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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (US WILPF) and its efforts to mobilize an activist and durable women's peace reform organization in the 1930s. Members wished US WILPF to serve as an avenue for expanding women's political power and for reaching the goals of nonviolent change and economic and social justice at all levels of national and international life. It was the first modern women's peace organization to emerge after World War I. With its national headquarters in Washington, D.C., it functioned as a public interest group with Dorothy Detzer as chief lobbyist, while local branch members applied pressure on legislators and officials and attempted to educate communities on peace issues. Mildred Scott Olmstead, the national organization secretary, worked to expand and strengthen the group at the grassroots level in order to increase US WILPF's political clout. This two-pronged approach to peace education--lobbying at the highest policy-making levels and education at the grassroots level--provided women with the opportunity to gain political power to realize their reformist goals. These women chose not to enter partisan politics or the electoral arena. Instead, they opted for empowerment through educational, lobbying, and organizing activities. Women's full political participation would await a future generation of women who had developed both a feminist peace consciousness and a plan for entering electoral politics. (JB)

Educating Women for Peace: The United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Political Organization during the 1930's

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The final paper of this panel will consider women's educational and organizational efforts in the peace movement of the 1930's as another case study of women's search for opportunity and empowerment through education. In particular, I will focus on the work of the United States' section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (US WILPF) to mobilize an activist and durable women's peace reform organization. Members wished US WILPF to serve as an avenue for expanding women's political power and for reaching the goals of non-violent change and economic and social justice at all levels of national and international life. Within this context, I define the term peace education in a broad sense in order to understand this group's efforts to create among women "a will to peace" which would promote understanding of not only the issues, but also the political and organizational methods for pursuing reform. During the interwar years the women of US WILPF then, sought to realize a transnational vision through participation in the political process as reformers; such participation entailed the founding of a modern public interest group which could advocate the principles of pacifism and justice, devise a reform agenda and teach women the skills to advance their program in the political arena.

The end of World War I and the achievement of woman suffrage meant that organized American women confronted old reform challenges, as well as fresh opportunities for change from their new political vantage point as citizens. The seemingly meager results of women's reform endeavors during the inter-war years have led historians to consider the question of what happened to organized women and feminism after women won the vote and presumably could have exercised political power in new, efficacious ways. A few historians have stressed the demise and fragmentation of the women's movement and

women's responsibility for this development.[1] Others, while recognizing the decline of a unified movement, emphasize the re-formation of women's political efforts in a new context.

In particular, Nancy Cott has shown that as women defined new interests in the 1920's, they created more organizations, characterized by greater degrees of specialization and professionalization. Further, they joined them in equally large numbers as compared to the pre-suffrage period. Others have shown that women's groups kept the reform agenda alive in a political environment hostile to progressive change and thus provided an important link to New Deal policies. These efforts, however, did not result in unity among feminists as they split over the issue of equal rights versus protective legislation for women. In short, before 1920 the suffrage cause had provided the centripetal force which allowed for a tenuous unity among a variety of feminists and reformers. Once this umbrella cause disappeared, the centrifugal force of difference and diversity among women led them into many smaller political communities in the post suffrage era. In answering the question, "What happened to the women's movement?" one can briefly summarize that organized women were active but hampered by a conservative political climate, that they adopted the organizational forms and structures geared to modern American political culture and that they created a diversity of organizations, but not a unified feminist movement.[2]

The formation and experience of US WILPF and of the women's peace movement during the 1920's reflected these trends. After World War I demonstrated the horrors of modern technological warfare and with the evident failure of the Treaty of Versailles to establish justice and stability abroad, organized women turned to peace as the next point on the agenda for reform. Aside from US WILPF, a number of women's peace

groups formed, including the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, which was composed of nine large women's organizations. Other women's organizations also formed peace departments, while some women worked in mixed peace associations and assumed leadership positions.[3] They worked for disarmament, arbitration, the outlawry of war, United States' entrance into the World Court and the League of Nations, revision of the Treaty of Versailles and an end to U.S. imperialism. However, within the peace movement, groups interpreted peace and internationalism in a variety of ways which meant that no unified approach or goals dominated.[4]

