THE HISTORIC ROOTS OF THE WOMEN'S PEACE MOVEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA*

Frances H. Early

Frances H. Early examine les origines du mouvement pacifiste des femmes en Amérique du nord. Elle maintient que le mouvement pacifiste séparatiste de la première guerre mondiale, et dans la période entre les deux grandes guerres, était influencé par un maternalisme féministe et par une vision radicale d'un ordre global non-violent et coopératif. Les facteurs les plus importants ayant poussé les femmes à former des associations pacifistes entièrement composées de femmes étaient 1) leur participation en tant que professionelles et réformatrices dans des mouvements de réforme d'une certaine envergure, et 2) leur adhérence à un mouvement féministe international.

It is an enduring paradox of history that while humankind has always cherished survival above all else, war has repeatedly been used as the means to preserve existence.[1] Today the concept of total war, linked as it is to the possibility of nuclear annihilation, leads many to conclude that peace is now a necessary reform, one upon which humanity's very survival may hinge. In recognition of this sober reality the agenda of the North American feminist movement has in recent years broadened from the more closely-identified women's concerns of the 1970s such as sex discrimination, equal pay, and birth control, to include specific peace objectives, particularly nuclear disarmament. Increasingly, too, feminist theorists have been stressing the inter-relationships between patriarchy, war, and other manifestations of international violence.[2]

Given this climate of thought and action it is not surprising that feminist historians are now beginning the task of recovering the little-known legacy of women's peace activism. This article will examine the origins of the North American women's peace movement. The primary focus will be the establishment of women's peace associations in the period just before, during, and following World War I. It was in this era that the women's peace movement, as a force in its own right, was born. The well-spring of this women's peace activism was a socially radical and intellectually sound feminist sensibility. A broad maternalist vision led feminists of the World War I era to envision and to work towards establishing a socially responsible, cooperative, non-violent world order.

The first peace societies in North America came into being in the early nineteenth century, largely in response to the Napoleonic Wars. Most were church-related and members generally agreed that wars were inconsistent with Christian ethics. In the 1820s, national organizations came into being, both in England and in North America. In 1828 the most important association to be established in the United States was formed, the American Peace Society. While women were members in these early nineteenth century peace groups, men held the reins of leadership and as a rule evinced little interest in activating the female presence in the cause of peace.

The sexist attitudes of male peace workers resonated in the minds of other male reformers of the day. In part to combat such prejudice, women in some reform circles (for example, labour reform, temperance, and anti-slavery) formed separatist associations. This strategy not only allowed women autonomy of thought and action in their own organizations; it also often helped to change male atitudes in regard to women's involvement in reform work. By the mid-1840s for instance, the leadership of the labour reform movement in New England was fairly evenly balanced between women and men.

The American Civil War (1861-1865) decimated the peace movement in America as reformers of all persuasions were drawn ineluctably into the fray. Julia Ward Howe, a reform-minded feminist, sided with the Union cause and is familiar to us as the author of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. What is less well-known is that after the Civil War, which was followed soon thereafter with the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), Howe experienced a change of heart, renouncing all wars as a matter of principle. In 1872 she travelled to Paris to attend an international peace conference in hopes of establishing a Women's International Peace Association. Howe unfortunately failed in her mission but when she returned to America she managed to establish a Mother's Peace Day which was observed for many years. It is interesting to note that at the time Howe journeyed to Europe, unbeknownst to her, some women were busily engaged in peace work; others would soon follow. Matilde Bayer of Copenhagen, Marie Goegg of Geneva, and Bertha von Suttner of Vienna became proponents of international peace in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.[3] Victor Hugo's daughter, Princess Gabrielle Wiesniewska, spearheaded the creation of The Women's Universal Alliance for Peace in 1896.[4]

In North America women interested in the peace issue generally took a back seat when they joined male-led organizations. Nevertheless, by the end of the century women's organizations with diverse goals and memberships were committed to the principle of "no more war" and regularly passed annual resolutions advocating the development of international arbitration machinery. In 1893 representatives from American, Canadian, and European women's groups founded the International Council of Women which shortly thereafter set up a peace committee. In 1902 the International Woman Suffrage Association was established and it soon identified international peace as a concern of its membership.

