

9. Mrs. ...

10. Mrs. ...

11. Mrs. ...

12. Mrs. ...

13. Mrs. ...

14. Mrs. ...

15. Mrs. ...

16. Mrs. ...

17. Mrs. ...

18. Mrs. ...

19. Mrs. ...

20. Mrs. ...

21. Mrs. ...

22. Mrs. ...

23. Mrs. ...

24. Mrs. ...

25. Mrs. ...

26. Mrs. ...

27. Mrs. ...

28. Mrs. ...

29. Mrs. ...

30. Mrs. ...

31. Mrs. ...

32. Mrs. ...

33. Mrs. ...

34. Mrs. ...

35. Mrs. ...

36. Mrs. ...

37. Mrs. ...

38. Mrs. ...

39. Mrs. ...

40. Mrs. ...

41. Mrs. ...

42. Mrs. ...

43. Mrs. ...

44. Mrs. ...

45. Mrs. ...

46. Mrs. ...

47. Mrs. ...

48. Mrs. ...

49. Mrs. ...

50. Mrs. ...

MEMBERSHIP LIST

1914

51. Mrs. ...

52. Mrs. ...

53. Mrs. ...

54. Mrs. ...

55. Mrs. ...

56. Mrs. ...

57. Mrs. ...

58. Mrs. ...

59. Mrs. ...

60. Mrs. ...

61. Mrs. ...

62. Mrs. ...

63. Mrs. ...

64. Mrs. ...

65. Mrs. ...

66. Mrs. ...

67. Mrs. ...

68. Mrs. ...

69. Mrs. ...

70. Mrs. ...

71. Mrs. ...

72. Mrs. ...

73. Mrs. ...

74. Mrs. ...

75. Mrs. ...

76. Mrs. ...

77. Mrs. ...

78. Mrs. ...

79. Mrs. ...

80. Mrs. ...

81. Mrs. ...

82. Mrs. ...

83. Mrs. ...

84. Mrs. ...

85. Mrs. ...

86. Mrs. ...

87. Mrs. ...

88. Mrs. ...

89. Mrs. ...

90. Mrs. ...

91. Mrs. ...

92. Mrs. ...

93. Mrs. ...

94. Mrs. ...

95. Mrs. ...

96. Mrs. ...

97. Mrs. ...

98. Mrs. ...

99. Mrs. ...

100. Mrs. ...

Telephone 1738

Reno Nevada, June 21, 1914

Dear Mrs. ...

I received your letter of the 17th and was glad to hear from you.

I am sorry that I cannot give you a more definite answer at this time.

I will try to get back to you as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

...

It happens that some literature has been returned from your society, so that I now know exactly how to mark our files. We are sending out rainbow letters and also collated national literature to the list of voters taken from the Reno directory. Mrs. Malloy, a friend of Mrs. Richardson's, has taken charge of the classification of Reno and other workers who drop in are characterizing like county with the rainbow letters, booklets and national leaflets. We thank Clark County out of the list of counties you have because of the lack of activity there. I am making certain all the literature we send out is stamped so you will allow an expression of my own humble opinion. I would say not to order any more of the Taylor brochures, but rather procure some excellent literature that would be an answer to the spirit recently sent out by the Clark County under the name of Representative Helms. I have sent you a copy of this week. You will notice the gross attack in it upon the California women. Would it not be wise, therefore, to circulate the entire state as soon as possible with a statement of the results of equal suffrage in California that would be a direct refutation of the kind of spirit which I believe almost entirely pure misrepresentation of the actual facts. I take the liberty to being the order for the Taylor speech until I have further instructions in the light of this new development.

You will notice from the literature that the letter appeared in our column in the journal this morning. I dined with the Taylors yesterday, and Mr. Malloy was

My dear Mrs. Malloy:

California

Clark County

Wagner County

Washoe County

White Pine County

Yuba County

Carson City

Elko County

Esmeralda County

Genoa

Harvey County

Humboldt County

Lincoln County

Lyon County

Manly

Mineral County

Moose

Nye County

Ormsby County

Pershing County

Storey County

Tahoe

Thackeray

Winnemuccia

Yering County

Washoe

White Pine

Yuba

Carson City

Elko

Esmeralda

Genoa

Harvey

Humboldt

Lincoln

Lyon

Manly

Mineral

Moose

Nye

Ormsby

Pershing

Storey

Tahoe

Thackeray

Winnemuccia

Yering

Washoe

White Pine

Yuba

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. Mrs. J. W. ...

2. Mrs. ...

3. Mrs. ...

4. Mrs. ...

5. Mrs. ...

6. Mrs. ...

7. Mrs. ...

8. Mrs. ...

9. Mrs. ...

10. Mrs. ...

11. Mrs. ...

12. Mrs. ...

13. Mrs. ...

14. Mrs. ...

15. Mrs. ...

16. Mrs. ...

17. Mrs. ...

18. Mrs. ...

19. Mrs. ...

20. Mrs. ...

21. Mrs. ...

22. Mrs. ...

23. Mrs. ...

24. Mrs. ...

25. Mrs. ...

26. Mrs. ...

27. Mrs. ...

28. Mrs. ...

29. Mrs. ...

30. Mrs. ...

31. Mrs. ...

32. Mrs. ...

33. Mrs. ...

34. Mrs. ...

35. Mrs. ...

36. Mrs. ...

37. Mrs. ...

38. Mrs. ...

39. Mrs. ...

40. Mrs. ...

41. Mrs. ...

42. Mrs. ...

43. Mrs. ...

44. Mrs. ...

45. Mrs. ...

46. Mrs. ...

47. Mrs. ...

48. Mrs. ...

49. Mrs. ...

50. Mrs. ...

Miss Anne Martin -2-

very outspoken in his disapproval of paying any attention to Pittman. Needless to say, I altogether disagreed with him for I believe that no harm can possibly result, and there is a chance of doing some good. I had a letter from Miss Paul this morning in which she says that Mrs. Pittman did her best to induce the Senator to vote for the amendment, but he felt that he had nothing to fear from the women of Nevada in refusing to give it his support.

I have talked to Mr. Mabson concerning the alteration to your cubby hole, and while he cannot do the work this week, he promises to be on hand next Monday morning and says that it will take only two days to complete the work, so I trust it will be ready for you when you return.

Miss Henry has conceived the idea that it would be better to sell lemonade at ~~the~~ the Thomas Cafe, rather than at the park fountain. Most of the women seem to agree with her, and she is therefore trying to obtain Mrs. Ryland's consent to the use of her store. Miss Henry has charge of this matter, but I am doing some occasional prodding.

I had already seen your interview in the San Francisco Bulletin but thank you for the marked copy you sent me. It furnishes me material for our bulletin, which I am preparing to-day.

We had another big street meeting last Saturday night. Mr. and Mrs. Bidwell, Miss Mahan and I sallied forth about nine o'clock, and did not conclude the meeting until 11:20, so you can guess that the people were interested, and asked a great many questions. These street meetings convince me more and more that we are going to win next November, for the sympathy of the crowd is so evidently in favor of suffrage. I believe that any one opposed to suffrage would have very little chance to receive consideration at the hands of these people who gathered on the street. We had Mrs. Belford's car for the meeting.

I am most enthusiastic about the arrangements for our float in the Fourth of July parade. There is a professional decorator in town preparing a number of floats for other organizations, and it seemed best to Mrs. Belford and the other women on the committee to engage him to do our work. His price is \$30.00, and as this seemed a reasonable figure the contract with him has been closed. I believe Mrs. Belford expects the Washoe County League and the Reno Society to divide the expense. There is a chance that we can get the first prize of \$75.00, which will allow a nice little margin above all expense that may be incurred. According to present plans and the assurances of the decorator, I do not see how we can fail to carry off the prize.

The tea at Mrs. O'Goode's last week was rather a fizzle, but we obtained several newspaper notices about it so that it was entirely worth while. Mrs. Doten expects to have a big crowd next Thursday, and the Rev. Harry Sheldon has already prepared a "hot" speech, so he assures me. He is going to "roast" the ~~Rev.~~, and particularly the piece of literature that they have sent over the state.

We have put aside one hundred of the Austin pamphlets as you directed, and Miss Morrow is mailing you a half dozen of the same pamphlets, according to your recent request.

obtained in full or in
the Bancroft Library,
Berkeley, California,
1930

very important in his opinion... to have any... I had a letter from... the situation...

I have talked to Mr. [Name]... and while it is... two days...

Miss [Name] has... and she is... the charge of...

I had a very... and things... for our...

We had a... Mrs. [Name]... did not... people were... great... day... of... and...

I am not... the court... a number of... part in... his... possible... believe... also... of... that... of the...

The job... obtained... worth... and the... answer... piece of...

We have... directed, and... according to...

Miss Anne Martin -3-

I don't think that I will have an opportunity to read the state papers before Wednesday, but as soon as I have read them I will send the notes to you.

I congratulate you upon obtaining some money for our work!

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

This material is for reference only,
to reproduce in full or in
part, obtained in writing from
The Bancroft Library,
University of California, Berkeley,
94720

MV-NKM

[from Mabel Vernon]

Miss Anne Martin - 3-

I don't think that I will have an opportunity to read the state papers before Wednesday, but as soon as I have read them I will send the notes to you.

I congratulate you upon obtaining some money for our work!

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

It is for the...
...
...
...

MW-NM

[Faint signature]

Equal Rights

The Purpose of the Convention

MABEL VERNON in a statement made just before leaving Washington to take charge of National Convention Headquarters in Colorado Springs said:

"The purpose of the convention is to gather the members of the Woman's Party together from all parts of the country to plan for the speedy passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and to elect the national officers who will direct that campaign."

"The Woman's Party launched the present Equal Rights campaign six years after the suffrage victory. During these six years it has carried on an exhaustive study of the discriminations against women in the law, the most complete survey of the disabilities of women ever made in the United States. The knowledge of these discriminations leads us to demand immediate action to remove them. We intend to make the Equal Rights Amendment an issue in the next Congress."

In these brief sentences Miss Vernon sums up not only the reason for calling the convention of the National Woman's Party, but the reason as well for the existence of the Feminist movement in America. It is very easy for people now to see why the first Women's Rights Convention was called in Seneca Falls in 1848. Women were disfranchised then, married women enjoyed no property rights, girls were denied educational opportunities, and women were not admitted to the professions. It was but natural that women should gather together to demand a redress of their grievances. But in 1848 people did not see it in that way. The convention was a pitifully small affair and the press and the public vied with one another to prove that women had all the rights they needed and more.

So it goes. This summer it may be anticipated that the press and the public will say. Why hold an Equal Rights Convention, women have all the rights they need and more? And there will be women, too many of them, who will publish their degradation once again by declaring that they have all the rights they want.

There is something of the tragic-comic in this repetition of history, but there is a similarity in the situation from which we may take comfort. The press and the public in 1848 did not know what they were talking about and the members of the Seneca Falls Convention did. So it will be in Colorado Springs this summer. The demand of the Woman's Party for Equal Rights is based

on the sure foundation of a practical knowledge of the statutes and their interpretation. There is no dodging the issue. It is just as much a misfortune in this day and generation in the year of our Lord 1928 to be born a girl as it was, comparatively speaking, in 1848. And the fault inheres not in nature, but in man-made laws and customs.

These, thank God, can be changed by the convention of 1928, just as they were changed by the convention of 1848. All that is required is the same spirit, the same faith, the same devotion, that inspired the members of that other immortal convention. You would like to have signed the Declaration of Independence, you would like to have been present at Seneca Falls. The same sort of opportunity awaits you. Come to the convention in Colorado Springs.

"The 'Six Points'"

SOME of the readers of EQUAL RIGHTS may have forgotten the "six points" for which the Affiliated Societies of the Six Point Group of England stand. The program adopted at the last conference of the group, which is headed by Lady Rhondda, a member of the International Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party, and one of the most forthright and unswerving Feminists in the world, follows:

1. Equal Political Rights; 2. Equal Occupational Rights; 3. Equal Pay and Opportunity for Men and Women Teachers; 4. Equal Pay and Opportunity for Men and Women in the Civil Service; 5. Child Assault;
6. The Unmarried Mother and Her Child.

The "equal political rights" plank includes the franchise on equal terms with men and the admission of peeresses in their own right to the House of Lords. "Equal occupational rights" includes equal pay and opposition to all legislative and other restrictions based on the sex of the worker and not on the nature of the work.

Dorothy Evans will represent the Six Point Group and the Women's Freedom League at the Woman's Party Convention.

Chapter 10

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land. It is the foundation of the government and the rights of the people. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states.

The Constitution was drafted in 1787 by the Framers of the Constitution. It was signed by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was then sent to the states for ratification. It was ratified by the states in 1788 and became the supreme law of the land in 1789.

The Constitution is a living document that has been amended many times. There are 27 amendments to the Constitution. The most famous is the Bill of Rights, which was added in 1791. It guarantees the rights of the people and limits the power of the government.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

The Constitution is the foundation of the American system of government. It is the document that defines the structure and powers of the federal government and the relationship between the federal government and the states. It is the document that has made the United States a great nation.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 12 RUE DU VIEUX COLLÈGE, GENEVA
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, U. S. SECTION, 532 - 17TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

256

NATIONAL PRESIDENT
MRS. HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL

CHAIRMAN ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCE
MRS. HAROLD L. ICKES

HONORARY INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
JANE ADDAMS

HONORARY INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY
EMILY GREENE BALCH

NATIONAL SECRETARY
DOROTHY DETZER

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR
MABEL VERNON

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION SECRETARY
MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED

This material is for reference only.

To reproduce in full or in part
obtained in writing from

The Bancroft Library,
California, Berkeley,
1920

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY
MAY 2ND, 1935

ANNE MARTIN GIFT WASHINGTON LIBRARY

May 10, 1935

Dear Anne,

I wish that I could talk with you about the world-wide campaign, which we are now considering. I enclose copy of the cable we sent to the International Executive in London which will give you in brief form my idea of the campaign we should conduct. Considerable enthusiasm has been expressed by members of the International Executive at its London meeting in March and by the national convention in Washington last week.

I need your advice about the plan of campaign! Is there any possibility of your coming East?

I enclose copy of the mandate which was drafted by Mrs. Lloyd and approved by the International Executive and the annual meeting. I do not think that this approval means that we cannot change the wording. I am especially anxious that the mandate should be made more concrete than it now is. Certainly something should be said about an international disarmament convention. Won't you please let me have your suggestions as quickly as possible on the wording of the mandate. It is most important that it be just as good as we can possibly make it if we are going to use it as the basis of a world campaign.

We should have at least \$100,000 to put over such a campaign and of course the greater part of it would have to be raised in this country. Do you think we can do it?

The celebration last week went over in fine shape. Miss Addams was splendid in every way, was evidently feeling quite vigorous, and seemed much pleased with everything.

I am going home for a couple of weeks, principally to be free from all details of the national office and to put my mind on the plan of our international campaign. I am not at all sure how much I want to undertake in connection with this campaign.

I was very glad to see Mrs. Schaefer of our Denver branch at the convention. I hope she brings back a good report of all our doings.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
1200 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

MEMBERSHIP LIST
NAME
ADDRESS
CITY
STATE
ZIP

1. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
2. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
3. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
4. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
5. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
6. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
7. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
8. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
9. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
10. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
11. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
12. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
13. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
14. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
15. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
16. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
17. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
18. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
19. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
20. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
21. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
22. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
23. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
24. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
25. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
26. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
27. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
28. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
29. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
30. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
31. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
32. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
33. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
34. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
35. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
36. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
37. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
38. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
39. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
40. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
41. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
42. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
43. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
44. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
45. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
46. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
47. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
48. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
49. Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover
50. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

is for reference only.
to reproduce in full or in
obtained in writing from
The Bancroft Library,
California, Berkeley,
94720

I hope that you have entirely recovered from your recent "slump". Do please let me hear from you soon. I am most anxious to know how things are with you now.

Sincerely, All my love
Mabel

For 2 days after the Anniversary
a "Committee on Office" held sessions
about "frictions" in the staff. Lucy Detzer
having put the matter before them
I suppose. It was terrible for me
having just come through a
rather tense month preparing for
the celebration - & having my
mind filled with the campaign
to come. I'll have to write more
about this later - still too stirred
by the situation to say much now.
Mary Moad has been fine -
She sends you her love.

I have been thinking of you very much lately
and wondering how you are getting on
I am sure you are all well and happy
as ever

My dear Mother
I received your letter of the 10th
and was glad to hear from you
I am well and hope these few lines
will find you all the same
I have not much news to write
at present
I am sure you will be glad to hear
from me again soon
I am your affectionate son
John Smith

(Copy of letter sent to eighteen board members past and present to whom I sent copies of my letter of resignation to Mrs. Hull under date of June 30, but who were prevented by Mrs. Hull from receiving them. A copy of my letter of resignation is also enclosed).

This material is for reference only.
 Permission to reproduce in full or in part may be obtained in writing from the Director, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720

2070 Colorado Boulevard
 Denver, Colorado
 July 16, 1936

The original copy of the enclosed letter was first addressed to you care of the Women's International League, 532 17th Street N.W., Washington, D. C., with a request to forward, as at that time I did not have your home address.

On Mrs. Hull's instructions your letter and seventeen others similarly addressed to other members of the board past and present, were not forwarded, nor have they been returned to me. I have therefore had the letter re-copied and am sending it directly to you, hoping this time it will reach you.

I am officially informed by the postoffice department that Mrs. Hull's action in holding up and in effect destroying my communication to you, as the letters have not been returned to me, constitutes an offense against postal regulations. More important, her action constitutes a violation of one of the fundamental principles of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, namely, the right of freedom of speech and of opinion, and the right of discussing and communicating that opinion. Mrs. Hull's action in attempting to suppress such freedom is on a par with the action of the government during the war in preventing delivery of mail from conscientious objectors and others opposed to the government's viewpoint. It is moreover the act of a petty politician, and unworthy of the president of the Women's International League. I hope you will protest against it.