US WILPF was the first modern women's peace organization to emerge. It stemmed from two organizations, the Woman's Peace Party and the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, formed in 1915 to register women's objection to World War I. Formally re-named and re-organized in 1919 as the US section of WILPF, it functioned as a national member of the international organization. Led by such notables as Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch, women reformers and pacifists defined their work during peacetime. US WILPF stood for the rejection of war, social and economic change through democratic and non-violent methods, liberty, the recognition of human solidarity as the basis for peace, the improvement of the quality of life by meeting basic needs, the creation of good-will among peoples and the formation of institutions to facilitate the realization of these goals. The women shared a transnational vision that projected a world unified by principles of justice, freedom and pacifism.[5]

Established as a non-partisan, secular and inclusive group, US WILPF was an individual membership organization composed of branches located largely in major urban areas of the northeast. The group set up national headquarters in Washington, D.C., where the executive secretary, Dorothy

Detzer, successfully established her role as US WILPF's chief lobbyist. It functioned as a public interest group, with Detzer working on Capitol Hill, while local branch members applied pressure on legislators and officials, in addition to educating communities on peace issues.[6]

In this paper I will consider US WILPF's organizational campaign to expand and strengthen the group at the grassroots level during the thirties. Mildred Scott Olmsted, the national organization secretary, promoted such work by building a larger membership base in order to increase US WILPF's political clout. Peace more than ever had become a domestic political concern, and through peace education, US WILPF hoped to heighten awareness about the means for translating pacifist principles into a program for political action. However, US WILPF's experiment in systematic organization work proved shortlived. Internal tensions over the group's identity and purpose, as well as external pressures and circumstances undermined this endeavor. The experiment illustrates the difficulties of organizing women for peace and perhaps more generally, helps to explain the problems women encountered when building a reformist political presence.

During the twenties US WILPF addressed intermittently the question of increasing membership and expanding the number of local branches. While branches had initially evolved in a number of cities and states, especially where the Women's Peace Party had been well-established, US WILPF had not grown into the broad-based group which some leaders had envisioned when the group began its work in 1920.[7] The Pennsylvania branch proved the exception with a system of active locals directed by the state office in Philadelphia. During the interwar years this group continued as the largest state organization and was a source of leadership and essential funding for national headquarters. Mildred Scott Olmsted, a former social worker who

had done relief work in Europe after the War, guided this organizational growth in her role as Executive Secretary for the Pennsylvania branch. Dubbed "architect of the WILPF" by Jane Addams, Olmsted became the spokeswoman and driving force for effective organization of WILPF peace workers across the nation.

Organizing women for peace, especially for a group identified with a radical transnational vision, would prove difficult even under ideal conditions. Because of the abstract nature of peace, women often found it difficult to sustain the zeal and dedication for a cause which yielded few concrete results. As one member who resigned admitted, she did not have the imagination to work "enthusiastically for something so abstract and just and so impossible of realization, as world peace."[8] Olmsted thought US WILPF's program lacked appeal because it integrated principles of non-violence, freedom and social justice into a complex and diverse agenda for reform.[9] Emily Greene Balch also addressed the group's limited attraction by pointing to its seemingly incongrous characteristics. She believed that US WILPF as a "left-leaning bourgeois group" attracted neither the working class and radical left nor middle classes. Furthermore, she found that WILPF's inclusive kind of pacifism found few adherents among absolute pacifists or liberal internationalists.[10]

However, despite this lack of a more general ideological appeal, US WILPF grew from a few hundred members to 10,000 during the twenties. In addition, new branches were founded in the West, particularly in California.[11] While welcoming growth, US WILPF leaders did not view organizational work per se as a major priority in light of limited funds and personnel, and given their more fundamental concern for developing advanced policies and programs. In addition, Dorothy Detzer, as National Secretary,

devoted her time and immense talent to lobbying work on the Hill and cultivating cooperative efforts with other peace groups. Although she understood and appreciated the important role of a highly mobilized and active membership in influencing congressmen and government officals, she defined her political work largely in terms of a professional lobbyist.[12]

Showing increasing impatience with the lack of systematic organizational work, Mildred Olmsted started her campaign to strengthen and expand the organization in earnest in 1929. Viewing the WILPF as traditionally "very strong in the head but [having] a starved body" Olmsted made pleas for organizational work "if our policies are to be more than well-expressed paper hopes."[13] No doubt causing irritation among some members, she made her case year after year. She told the 1934 Annual Meeting:

> Some of you hear me make this plea each year for more organization groan inwardly, I know, when you see me coming and think 'there is that woman again who wants to spend our money on field work instead of real peace work.' But without a strong organization to stand upon, one's ideals however noble, will fall to the ground. Now is the time to develop it. I beg your attention.[14]

Winning the support of the National Board, she first began her efforts by leading a national committee on organization, and then in 1934 she became US WILPF's first organization secretary working as a paid member of the national staff.[15] In part, Olmsted's cause was supported by the propitious political climate of the early thirties. With growing international tensions abroad and the increasing threat of fascist and militarist aggression, Americans supported disarmament and anti-war measures in unprecedented numbers.[16] US WILPF hoped to channel that sentiment into support for the peace reform.