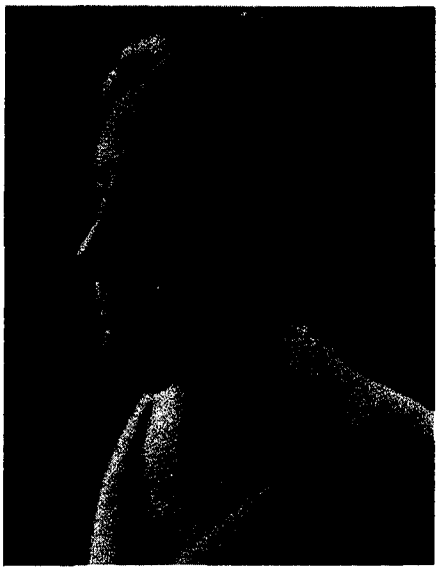
While North American women in this

era turned increasingly to separatist organizations to promote their own agendas for social change, which included the goal of international peace, the male-dominated peace movement, composed for the most part of lawyers, politicians, and businessmen, worked for a liberal-capitalist order based on "arbitration, Anglo-American cooperation, and mechanistic means of organizing an industrial world of Great Power interdependence."[5] Nonetheless, change was in the air. By the early twentieth century, a multi-faceted liberal reform movement was drawing many middle-class North Americans into its orbit. Expanding democracy, rationalizing and regulating big business, and cleaning up the cities were large issues which appealed to the self-interest of many, including citizens' associations, women's groups, labor unions, and business organizations. In its more disinterested aspect, the reform impulse was infused with the Christian social gospel message and manifested ideals associated with Christian socialism and secular socialism.

The social-intellectual context of the Progressive Era helped to cast the peace movement in a new mold. In a little over a decade, between 1901 and 1914, forty-five associations devoted to the cause of peace were founded in North America.[6] A number of these, combining absolute Christian ethics with the socialist critique of capitalist economy, were absolutist pacifist in persuasion.

Although there were no separatist women's groups among the forty-five new peace associations, peace departments or committees existed in all major North American women's associations by the turn of the century.[7] The reform-charged, idealistic atmosphere of the Progressive Era reinforced peace-mindedness in women's groups. Middle-class club women, temperance reformers, and woman's suffrage advocates consistently prioritized peace as an important concern in their respective associations. Simmering on the back burner as well were two factors which, taken together, ultimately propelled North American women to establish separatist peace organizations after 1914. These factors, which will be considered individually, were 1) involvement as professionals and as middle-class reformers in broad-based progressive reforms and 2) membership in the international feminist movement.

Middle-class women were by the early twentieth century actively engaged in



Violet McNaughton, ca. 1920
Credit: Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board

many kinds of reform. They were at the heart of the progressive movement. As volunteers or in their professional capacities as lawyers, doctors, nurses, social workers, university professors, and teachers, women worked for political justice, equal economic opportunity, and community improvements of all kinds, from juvenile courts to clean water and safe playgrounds. Many also struggled to broaden women's rights with the suffrage campaign as the central focus.

This kind of activity provided women with the experience they needed to make connections between securing a just social order at home and ending militarism, violence, and war abroad. Jane Addams, the world-famous feminist settlement-house worker who would receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, saw war and the war "virtues" as outmoded:

> *It is the military idea resting content as it does with the passive results of order and discipline which confused a totally inadequate conception of the value of power and human life. Great constructive plans and humanized interests have captured our hope and we are finding that war is an implement too clumsy and barbaric to subserve our purpose.*[8]

Some women linked violent imperialism abroad and social violence at home. Lucia Ames Mead, a dedicated peace activist and chair of the peace committee of the American Council of Women, stated in her book, *Swords into Plowshares* (1912): "[It is] no mere coincidence that race hatred and civic corruption have had such a recrudescence among us since we have become imperialistic in our foreign policy."[9]

Still, despite the growing awareness among women of the archaic and destructive nature of war with its untoward domestic influences, no North American women's peace movement existed at the time of the outbreak of World War I in Europe in August of 1914. This brings us to the second major factor which influenced North American women to organize – as women – for peace: the networking of feminist groups transnationally.

In late 1914, with war already underway in Europe, two European feminists, members of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, toured North America at the invitation of American feminists with the aim of convincing their North American sisters to establish an international women's peace movement. They were Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence of Great Britain, a long-time leader in the suffrage movement there, and Rosika Schwimmer, a feminist from Hungary, who after the war settled permanently in the United States. In their tours across the continent, these two bright, dynamic, and passionate spokespersons for peace galvanized North American women for action. (By this time, European women had very active all-women peace associations; some had been in existence since the late nineteenth century).