Until pacifists live up to their principles, can they help world peace?

Very truly yours,

(Signed) ANNE MARTIN

(Former western regional director and former acting state chairman for Colorado)

Library of the University of California
at Los Angeles
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90024

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

Dear Member:

I regret the necessity of calling attention to two concrete mis-statements of fact in Mrs. Hull's letter of July 23 to board members of the Women's International League, concerning my letter of resignation of June 30 and my subsequent letter of July 16, copies of which I have sent you.

1. The national president, as a reason for intercepting eighteen of my letters to board members past and present, addressed care of the national office with request to forward, asserts that several names on these eighteen envelopes were "incorrect" - and therefore she directed that the letters be not forwarded. This is not a mentally-honest statement. The names were correct, if the Women's International League reports from which I gathered them were correct. I was not inaccurate. The only truth in Mrs. Hull's excuse is that a few of my addressees were not current members of the board. May I ask what right she has to censor my mailing list, to decide on my list of correspondents? Her assumption of this right is as grave a violation of the principle of freedom as is her interception of the eighteen letters, letters stating that my reason for resigning from the League was the weakness of its leadership no less than the incompetence and neglect of the executive secretary. Her offense in intercepting in the mails communication of fact and opinion is also an offense against postal regulations, I am officially informed.

2. Mrs. Hull states also: "Her (Miss Martin's) letters were not held up. They were sent on their way as soon as possible," I leave you to judge the truth of this assertion, in face of the fact of interception she herself admits in the same letter. How long can the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom continue to exist with a president who violates the principles of both "peace" and "freedom", not to mention truth and justice?

In this series of three letters I have tried to be honest and courageous for the good of the cause, on the basis of my own experience in an organization that has become permeated with self-seeking, hypocrisy and cowardice. These letters I have had multigraphed and sent at my own expense, as I knew I could not rely on Mrs. Hull to communicate them to board members. I remember her suppression of a series I wrote in 1933-34, urging the appointment of a competent executive secretary with the desire and ability to concentrate on building up the state branches - a series that more than one board member asked to have copied and sent to all board members - but Mrs. Hull refused to do it.

If reorganization of the national board and the national office should be effected partly through my effort, I shall be repaid. If reorganization is not speedily effected the Women's International League is doomed as a useful agency. Even now, instead of occupying its former position of independent leadership of the peace movement, it is little more than a tail to the very feeble and fluttering kite of the National Peace Conference, the Emergency Peace Council and the League against War and Fascism.

Is there still time to save it from the "leadership" which has brought it to this pass?

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Anne Martin

(Former acting state chairman of Colorado
and western regional director 1926-1931)

300 Colfax Building
New York, N.Y.
July 2, 1933

Dear Madam:

Dear Madam:

I regret the necessity of calling attention to two separate mis-statements of fact in Mrs. Hull's letter of July 23 to board members of the Women's International League, concerning my letter of the 23rd and my subsequent letter of July 26, copies of which I have sent you.

1. The national president, as a reason for introducing a resolution at my letter to board members past and present, advised that the national office was "correct" - and therefore she demanded that the letter be not forwarded. This is not a neutral statement. The words were correct, if the Women's International League reports from which I gathered, was very correct. I was not incorrect. The only truth in Mrs. Hull's letter is that a list of my statements were not current members of the board. May I not state that she was to correct my mailing list, to begin on my list of correspondents. Her recognition of this right is a grave violation of the principle of freedom as a free information of the eighteen letters, letters stating that my name for resigning from the League was the weakness of its leadership as long as the independence and responsibility of the executive secretary. Her offense in introducing in the letter a misstatement of fact and opinion is also an offense against postal regulations. I am officially informed.

2. Mrs. Hull states also: "Mrs. Hull's (Wife Hull's) letters were not held up. They were sent on their way as soon as possible." I leave you to judge the truth of this assertion, in face of the fact of introduction and board letters in the same letter. How long can the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom continue to exist with a president who violated the principle of "peace" and "freedom", not to mention truth and justice?

In this letter of three letters I have failed to be honest and courteous for the good of the cause, on the basis of my own experience in an organization that has become permeated with self-seeking, hypocrisy and cowardice. These letters I have had multiplied and sent at my own expense, as I know I could not rely on Mrs. Hull to communicate them to board members. I remember her suggestion of a series I wrote in 1932-34, urging the appointment of a competent executive secretary with the desire and ability to concentrate on building up the state branches - a series that more than one board member asked to have copied and sent to all board members - but Mrs. Hull refused to do so.

If reorganization of the national board and the national office should be effected partly through my effort, I shall be repaid. If reorganization is not speedily effected the Women's International League is doomed as a useful agency. Even now, instead of occupying the former position of independent leadership of the peace movement, it is little more than a tool in the very hands of the League against War and Fascism, the National Peace Conference, the Emergency Peace Council and the

Is there still time to save the "leadership" which has brought it to this pass?

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Anne Martin

Former acting state chairman of Colorado
and western regional director 1931-1932

WOMENS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

2070 Colorado Boulevard
Denver, Colorado

June 30, 1936

This material is for reference only.

to reproduce in full or in

be obtained in writing from

The Bancroft Library,

of California, Berkeley,

94720

Mrs. William I. Hull
Walnut Lane
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Hull:

This is to notify you that I have resigned as acting state chairman of the Colorado branch of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, and as a member of the League. I do so because I find it a waste of time and strength longer to be associated with an organization whose national board is so weak, so ignorant of what constitutes good work and so unappreciative of it.

On its record, the board has sacrificed its most disinterested, industrious and able workers, the authors of its most brilliant achievements, for those who are selfseeking and inefficient. As a consequence the board has no definite, clean-cut, concrete plan of education and political action. It is a disabled ship floundering without a rudder.

By its continued employment of Miss Detzer as executive secretary (in violation of a promise you made to me at the Milwaukee convention in 1934) it has undoubtedly taken a long step toward wrecking the League. On the record, her work is centered on herself and her personal reputation as a speaker. The Womens International League has been sacrificed to it. Why then not employ her merely as a speaker, as I have in the past urged by letter and in person to the national board? Her branch letters and reports alone reveal her unfitness for the position of executive secretary. They reveal little grasp and no interest in the problems of state, national and Congressional work. The board by its continued employment of Miss Detzer as executive secretary has caused the collapse of national headquarters as a competent agency to advance state and national work, and has to a large extent nullified the efforts of those who have tried to build up new branches. This was my experience as western regional director 1926-1931 when I organized what we have of western branches, notably California and Colorado, and committees in other western states. Its state branches are the life blood of the Womens International League; they can be developed and strengthened only by giving them from Washington an interesting and vital plan of work, to be carried out with mutual intelligence and zest.

This lack of plan and of leadership on the part of the national board and the executive secretary has discouraged organization-extension and growth. With my resignation there is now no state branch of the Womens International League in Colorado, and I ask that Colorado be struck off the list of organized states. The most effective workers of the former branch have joined the Colorado Committee of the Peoples Mandate to Governments to End War.

Only a similarly sound and inspiring plan of national and international work developed by the board and carried out by a competent executive secretary can prevent the further deterioration of the Womens International League as an influential force for world peace.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) ANNE MARTIN

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

RE: [Subject]

DATE: 10/10/54

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SA [Name]

SUBJECT: [Subject]

[Faint, mostly illegible typed text in the right column]

Women's International Leaguefor Peace and FreedomUnited States SectionOutline of Activities1921 - 1935**Campaign against
United States
Imperialism****Work for withdrawal of United States
marines from Nicaragua and from Haiti.****Work with League of Nations representa-
tives and with State Department to help
prevent further American financial
domination in Liberia. In appreciation
of this work the Order of African
Redemption was presented to the W I L
by the Liberian Government.****Work to secure fair play for Cuba from
United States -- Institute on Cuban-
American affairs Washington, 1922;
frequent visits to Havana by members of
W I L Committee on Cuban-American Rela-
tions to investigate conditions; since
1920 active campaign for abrogation of
Platt Amendment.****Work to secure removal of Naval Govern-
ment from Virgin Islands.****Congressional
Campaign****Work for entrance of United States into
World Court;
Against Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, 1931;
For bill forbidding extension of loans
and credits to nations engaged in
armed conflict;
For bill forbidding exportation of arms
to nations at war, 1932;
For Arms Embargo Bill, 1933;
For Costigan-Wagner Antilynching Bill;
Against Vinson Naval Building Bill, 1934;
For Griffin Bill, now O'Day Bill, provid-
ing that no person shall be denied
citizenship because of philosophical
or religious views on war.****(Work for Eye Resolution is included
under "Campaign for Senate Munitions
Investigation.")**

is for reference only.
reproduce in full or in
part in writing from
the Bancroft Library,
Berkeley, California.

Investigation of the ...

The ...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

-2-

Disarmament Campaign

Transcontinental Peace Caravan, 1931 -- four months' tour Los Angeles to Washington; meetings 150 cities; received by governors, mayors; obtained hundred thousand signatures to International Disarmament Petition, presented to President then taken to Geneva.

Worked for and secured appointment of woman to United States delegation to Geneva conference.

Farewell to United States delegation January, 1932 -- Mass meeting Belasco Theatre, Washington; mass meeting about five thousand, Madison Square Park, New York; Ceremony on S. S. President Harding, airplane demonstration; nation-wide broadcast.

Meetings throughout country day Disarmament Conference opened; Resolutions presented at White House.

"Disarmament Envoys" Tour 1933 -- Covered 100 cities in 25 states; brought Disarmament Petition with 125,000 signatures to White House, delegation presented by Senator Key Pittman, Chairman Foreign Relations Committee; Disarmament Dinner, Senator William E. Borah and Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard Observatory, speakers; nation-wide broadcast.

Fifth Anniversary of Kellogg-Briand Pact, August 27, 1933 -- Disarmament meetings throughout country; message from Secretary of State to Women's International League; nation-wide broadcast by Mr. J. Pierrepont Moffat, of State Department, and Count de Lousse, representing French Ambassador.

Mass meetings January, 1934, opposing Vinson Bill; delegations from W I L state branches to their Congressmen and Executive Offices.

Fifth Anniversary Ratification Kellogg-Briand Pact, January 15, 1934 -- speeches in U. S. Senate for Disarmament; nation-wide broadcast by Senator William H. King of Utah and Mr. J. Fred Essary.

19 for reference only,
to reproduce in full or in
part, please write to
The Bancroft Library,
California, Berkeley,
94720

Received of the Hon. Secy of the Interior
the sum of \$100.00 for the purpose of
the purchase of land for the
establishment of a school for the
benefit of the Indians of the
reservation at [unclear]

This receipt is given in full for the
sum of \$100.00 as above stated.

Witness my hand and the seal of the
Department of the Interior at
Washington, D.C. this 11th day of
November, 1911.

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

Accepted for deposit by the
Hon. Secy of the Interior
this 11th day of November, 1911.

Witness my hand and the seal of the
Department of the Interior at
Washington, D.C. this 11th day of
November, 1911.

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

Accepted for deposit by the
Hon. Secy of the Interior
this 11th day of November, 1911.

Witness my hand and the seal of the
Department of the Interior at
Washington, D.C. this 11th day of
November, 1911.

**Disarmament
Campaign,
Continued**

World Good Will Day, May 18, 1934 -- Mass meeting of students and young people for Complete World Disarmament, McPherson Square, Washington; delegation of 400 to White House, received by Mrs. Roosevelt; nation-wide broadcast.

**Political
Action**

National Elections, 1932

Work at national political conventions, Chicago -- supported planks on Disarmament, cancelation of war debts, reduction of tariffs, recognition of Russia; Hearings before Resolutions committees, Jane Addams, speaker.

Delegations to Presidential nominees of principal parties regarding Disarmament, war debts, tariff, Russia.

Congressional Elections, 1934

"Flying Squadron" tour of entire country September - November, 1934 -- organized delegations to Congressional candidates to express support of peace and disarmament measures; urged continuance of Munitions Investigation; secured extensive newspaper publicity in every state; formed Congressional Committees in every state to concentrate on Congressional action.

Supported candidacy of Mrs. Caroline O'Day, National Vice-President of Women's International League, for Congressman-at-Large in New York State -- Whirlwind campaign through state, open-air meetings in New York City during two weeks before election. (Mrs. O'Day made outlawry of war a prime issue in her campaign, demonstrated that a bold stand for peace wins popular support.)

**Educational
Work**

Regional Conferences -- Smith College, 1932; Vassar College, Swarthmore College, 1933; Rollins College, 1934.

Organization of Traveling Peace Libraries; distribution of literature; development of discussion groups.

...with the ...
...of the ...
...the ...

...
...
...

... ..

... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
...

... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..

-4-

**Work for
Minorities Groups**

National Conference Chicago, June, 1934 --
to consider problems of American minority
groups in their international setting and
to recommend international solutions;
resolutions adopted supporting inclusive
treaty safeguarding all minorities.
John Collier, Quincy Wright, J. William
Terry, speakers.

**Campaign for
Senate
Investigation
of Munitions
Industries**

**Resolution calling for investigation by
U. S. Senate adopted Annual Meeting
Washington, May, 1933.**

W I L assisted with drafting of Senate
Resolution providing for investigation,
secured consent of Senator Gerald P. Nye
of North Dakota to introduce Resolution
in Senate February 28, 1934.

Mass meetings Senator Nye chief speaker
Washington, New York, Pittsburgh, and
other cities; letters, resolutions, tele-
grams to President and members of Senate;
poll of Military Affairs Committee of
Senate which favorably reported Resolution;
cavass of Senate after Resolution was on
calendar.

When Resolution passed, careful work done
in selecting Senators to serve on the
Investigating Committee and in the appoint-
ment of the Chief Investigator.

**Flying Squadron Campaign throughout country
September - November, 1934 for continuation
of investigation.**

This material is for reference only.
Permission to reproduce in full or in
part may be obtained in writing from
The Bancroft Library,
University of California, Berkeley,
94720

1911
The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting held on the 15th day of January, 1911, at the residence of Mr. J. H. Smith, in the town of Smith, State of New York.

1911
The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting held on the 15th day of January, 1911, at the residence of Mr. J. H. Smith, in the town of Smith, State of New York.

Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith

1911
The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting held on the 15th day of January, 1911, at the residence of Mr. J. H. Smith, in the town of Smith, State of New York.

Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith

Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith

Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith

Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith
Mr. J. H. Smith

1911
The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting held on the 15th day of January, 1911, at the residence of Mr. J. H. Smith, in the town of Smith, State of New York.

PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO GOVERNMENTS TO END WAR (usually known as PEOPLE'S MANDATE)

1. Historical Introduction

This organization was formed under this name in 1935 (?) by members of the W.I.L., the group later disassociating itself from the W.I.L. formally.

An intensive campaign was carried on for signatures to the Mandate petition, its purpose "to express such overwhelming opposition to war that governments will not dare resort to it." Two million signatures were secured in the United States and fifty other countries, by local groups acting under the supervision of an international committee.

The Mandate petition was presented to officials of "principal governments of the world" including President Roosevelt, and to two Pan-American conferences.

During this period of activity, the Executive Committee of the People's Mandate Committee for the Western Hemisphere and the Far East consisted of:

Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
 Chairman, Dr. Mary E. Woolley
 Chairman (Executive Committee), Mrs. Hannah Clothier Hull
 Vice Chairmen: Miss Grace Abbott, Mrs. Ellen F. Pendleton, Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Miss Lillian D. Wald
 Secretary, Mrs. Raymond Clapper
 Treasurer, Mrs. Gerard Swope
 Asst. Treasurer, Mrs. Huston Thompson
 Campaign Director, Miss Mabel Vernon
 Also: Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, Mrs. Felix M. Warburg and Miss Louise Watson.

The group became active again about 1944. Its attention since then has been centered on relations with South America, although with the opening of the Korean conflict (1950) active anti-war pressure work has been resumed.

Heading the "People's Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation" were (in 1944):

Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
 Chairman, Dr. Mary E. Woolley
 Chairman for Latin America, Señora Ana del Pulgar de Burke
 Director, Miss Mabel Vernon
 Vice Chairmen: Miss Katherine Devereux Blake, Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Mrs. Burton W. Musser, Mrs. Gerard Swope
 Secretary: Mrs. Raymond Clapper
 Secretary for Latin America: Señorita Consuelo Reyes Calderon
 Treasurer: Miss Gertrude L. Crocker

As of 1950, the chairman of the "People's Mandate Committee" was Miss Mabel Vernon, who has been a major figure in the group since its formation.

Further material can be found in W.I.L., U.S. Section: Mabel Vernon Collection

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IS ORGANIZED TO BRING ABOUT THE REFORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

The People's Party is a political party in the United States. It was founded in 1892 and has since then been a major force in American politics. The party's platform is based on the principles of populism, which emphasizes the interests of the common people over those of the wealthy and powerful.

The party's platform includes a wide range of issues, including the right to free trade, the right to free speech, the right to free press, the right to free education, the right to free health care, the right to free housing, the right to free food, the right to free clothing, the right to free transportation, the right to free communication, the right to free energy, the right to free water, the right to free air, the right to free land, the right to free minerals, the right to free forests, the right to free parks, the right to free recreation, the right to free culture, the right to free science, the right to free technology, the right to free information, the right to free knowledge, the right to free wisdom, the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free choice, the right to free consent, the right to free agreement, the right to free cooperation, the right to free association, the right to free union, the right to free organization, the right to free representation, the right to free participation, the right to free decision, the right to free action, the right to free responsibility, the right to free accountability, the right to free transparency, the right to free openness, the right to free honesty, the right to free integrity, the right to free sincerity, the right to free genuineness, the right to free authenticity, the right to free originality, the right to free creativity, the right to free innovation, the right to free progress, the right to free development, the right to free growth, the right to free expansion, the right to free advancement, the right to free improvement, the right to free enhancement, the right to free enrichment, the right to free elevation, the right to free exaltation, the right to free glorification, the right to free glorification, the right to free glorification.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

The party's platform also includes the right to free justice, the right to free peace, the right to free harmony, the right to free unity, the right to free love, the right to free life, the right to free death, the right to free eternity.