Olmsted based her work upon an organizational philosophy which synthesized ideas dealing with reform activism, education and community-building. To begin with, she believed that significant changes in American society such as the abolition of slavery, woman suffrage and prohibition, came about through the work of voluntary associations, rather than political parties or politicians. She thought that peace could be achieved in a similar manner by organizing and focusing the people's will for peace upon definite political aims. She wrote:

> Throughout our history it is the voluntary organizations which have done the necessary research and educational work in the communities to show people what they need to do to get their ideas translated into legislative action. Until the sentiment is organized, it has little effect.[17]

Thus Olmsted viewed organizational work as an essential and specialized form of education that would contribute fundamentally to achieving WILPF goals. While all aspects of peace reform involved education, either through informing government officals, other reform groups or the public, Olmsted went a step further. Significantly she linked peace and political education within an organized structure at the local level as crucial to their efforts. Only through developing peace consciousness, a knowledge of the issues, and commitment to using political methods, would peace supporters become peace activists. While this strategy for reform had been used effectively in other movements, such as suffrage, pacifists in general, had not effectively employed this method. Further, Olmsted was not only concerned with consciousness-raising and political activity, but also with the creation of women's peace communities. Being part of US section and the international WILPF provided sororial bonds that encouraged peace workers to develop their thinking and to focus upon unified political activities. Olmsted optimistically projected that such a strategy would result in a mass

membership organization of 55,000 women, who would be organized in all congressional districts.[18] For Olmsted a modern public interest group could not depend upon lobbying in Washington; indeed, an active membership played an even more signficant role in the reform equation.

During these years Olmsted formulated a strategy designed to modernize the structure and functions of the group through the creation of a strong organizational infrastructure. In addition, Olmsted worked to increase the number of branches and members within this well-coordinated and integrated federated structure. Taken together these measures would produce a more centrally coordinated and politically efficacious organization.[19] While all these efforts were interrelated, for the purposes of this paper I will deal only with Olmsted's endeavors for building new branches.

Organizational expansion proved a formidable challenge. Obtaining funding, finding and training organizers, establishing a foundation in communities, and finally educating and sustaining a local group all were part of the process. Olmsted began by asking the National Board to hire an organizer for each of US WILPF's six regions. Olmsted's strategy was to develop local groups in areas that would help tie the organized states and branches together into cohesive regions. Regional development would help the brancnes overcome the problems of geographic isolation from one another. However, because of limited resources, Olmsted only partially implemented these plans. US WILPF hired only three field workers at different times during the thirties. In order to overcome this deficiency, Olmsted also convinced established branches to do organization work in their states.[20]

In addition to this financial hurdle, there was the task of selecting and training an organizer. Olmsted knew that as the sole representative of the organization out in the field, she would be one of the keys to founding

a local group. Not only would the organizer need a thorough grounding in WILPF principles, policies and history and in setting up an organization, but also, as Olmsted noted, "She must be physically, mentally and spiritually strong, for the work is long and hard, discouraging and lonely."[21] In 1935 Olmsted found a suitable candidate in Eleanor Eaton, a recent graduate of Smith College. Eaton maintained her resolve and humor as she traveled around the country during the next three years.

In entering a new area, organizers such as Eaton faced a panoply of challenges. The radical reputation of US WILPF, competition from other groups, or at times, complete ignorance of the organization, made gaining a toehold difficult. Once in a promising community, the organizer had to quickly find a core of peace-oriented women, willing to devote the time and energy to founding a new branch. Eaton would use personal contacts of Board members, consult contact lists garnered during various peace events, or work with local women's organizations to find potential leaders. Locating such women, who had a knowledge of the community and its network of organizaed women, thus proved the first critical step.[22]