In November, at a meeting of women in New York City, Pethick-Lawrence called for a world-wide "Women's War Against War." It was time, she stated, for women to be angry, "active and militant."[10] Schwimmer, like Pethick-Lawrence, stressed women's special sensitiveness or calling to peace work. She appealed in her speeches to women's emotions as well as to their reason: "We are united by the motherhood instinct and by the knowledge that the terrible waste of life is unnecessary."[11] In like manner, Pethick-Lawrence insisted: "the bedrock of humanity is motherhood."[12]

Sometimes within hours of Pethick-Lawrence's and Schwimmer's talks local women's peace groups sprang into being. And in January 1915 a national conference of women took place in Washington D.C., organized by Jane Addams and Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the International Suffrage Alliance. Over 3,000 women attended and the outcome of their meeting was the establishment of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP).

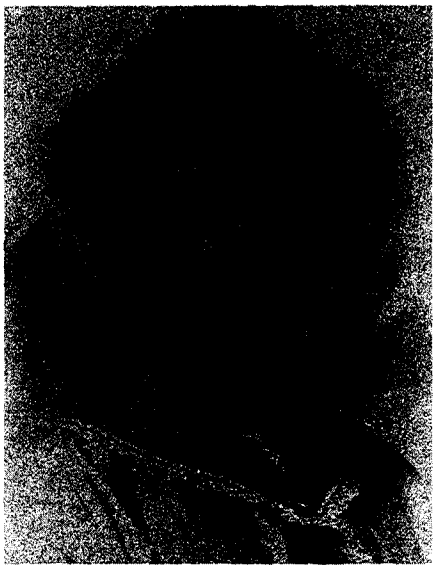
The women who journeyed to Washington reflected the broad spectrum of the predominantly WASP and middle-class women's movement. Delegates rep-

resenting the National Council of Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National American Woman's Suffrage Association (and its militant rival, the Congressional Union), the Women's Trade Union League, and even the Daughters of the American Revolution attended. It was a "respectable" gathering and the first executive board of the WPP purposefully appointed key club women to positions of state leadership in many WPP branches in order to encourage a broad-based women's peace movement. Until the outbreak of war, club women played a significant role in the WPP. Once America entered the war, however, many club women defected, never to return.[13]

The platform committee, headed by Catt with Addams as an ex-officio member, drafted a constitution and peace platform for the WPP which rather ingeniously combined the idea of woman's special maternal nature, hence unique social housekeeping calling, with the more socially radical perspective of equality of rights for women. In its deliberations and statements the committee established a link between feminism and a separatist peace strategy. Anna Garlin Spencer, a professor of ethics and sociology at Meadville Theological College and a long-time peace activist who had experienced the unresponsiveness of male-dominated peace societies to the expression of women's attitudes towards war, wrote the preamble of the WPP constitution.[14] In this statement she interwove the struggle for women's rights with the fight against war. The sentiments espoused in the preamble are consistent with all subsequent women's peace pronouncements in the era under consideration:

> *As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war . . . As women, we have builded by the patient drudgery of the past the basic foundation of the home and peaceful industry. We will no longer endure wthout a protest that must be heard and heeded by men, that hoary evil which in an hour destroys the social structure that centuries of toil have reared . . . Therefore, as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand that . . . women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate – within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the state . . .*[15]

Women suffrage, organized opposition to militarism, nationalization of all manufacturing of armaments, removal of the economic causes of war, and the "concert of nations" idea – rather than the "balance of power" concept – were the major planks in the WPP platform.



Agnes MacPhail
Credit: Public Archives Canada

From the beginning, the WPP was in close and regular touch with European peace feminists. When the call came from European women in the spring of 1915 to establish an international women's peace movement, a small but committed number of North American women with impressive professional and social reform credentials responded with alacrity. At the Hague on 28 April 1915 women from twelve countries representing 150 organizations – 1,136 all told – met to consider how to end a world conflict which had already engulfed the homelands of many of the women present. At this historic meeting the participants adopted twenty resolutions under six categories: women and war; action towards peace; principles of a permanent peace; international cooperation; education of children; action to be taken. They constituted themselves as the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (later The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – WILPF or WIL) with Jane Addams (USA) as President and Aletta Jacobs (Holland) and Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary/USA) as Vice-Presidents. Consistent with the goal of early termination of the war, this conference, entitled the International Congress of Women, proposed that neutral countries meet immediately to offer their services as mediators amongst the warring nations. This suggestion for "continuous mediation," developed by a Canadian-born English professor at the University of Wisconsin, Julia Grace Wales, was carried personally to the heads of fourteen different countries by a delegation of Congress members during May and June 1915. Two of the resolutions passed advocated women's participation in the peace negotiations after the war and a "Society of Nations" plan for post-war trans-national government.[16]