PEOPLE'S MANDATE (Cont'd.)

2. Distribution of material in Swarthmore College Peace Collection

Box 1 - Committee lists, policies, history, 1935-1947

- Correspondence (general), 1935-1948
- Correspondence with W.I.L. (Hannah Clothier Hull, Mabel Vernon, Emily G. Balch, etc.), 1935-1937
- Reports (of campaign progress, plans), 1935-1937
- Correspondence, reports, relating to campaign work with labor groups, 1932-1936
- Releases, form letters, 1936-1936
- Releases to labor groups, 1935-1936
- Releases (general), 1945-1950
- Press and radio publicity, 1935-1950
- Literature, 1935-1947
- Current material

Inventory of the

Inventory of the

1 - Complete set of...

2 - ...

3 - ...

4 - ...

5 - ...

6 - ...

7 - ...

8 - ...

9 - ...

10 - ...

11 - ...

PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO GOVERNMENTS TO END WAR (usually known as PEOPLE'S MANDATE)

(Acc. No. 67-43 May 18, 1967)

Form Material 1938-46

Press Clippings 1935

Clippings from Latin American Papers 1935-50

"Flying Caravan" (Air tour of Latin America Urging Ratification of
Buenos Aires Peace Treaties) Oct. & Nov. 1937

Good Will Tour of United States by Distinguished Latin American
Women Oct. & Nov. 1939

Press Clippings 1935-49

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY

1000 S. EAST ASIAN BLDG.

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

TEL: 773-936-5000

WWW.CHICAGO.LIBRARY.EDU

LIBRARY SERVICES: 773-936-5000

LIBRARY HOURS: 10:00 AM - 5:00 PM

LIBRARY CONTACT: 773-936-5000

Peoples Mandate Committee
at the
Paris Peace Conference

World Statesmen Support
Declaration of Principles

1919

Peoples Mandate Committee

at the

Paris Peace Conference

World Statesmen Support

Declaration of Principles

"Democracy has made it possible for men and women to control events. It will be owing only to their lethargy if they permit themselves now to be controlled by events. They possess the power to shape to their own welfare and to that of generations to come the cataclysmic revolution through which humanity is passing."

SUMNER WELLES
In "Where Are We Heading"

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
5708 SOUTH CAMPUS DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

1978

H OPE for a better world was inspired during the war by the pledges of the Allied Nations to support fundamental principles in making the peace. In the European peace treaties now being negotiated by the Great Powers, provisions appear which have no relation to peace principles. They are the evident results of ambition, suspicion and fear. Such provisions, if finally accepted, will inevitably produce conflict. It is supremely important that the countless men and women who demand a just and lasting peace call upon their leaders now to adhere strictly to the principles they are pledged to support. For this purpose the Peoples Mandate Committee sent representatives to the Paris Peace Conference. Whenever and wherever statesmen meet to deal with the peace settlements, the Committee will present the demand for adherence to the basic principles of peace. It is hoped that men and women throughout the world will press this same demand.

MABEL VERNON
Director

1871
The first of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also
very cold and
the snow was
very deep. The
spring was also
very dry and
the crops were
very poor. The
summer was also
very dry and
the crops were
very poor. The
autumn was also
very dry and
the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also
very cold and
the snow was
very deep. The
spring was also
very dry and
the crops were
very poor. The
summer was also
very dry and
the crops were
very poor. The
autumn was also
very dry and
the crops were
very poor.

Declaration of Principles

Adopted by Peoples Mandate Conference
on Peace Settlements
Washington, March 22, 1946

WE call upon men and women throughout the world whose lives are at stake to demand of the Great Powers dictating the peace treaties that they be based on justice.

The way to end war must be found now.

The treaties ending the World War must lay down terms that will make possible the maintenance of peace. Peoples always have, and always will, combat intolerable conditions. Neither armaments nor machinery can be created strong enough to maintain an unjust peace.

We pledge ourselves to seek the support of the peoples and governments of the Americas for the following principles which are indispensable if a peaceful world is to be established:

The interests of the people affected, not the rivalry of governments for power, must be the first consideration in all treaties and agreements made.

The treaties must promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations.

Government must provide that all people shall
be free to choose their form of government
and enjoy the benefits of a national life of
unity and progress.

The process of development through the
formation of a national government through the
free and just participation of all people
is the foundation of peace and economic
progress. The national energy should be
used for the benefit of humanity.

The nations must open the way for trade
and investment which each country can fully
develop and bring the world to unity and
peace through the benefit of living of the people.

The people must be fully informed in order
to participate in the development of their
nation.

The nations of the Americas together shall
be free to live in the fullness of the American
dream and the United States and Latin America
shall be free to live in the fullness of their
principles. This foundation of progress is open to the
development of every nation and to the signature of
peace and unity throughout the Americas.

Agreements must provide that all people shall be free to choose their own form of government and enjoy the guarantee of a universal bill of human rights.

The treaties must provide for free flow of information between nations through the radio, the press and books. They must prohibit restrictions upon the dissemination of news and of scientific knowledge including atomic energy research to be used for the benefit of humanity.

The treaties must open the way for trade arrangements whereby each country can fully develop its resources, thus gaining the means to sustain itself and raise the standard of living of its people.

The people must be fully informed of all treaties and agreements made before any final decision is taken.

We, women of the American republics, dedicate ourselves to bringing all the moral force of the Americas to bear upon the Great Powers and upon all Peace Conferences in support of treaties based upon these principles.

This Declaration of Principles is open to the endorsement of organizations and to the signatures of men and women throughout the Americas.

At present we provide that all people shall
be free in those parts where they are
and also the Government at a certain date
Business Office

The present law provides for the free use of
the land in those parts where they are
and also the Government at a certain date
Business Office

The present law provides for the free use of
the land in those parts where they are
and also the Government at a certain date
Business Office

The present law provides for the free use of
the land in those parts where they are
and also the Government at a certain date
Business Office

The present law provides for the free use of
the land in those parts where they are
and also the Government at a certain date
Business Office

At the Paris Peace Conference

July 29-October 15, 1946

The Declaration of Principles, adopted by the Peoples Mandate Conference in Washington in March 1946, was the result of four years' interchange of opinion among American women regarding the peace settlements to be made at the end of the war.

The Declaration was discussed in the press and on the radio, was endorsed by organizations throughout the western hemisphere and was approved by heads of governments of many of the republics.

In August representatives of the Mandate Committee, Mrs. Ana del Pulgar Burke, Chairman for Latin America, Mrs. Claude Pepper and Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, carried the Declaration to the Peace Conference in Paris.

While the Conference, according to the decision of the Big Four, could only make recommendations regarding the treaties with Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, it brought together the leading statesmen of 21 nations to discuss the terms of peace.

The Mandate representatives presented the Declaration to the chiefs of 19 of the 21 national delegations and in personal interviews requested these leaders to work for adherence to basic principles in the peace treaties.

When the Declaration was discussed with the Foreign Ministers of the Three Great Powers,—Secretary of State Byrnes of the United States, Foreign Minister Molotov of the Soviet Union and Foreign Secretary Bevin of Great Britain—each of these leaders expressed his appreciation of the contribution which the Mandate Committee had made in presenting the Declaration.

THE FIRST L'ARRE CONFERENCE

July 12-13, 1944

The first L'Arre Conference was held at the University of Chicago on July 12-13, 1944. It was organized by the American Mathematical Society and the National Science Foundation. The conference was held in the basement of the Mathematics Building. The participants included several leading mathematicians of the time, including L. Arre, J. von Neumann, and others. The conference was devoted to the study of the theory of groups and rings. The main topics discussed were the structure of groups and rings, and the relationship between them. The conference was a success, and it led to the publication of several papers on these topics.

The following is a list of the papers presented at the conference:

- 1. L. Arre, On the structure of groups and rings.
- 2. J. von Neumann, On the structure of groups and rings.
- 3. ...
- 4. ...
- 5. ...
- 6. ...
- 7. ...
- 8. ...
- 9. ...
- 10. ...

The outstanding chief of one delegation pronounced the Declaration "the best document" he had seen at the Conference and another leader stated that the work of the Committee at Paris had "repaired the omission" of women representatives on the national delegations to the Peace Conference.

Many heads of delegations in addition to discussing the principles in personal interviews gave the Mandate representatives written statements of their support and their appreciation of the work being done by the Committee to secure just and workable peace treaties.

The Declaration of Principles was presented to Secretary General Fouques Duparc, who made it an official document of the Conference [doc. C. P. (sec.) N. S. 117, annex 6]. It was thus brought to the attention of all members of delegations.

Important groups of French women acting through their Comite de Liaison cooperated in the work for the Principles and united in a supporting statement when the Declaration was presented to the Secretary General of the Conference.

Mme. Bidault, wife of the President of France, received the Mandate delegation at the Quai d'Orsay and joined with other influential women in forming a Paris committee of the Peoples Mandate. Work has now been resumed with European women for the first time since the war began.

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

World Statesmen Support Declaration of Principles

Statements from the heads of delegations in the Paris Conference show clearly their recognition of the importance of public opinion. They indicate the value of constant demand by the people for adherence to basic principles in all negotiations for peace.

The Declaration of Principles of the Peoples Mandate Committee is a valuable and constructive contribution to the problems of the peace settlements. Your emphasis on justice is sound—the mere absence of war is not sufficient. Justice should always be the aim. The body of your proposal contains an excellent declaration of principles essential to a just peace. I am especially impressed with your emphasis on human values. People some times speak of nations as though they existed apart from the human families making them up. Your emphasis, too, on individual human rights and fundamental freedoms is most important. Allow me to congratulate your Committee upon the important and practical contribution you have made.

HERBERT VERE EVATT
Foreign Minister of Australia

The survival of civilization depends on our taking positive steps to establish peace on sure foundations. In democratic countries this depends on an informed and realistic public opinion. The Declaration of Principles is a good general statement of the objects of peace and the methods by which peace may be obtained.

BROOKS CLAXTON
Acting Chief of Canadian Delegation

World Space
Debate

The world space debate is a complex one, involving many different perspectives and interests. It is a debate that has become increasingly important in recent years, as the potential for space exploration and utilization has grown significantly.

One of the main arguments in favor of space exploration is the potential for scientific discovery. Space is a vast and unexplored frontier, and it offers unique opportunities for research and discovery that are not possible on Earth.

Another argument in favor of space exploration is the potential for economic growth. Space exploration can create new jobs and industries, and it can help to stimulate economic development in many different parts of the world.

Finally, space exploration can help to improve our understanding of the universe and our place in it. By exploring space, we can learn more about the origins of life, the nature of the universe, and the potential for other forms of life.

However, there are also many arguments against space exploration. One of the main arguments is the cost. Space exploration is extremely expensive, and it can divert resources away from other important areas of research and development.

Another argument against space exploration is the risk. Space exploration is a dangerous activity, and it can pose significant risks to the health and safety of the people involved. There is also the risk of environmental damage to the planet and to other celestial bodies.

Finally, there are arguments about the ethical implications of space exploration. Some people believe that space exploration is a form of imperialism, and that it is wrong to exploit other parts of the universe for our own benefit.

Despite these arguments, space exploration remains a highly controversial and debated topic. It is a topic that will continue to be important for many years to come, as we continue to explore the possibilities of space.

These principles embody everything that the overwhelming majority of the world's population needs, requires and craves for. Consideration of the different social and cultural structures among individual members of the United Nations should not prevent us from uniting our efforts each in our own way to make these ideals into a reality.

JAN MASARYK

Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia

I see in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Peoples Mandate Committee not only high and noble ideals but also the essence of practical policies which governments should and can undertake to write into international agreements. The world today is ready for and in urgent need of such undertakings. I endorse the declaration with the belief that it will find the support and sympathetic understanding of all the peoples of Asia. I note especially the statement that "the interests of the people affected, not the rivalry of governments for power, must be the first consideration in all treaties and agreements made." It is my sincere hope that in dealing with territorial and colonial problems this Conference and subsequent peace conferences dealing with Germany and Japan will be guided by such a principle. Peace is durable only if it is just to the small as well as the big powers, to the defeated as well as the victors.

WANG SHIH-CHIEH

Minister for Foreign Affairs of China

It is unnecessary for me to say how deeply I sympathize with these principles and with the views which you so ably expounded to me. Although the Paris Conference has not women representatives of the various countries your presence has repaired that omission.

JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS

Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

The great question which appears to me to be presented today is to know if everyone has the same conception of justice and the rights of man, to know if we all think the same thing when we use these fine words and when we appeal to these noble sentiments. I believe that one of the difficulties with which we are confronted is the equivocal language that we use. Is not the real problem today to make the peace live in two worlds which have not the same conception of justice, the rights of man and the dignity of individuals.

PAUL HENRI SPAAK
Foreign Minister of Belgium

The principles set forth in the Declaration are sound and constitute an object worthy to be pursued by individuals and nations. Where they come into conflict with strong national ambitions, the unfortunate experience of mankind teaches that these principles yield again and again to the force of lower strivings. Only when nations will have learned to govern their conduct more generally by the understanding that in the long run the immediate and selfish aim does not truly represent their best interest, the lofty purposes your Committee proclaims will find the road clear for their materialization.

A. W. L. TJARDA VAN STARKENBORGH
Chief of the Delegation of The Netherlands

The Declaration of Principles includes all the ideals on which are based the hopes of the whole world for a just and lasting peace. It deserves the support of all peace-loving peoples and their governments. As Chairman of the Greek Delegation to the Peace Conference, I assure you that my country will spare no effort in order that the principles which your Committee sponsors should be embodied in the treaties now under discussion.

CONSTANTINE TSALDARIS
Prime Minister of Greece

The first thing I did was to
get out of bed and go to the
bathroom. I was very tired
and my head was hurting. I
took a shower and then
went to work. I was
lucky that day because
I didn't have any
problems.

THE END

I was very happy to see
you and to hear from
you. I hope you are
well and happy. I
will be thinking of
you all the time.
I love you and miss
you very much.
I hope to see you
soon.

I hope you are
well and happy.
I will be thinking
of you all the time.
I love you and miss
you very much.
I hope to see you
soon.

THE END

No thought produced by human genius has a chance of dominating the world if it does not gain the approval of woman. *The initiative of the women of the Americas brings reassuring promise to all peoples who aspire to peace and security.*

W. RZYMOWSKI
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland

I am in full agreement with the ideas and ideals expressed in the Declaration of Principles of the Peoples Mandate Committee, but I have no illusions as to the practical possibility of seeing them fully embodied in the treaties under discussion by the present Paris Conference. We must hope that through cooperation over a wide range of practical international problems, we shall succeed in developing the habits and the technique of international cooperation and in those fields not directly concerned with the problems of power politics small nations have an essential part to play. If we have sufficient patience and faith *we shall in the years to come succeed in creating an international atmosphere, in which it will be possible to translate into practical policies the principles for which your organization stands.*

HALVARD M. LANGE
Chief of Norwegian Delegation

The Declaration of Principles was welcome not only because of the spirit of the principles themselves, which we must all hope will find expression in the final peace treaties, but also because it afforded further evidence of the valuable work being done by your organization in informing public opinion and in expressing the views of the large number of people in the western hemisphere whom it represents. *I assure you that the sentiments expressed in your Declaration will receive my fullest support.*

H. R. D. MASON
Acting Chief of the Delegation of New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
5800 S. UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

RECEIVED

NOV 15 1964

BY

LIBRARY

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

NOV 15 1964

Peoples Mandate Committee

Works to Create and Express Public Opinion Demanding Way Be Found to Abolish War

Women of the 21 American republics have worked together for more than a decade in the Peoples Mandate Committee.

The work is carried on through committees in all the republics. Intercontinental broadcasts, newspaper publicity, pamphlet material, correspondence are constantly used and extensive projects conducted throughout the Americas to forward the purposes of the Committee.

The Committee was formed in 1935 to secure support in the Americas for the "People Mandate to End War".

This petition called on governments, having renounced war in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, to use existing machinery for peaceful settlements of conflicts, to work for a world disarmament treaty and for international agreements founded on recognition of world interdependence to end the economic anarchy which breeds war. The Mandate was circulated in 50 countries and signed by millions of men and women in all parts of the world.

After the war began in Europe, the only group which could go on with work for the Mandate was the committee in the Americas.

During the war this committee continued its efforts to strengthen the inter-American peace system. Maintaining that the influence of New World policy could be of decisive value in the peace settlements, the Committee advocated consultation among the American republics on peace issues and worked to secure united American action for a just and durable peace. It constantly urged that plans be made in advance by the Allied nations to prevent suffering and chaos when the war ended.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Secretary. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Treasurer. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Chairman. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Vice-Chairman. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Secretary. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Treasurer. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Chairman. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of Vice-Chairman. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are given in full, including the street name, number, and city.

Since the end of the war, the Committee has urged that the peace treaties must be based on justice and must lay down terms that will make possible the maintenance of peace.

Principal Activities

Over two million signatures were secured in the American republics to the "Peoples Mandate to End War" and presented to Pan American Conferences in Buenos Aires and Lima. Mandate delegations flew to the Conferences with the petition, were given official recognition and the unprecedented opportunity to address the Conferences.

To urge ratification of the Buenos Aires Treaties, Mandate representatives traveled by air to 18 republics, interviewed the President and Foreign Minister, conferred with leaders of women's organizations and addressed popular mass meetings in every country. When ratification by a number of republics followed, the help given by the Committee was officially recognized.

To advance inter-American understanding, the Mandate Committee invited a group of Latin American women to make a Good Will Tour of the United States. Conducted by Mandate representatives, they traveled from coast to coast, spoke before student assemblies and popular meetings in forty cities, were entertained in homes and formed lasting friendships with American women.