Education of new leaders and groups was the crucial factor in the group's ability to survive and to become politically active. Fostering the "will to peace" as a form of consciousness for change entailed a two stage process. First, women had to be converted to the pacifist cause. Second, women had to link their belief in non-violence to political activism. Without strong devotion to the cause of peace, freedom and justice, members found it hard to maintain enthusiasm for peace work that often had elusive goals. Olmsted and Eaton laid the groundwork by providing information about the WILPF's history and legislative program. They also developed "how to" literature to guide groups through the step-by-step process of setting up

committees, an annual program, or doing specialized work in the areas of political pressure and publicity.[23]

In addition to educating women about the ideological and organizational aspects of US WILPF, Olmsted endeavored to forge close ties between the local groups and the national organization. Olmsted found that follow-up visits to the groups were essential to building both understanding of the WILPF's policies and loyalty to US WILPF. Traveling extensively to new and established branches, she sent volunteers as well, and strongly encouraged National Board members to visit groups.[24] Aside from building personal contacts, Olmsted wrote an organizational newsletter, while Dorothy Detzer sent a legislative bulletin relaying news from Washington and the proposed political activities. Finally, branches were encouraged to attend the Annual Meetings, where forums on organization allowed local members to voice concerns and accomplishments. In 1938 for instance, the Annual Meeting devoted time to the issue of red-baiting by local patriotic groups who frightened women away from US WILPF or into quiescence.[25] Thus during the thirties, Olmsted and her supporters devised any number of tactics to accomplish her strategy of establishing an expanding, cohesive organization.

After four years of intensive work, Olmsted reported in 1938 that US WILPF had grown into a "more closely coordinated organization, which knows what it hopes to accomplish and how and why."[26] The efforts at organizing had definitely shown results, even if these fell short of Olmsted's expectations. By 1939, US WILPF had 118 branches and 13,600 members compared to 61 branches and 9,115 members in 1935.[27]

Yet, in spite of accomplishments, the experiment in organization came quickly to an end in 1939. Several factors account for this. First, US

WILPF faced a financial crisis during the late 1930's. Employing any number of methods, the group could not reverse the declining trend in finances. Faced by a continuing deficit, the National Board chose to cut organizing activity. By 1940, it eliminated all field work and Olmsted left the Washington office to work full-time in Philadelphia on a drastically reduced budget.[28]

These financial problems were symptomatic of the changing political climate and the increasing dilemma of the peace movement to respond to the deteriorating international situation. As a result of accelerating facist and militarist aggression in Europe and Asia during the late thirties, the anti-war public shrank. At the same time, the Roosevelt administration gradually advocated interventionist measures which the American public supported, especially after war broke out in Europe. The peace movement itself witnessed widening rifts after 1936 as the internationalist wing demanded revision of US neutrality and the pacifist wing stood firm for mandatory neutrality.[29] US WILPF also divided over U.S. neutrality policies which avoided war but did not stop aggression and left the victims without sufficient support.[30] While the peace movement had expanded dramatically during the 1930's, public support stemmed from anti-war and isolationist sentiments that emerged as a response to international instability. US WILPF hoped to transform anti-war feelings into "peace consciousness" which it defined as active work for political, social and economic change based upon principles of non-violence and justice. In short, the group confronted an overwhelming challenge to change a society still committed to the premises of nationalism and violence even as the tidal wave of international aggression swept the world into a maelstrom of war.

Finally, US WILPF's reform identity is an underlying factor which explains the group's generally lukewarm attitude towards organizational work as well as its decision to cut support for grassroots organizing. While the leaders of US WILPF shared Olmsted's view of the reform organization as a critical agent for change, they did not share her optimistic advocacy for local organizing and building a mass membership. They identified themselves as a pioneering international pacifist group whose main strategy emphasized the articulation and translation of radical transnational policies into a political program. For some of those committed to this approach, a large membership actually constituted a liability. Dorothy Detzer thought that a rapid increase in membership would make it difficult for the group to maintain its radical stance.[31] Another aspect of such vanguardist thinking, was Jane Addams' conception of the WILPF as a "mother cell" that provided a forum and community for like-minded pacfist and internationalist women. For her, education remained the key to reform, but she did not link it to active organization of the masses of women at the local level.[32] A significant part of the leadership thus defined US WILPF as a vanguard group which ought to develop the radical nature of its reform agenda in order to lead and educate peace opinion through a far-sighted program.

Placed in a larger context, US WILPF faced one of the reformer's traditional dilemmas. On the one hand, they could continue to work as a band of activists devoting most of their time and resources to the development of radical programs. On the other, they could emphasize grassroots organization in order to expand the consciousness of the masses, perhaps at the expense of maintaining radical pacifist policies. During the thirties, US WILPF attempted to resolve the dilemma by combining both approaches to reform. They retained their radical pacifist policies and

vision, and, as a modern lobbying organization, they influenced government officials at the highest policy-making levels while educating and organizing growing numbers of women at the local level for politically-oriented peace work.