Canada, already at war, was not formally represented at the Hague conference. Women's organizations were lending their work to the war effort and refused to send official delegates. Nevertheless, some Canadian women attended, among them Laura Hughes, a Toronto suffragist and labor reformer, who immediately upon her return to Canada set about organizing the Canadian section to WILPF. She, along with Elsie Charlton and others of the Toronto Suffrage Association and the Women's Social Democratic League, held the founding meeting of Canadian WILPF at the Toronto YMCA in June 1915. Jane Addams was chosen honorary president and before long provincial chapters were established in the West through the efforts of the President of the Women Grain Growers Association, Violet MacNaughton in Saskatchewan and Laura Jamieson and Lucy Woodsworth (the wife of clergyman-social reformer J.S. Woodsworth) in British Columbia. In the face of much animosity and even hatred of their work and beliefs, these Canadian women helped to establish a peace network across the continent. The Canadian WILPFers saw their role in these years of war as an educative one – their mail boxes served as conveyor belts, linking peace work in many countries under the aegis of the international and national sections of WILPF.[17]

In the U.S., led by Jane Addams, members of WILPF avoided for the most part outright criticism of the war once the U.S. entered. Addams urged members to work in this period to relieve suffering and served herself with Hoover's Food Relief Program.

In 1919, after armistice was declared, the international organization of WILPF met again in Europe, in Zurich. At this time WILPF became a permanent organization and rededicated its members to studying the causes of war, already believing that the root causes lay in the very structures of society and that to prevent war radical social change was necessary. While not an absolutist pacifist association, WILPF's early orientation was pacifist and its international leaders tended to be absolu-

Meeting of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Prague, 1929; (Violet McNaugton back row centre) Credit: Universum, Prague. Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board

tists. The methods/goals of WILPF were delineated as "the study of political and economic issues; objective fact-finding; personal reconciliation; and the formulation of just and humane policies."[18]

In the wake of WILPF came new groups. Particularly close to WILPF but of the "absolutist" stand was the Women's Peace Society (WPS), founded in 1921 by Fanny Garrison Villard, the daughter of uncompromising absolutist abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. While some ill-feelings resulted, two of WILPF's leading lights, Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch, approved of Villard's defection – they believed that in diversity would come further strength, more members, and enlarged visions for the peace movement. Another organization founded in the same year was the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere (WPU). This organization, again with founders who were often also WILPF members, were absolutists. The WPU was actually founded in Niagara Falls, Canada, at the suggestion of Christine Ross Barker, a Toronto businesswoman and suffragist. In the 1920s and 1930s in the U.S. the WPU concentrated on lobbying for a Constitutional amendment to declare war unconstitutional. In Canada, M.P. Agnes Macphail, a member of WILPF, spoke in Parliament against military training for boys in schools, and advocated the establishment of Chairs in international relations in Canadian universities. In 1929 Macphail, at her request, was appointed to the League of Nations Disarmament Commission, which marked the first time a woman had been chosen to serve on a League commission which did not deal with welfare issues related to women and children.[19]

WILPF was larger and had far greater impact in North America in the interwar years than either the WPS or WPU. Regardless of numbers and influence, however, most of the women in these three groups were dedicated social reformers and a significant proportion of them were professionals. They also shared a socially radical vision of a new world order based on the principles of cooperation, non-violence, and equitable distribution of wealth and resources. The second most influential women's peace organization in this period was founded by Carrie Chapman Catt, the suffragist who helped found the WPP with Jane Addams but who resigned from the WPP when the United States entered World War I, fearing that her association with the peace movement would jeopardize the suffrage cause. (Catt was president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1900 to 1904 and 1915 to 1920). After the war in 1924 Catt returned to peace work. She organized the National Conference for the Cause and Cure of War (NCCCW). Rather than a society with members in its own right, NCCCW served as a clearinghouse for other women's groups, such as the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and The Women's Christian Temperance Union. Until its demise in 1941, the NCCCW helped to keep more conservative women abreast of and sometimes involved in peace work. Individuals who had been WPP members before the war or sympathetic to its initial program, but who could not support the social radicalism of WILPF, WPS, or WPU, felt comfortable participating in the NCCCW and benefited from its annual educational conferences. The three main goals of NCCCW down to 1941 were: U.S. participation in the World Court; disarmament; and Outlawry of War (a movement which originated in the decade preceding World War I).[20]

The aims of WILPF at the national section level in the 1920s and 1930s were to gain new members, to educate the public at large, to serve as watchdog of national governments, and to aid in WILPF's international work. While the U.S. section was quite vibrant and active in the 1920s and 1930s, the Canadian section found itself hampered by small memberships in widely separated provincial groups. (A full history of the Canadian WILPF is urgently needed).