To help direct Pan American influence upon world organization, the Mandate Committee sent a delegation to the Chapultepec Conference on Problems of War and Peace. Resolutions from organizations throughout the hemisphere were presented urging that the Conference call upon the United Nations meeting in San Francisco to emphasize in the proposed charter obligatory peaceful settlement of disputes and to include in the charter an

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1954

1954

1954

1954

1954

absolute pledge for universal progressive reduction of armaments.

To strengthen organization for peace, sixteen Mandate representatives from North, Central and South America worked in the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. The Committee urged regional arrangements permitting free development of the Pan American system, obligatory peaceful settlement and universal progressive disarmament, and worked to modify the veto recommending that unanimous consent of the Great Powers be required for amendment of the Charter for ten years and after that period amendment should be possible by a two-thirds vote.

To help obtain just and workable peace treaties, the Mandate Committee held the Inter-American Conference on Peace Settlements in Washington, secured endorsement of the "Declaration of Principles" throughout the Americas and sent its representatives to Paris to work for these principles at the Peace Conference.

The work of the Peoples Mandate Committee depends entirely on the help of individuals. Those who desire to help create and express public opinion demanding abolition of war are asked to make use of the opportunities offered by the Committee to forward this purpose.

1870

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

PEOPLES MANDATE COMMITTEE
FOR INTER-AMERICAN PEACE AND COOPERATION

Hay-Adams House
Washington, D. C.

Honorary Chairman

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Chairman

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY

Chairman for Latin America

SENORA ANA DEL PULGAR DE BURKE

Director

MISS MABEL VERNON

Vice Chairmen

MISS KATHERINE DEVEREUX BLAKE

MRS. BURTON W. MUSSER

MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

MRS. GERARD SWOPE

Secretary for Latin America

SENORITA CONSUELO REYES CALDERON.

Treasurer

MISS GERTRUDE L. CROCKER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 311

PROBLEM SET 1

Due: 10/10/11

1. (10 points)

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

(i)

(j)

(k)

(l)

COMMITTEE FOR WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND FAR EASTPEOPLES MANDATE TO GOVERNMENTS TO END WARNational Headquarters

Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.

New York Headquarters

Room 238, Biltmore Hotel
New York City

Organizations Securing Signatures to the Peoples Mandate to Governments to End War:

American Association of University Women
American Friends Service Committee
American Homemakers' Association
American League against War and Fascism
American Unitarian Association
Catholic Association for International Peace
Church Peace Union
Committee on Militarism in Education
Council of Women for Home Missions
Executive Committee on the Cause and Cure of War
Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
Foreign Missions Conference of North America
General Missions Board of the Church of the Brethren
Inter-American Commission of Women
International Federation of Business and Professional
Women's Clubs
National Association of College Women
National Association of Colored Women
National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth
Control
National Council of Jewish Juniors
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council for Prevention of War
National Federation of Settlements
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Motion Picture League
National Student Federation
National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union
Osteopathic Women's National Association
Socialist Party of the United States
Supreme Forest Woodmen Circle
Women's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church
Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's Missionary Council of the M. E. Church South
World Alliance for International Friendship through
the Churches
World Women's Christian Temperance Union
National Women's Christian Temperance Union
National Council of Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association

is for reference only.
reproduce in full or in
obtained in writing from
the Democrat Library,
California, Berkeley
1950

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1881

Printed by
H. K. BULLOCK & CO.,
Printers, 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.

By Order of the Board of Commissioners,
GEO. H. BULLOCK, Secretary.

THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE, LONDON.

Printed and Published by H. K. BULLOCK & CO., 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.

By Order of the Board of Commissioners,
GEO. H. BULLOCK, Secretary.

STATE OF TEXAS
COUNTY OF [illegible]

Subscribed and sworn to before me this [illegible] day of [illegible] 19[illegible]

[illegible text]

Notary Public

[illegible text]

Suffragists Still Going Strong

We are finally beginning to see beyond the feminine stereotype that has blinded us for so long, and to discover and celebrate the beautiful diversity of women.

THE FAMILY OF WOMAN™

These photographs are the first in a series of visual essays that will explore all the ages, races, experiences, and expressions that are *The Family of Woman*.

ALICE PAUL

When asked why she became so interested in women's rights, 87-year-old Alice Paul replies, "The question which seems more natural to me is why any woman is *not* interested." As a young girl she attended suffrage meetings with her Quaker family in Moorestown, New Jersey, and gained a conviction that women's equality "was something that hadn't been tended to in the world. I just thought it was something that had to be done. I didn't really know there would be any opposition." Her ideas on equality of the sexes were reinforced at Swarthmore, a Quaker college, from which she graduated in 1905. Continuing her studies abroad, she met the leading women in the British movement. Her suffrage activities caused her to be arrested in England and Scotland. On one occasion, she obtained a release only by going on a hunger strike.

Returning to the United States in 1910 with a reputation as a forceful speaker and jailbird preceding her, Alice Paul was asked to go to Washington, D.C., for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in order to head the congressional committee, which was lobbying for women's suffrage.

This small group, desperately in need of publicity, soon organized one of history's most dramatic demonstrations. When Woodrow Wilson arrived in Washington for his 1913 inauguration, he was expecting his loyal followers to greet him at Union Station. But, as Alice Paul recalls, "They were all over on Pennsyl-

vania Avenue watching the suffragists march." In fact, the suffragists overshadowed the Wilson Inaugural. When crowds could not be contained by the local police, the Secretary of War called in the troops. The suffragists had finally captured the attention of the nation.

Despite aroused national interest, many women active in the suffragist movement were trying to gain suffrage for women on a state-by-state basis. Alice Paul thought that only through working concertedly for a federal amendment could universal suffrage for women in the United States become reality. From the original congressional committee she organized a new group in 1913: the Congressional Union for Woman's Suffrage. Dedicated to a *federal* amendment, the union later became the National Woman's Party.

At one point in her crusade, Alice Paul was jailed for obstructing traffic. First placed in solitary confinement, then allowed to mingle with other imprisoned suffragists, she once again went on a hunger strike along with other women. After a visit from a psychiatrist who was sent to question Ms. Paul, she was committed to a psychopathic ward. It took the counsel for the National Woman's Party a week to obtain her release, and her sentence was then suspended.

When ratification of the suffrage amendment finally came in 1920, Alice Paul turned her energies to achieving complete equality for women. At the 1923 celebration of the 75th anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention (Seneca Falls), she proposed the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1938 she founded the World Women's Party for Equal Rights, which

Office of the Secretary of the Interior

General Land Office

Washington, D.C.

1872

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
[Signature]

Approved:
[Signature]

Secretary of the Interior



Alice Paul



later sent delegates to the convention drafting the United Nations Charter. They successfully pressured for an equal rights pledge in the charter.

Alice Paul, now living in Connecticut, still continues her 50-year struggle to win passage of the ERA. Already optimistically looking ahead, Alice Paul urges: "If women work together, we can try to be an effective group to make the principle of equal rights worldwide. If we can do this we will change history."

BURNITA SHELTON MATTHEWS

Burnita Shelton Matthews was among those who picketed the White House to urge President Wilson's support of woman's suffrage, but she was to make her greatest contribution to the woman's cause later, after the right to vote had already been won.

As a lawyer who became the first woman judge appointed to a U.S. District Court, she worked tirelessly for women's equal status before the law. As Chief of the Legal Research Department of the National Woman's Party, she also studied discriminatory state laws and drafted corrective legislation for submission to state legislatures by Woman's Party members. Above all, she drafted—together with Alice Paul—the initial Equal Rights Amendment. At the 75th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Conference in 1923, she saw this amendment officially endorsed by the National Woman's Party.

(continued on next page)



Burnita Shelton Matthews



The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year. It is followed by a detailed account of the various projects and the results achieved. The report concludes with a summary of the work done and the plans for the future.

The second part of the report deals with the financial aspects of the work. It gives a detailed account of the income and expenditure for the year and shows how the work has been financed. It also discusses the various sources of income and the methods of expenditure.

The third part of the report deals with the personnel of the organization. It gives a detailed account of the staff and their work during the year. It also discusses the various methods of recruitment and the methods of training and development of the staff.

The fourth part of the report deals with the various projects and the results achieved. It gives a detailed account of the progress of each project and the results achieved. It also discusses the various methods of implementation and the methods of evaluation of the results.

The fifth part of the report deals with the various methods of implementation and the methods of evaluation of the results. It gives a detailed account of the progress of each project and the results achieved. It also discusses the various methods of implementation and the methods of evaluation of the results.

The sixth part of the report deals with the various methods of implementation and the methods of evaluation of the results. It gives a detailed account of the progress of each project and the results achieved. It also discusses the various methods of implementation and the methods of evaluation of the results.





Alma Lutz

During the years between 1921 and 1949, Burnita Matthews campaigned vigorously for the Equal Rights Amendment—making speeches, writing articles, and serving as principal spokesperson for the ERA before congressional committees.

After Harry Truman appointed her to a federal judgeship in 1949, she adhered to legal ethics and stopped campaigning for changes in statutes that might ultimately come before her on the bench. This did not mean, however, that she had abandoned the fight for woman's equality. Judge Matthews made a point of choosing women to serve as her law clerks, an opportunity largely denied them by male judges. And wherever she sat as a judge, the rights of women were never taken lightly.

A native of Mississippi, Burnita Matthews's political philosophy was homegrown. "Many people don't know that Mississippi was the first state," she says proudly, "to pass a law allowing married women to own property in their own right."

At 78, she is hopeful that the Equal Rights Amendment which she helped draft a half century ago, will finally become reality.

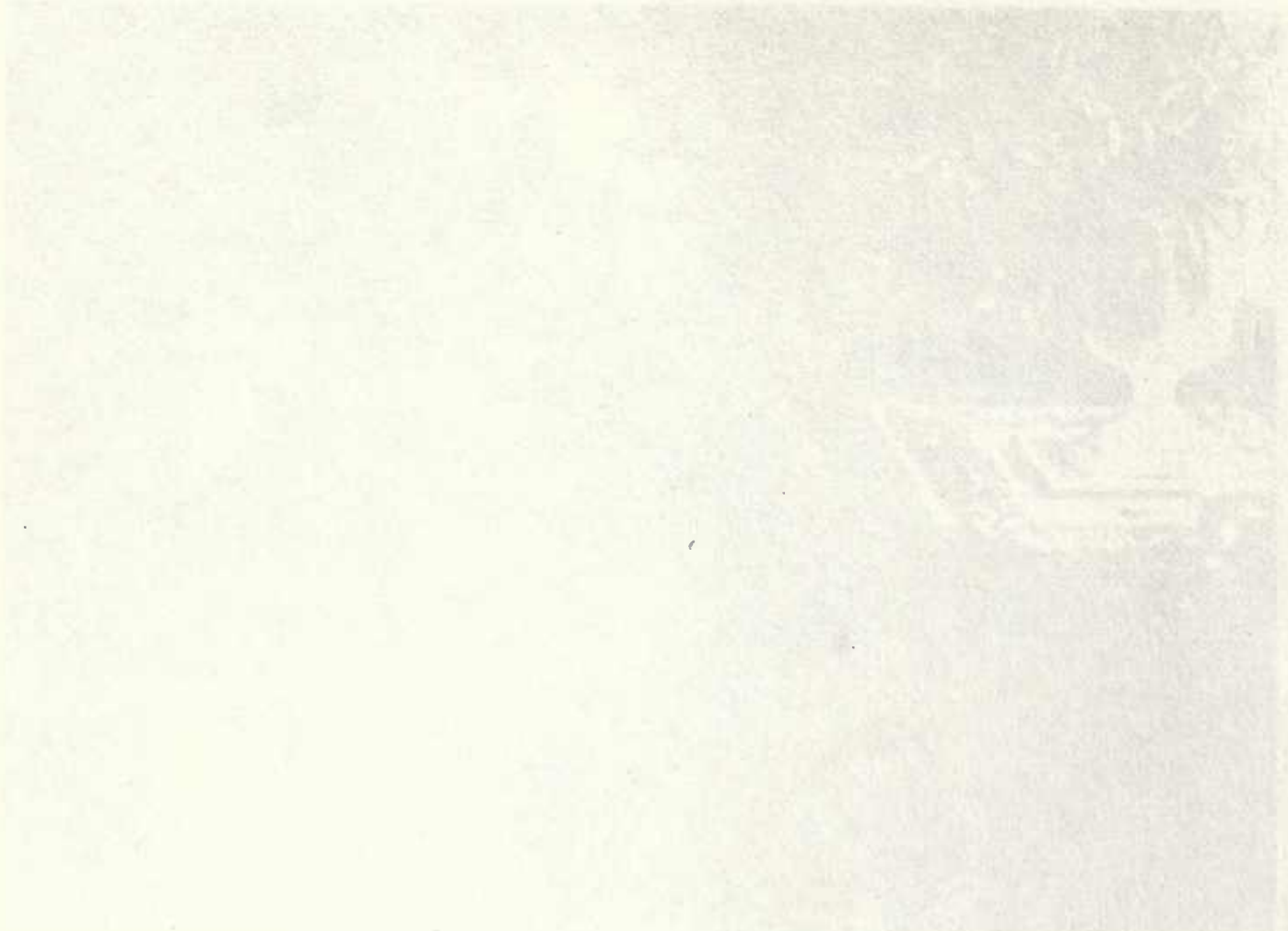
MABEL VERNON

Propped against a pillow in her Washington apartment, 89-year-old Mabel Vernon tells enthusiastically

of her days in the Woman's Suffrage Movement. Soon after Alice Paul started to organize American women for the passage of the suffrage amendment, Mabel Vernon was signed on to travel across the country to organize, make speeches, raise funds, and get signatures on petitions to present to Congress.

As one of the demonstrators at the White House to urge President Wilson to support woman's suffrage, she was among the first suffragists arrested in the United States. She spent three days in the District of Columbia jail, but remembers being well treated, "because we were the first group to be arrested." (Others went on hunger strikes in protest, and then were harshly treated, subjected to cruel forced-feedings.) "Although suffrage was quite generally accepted by educated and thoughtful women," she remembers now, "my own family didn't understand it when I was arrested. My mother came to Washington right away to see if there was anything she could do for me in jail."

The arrest added fuel to Mabel Vernon's speeches. Though her audiences were supportive, there was an occasional frightening incident. During a street-corner speech in Reno, Nevada, for instance, a woman tried to incite the crowd. "I think," she recalls, "the woman was demented." The police chief, fearing danger, urged her to stop the speech. Shaken but undaunted, she continued talking until she had calmed the crowd and the people dispersed peacefully. *(continued)*



The following information is for your information only. It is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice. The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice.

The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice. The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice.

The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice. The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice.

The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice. The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice.

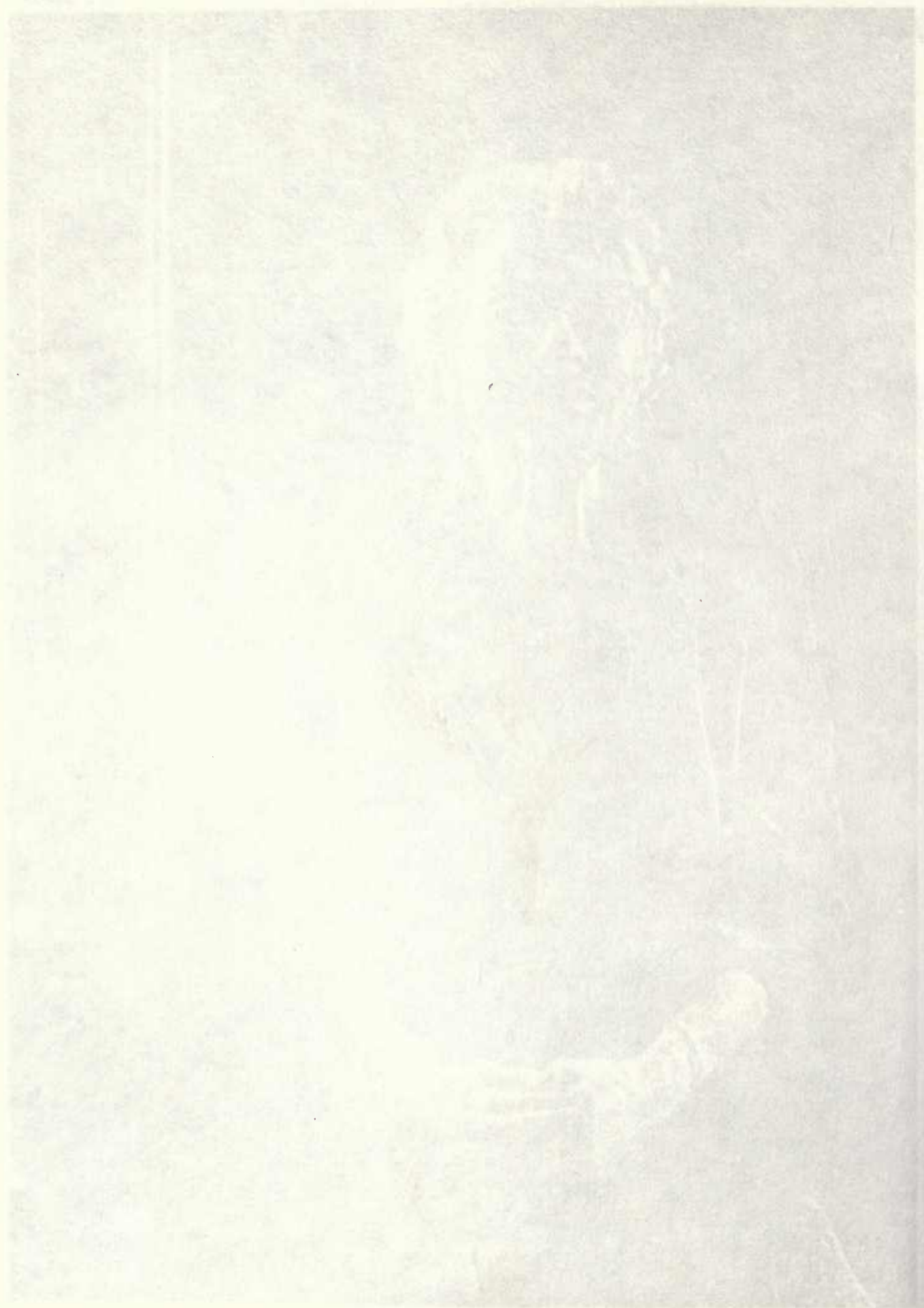
The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice. The information is provided for your information only and is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice.