US WILPF's encompassing definition of peace education thus provided women with the opportunity to gain political power to realize their reformist goals. In interpreting their new role as citizens, the women of US WILPF, like most organized women of this period, chose not to enter partisan politics or the electoral arena. Instead they opted for empowerment through educational, lobbying and organizing activities. Women's full political participation would await a future generation of women who had developed both a feminist peace consciousness and a plan for entering electoral politics.

In retrospect, Olmsted's organizing efforts seem well-meaning but destined to fail given the overall political and international context of the 1930's and in light of US WILPF's identity as a vanguard group. Yet her vision and strategy for nurturing the will to peace must be viewed as far-sighted, for only grassroots peace and feminist consciousness linked to political action will ultimately produce significant and enduring change towards a non-violent and just world.

ENDNOTES

[1]William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. vii-x.

[2]Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), Introduction, Chapters 1 and 3; J. Stanley Lemons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920's (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1973); Felice D. Gordon, After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1920-1947 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Joan Jensen, "All Pink Sisters: The War Department and the Feminist Movement in the 1920's" in Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920-1940, eds. Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 199-222; Susan Ware, Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981); Susan Becker, The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment: American Feminism Between the Wars (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).

[3]Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, pp. 94-95; Harriet Hyman Alonso, "'To Make War Legally Impossible:' A Study of the Women's Peace Union, 1921-42" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1986); Florence Brewer Boeckel, Be[illegible] War and Peace: A Handbook for Peace Workers (New York: Macmillan Co., 19[illegible]), pp. 106-123. The National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War included: the National League of Women Voters, the American Association of Univeristy Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

[4]Charles DeBenedetti, Origins of the Modern American Peace Movement, 1915-1929 (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1978); Charles DeBenedetti, The Peace Reform in American History (Bloomington: Indianna University Press, 1980), Chapter 6.

[5]For examples of US WILPF's principles and policies see, US WILPF's Annual Programs," for the 1920's and 1930's, WILPF, US Section Records, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania (hereinafter cited as US WILPF SCPC), Reel 100.1.

[6]The US WILPF revealed many of the characteristics of modern lobbying groups when compared to recent analyses of public interest groups of the 1960's and 1970's. See, for example, Jeffrey M. Berry, Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

[7]Emily Balch to Anna Garlin Spencer, 31 December 1919, WILPF Papers, Western Historical Collection, University of Colorado, Boulder, (hereinafter cited as WILPF WHC), Series II, Box 2, Flder. 10; Spencer to Members of the Section for the U.S.A. of the WILPF, 15 March 1920, US WILPF SCPC, Series A 5, Box 1, Flder. U.S. Section Releases, 1920-1924.

[8]Mrs. John C. Lee to Amy Woods, 10 October 1923, US WILPF SCPC, Series C 1, Box 2, Flder. Mrs. Lee.

[9]Mercedes Randall, "Interview with Mildred Scott Olmsted" 1972, pp. 38-39, Mildred Scott Olmsted Papers, SCPC.

[10]Balch to Jane Addams, 17 November 1922, Jane Addams Papers, SCPC, Reel 113.15.

[11](Anne Martin), "Report of the Western Regional Director," appended to the Minutes of the National Board, 1-2 November 1929, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.7. Anne Martin, a veteran suffrage worker for the National Women's Party undertook organizational work in the western U.S. during the late 1920's.

[12]Olmsted to Balch, 7 January 1929, US WILPF SCPC, Series C 1, Box 6, Flder. Balch; Dorothy Detzer, "Memorandum," n.d., ca. 1929, US WILPF, Series C 1, Box 9, Flder. Hull. For an account of Detzer's work see, Dorothy Detzer, Appointment on the Hill (N.Y.: Henry Holt and Co., 1948) and Carrie Foster-Hayes, "The Women and the Warriors: Dorothy Detzer and the WILPF" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1984).

[13]Olmsted to Eleanor Eaton, 4 November 1936, US WILPF SCPC, Series C 4, Box 2, Flder, Eaton, 1936; Olmsted to Balch, 19 June 1930, and Balch to Olmsted 24 June 1930, US WILPF SCPC, Series C 1, Box 6, Flder. Balch.