It is instructive to learn what WILPF was accomplishing at the international level in these years. Though never a mass movement, WILPF established itself as an innovative, creative force in the international peace movement. It organized additional national sections in Europe, Latin America, and the Near and Far East, and helped to set up the Liaison Committee of International Women's Organizations. A regular activity was the organization of biennial conferences. The themes varied from meeting to meeting, addressing in some fashion WILPF's commitment to discover the reasons behind war and to offer constructive alternatives for resolving national and international conflicts. Already in 1926, for example, WILPF demonstrated its concern for new (chemical) weapons of mass destruction when it devoted its conference to "Modern Methods of Warfare." Shortly after its inception WILPF established a *Maison internationale* at its headquarters in Geneva, which soon became an important meeting place for peace leaders from around the world. It also published a journal, *Pax internationale* (later called *Pax et Libertas*) in English, German, and French editions. Members undertook fact-finding missions, for example WILPF's visit to Haiti in 1926 at the request of the WILPF Haitian section, to investigate the occupation of Haiti by the U.S. Marines (there since 1915). Out of this mission came a

book, *Occupied Haiti*, written by Emily Greene Balch (USA), which had some effect on the U.S. Department of State. The U.S. did remove its troops from Haiti shortly after Balch's book appeared. WILPF initiated several mass actions in the 1920s and 1930s as well, notably the disarmament-related Peace Pilgrimage in Britain and Scotland (1926) and the World Disarmament Petition and the People's Mandate to Governments (1930s). WILPF held annual summer schools and constituted itself as a watchdog over the League of Nations.[21]

During this period, the women of WILPF, as well as those involved in other groups like the WPS and the WPU, came to the understanding that to save the world from uncontrolled violence and war they needed to help change the world in fundamental ways. While both Christian and secular socialism attracted many women – especially those, it seems, who chose the WPS or the WPU for their main arena of work – the large majority of American women in the interwar women's peace movement remained politically liberal – good democrats. Until more is known about the Canadian section of WILPF in its early years, the political liberalism of its membership can only be surmised. Some Canadian WILPF leaders such as Lucy Woodsworth and Laura Jamieson became members of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, a party which espoused a variety of parliamentary socialism rooted in the social gospel movement. WILPF women who were political liberals were also usually socially radical in outlook. As the two chroniclers of WILPF have stated in their study of this organization, its members aimed at "radical socialism freed from the dogma of class warfare."[22] The women of WILPF were aware, and leaders Emily Balch (USA) and Gertrude Baer (West Germany) put it well, that a warless world might "still be a very bad and cruel world."[23]

Thus we discover among women an increasing concern with the connections between peace, fundamental human rights, and economic development. Balch, an economics professor at Wellesley, fired because of her peace activities, saw, as others did, the need to think transnationally – to see beyond selfish national interests:

> *To achieve this great socio-economic transformation requires many and costly sacrifices, including a timely and generous renuciation of privilege. It may well prove that the measure of the will to do this is the measure of the capacity of our civilization to endure.*[24]

Lucy Woodsworth and the girls *Credit: Public Archives Canada*

In 1933 WILPF, after much heated debate, changed its Statement of Aims to include as a goal: "an economic order on a world-wide basis and under world regulation founded on the needs of the community and not on profit."[25]

We have seen that the women who became part of the North American and international women's peace movement – the two being inextricably bound together – explained that their commitment was in part due to their maternal role in society. But what needs to be appreciated, too (and pursued further with more research), is that these crusaders for a just and peaceful world developed an expansive maternal consciousness which incorporated their *complete* life experiences as "Women," as individuals who in many instances were not bound by the wife/mother domestic role but who were actively engaged in professional and reform work in the public arena. Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch, for example, never married. As one of the founders of the nineteenth century women's rights movement in North America, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (herself a wife and mother of seven), put it: "Womanhood is the great fact in her life; wifehood and motherhood are but incidental relations."[26]

The broad maternal vision of many women peace activists was informed by intellectually rigorous, rational discourse.[27] It influenced a whole generation of women in the interwar years and conditioned the way they approached their careers in academia, medicine, law, social work, teaching, and public service. Balch, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946, spoke for many others when she stated:

> *I felt that this was not time for "idle singers of an empty day" but for efforts to study and better conditions . . . this is interesting not as the development of one young woman but as characteristic of my generation.*[28]

[1]Charles F. Howlett and Glen Zeitzer, *The American Peace Movement: History and Historiography*, (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1985), p. 1.