APPENDIX A

This appendix contains information regarding the use of the information provided in this document. It is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional advice.

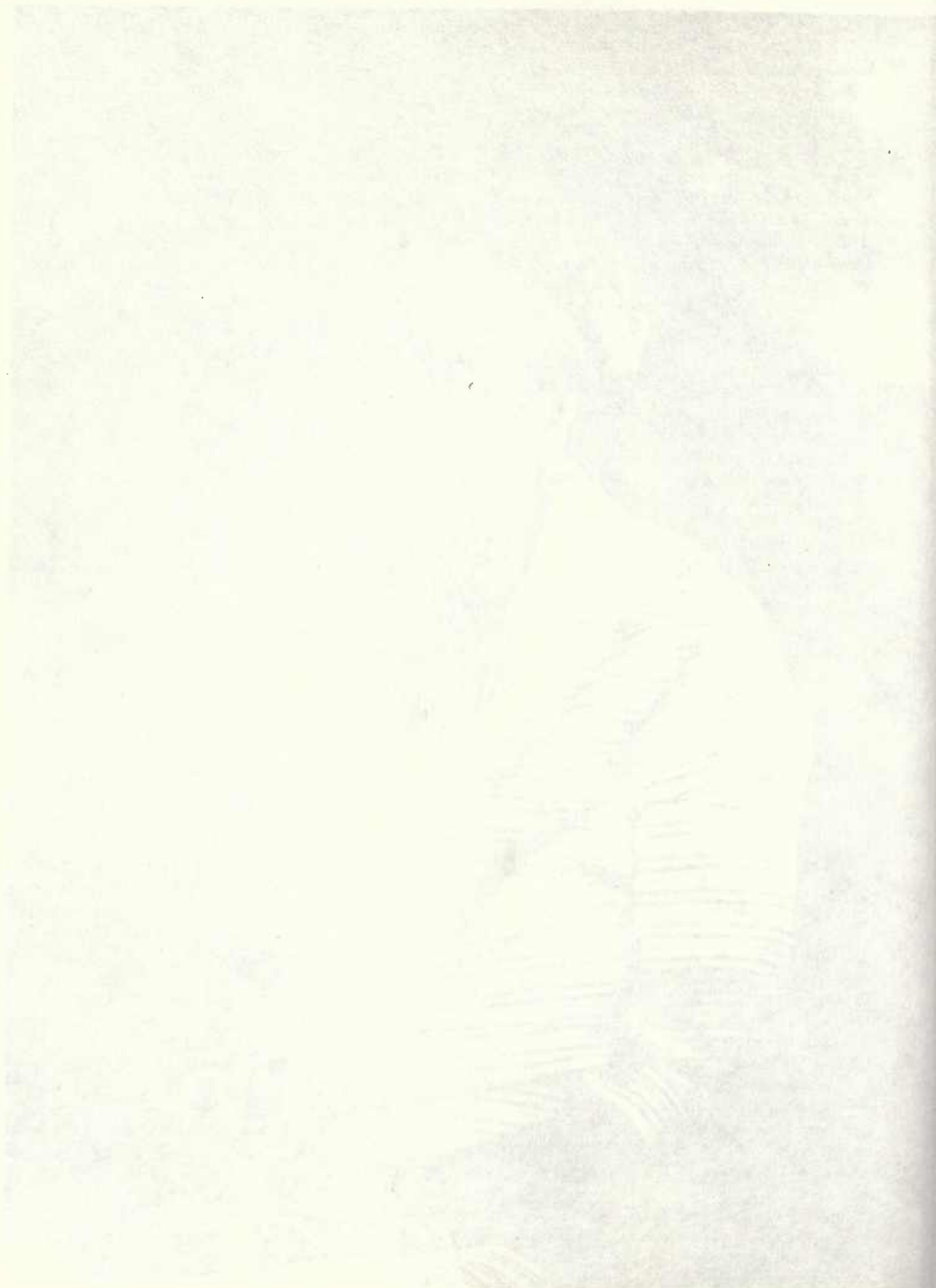


Florence Luscomb





Mabel Vernon



On another occasion, she and four other women created a furor in Congress. Getting in line early on the day President Wilson was to deliver his State of the Union message, they managed to obtain front-row seats in the gallery. At an appropriate moment in his address, the five women let fall a banner—which Mabel Vernon carried in under her coat. The banner said: MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE? Congress was stunned. A guard quickly rushed up and pulled down the banner. "I still wish the streamers had been shorter. Then the guard couldn't have reached it," Ms. Vernon laments. On a less dramatic, but perhaps more important occasion, she had a personal interview with President Wilson as a spokeswoman for the National Woman's Party.

Even after the hard-fought passage of the 19th Amendment, Mabel Vernon remained with the National Woman's Party working for equal rights in other spheres. In 1930, she joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and became an advocate of world disarmament. From 1935 to 1955, she worked for a group called the People's Mandate To End War.

Still committed to women's rights, she says, "I think it is preposterous to have any delay on the Equal Rights Amendment. When you read some of the things people are saying—they're so afraid of conscription—you feel as if women haven't come along as far as they should have. Imagine any group of people refusing equality!"

FLORENCE LUSCOMB

One of Florence Luscomb's earliest memories is a woman's suffrage meeting at which Susan B. Anthony spoke. That was in 1892, when Florence was five years old. The memory sticks because—along with the influence of the mother who took her to that meeting—it kindled her interest in women's rights.

When she went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to study architecture (Class of 1909), Florence Luscomb devoted her spare time to the suffrage movement—doing office work, ushering at meetings, and eventually making speeches herself. Her first speech was at an open-air suffrage meeting in Boston, the first of its kind in the United States. She went to great lengths to publicize the cause—once convincing the manager of a small traveling circus to put a "Votes for Women" sign on his elephant as it went through a small Massachusetts town.

Working for the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, she campaigned for local referendums in New York, Ohio, and Virginia and became a veteran of innumerable parades and whistle-stop tours.

When not involved in suffrage activities, she worked as an architect. The decline in construction during World War I, however, led her to look elsewhere. She joined the Boston Equal Suffrage Association as As-

sistant Executive Secretary: that organization eventually became part of the League of Women Voters, and Florence Luscomb was never to return to architecture. Later, she became Executive Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She also ran for Congress twice, for Boston City Council once, and for Governor of Massachusetts. Although she did not win, her campaigns were platforms for the issues of feminism, socialism, and the peace movement.

Since her "retirement" in the 1930s, Ms. Luscomb has traveled extensively. Eleven years ago, she visited the People's Republic of China as a tourist; a rare honor since gaining entry was extremely difficult then. Her experience in China and the photos she took there still provide lively material for her many lectures.

Ms. Luscomb has never married and has no living relatives. She presently shares a spacious, plant-filled apartment in suburban Boston with three young women. For the past 25 years, she has enjoyed being in various communes with young people.

When Florence Luscomb meets with her younger counterparts now, she likes to give them a historical perspective of the Women's Movement—but she's hardly one to live in the past. "Although women won the right to vote," she points out, "we haven't finished the job until we have absolute equality and are full members of the human race."

ALMA LUTZ

Alma Lutz went to her first suffrage meeting in a cemetery. As a student at Vassar, whose president frowned upon woman's suffrage, she and other undergraduates had to hold their meetings clandestinely. After Vassar, she returned to her native North Dakota where she took up the struggle openly. "But," she remembers, "my neighbors thought I was peculiar."

From North Dakota she moved to Boston, where she made a permanent home and became a writer. She is best known as the biographer of Susan B. Anthony, but she also wrote vividly of many women in the antislavery movement, as well as of Emma Willard, a pioneer in the education of women. She was a frequent contributor to the *Christian Science Monitor*, and to the magazine of the National Woman's Party.

Today, she thinks that, although the status of women has much improved since they gained the right to vote, much still needs to be done. "It makes me so tired," she says, "that women haven't shown much interest in being independent. This is because it's a lot easier not to express your opinion—although of course some women are very vocal."

Alma Lutz is definitely one of the courageous ones. At 83, she is still campaigning for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Judy Gurovitz is a former "Life" magazine reporter who is now doing free-lance writing and photography.

Faint, illegible text on the left side of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

Faint, illegible text on the right side of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR MABEL VERNON

November 16, 1975

Fern
Ingersoll: I am very pleased that we can be here together at Davis House to share our thoughts and feelings about Mabel Vernon, because it was here that she sometimes entertained friends whom she wanted to have know each other, when there were too many for her little apartment.

Unfortunately Rebecca Hourwich Reyher, who had hoped to be with us, was not able to come from New York because she looks after her paralyzed sister and her nurse was in an automobile accident on Friday. She would have been just the right opening speaker for this memorial because she worked with Mabel Vernon both for suffrage and for peace. But taking Mrs. Reyher's place is her daughter, Faith Reyher Jackson, who is the headmistress of the Academy of the Washington Ballet.

Faith
Jackson
reading
Rebecca
Reyher's
prepared
talk:

We are here today not so much to pay tribute to our dear friend Mabel Vernon as to reminisce about her, to exchange with each other our cherished memories.

Mabel was my oldest and dearest friend and colleague. It is hard for me to think of a world without her, for she was so much a part of my ongoing life.

We first met in the summer of 1917 when I was twenty and had come to the old Woman's Party Headquarters on Lafayette Square to be a fulltime organizer.

I would like you to see her as I first did. She was small, wiry, moved swiftly. You were first aware of her gentian blue, sparkling eyes, gay with laughter, and her halo of blonde curls...certainly not beautiful in the conventional sense, her nose a little long, her mouth a little large, but her radiant vitality left that impression. What a wonderful face, you thought.

She wanted with all her heart to help pass the national suffrage amendment, and her whole being was dedicated to that end. As a brilliant strategist, and a perfectionist who overlooked no detail,

STATE OF TEXAS

COUNTY OF DALLAS

Know all men by these presents, that I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the records of the County of Dallas, State of Texas, to-wit:

Book of Deeds, Page 1234, containing the original of a certain deed of conveyance, to-wit: a certain deed of conveyance, bearing date of this 1st day of January, 1900, in and to the County of Dallas, State of Texas, and recorded in the County of Dallas, State of Texas, in Book of Deeds, Page 1234, and the same is hereby certified to be a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the records of the County of Dallas, State of Texas.

Witness my hand and seal of office, this 1st day of January, 1900, at the City of Dallas, State of Texas.

Notary Public in and for the County of Dallas, State of Texas.

My commission expires this 1st day of January, 1900.

Notary Public in and for the County of Dallas, State of Texas.

she had learned how to best project herself.

For speaking she would take a stance, one foot forward, body and words seemingly fused together, her head and hands at a moving angle, an almost animated, modern linear sculpture.

To emphasize that, her hats always shot up on one side. We wore hats in those days--and twice a year, spring and fall, Florence Bayard Hilles, another valiant worker from Delaware, whose father had been an ambassador to Britain, and whose husband was a lawyer for the du Ponts, sent Mabel to her fashionable milliner for a gift hat. Crowning that stance was usually perched a vivid blue concoction. Always there was the same basic, modest, tailored blue suit, with a white tailored shirt.

I once asked her how she managed to always look so crisp and fresh, since she was busy from early morning to late at night. She laughed and said, "Oh, I always have an iron with me. I like ironing. It helps me iron out my thoughts."

Along with Alice Paul, national chairman of the Woman's Party, Mabel kept track of every Senator and Congressman, knew where to build bonfires under them in their home districts: a strategy that cast a line out for every possible press story and financial support. And day in and day out, months on end, she pushed herself and others toward the goal of passing that amendment.

Once the suffrage amendment was passed, Mabel supported Miss Paul--they had been at Swarthmore together and Mabel was the only one at Headquarters to call her by her first name, Alice--in their determination that once women won the vote they must concentrate their attention on an Equal Rights Amendment to remove all discrimination based on sex. Ironically that amendment Mabel helped draft and lobby for more than half a century ago has been made a mockery by unscrupulous or deluded women determined to defeat it. Mabel never worried. She was convinced that we will win.

Mabel transcended the techniques of her immediate projects. Imbuing her was her passionate sense of justice, a simple dream of a better world for everybody to live in.

It would be short sighted to think of Mabel primarily as a feminist. She was a great humanitarian, who abhorred war and its devastation and destruction. She was motivated by her love of people, not in the abstract, as pillars of a cause, but as the essential fabric of life, to which her myriad of friends were testimony.

It was the middle thirties. I had been away in Africa for almost a year, and I had come back to a temporary apartment that had a huge studio and skylight. Mabel came to see me, and I'll never forget that day.

She sat in the middle of the room, the shaft of sun beaming in on her, a tiny little figure suffused by a bright light.

The first part of the report is devoted to a general

description of the area and the results of the

investigation. The second part is devoted to a

detailed description of the results of the

investigation. The third part is devoted to a

discussion of the results of the investigation.

The fourth part is devoted to a conclusion.

The fifth part is devoted to a list of references.

The sixth part is devoted to a list of figures.

The seventh part is devoted to a list of tables.

The eighth part is devoted to a list of appendices.

The ninth part is devoted to a list of symbols.

The tenth part is devoted to a list of abbreviations.

The eleventh part is devoted to a list of acronyms.

The twelfth part is devoted to a list of footnotes.

As her words poured out in her deep, mellow voice, it was as if an inner light had come into the room.

"We must do something about peace in this world. We must save the world from the wars that threaten to overwhelm us"...her words rang out.

I was deeply moved, but I thought of it as a cry of agony, of desperation. Within the year Mabel had organized the People's Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation, had gotten Mary Woolley, former president of Mt. Holyoke College, to be its chairman, and under the auspices of that committee collected two million signatures for a peace petition presented to our government and those of Latin America, sent a group of Latin American women leaders pleading for peace across the United States, and arranged for a flying caravan of four women, of which I was a member, officially recognized and introduced by our government, to fly to seventeen Latin American countries to urge them to finish signing the Buenos Aires treaties.

Mabel's work among Latin American women--something that she believed enriched her own life--will be spoken of by others today.

Work and recreation were synonymous for Mabel. At the end of the day she would pore over her Spanish correspondence, helped by volunteers from the Latin American community. One of the most faithful volunteers was Consuelo Reyes, who after a hard day's work at the World Health Organization would come to Mabel's office to translate and answer the Latin American letters. The evenings stretched from one a week to five, six, and often seven, after which at ten or eleven at night Mabel and Consuelo would have to go home their separate ways by bus, in the dark and often cold night.

At some point Mabel and Consuelo had the wisdom to decide to get joint living and sleeping quarters to repair to after their evening's work.

Mabel's bed in the apartment at the Boston House looked out on a thicket of tree tops and greenery. It was there that her devoted friend Consuelo Reyes, not well herself, took care of her the last months of her life, giving to her the love and devotion Mabel had lavished on so many, and was so desperately in need of at the end of her own life. All of Mabel's friends feel we owe deep, heartfelt gratitude to Consuelo for her loving care of Mabel.

Mabel influenced many people. Certainly she changed the whole course of my life. Her clippings, her letters, her telephone calls, her gift of I.F. Stone's Weekly, came in a steady stream, and they were an ever present reminder to me that somewhere in each of our lives we had to keep a steady, if occasionally wavering, flame of idealism burning.

Unlike so many older people and activists, Mabel had a great respect and affection for the younger women who came after her and beat a well worn path toward her. Mabel and Consuelo were particularly fond of Fern Ingersoll, a writer, an oral historian, who originally came

is for people to read and to be read
by the people of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world
the best of the world is the best
of the world is the best of the world

to see Mabel to help her with the transcript of her personal memories of the suffrage and peace movements. Fern is co-chairman of this meeting.

Before closing I want to emphasize one of Mabel's primary and beloved qualities, loyalty. There were sporadic leadership wars tearing the Woman's Party asunder, as there seem to be in most organizations. Mabel never participated in them. I never heard Mabel say one bitter or ugly word against anyone. She just turned the other way.

Much of the feuding within the Woman's Party was directed against Alice Paul, its founder, now over ninety, still hopeful of the passage of the equal rights amendment, closely following the progress of its ratification from her nursing-home quarters. I did not always agree with Miss Paul or her tactics, but I agreed with Mabel that there was no other person who had devoted or would devote themselves so selflessly and entirely for the work of the party, and she was entitled to full support as its leader.

Primarily, however, Mabel's life-long struggle for women's rights and peace was due to her overriding faith in individual freedom. Mabel herself was a liberated woman in its deepest sense. She was devoid of any pettiness or prejudice or personal ambition. Material goods meant absolutely nothing to her. Having achieved freedom of self expression for herself, she wanted to devote her life to helping free the human spirit in everyone everywhere.

Fern
Ingersoll: I stopped in to chat with Mabel Vernon one Saturday morning at the end of August--just three days before she died. As soon as we had greeted each other, she whispered, for her voice was no longer strong, "What's happening in Peru?" I read her the article in the Washington Post about the government upset. "Who wrote that?" she asked me. And when I told her, she asked again, "Where was it written?"

There she was, in the little bay-window bed above the Massachusetts Avenue trees--so frail--yet the qualities I had grown to admire during the months of working with her on her memoirs were still evident that morning:

Her intense and continuing interest in people and events.

Her desire to evaluate what she heard so she could make a sound judgment and perhaps comment.

Her ability to summon up energy even when a task was very difficult or she was almost completely spent.

It was that intense interest in people and their problems that led her to give up the secure but limited life of a Latin teacher among

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or title.

Second block of faint, illegible text, appearing as several lines of a paragraph.

Third block of faint, illegible text, continuing the narrative or list.