[14](Mildred Olmsted), "Report of the National Oranization Committee," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 4-5 May 1934, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.8.

[15]For a sample of her activities see, (Mildred Olmsted), Report of the National Organization Committee, 8 January 1934, appended to the Minutes of the National Board, 13-15 January 1934 and "Reorganization Report," October 1934, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.8.

[16]Diplomatic historians have analyzed domestic American public opinion during the 1930's in terms of isolationism. See, Selig Adler, The Isolationist Impulse, Its Twentieth Century Reaction (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 219-249; Manfred Jonas, Isolationism In America, 1935-1941 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966); John E. Wiltz, From Isolation to War, 1931-1941 (N.Y.: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), pp. 1-17.

[17]Mildred Scott Olmsted, "Peace Must be Organized," Fellowship, The Journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation IV (January 1938): 6.

[18](Mildred Olmsted), "Report of the National Organization Secretary," 18 January 1936, US WILPF SCPC, Series A 4, Box 2, Flder. Organization Committee, 1930-1949.

[19]"Reorganization Report," October 1934, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.8; (Olmsted), "Report of the National Organization Secretary," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 4-5 May 1935, US WILPF SCPC Reel 100.9.

[20](Mildred Olmsted), "Report of the National Organization secretary," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 4-5 May 1935, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.9; Mildred Olmsted, "What the Organization Department Has Done,"

n.d., ca. 1939, US WILPF SCPC, Series A 4, Box 2, Flder. Organization Committee, 1930-49; Mildred Olmsted, "For Budget COmmittee," 1940, US WILPF SCPC, Series C 1, Box 32, Flder. National Organization Committee, 1940.

[21](Olmsted), "Report of the National Organization Secretary," Appendel to the Minutes of the National Board, 18 October 1936, US WILPF, Reel 100.9.

[22]Olmsted to Eaton, 6 April 1936 and Eaton to Olmsted 7 February 1937, US WILPF SCPC, Series C 4, Box 2, Flders. Eaton, 1936 and 1937; Eleanor Eaton, "Supplement" to the "Report of the National Organization Secretary," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1-4 May 1936, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.9.

[23]"Outline of Suggestions for Founding a Local Branch of the WILPF;" "Program Suggestion for Local Peace Groups;" "Plan of Organization for Local Branches of the WILPF," US WILPF SCPC, Series A 5, Box 3, Flder. Literature, 1936-38. These materials dealt most directly with organizing a branch, but the US WILPF Literature Department published many more educational materials with suggestions for study groups, working with churches, schools, etc., all of which intended to aid groups around the country.

[24](Olmsted), "Report of the National Organization Secretary," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 4-5 May 193[illegible], US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.9. Olmsted had difficulty getting Board members to undertake these trips as she noted in her retrospective report of 1940.

[25]Panel discussion on "How to Meet Charges of Communism against Pacifists," Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 29 April-2 May 1938, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.10; "Seeing Red!" US WILPF SCPC, Series A 5, Box 3, Flder. Literature 1936-38.

[26](Olmsted), "Report of the National Organization Secretary," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 29 April-2 May 1938, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.10.

[27]These figures appeared in Olmsted's reports to the Annual Meetings, which included membership numbers for each state, US WILPF SCPC, Reels 100.9, 100.10 and 100.13.

[28]"Report of Mildred Scott Olmsted," for 30 October-1 November 1940 National Board Meeting, US WILPF SCPC, Series A 4, Box 2, Flder. National Organization Committee 1930-49; Catherine Fitzgibbon, "Report of the Financial Secretary," Minutes of the National Board, 15-16 January 1938; Minutes of the Executive Committee, 28 February 1938, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.10. By 1938 the national organization had a budget of approximately $35,000 per year, which was subsequently reduced during the next two years largely through staff cuts.

[29]Charles Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1971), pp. 223-255.

[30]For a clear articulation of these differences, see, US WILPF "Branch

Letter 70," 28 February 1939, US WILPF SCPC, Series E 4, Elder. 1939.

[31](Detzer), "Annual Report of the National Secretary," Appended to the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 21-24 April 1930, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.7.

[32]Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Report of the Third International Congress of Women, Vienna, July 10th-17th, 1921 (Vienna: Otto Maass, 1921), p. 2, WILPF WHC, Series V, Box 5. For an example of Addams' resistance to becoming involved with organizing, see, Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 24-27 April 1927, US WILPF SCPC, Reel 100.6.