Fourth block of faint, illegible text, possibly a separate section or entry.

Fifth block of faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page.

well-to-do young people in Wayne, Pennsylvania, and respond to Alice Paul's letter inviting her to come to Washington in 1913 to organize for suffrage.

Her desire to evaluate the stand of those who speak with authority led her on more than one occasion to question President Wilson in public for his hesitancy to support woman suffrage while he spoke of the need to fight for the right of self-determination of all people.

Many years later, in 1952, her evaluative reading of the words of Adlai Stevenson led her to ask him why, before his nomination, he had asserted that we must end the arms race; but, since his nomination, he had made only two references to disarmament.

In that same year, after reading all of Eisenhower's speeches, she, with others in a delegation, urged the general to speak out for disarmament.

But this speaking was not always easy and natural for her--and here we find that third quality: the ability to summon up energy when a task was very difficult or she was almost completely worn out.

She told me of one such experience back in 1913 when she had just begun to speak for suffrage on street corners. She had invited an excellent speaker, Frank Stevens, to speak with her; and they were to hold forth from an open car loaned by Mrs. Pierre Du Pont. When it came time to stop on the corner of Fifth and Market in Wilmington, Mabel Vernon couldn't get up nerve to speak, so she told the driver:

"Will you please, Fred, drive around the block once more."

And when they came back, she felt the same and had to say,

"Go around once more, please."

And as they were going around the block for the third time, Frank Stevens put his hand on Mabel Vernon's shoulder (she loved to remember this) and said,

"My dear child. Let a friend speak. Don't you know that every gospel has been preached on the street corner?"

And young Mabel Vernon got up and spoke. Later she was to speak in almost every state in the union.

There were other times when, though she never spoke of fatigue, her schedule must have made it very difficult to push on. In 1915, when she did all the advance planning for Sara Bard Field in her speaking tour for suffrage from the West Coast to the East, Mabel had to move on ahead of Sara's touring car, by train. On several occasions Mabel held the crowd for hours when Sara had car trouble and was late.

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

When Mabel Vernon was campaign manager for Anne Martin, who was running for the seat of U.S. Senator from Nevada, she and Anne Martin went to every little town in the state in a touring car driven by Dr. Margaret Long, a medical doctor from Johns Hopkins Hospital. Both Mabel and Anne spoke at each stop, day after day, after a night's sleep on the seats of that car.

So I really shouldn't have been surprised when, on the many days Mabel and I worked together to get her memories accurately transcribed, she was always more than willing, no matter how she felt, to do just a little bit more. My only problem was to lead her to begin to consider her own past activities and thoughts, because her main interests were always in what I or my family were doing, or what was going on currently in the wider world.

Fern Ingersoll: Now I would like to introduce Mrs. Anita Sandleman, who was formerly executive secretary of the Inter-American Commission of Women and is now working as a volunteer for the Overseas Education fund.

Anita Sandleman: In the name of many women of Latin America, who participated in the work of the People's Mandate Committee to end War, I would like to express deep gratitude for the work for Peace to which Mabel Vernon so fervently contributed.

I met her for the first time only twelve years ago, at a luncheon given for Latin American women visitors at the Pan American Union, but I knew nothing then about her courageous work on behalf of women's rights and disarmament.

Our conversation centered soon on world peace, world order, world government, and on our preoccupation for those millions and millions of human beings who have been and still are living in sub-human conditions in many parts of the world.

'In 1946, travelling through the war-ravaged countries of Europe on behalf of the International Union of Child Welfare, I saw the plight of the victims of war, especially of the children. Many national and international organizations were then helping to bring them back to normal life. But, I saw also the awful conditions in which many people in Latin American countries were living, in shanty-towns, favelas or villas miseria, sometimes established at the very edge of the land where the garbage of the city was burning night and day. Who helps them to lift them up from the sod?

Mabel Vernon and I agreed very soon, at that luncheon table, that only through work for peace, through disarmament which would allow for billions and billions to be saved, through close cooperation between individuals and nations, would it be possible to bring about in a not too far future, better living conditions and a happier and more productive life for all mankind.

While I came to admire Mabel Vernon very much for all she did, what impressed me most was her gentleness, the kindness with which she always spoke to everyone, her keen interest in people, and the understanding she showed towards those friends of hers who at a certain time--and for political reasons--could not continue working with her to support her cause. Notwithstanding she continued to be their faithful friend.

The People's Mandate Committee to end War was established in 1935--as you know--with Mabel Vernon as Chairman. When the plan for this Committee was presented to Jane Addams--Nobel Peace Prize, 1931--she approved of it "as a democratic process and a means for the expression of public opinion" which she always considered of prime importance.

Very distinguished people from nearly all over the world were represented in the People's Mandate Committee. Many outstanding women from Latin America embraced the cause of Peace and established close working relations with Mabel Vernon. I would like to mention only a few whom I have known personally and whom I appreciate very much.

In Brazil there is Bertha Lutz, of Swiss ancestry, a doctor in Natural Sciences. At the invitation of Carrie Chapman Catt she attended the First Women's Congress in Baltimore in 1922. After returning to her country she worked assiduously for women's rights in Brazil. For many years Bertha Lutz has been the Delegate of Brazil to the Inter-American Commission of Women, and she still occupies this position.

In Costa Rica, Angela Acuña de Chacón was the first woman to enroll at the University and the first woman to earn a Doctor's degree in Law. Dr. Chacón was for many years the Delegate of Costa Rica to the Inter-American Commission of Women. She was the first woman to be appointed Ambassador-Delegate to the Council of the Organization of American States and some years later also the first woman to become a member of the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States.

And last but not least, Mabel Vernon was a good friend of Gabriela Mistral, well known Chilean poet, Nobel Prize for Literature, 1945, who "from a schoolteacher in a small Chilean hilltown came to reap world homage for her poetry" and her great concern for peace and social justice.

Among Mabel's correspondence we found a short handwritten letter from Gabriela Mistral, dated June 1941, which in translation reads in part as follows:

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or title.

Second block of faint, illegible text.

Third block of faint, illegible text.

Fourth block of faint, illegible text.

Fifth block of faint, illegible text.

Sixth block of faint, illegible text.

Seventh block of faint, illegible text.

Eighth block of faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page.

"Great and dear friend:.....You surely will read somewhere my speech given to the American Women in Brazil... As you all do, so do I also wish for Peace in our blessed Continent. But I do not want a false peace, which includes the acceptance of all the horrors going on in Europe. I wish peace on a free planet, free in speech and action, and free in Faith. Let us have this peace, dear friend, and let us achieve it, if need be, through suffering. Let us be worthy of a peace through which we will not lose, nor diminish, nor surrender our spiritual values..."

A very worthwhile initiative grew out of the People's Mandate Committee to end War: The creation of PALCO. At a banquet organized in 1944 by the Committee, where more than 800 guests were present-among them a great number of Latin American Women-the idea was expressed, that these valuable contacts should not end, but continue to live on in Washington, D.C. Thus the PANAMERICAN LIAISON COMMITTEE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS came to life, Mabel Vernon being its first President. Her main objective for PALCO was "to unite women from North America and Latin America in thought and in action for PEACE."

Today PALCO's main objective still is to bring about closer friendships and understanding between women of this Continent, and it does it mainly through cultural, educational, charitable, scientific and literary projects and activities.

The past is prologue: Mabel Vernon's work is surely a great example. May it bring inspiration to many young people who are facing today a world which seems to be in turmoil and distress, but which could be transformed into a world of peace through faith, honesty, cooperation, and good will toward men.

Fern
Ingersoll: We hope, at this point, that any of you who have memories of Mabel Vernon that you would like to share with the rest of us will do so. Several people have already indicated that they have such memories, so we'll start with them.

Norma E. Boyd, president emeritus of the Women's International Religious Fellowship, has a few words to say.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is essential for the proper management of the organization's finances and for ensuring compliance with relevant laws and regulations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures that should be followed when recording transactions. It details the steps from the initial receipt of funds to the final entry in the accounting system, ensuring that all necessary information is captured and verified.

3. The third part of the document addresses the role of the accounting department in providing accurate and timely financial information to management. It highlights the importance of regular reporting and the use of this information to support strategic decision-making and to identify areas for improvement.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of internal controls in preventing fraud and ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It provides examples of effective internal control measures and emphasizes the need for a strong culture of ethics and accountability within the organization.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key points discussed and reiterating the commitment to transparency and accuracy in all financial reporting. It expresses confidence in the organization's ability to maintain the highest standards of financial integrity.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a list of references and resources for further information on accounting principles and practices. It includes links to relevant legislation, industry standards, and professional publications, ensuring that readers have access to the most up-to-date and authoritative information available.

Norma E.
Boyd:

You can understand how thrilled I was in 1940 when a person of the stature of Mabel Vernon, when she met me, said, "I understand the work you're trying to do. Why not come over to my apartment, to tea. I would like to talk it over with you." I went there and I was thrilled. She taught me how to use all of the resources at my command to build up better human relations. And, so, speaking for the Women's International Religious Fellowship, I am happy to pay tribute to Mabel Vernon.

Fern
Ingersoll:

Ruth Gaige-Colby, a member of the National Woman's Party, will speak of Mabel Vernon as she knew her.

Ruth
Gaige-
Colby:

Dear Consuelo and dear friends of our beloved Mabel. We are here, of course, to celebrate her life, a life dedicated to the cause of peace. No person in my long years of work for peace, which have been nearly six decades now, has had so completely the concept of disarmament. Her opposition to weaponry and to war was irrevocable.

We met first through the Woman's Party. The Woman's Party, though dedicated, of course, to the cause of women and suffrage, and the rights of minorities, was nonetheless deeply interested in peace. Alice Paul was a great woman for peace. She had, as you know, in mind a World Woman's Party, based on a platform of peace. It was not during those seven years when Mabel was called by Miss Paul to come to the headquarters to work for suffrage that I knew her, that last seven years of the seventy-five years women had strived to secure suffrage. But it was immediately after the suffrage victory we met, when the National Woman's Party was under the presidency of Sarah Colvin of Minnesota. Minnesota was my home and I had come from Minnesota to work in Washington. Sarah Colvin called Mabel Vernon a rebel, a rebel at heart, and she loved her, as we all did, as everyone did who ever worked with Mabel.

I came to know her best in the early thirties when she was gathering petitions for the great disarmament conference in Geneva. As you probably remember, the women of the United States, the people of the United States, gathered the greatest number of signatures of any people in the world except the Japanese. It was a terrible irony, therefore, that only a decade and a half later the government of the United States dropped the atomic bomb on the people of Japan, the aggressor and the victim.

Mabel was greatly shaken by the era of the atomic weapon. The last time we talked--and there were many, many talks, and many meetings (although we didn't see each other often, it was always

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The text also mentions the need for regular audits and the role of independent auditors in ensuring the reliability of the financial statements.

In addition, the document highlights the significance of transparency and accountability in financial reporting. It states that stakeholders, including investors and the public, have a right to know how their money is being managed and to have confidence in the information provided.

The document further outlines the responsibilities of those involved in the financial process, from the board of directors to the management and the auditors. It stresses that each party has a duty to act in the best interests of the organization and to adhere to the highest standards of ethical conduct.

Finally, the document concludes by reiterating the importance of a strong regulatory framework to support these principles. It calls for continued collaboration between regulators, industry, and the public to ensure the financial system remains robust and resilient.

The document also discusses the challenges faced by the financial system in the current environment, such as the impact of technological advancements and global economic uncertainty. It suggests that these challenges can be addressed through innovation and the implementation of new risk management strategies.

Overall, the document serves as a comprehensive guide to the principles and practices of sound financial management. It provides a clear framework for how organizations should operate to ensure the long-term success and sustainability of their financial affairs.

The document is intended for a wide range of stakeholders, including those responsible for financial reporting, those who use financial information to make investment decisions, and those who are interested in the overall health and stability of the financial system.

For more information on these topics, please contact the relevant regulatory authorities or industry associations.

Ruth
Gaige-
Colby:

as if we had left off yesterday when we met)--but the last talk I had with her was about the atomic era in which we now live, how we live--all of us--under the shadow of the mushroom cloud, and how we live in a world greatly imperiled by radiation and the terrible toxic plutonium that is already causing a crisis in health and well being on our planet. But we said to each other, "There must be time, and we will win." And she said, in that rich and beautiful voice that was so much a part of Mabel, "Yes, if we will it, life will triumph."

Fern
Ingersoll:

Ricardo Aued, with whom Mabel Vernon always loved to discuss politics, even when they disagreed, will tell about the Mabel Vernon he knew.

Ricardo
Aued:

I appreciate this opportunity to say a few words remembering Miss Vernon. I go back many years when I had the privilege to meet Miss Vernon through Miss Reyes when I was living at the Boston House. I always remember her because of her understanding--a very deep human understanding, I should say. I have an accent now, but at that time it was even worse. Nevertheless, she took the time to listen, to understand; and always she was very, very interested in finding out about the politics in Latin America, in my case, or any other place I cared to talk with her about. What Mrs. Ingersoll mentioned is true: we used to discuss and sometimes we'd agree, sometimes we didn't, but there always was this understanding.

She was very, very interested, not only, as I say, in politics, but in any other subject. Also, I noticed from the time my daughter was born Miss Vernon was very interested all through her life, even to the last few moments she had, always remembering my daughter. And I noticed Miss Vernon's understanding for young people--what they thought about, what they believe in, etc., and trying to guide them in their way.

So, all I would like to say now is that when I saw her pass away, I thought how at that moment one of the very values of humanity was passing away. And I would like to say that by being born and by dedicating her life to important endeavors as she did, I think we truly can say that she enhanced and enriched tremendously the spiritual values of humanity. Thank you.

Fern
Ingersoll:

Nancy Gager, editor of the Women's Rights Almanac, has some thoughts she'd like to share.

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or introductory paragraph.

Second block of faint, illegible text in the upper middle section.

Third block of faint, illegible text in the middle section.

Fourth block of faint, illegible text in the lower middle section.

Fifth block of faint, illegible text in the lower section.

Nancy
Gager:

Nearly five years ago, I was very fortunate to meet Mabel Vernon and Consuelo Reyes when I was a part of the National Organization for Women, and our group, then in Washington, was lobbying for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. At that time we became acquainted with Alice Paul and Mabel Vernon and other members of the National Woman's Party in that struggle. And it was through Mabel and through Consuelo's beautiful slides that we began learning the details of our own lost history--in a way, women's "her-story," that is still little told, taught in schools, or written in history books--of the Woman's Party's great struggle and of Mabel's key role in that struggle.

Many of you have eloquently spoken of her personal qualities that you remember, and these are also the qualities that I remember so well: not only her brilliant intelligence and keen interest in what is going on today, but also her warmth, her compassion, her marvelous sense of humor, her tremendous interest in people personally. My two young daughters met her at one meeting, and she never failed to ask about them.

This past year, I was privileged to be part of a project by WTOP to document that last suffrage campaign from 1913 to 1920, and with the help of Consuelo, I was able to interview Mabel Vernon; the film would not have been complete without her. This was only about six months ago; of course, she was very ill and very weak. But, again, it showed her tremendous courage that she summoned the strength to remember and talk about so many important moments in that tremendous struggle for the vote.

This film has not been shown in Washington yet, but it will be, I hope, in February, and it's being shown across the country. It will also be made available to schools so that the National Woman's Party and Mabel Vernon's key part in this tremendous struggle will be preserved and all future generations--the present generations of school children and future generations--will learn what my generation did not learn, and that was what it really took, what courage, to win the vote and to continue the struggle for rights for women, which, of course, is still going on.

And whenever I read or hear the last public words of Susan B. Anthony, "Failure is impossible," I think of Mabel, because I feel that she based her whole life upon these words and she gave inspiration to all of us, that failure is, indeed, impossible. We miss her greatly, but we will never forget her.

The next speaker is Cathleen Schurr, NOW member, [introduced by Nancy Gager].

the first part of the report... the second part... the third part...

the fourth part... the fifth part... the sixth part...

the seventh part... the eighth part... the ninth part...

the tenth part... the eleventh part... the twelfth part...

the thirteenth part... the fourteenth part... the fifteenth part...

the sixteenth part... the seventeenth part... the eighteenth part...

Cathleen
Schurr:

I met Mabel Vernon only a few years ago when I, too, had come down to Washington to lobby for the Equal Rights Amendment; and when I heard about this meeting today, I tried very hard to get here. I am here because of how much, even in that very short span of time, Mabel Vernon meant to me and to all of us who are carrying on the struggle for equal rights for women.

Someone here today has said the past is prologue, and I think that is particularly appropriate, and I have some words here from Sylvia Pankhurst, which I feel characterize Mabel Vernon's life. They are also very close to me because at the time the Pankhursts and all those hundreds of thousands of women were struggling bitterly in England, my mother was among them, as was Mabel Vernon, of course, in this country.

And here is what Sylvia Pankhurst wrote at the end of a book called The Suffragette when she thought the struggle for the vote was coming to an end. (It took longer.): "So, the gallant struggle for a great reform draws to its close. Full of stern fighting and bitter hardship as it has been, it has brought much to the women of our time: a courage, a self-reliance, a comradeship, and above all a spiritual growth, a conscious dwelling in company with the ideal, which has tended to strip the littleness from life and to give to it the character of an heroic mission."

Those words, "heroic mission," describe Mabel Vernon.

The next speaker is Carolyn Royall Just, lawyer with the Department of Justice. [She introduced herself.]

Carolyn
Royall
Just:

I'd like to express my appreciation of Mabel Vernon. We shared a keen interest in Latin America, and when she learned of my association with the Inter-American Bar Association, she asked me to come to her apartment, I remember particularly, before going to Chile in 1945. She said, "Now, I'd like to know what type of resolutions this group has. Are you going to see women in Chile when you go down there?" I told her about stopping in Bogota and some other places en route, and she said, "Well, you must see the women as well as the lawyers." She gave me letters of introduction to various friends in various countries in South America.

And then thereafter, when I was the reporter-general of the association for over twenty-five years, before going down and after I returned, she'd always call and ask me the results of the meetings and what was going on and what my views were.

1912

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately but I will try to write to you more often.

Carolyn
Royall
Just:

I also participated in the PALCO organization that Mrs. Sandleman mentioned. Before PALCO was started, Mabel Vernon used to bring groups into her apartment to entertain visitors from Latin America, I remember, in the early forties particularly, and it was through her efforts that finally we were able to establish PALCO.

And, so, it is a great pleasure to me to be able to reminisce with some of the others here today about Mabel Vernon. Thank you.

Fern
Ingersoll:

I'd like to read a few paragraphs from a letter which arrived here a few days ago from Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan who worked with Mabel Vernon for suffrage. It was Hazel who kept the watch fires burning in Lafayette Park. She now lives in England.

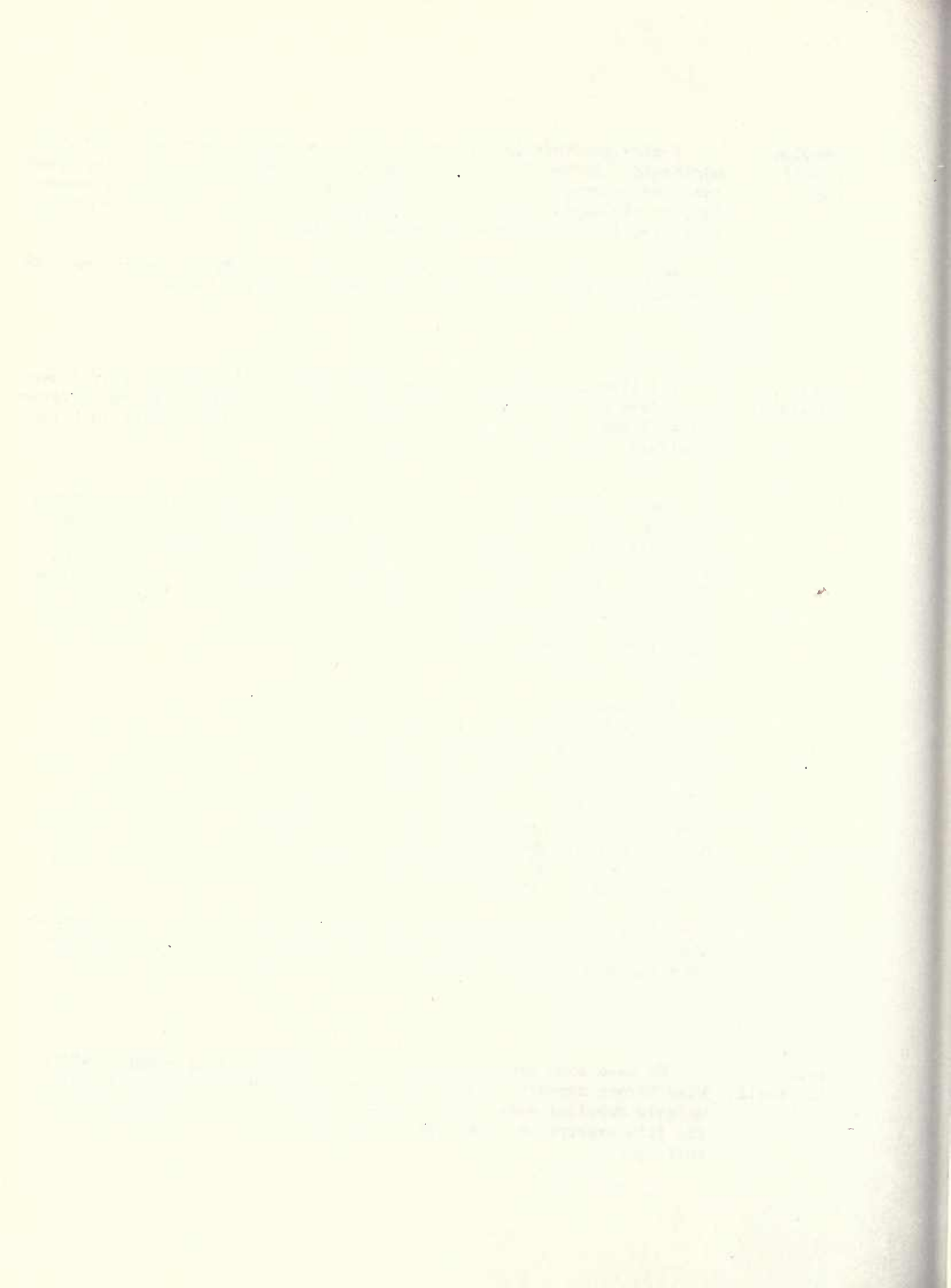
"On my former visits to the United States, the routine has always been the same -- arrive at National Woman's Party headquarters, drop suitcases, find a telephone to talk to Mabel and arrange a meeting. After our initial reunion, she would gather as many of the old crowd around her as she could and we would talk for hours about the intense, dramatic moments we had gone through together from the summer of 1916 in Colorado Springs onwards, and then, as if there had been no large gaps in our companionship, we would start to re-arrange the world according to our hopes.

"It seemed to me Mabel's mind never crystalized with age. Her memory of the past was vivid, accurate, and good, and her views of the present were comprehensive and alive. In these days when so many people seem, at best, merely gold-plated, Mabel was gold all the way through, pure gold. Every act and thought in her past and present were true to her personality. We who loved her will remember her strength, her steadfastness, and her consistency. She was a shining beacon of integrity throughout her life and an inspiration to all of us younger ones who knew and loved her. She was not all that much older but in one's youth a few years make more difference.

"Alice Paul and Lucy Burns and Mabel Vernon -- a trio of incomparable leaders -- and to have known and learned from them and followed them has given purpose to my life as it has done to many others."

Fern
Ingersoll:

We have some excerpts from the film The Emerging Woman in which Miss Vernon appears, and we have a short taped interview with her. Melanie Maholick made both, working with Elena Ladd on the film. The film excerpt and the tape concern Mabel Vernon's work for suffrage.



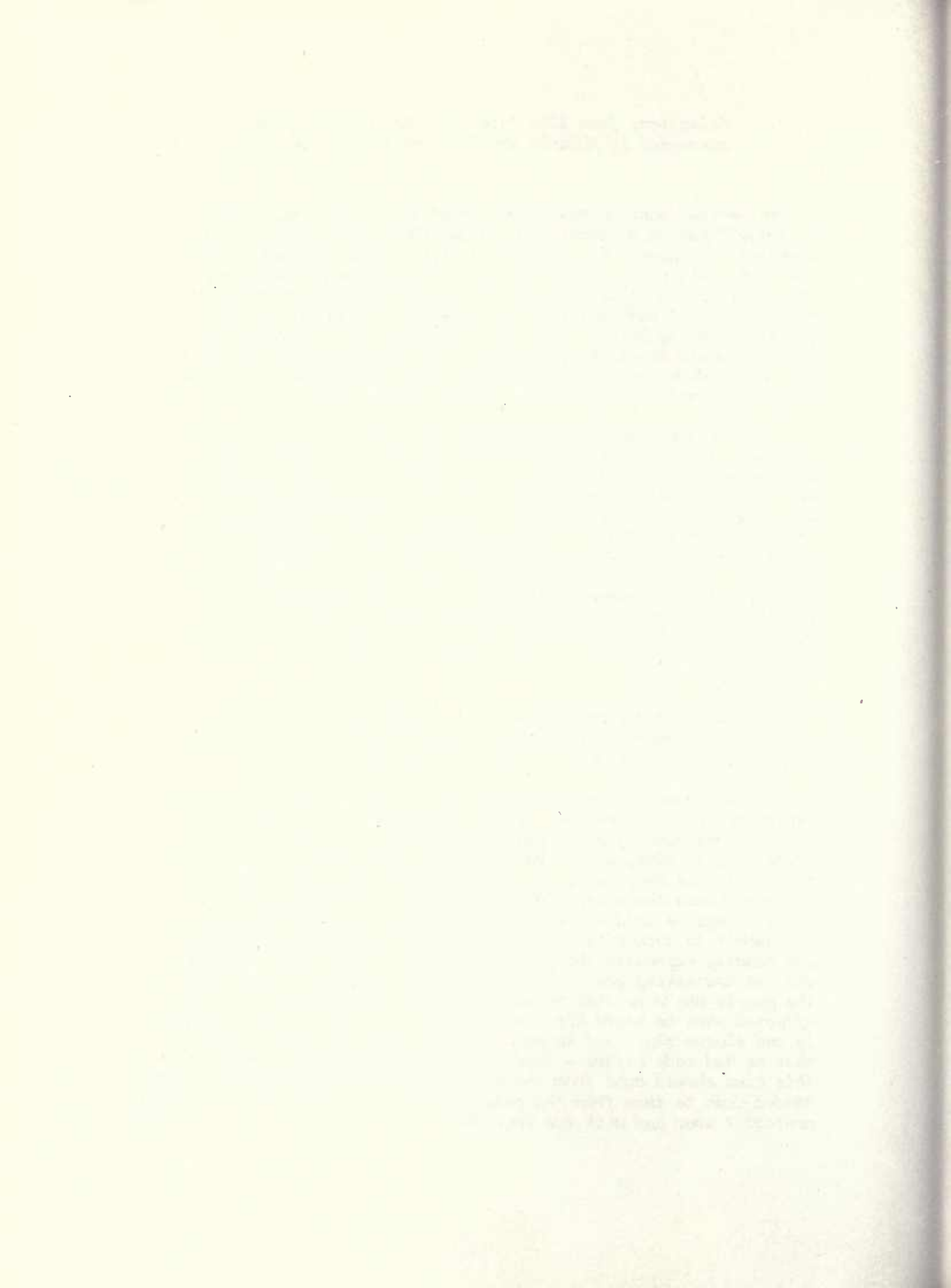
*Selections from 1973 Interviews with Mabel Vernon
conducted by Melanie Maholick and Juanita Weaver*

We decided that we would have "What Will You Do For Woman Suffrage?" put on a banner and dropped when the President made a speech to Congress in December of 1916. Mary Gertrude Fendall had a big belt pin. We used to use them; they were large, substantial. I used that belt pin to pin the banner onto my skirt, very firmly. I had it folded just right. We had chosen the gallery directly before where the President would be speaking, where he would be on the front row. The doorkeeper got up and let me sit down, and Florence always says it's because I looked like a pregnant woman with that banner pinned on me.

I chose the moment in his speech when it would be most effective. I lifted the banner up and spread it out like this and the women took hold of it. Five women, two on each side of me, and lifted it up and dropped it according to the length of the strings. Well, of course, there was a rustle all through the people on the floor. The Congressmen all turned around and began to look. But the President remained quite unperturbed, it seemed to me. We kept holding the banner very firmly until suddenly I felt it snatched out of my hands. It was then that I realized our strings had been just a little bit too long. A couple of page boys climbed on the shoulders of other pages and gave it a pull and down it came. Somebody came and told us we had to leave.

Of course it was written up in the newspapers. Unprecedented thing for a banner to be dropped in the House of Representatives in front of the President while he's speaking!

The war came, as you know, in 1917. I can remember having an interview with the President a few days after he had gone before Congress and asked for a Declaration of War. I had been in the House at that time, and it was a very solemn moment. When we came to talk to the President, I said, "Mr. President, when you said in your speech the other night to Congress, 'We shall fight for those things we hold nearest to our hearts, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government,' you exactly expressed the feelings of the women of this country who are now asking you to help them get the suffrage." And I know the people who were with me said the President was really deeply affected when he heard his own words, which I think I said correctly and eloquently. And he made the same reply to this delegation that he had made before - that he always thought that a move of this kind should come from the people themselves, instead of being handed down to them from the powers above. That was the most direct contact I ever had with the President.



There was a little organ out in the approach to the tiers of cells and one evening the matron, who was a perfectly nice woman, said the girls might gather out there and sing if they wanted to. One of them called in to us, "Can any of you play the organ?" I said I could play a few hymns; that was all I knew. We went out there and asked what they would like to hear. Eveline was a girl who had been confined next to me, not one of our girls; she was in for a dope offense or something like that. Eveline said, "Play 'God Be With You Til We Meet Again.'" I did and we all sang. and just as we were in the midst of this song the door of the ward opened and the warden came in with a reporter from the San Francisco Examiner. Well, the reporter had a wonderful story the next morning of how the suffragists sing 'God Be With You Til We Meet Again' when they are in jail.

Fern
Ingersoll: We'll close now with a tape recording of Mabel Vernon reading a portion from "Highmeadow," written and recorded by Consuelo Reyes in 1968, for their own memories. This was written after the two had spent several weeks at Highmeadow, the summer home of Alma Lutz, a biographer of great women. These words reflect thoughts about life which these two women, Mabel Vernon and Consuelo Reyes, shared.

In the incomparable setting of Highmeadow we are led to meditation on the splendor of nature and the miracle of the changes occurring around us:

At dawn on a beautiful autumn day, nature seems still asleep, covered with veils of mist. Slowly the clouds begin to rise and fade away in graceful forms like fairies dancing in the vast landscape.

Free from the premature winter dress autumn shows its radiant attire of color. Nature in its different seasons is a true image of our course of life.

This splendid autumn day has brought something beautifully nostalgic. It has spoken of the period of harvest, of the gathering of the crops.

And also it has brought a remembrance of the joyful days of spring with its profusion of blossoms, hopes and gaiety.

During this vision of the past came thoughts also of the enchanted days of summer when the sun seems to move more slowly through its orbit as if yielding to the innate desire of men to live longer.



On this marvelous autumn day I realize how nature reveals its invincible power, when the meadows rise splendidly from the veils of fog.

Similar to this, I thought, will be the next turmoil of nature when winter spreads over the fields its blankets of snow.

Today the atmosphere is sad in its beauty. Dew drops glitter like stars on the autumn leaves.

Faith in God tells us that something divine within us does not perish when winter comes, nor will these marvelous woods be destroyed.

Spring resurging from the earth tells us in its eloquent language that we are all immortal as the woods, and that there is always life.

PRESS RELEASE

To Washington Post, Washington Star, and the New York Times for release Monday, November 17.

Co-chairmen Mabel Vernon Memorial Committee:
Fern Ingersoll
Consuelo Reyes

A memorial was held for Mabel Vernon on Sunday afternoon, November 16, at Davis House, 1822 R. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Miss Vernon died at her home in Boston House on September 2, just eight days before her ninety-second birthday. The memorial was attended by about sixty of her friends from all over the world.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Rebecca Hourwich Reyher of New York City, author of Zulu Woman, who worked with Miss Vernon in 1917 in the campaign of the National Woman's Party for the suffrage amendment, opened the memorial meeting. Faith Reyher Jackson, daughter of Mrs. Reyher, read her mother's message.

"I would like you to see her as I first did. She was small, wiry, moved swiftly. You were first aware of her gentian blue, sparkling eyes, gay with laughter, certainly not a beautiful face in the conventional sense, but her radiant vitality left an impression of beauty.

She wanted with all her heart to help pass the national suffrage amendment, and her whole being was dedicated to that end. As a brilliant strategist, and a perfectionist who overlooked no detail, she had learned how best to project herself. For speaking she would take a stance, one foot forward, body and words

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

1870

seemingly bound together, her head and hands at a moving angle, an almost animated, modern-line sculpture."

Rebecca Reyher emphasized that it would be short sighted to think of Mabel Vernon primarily as a feminist, for she was a great humanitarian. Mrs. Reyher described how Mabel Vernon had, after suffrage was won, become deeply involved in efforts for peace. She organized the People's Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation in 1935, got Mary Woolley, former president of Mt. Holyoke College, as its chairman, and under the auspices of that committee, collected two million signatures in all the American republics to a peace petition taken by a delegation to the Buenos Aires conference in 1936, formed a commission of four women (of which Mrs. Reyher was one) to go to seventeen Latin American countries to urge them to finish signing the Buenos Aires treaties in 1937, and directed a Good Will Tour of Latin American women who spoke across the United States in 1939.

Mrs. Fern Ingersoll, who has worked on Miss Vernon's memoirs for the oral history program of the University of California, recalled Miss Vernon's deep interest in current events in Peru and her desire to know who wrote a particular news story about these events, just four days before she died. Mrs. Ingersoll developed the theme that the qualities she had grown to admire so much during her months of working with Mabel Vernon were still evident in spite of the suffragist's physical frailty -- her intense and continuing interest in people and events, her desire to evaluate so as to make a sound judgment, and her summoning up of energy even when a task was very difficult or she was almost completely spent.

Mrs. Anita Sandleman, former executive secretary of the Inter-American Commission of Women, spoke of the common concern she and Mabel Vernon had through the years for world peace. She described the close relationship Miss Vernon had with such outstanding Latin American women as Angela Acuña de Chacón of Costa Rica, Bertha Lutz of Brazil, Gabriela Mistral of Chile, and Victoria Ocampo of Argentina. Mrs. Sandleman outlined the accomplishments of the Pan-American Liaison Committee of Women's Organizations (PALCO) of which Mabel Vernon was the first president, and concluded with a hope that Miss Vernon's leadership would be an inspiration for both Latin and North American young people.

Spontaneous tributes came from others of Miss Vernon's friends, including Norma E. Boyd, president emeritus of the Women's International Religious Fellowship; Ruth Gaige-Colby, member of the National Woman's Party; Ricardo Aued, with whom Miss Vernon discussed politics through the years; Nancy Gager, editor of the Women's Rights Almanac; Cathleen Schurr, NOW member; and Carolyn Royall Just, a lawyer with the Department of Justice. A letter was read from Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan who worked with Mabel Vernon for suffrage, keeping the watch fires burning in the urn across from the White House, and later lived

1914

...

...

...

...

...

...

in England where she has been working for women's rights.

Excerpts from the film The Emerging Woman, made by Melanie Maholick and Elena Ladd and in which Miss Vernon appeared, were shown followed by a tape recording of Mabel Vernon's reflections on the fight for suffrage.

The program concluded with words written by Consuelo Reyes, Miss Vernon's devoted companion who worked with her on the People's Mandate Committee and gave her loving care during the last months of her life. The words, which Mabel Vernon herself had recited and Miss Reyes had taped, reflected the thoughts about life which the two women shared.

The following table shows the results of the survey conducted in 1985. The data is presented in a tabular format, with columns representing different categories and rows representing the years 1985, 1986, and 1987. The table is located in the upper right quadrant of the page.

Year	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
1985	120	150	180
1986	130	160	190
1987	140	170	200

INDEX -- Mabel Vernon

- Addams, Jane, 28, 30, 81, 102-103, 161, 200-202
 Amidon, Beulah, 143, 189
 Anthony, Susan B., 17
 Anthony, Susan B. amendment, 138-141
 Arniel, Annie, 75
 Arnold, Virginia, 75, 141
 Ashby, Mrs. Corbett, 96, 98
 Augsburgh, Anita, 82, 201
 Aydelotte, Frank, 10
- Baker, Abby Scott, 191
 Bancroft, William, 14
 Bauer, Gertrude, 83
 Belford, Frances, 125
 Belford, Samuel, 122-125
 Belford, Mrs. Samuel, 123-124
 Bells, Joseph, 23
 Bells, Mary, 23
 Belmont, Alva (Mrs. Oliver Hazard Perry), 162
 Berle, Adolph, 208
 Bernardino, Minerva, 112-113, 119, 211
 Blatch, Harriot Stanton, 19-21, 56-57, 63, 137, 166
 Boeckel, Florence, 96, 206
 Boissevain, Jean, 64
 Borah, Senator William Edgar, 184-185, 199
 Bosley, Harold A., 79
 Boss, Charles F., Jr., 79
 Boyle, Governor Emmet D., 59
 Brackenridge, Eleanor, 40
 Brainard, Eloise, 204
 Branham, Lucy, 89, 145
 Brannan, Eunice Dana, 66
 Brewster, Ethel, 31
 British suffragists. See appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
 Burke, Thomas, 107
 Burns, Lucy, 36, 62, 70, 145-146, 179. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
 Byrnes, James F., 192, 197



- Cain, Myrtle, 172-173
 Calderhead, Iris, 143, 149
 Capper, Arthur, 51, 58, 100
 Catt, Carrie Chapman, 36, 160, 180
 Cheney, Lynne, article by, 15-17, 20-22, 38, 54
 Cherdron, Margaret Zane, 151
 Chrispherson, Bill, 144
 Clapper, Janet, 108
 Clapper, Olive, 108-109
 Clapper, Raymond, 108
 Clarke, Pauline, 151
 Colt, Mrs. William L., 70
 Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (CU), 37, 45, 56, 59, 133, 160,
 181-186, 190-193. See also National Woman's Party, NAWSA.
 Conkle, Mary, 19, 31
 Cook, Dorothy, 104
 Coolidge, Calvin, 153
 Cotton, J.P., 99
 Cranston, Martha, 182
 Crew, Carolyn Ladd, 10, 12-13
 Culbertson, Elizabeth, 89, 169, 172
 Curtis, Senator Charles, 94, 134
- Datzner, Dorothy, 195
 Davies, Arthur, 11, 25-26
 Davis, Mrs. Bancroft, 115n
 Davis, Chandler, 23
 de Leusse, Count, 200
 del Pulgar de burke, Ana, 107, 110, 205
 Devoe, Emma Smith, 31
 Devoe, Mary R., 182
 Dock, Lavinia, 75
 Dorr, Rheta Childe, 60
 Drevet, Camille, 83
 DuBois, W.E.B., 28
 Dubrow, Evelyn, 157
 Dubrow, Mary, 155-157
 DuPont family, 24
- Earhart, Amelia, 198
 Eastman, Crystal, 36, 60
 Echeverria, Nellie, 210

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

Faint, illegible text at the bottom right of the page.

- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 79-80
- Emory, Julia, 145-146, 155. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
- Epstein, Mrs. Milton, 79
- equal rights
 in nationality treaties, 98-100, 116
 in UN Charter, 121
 See also ERA, NWP, Women's Bureau.
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 87-88, 92-94, 168-177. See also National Woman's Party
- Feickert, Mrs., 32
- Fendall, Mary Gertrude, 68-69, 142, 149, 152, 154, 205, 208. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
- Fenwick, Charles F., 203
- Ferguson, John H., 79
- Field, Sara Bard, 41, 44-45, 49-55, 90, 94, 101-104, 118-121, 131, 150, 186, 211
- Fisher, Katherine Ward, 112
- Flanagan, Catherine, 155
- Formoso, de Obregon Santacilia, Adelia, 118, 211
- Frank, Bill, 7-8
- Gale, Zona, 89
- Gardner, Gilson, 66-67, 69
- Gardner, Mathilda Hall (Mrs. Gilson), 66, 179
- Gilbert, Mildred, 70
- Gilmore, Inez Haynes. See appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
- Gordon, George, 12
- Gould, Mrs. Frank, 153
- Gram, Alice, 155
- Gram, Betty, 155-156
- Gruening, Dorothy Smith, 60
- Gruening, Ernest, 83, 115-116
- Gurovitz, Judy, 187
- Hackworth, Green, 100
- Hallinan, Charles, 144, 148
- Hallinan, Hazel Hunkins, iv-v, 143-149, 157, appendix

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

1909

1910

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

1964

1965

1966

1967

1968

1969

1970

1971

1972

1973

1974

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1985

1986

1987

1988

1989

1990

1991

1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

1998

1999

2000

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

1909

1910

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

1964

1965

1966

1967

1968

1969

1970

1971

1972

1973

1974

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1985

1986

1987

1988

1989

1990

1991

1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

1998

1999

2000

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

1909

1910

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

1964

1965

1966

1967

1968

1969

1970

1971

1972

1973

1974

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1985

1986

1987

1988

1989

1990

1991

1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

1998

1999

2000

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

1909

1910

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

1964

1965

1966

1967

1968

1969

1970

1971

1972

1973

1974

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1985

1986

1987

1988

1989

1990

1991

1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

1998

1999

2000

- Hazard, Dora, 52, 137, 150
 Henkel, Alice, 151
 Henkel, Margaret Cherdron, 151
 Henkel, William, 151
 Heymann, Alida (Gustava), 82, 201
 Hill, Elsie, 31, 45, 141, 155, 158
 Hilles, Florence Bayard, 24, 26, 53, 66, 68, 70, 97, 183-184
 Hinshaw, Virgil, 71
 Hoover, Herbert, 84, 87, 92, 103, 130-131, 196-197
 Hoover, Mrs. Herbert (Lou Henry), 130
 Hopkins, J.A.H., 71
 Hughes, Charles Evans, 61, 191
 Hull, Cordell, 109, 203
 Hull, Mrs. Cordell, 113
 Hull, Hannah Clothier, 103, 193, 198
 Hull, William Isaac, 103, 193, 198
- Ickes, Harold, 201
 Ickes, Mrs. Harold, 201
 Inter-American Commission of Women, 111-113, 143
 inter-American peace efforts, 107-116, 203-205, 209-210
 International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Tenth Congress, 1926, 95-98
 Irwin, Inez Haynes, Up Hill With Banners Flying, 30-32, 36, 43, 55-56, 58, 73-74, 135, 141, 149, 151. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
- Jamison, Maud, 75
- Keigwin, Rev. Albert, 5, 76
 Keller, Helen, 60
 Kelley, Florence, 17
 Kent, Mrs. William (Elizabeth), 72, 76, 123
 King, Dr. Cora Smith, 31, 38
 Krantz, Lillian, 74
- La Follette, Robert, 120, 210
 Laidlaw, Harriet Lees, 180
 Laidlaw, James Lees, 180
 Lamas, Saavedro, 203
 Laughlin, Gail, 41, 175
 League of Women Voters, 97

1911
1912
1913

1914
1915
1916

1917
1918
1919

1920
1921
1922

1923
1924
1925

LeRoy, Emily, 164
 Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence, 73, 179
 Lewis, Shippen, 179
 Lindsey, Malvina, 91
 Long, John D., 43
 Long, Dr. Margaret, 43
 Lowenburg, Mrs. Harry, 70
 Lutz, Alma, 12n, 56, 138, 186-188
 Lutz, Bertha, 119, 211

Mackaye, Benton, 35
 Mackaye, Hazel, 35
 MacLeish, Archibald, 119-121
 Malone, Dudley Field, 56-57, 66-67, 178
 Marsden, Edith, 28-29
 Martin, Anne, 41-46, 55-57, 64-66, 74, 81-84, 86, 89, 96, 118, 122-126,
 141, 152, 156, 164, 170, 191
 peace work 194, 197, 201-202
 portrayed 129-136
 senatorial campaign 43-45, 158-159
 See also appendix.
 Martin, William O'Hara, 129
 Martin, Mrs. William O'Hara, 132-133
 Matthews, Judge Burnita Shelton, 95-96, 98, 112, 212
 McCormick, Ruth Hanna (Mrs. Medill), 139
 Milholland, Inez, 19-21, 60, 64-65
 Milholland, Vida, 201
 Mistral, Gabriela, 208-209
 Moffat, J. Pierrepont, 200
 Monroe, Lila Day, 58
 Morey, Katherine, 75
 Mott, Lucretia, 17
 Musser, Elise, 108-110
 Mussey, Henry Raymond, 176

National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), 20, 27, 34-38, 44,
 97, 99, 135, 139, 160, 182-184, 190-191. See also Congressional Union.
 National Council of Women Voters, 30-31, 48

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

National Woman's Party (NWP)

- delegation to Hague Conference Concerning Nationalities, 98-101
 - delegation to International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress, 95-98
 - efforts in the South, 127-128, 159, 189-190
 - founding (1916), 43-44, 56, 59-60, 64-65, 135-136
 - leaders and members, 141-158, 178-181
 - opposing the party-in-power policy, 47, 55-56, 64, 170-171
 - post-suffrage focus, 87-88, 161-162
 - relationships with political parties, 55-60, 92-94, 142, 161-163, 169-174, 188-189
 - role at UN founding, 121
 - techniques imitated, 194-203, passim
 - Women-For-Congress campaign, 23-35, passim, 88-92, 169-172
 - See also Congressional Union, Equal Rights Amendment, NAWSA, Mabel Vernon, appendix (Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript).
- Nevada Equal Franchise Society, 41
- Newlands, Senator Francis G., 65
- Nichols, Ruth, 198
- Nixon, Pat (Mrs. Richard), 46
- Norris, Herschel, 12-13
- Nutting, Adelaide, 167

Occoquan prison. See appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.

- O'Day, Carolyn, 107-110
- Ogburn, William Fielding, 165
- O'Neill, William, Everyone Was Brave, 147, 162-164, 170-171

Panama Pacific International Exposition, 1915, 48

Pan-American Liaison Committee of Women's Organizations (PALCO), 112-113

Papandre, Elizabeth, 70

Paul, Alice, 1-2, 11, 179

- attitude towards blacks and Jews, 157-158
 - pre-suffrage activity, 14-19, 21-22, 27-30, 32, 36, 41, 47-55, 57, 59, 62-64, 84, 134-139, 142, 144-145, 148, 152, 159, 181-182
 - post-suffrage activity, 87, 92-101, 112, 117, 121, 173-174, 177
- peace. See Mabel Vernon, Peoples Mandate Committee, Women's International League, appendix.
- Pearson, Drew, 85
- Pearson, Paul, 85
- Peoples Mandate Committee, 105-118, 149, 154, 197, 203-209



Pepper, Mrs. Claude, 205
 Pethick-Lawrence, Lady Emmeline, 84, 97
 Picon, Elsie, 79
 Pierce, Vivian, 143, 149, 151-152
 Pittman, Key, 55, 122, 125, 199
 Pittman, Mrs. Key, 122
 policy of opposing the party-in-power. See Congressional Union, Equal Rights Amendment, National Woman's Party.
 Pollitzer, Anita, 32, 96, 119, 121, 148, 155, 157, 180
 Putnam, George, 198
 Putnam, Mabel Raef, 174

Raef, Marguerite, 174
 Rankin, Jeannette, 43
 Reyes-Calderón, Consuelo, 3, 23, 78-79, 207-211, 213
 Reyher, Rebecca Hourwich, 114, 151-154, 156-157, 168
 Rhondda, Viscountess Margaret, 97, 147, 253. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
 Rogers, Elizabeth (Mrs. John, Jr.), 66, 70, 100
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 107-111, 202
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 105-111
 Ross, Margery, 150
 Rowe, Clara Louise, 144, 149
 Rumely, Dr. Edward, 71

Saavedra, Alicia, 118
 Saavedra, Esther, 118
 Scott, Mrs. Townsend, 70
 Shafroth-Palmer amendment, 138-141
 Shapley, Harlow, 200
 Shaw, Dr. Anna Howard, 28, 38, 44, 180, 186
 Shepherd, William R., 86, 165
 Six Point Group, 147, 253. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
 Smith, Al, 93
 Smith, Marguerite, 186-187
 Spargo, John, 71
 Spencer, Dr. Caroline, 70
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 20, 138-139
 Stevens, Donald, 23
 Stevens, Doris, 55, 95-96, 98, 100, 112, 116, 141, 143, 144, 175, 178, 180-181, 189-190. See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.

1911

1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024
2025
2026
2027
2028
2029
2030
2031
2032
2033
2034
2035
2036
2037
2038
2039
2040
2041
2042
2043
2044
2045
2046
2047
2048
2049
2050

1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024
2025
2026
2027
2028
2029
2030
2031
2032
2033
2034
2035
2036
2037
2038
2039
2040
2041
2042
2043
2044
2045
2046
2047
2048
2049
2050

1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024
2025
2026
2027
2028
2029
2030
2031
2032
2033
2034
2035
2036
2037
2038
2039
2040
2041
2042
2043
2044
2045
2046
2047
2048
2049
2050

Stevens, Frank, 23-25
 Stevenson, Adlai, 78-80
 Stone, Mrs. Harlan Fiske, 113
 Stubbs, Jessie Hardy, 179
 Swing, Raymond Gram, 156
 Swope, Gerard, 200
 Swope, Mary Hill, 200

Terrill, Mary Church, 157-158
 Thompson, Big Bill, 51
 Thompson, Dorothy Hazard, 137
 Thompson, Mrs. Sinclair, 141
 Todd, Helen, 63
 Truman, Harry, 212-213
 Tumulty, Joseph, 58

United Nations, 118-121, 209-213

Vanderbilt, William, 112
 Vernon, George Washington, 4, 6-7, 11
 Vernon, Mabel
 activities for peace, 78-80, 101-121, 193-213
 as a speaker, 14-17, 23-24, 34, 41-42, 56-57, 60, 62, 86, 95-96
 education, 3-6, 8-18, 86, 165-167
 executive secretary for NWP, 87, 92, 95-98, 100-101, 136, 153
 family background, 1-8, 76-78
 involvement in suffrage campaign, 17-19, 23-76, 122-129, 141, 144,
 181-186, 190
 manager for Anne Martin's campaign, 43-45, 158-159
 post-suffrage activity (1920-1926), 81-86, 168
 religious and political views, 48, 76-78
 teaching career, 18-19, 86-87
 See also appendix
 Vernon, Mary Hooten, 1-3, 6, 11
 Villard, Oswald Garrison, 83, 166, 202
 von Suttner, Baroness Bertha, 17

1900
1901
1902
1903
1904
1905
1906
1907
1908
1909
1910

1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920

1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930

1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940

1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950

- Walsh, Frank, 90-91
Wellborn, Mary Moss, 93, 99-100, 199
Welles, Sumner, 106-110, 115, 204
White, William Allen, 91
Whitman, Governor Charles S., 52
Whittemore, Margaret, 89, 141-142, 169
Wilson, Woodrow, 20-22, 54, 58, 61-63, 65-66, 71-72, 125, 144, 178.
 See also appendix, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan transcript.
Winsor, Mary, 32, 91-92
Wold, Emma, 87, 94, 99-101
women:
 choice of marriage or career, 179
 equality of nationality of, 98-100, 116
 in congressional election campaigns, 23-35, 88-92, 169-172
 in Germany, 82
 social value of, 65, 163-164
 traveling alone, 47
Women's Bureau (Department of Labor):
 position on ERA, 176
 Women's Industrial Conference, 174-177
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIL), 81-82,
 101-106, 161, 193-204
Wood, Erskine Scott, 102
Woolley, Mary E., 105, 109, 111, 197-199

Young, Joy, 117, 150
Young, Matilda, 150
Younger, Maud, 94, 133-134, 141, 153

Zimmerman, Loretta Ellen, 181, 185, 192

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

Amelia R. Fry

Graduated from the University of Oklahoma, B.A. in psychology and English, M.A. in educational psychology and English, University of Illinois; additional work, University of Chicago, California State University at Hayward.

Instructor, freshman English at University of Illinois and at Hiram College. Reporter, suburban daily newspaper, 1966-67.

Interviewer, Regional Oral History Office, 1959--; conducted interview series on University history, woman suffrage, the history of conservation and forestry, public administration and politics. Director, Earl Warren Era Oral History Project, documenting governmental/political history of California 1925-1953; director, Goodwin Knight-Edmund G. Brown Era Project.

Author of articles in professional and popular journals; instructor, summer Oral History Institute, University of Vermont, 1975, 1976, and oral history workshops for Oral History Association and historical agencies; consultant to other oral history projects; oral history editor, Journal of Library History, 1969-1974; secretary, the Oral History Association, 1970-1973.

1911

Received of the Treasurer of the
Board of Education the sum of
\$100.00 for the year ending
June 30, 1911.

Witness my hand and seal this
15th day of July, 1911.

Attest:
The Treasurer of the Board of Education
of the City of New York.

Received of the Treasurer of the
Board of Education the sum of
\$100.00 for the year ending
June 30, 1911.