[2]See for instance Betty A. Reardon, *Sexism and the War System* (New York and London: Teachers College Press of Columbia University, 1985).

[3]Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (Boston: J.S. Canner and Company, 1959), pp. 114-116.

[4]Sandi E. Cooper, "Women's Participation in European Peace Movements: The Struggle to Prevent World War I," typescript, pp. 11-14; forthcoming in *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives*, ed. by Ruth Roach Pierson with the assistance of Somer Brodribb (London: Croom Helm).

[5]Howlett and Zeitzer, *American Peace Movement* , p. 18.

[6]Carrie A. Foster-Hayes, "The Women and the Warriors: Dorothy Detzer and the WILPF" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1984), p. 21.

[7]Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 352; and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Peace-Making Women: Canada 1919-1939," typescript, forthcoming in *Women and Peace* .

[8]Quoted in Howlett and Zeitzer, *American Peace Movement*, p. 19.

[9]Quoted in Blanche W. Cook, "The Woman's Peace Party: Collaboration and Non-cooperation in World War I," *Peace and Change* (Fall 1972), p. 36.

[10]Ibid., p. 37.

[11]Quoted in Louise Degen, *The History of the Woman's Peace Party* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1939), p. 31.

[12]Quoted in Degen, p. 33.

[13]Barbara J. Steinson, "Female Activism in World War I: The American Women's Peace, Suffrage, Preparedness and Relief Movements, 1914-1919" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 33-34 ff.

[14]Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[15]Quoted in Cook, "Woman's Peace Party," p. 37. See also Degen, *Woman's Peace Party* pp. 40-41.

[16]Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965* (London: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom British Section, 1980), pp. 19-22.

[17]See Barbara Roberts, " 'Why Do Women Do Nothing to Stop the War?' Canadian Feminist-pacifists and the Great War;" forthcoming in CRIAW Special Papers #13, December 1985; and Thomas P. Socknat, "Canada's Liberal Pacifists and the Great War," *Journal of Canadian Studies* , Vol. 18, No. 4 (April 1984), pp. 31-32 and 35-39; Strong-Boag, "Peace-Making Women," pp. 20-26.

[18]Bussey and Tims, *Pioneers for Peace*, p. 35.

[19]Margaret Stewart and Doris French, *Ask No Quarter: A Biography of Agnes Macphail* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1959), pp. 140 and 150-51; Correspondence of Christine R. Barker, Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere archives (microfilm reel #88.8), on deposit at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore College Library, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

[20]Foster-Hays, "The Women and the Warriors," pp. 27-29.

[21]Bussey and Tims, *Pioneers for Peace*, pp.42-156, *passim*.

[22]Ibid., p. 120.

[23]Quoted in Bussey and Tims, p. 175. A significant number of European WILPF members were socialists.

[24]Quoted in Foster-Hays, "The Women and the Warriors," p. 45.

[25]Quoted in Bussey and Tims, p. 123.

[26]Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al.,*History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 1 (New York: Source Books Press, 1970), p. 22.

[27]For a stimulating discussion of the radical possibilities of "maternal thinking" within the context of the lived experience of all women (thinking *not* tied to the notion of maternal "instinct"), see Sara Ruddick, "Maternal Thinking," and "Preservative Love and Military Destruction: Some Reflections on Mothering and Peace," in *Mothering: Essays in Feminist Theory*, ed. by Joyce Trebilcot (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allenheld, 1984), pp. 213-30 and 231-62.

[28]Quoted in Foster-Hays, "The Women and the Warriors, p. 37.

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TANTRUM

For days the cracked plaster
has been temptation for her fingers.
The rough patch balding,
she sleeps with long white slivers.

I am the storm that reprimands,
a reasoning God's anger. The child
blusters. I close the lid on a box.
Go off to sleep, and that is that.

But the dark is wrong, the child
hysteric in her shut room.
All reason comes undone. I had
expected some tamed mewing.

When I lie down beside her she crawls
on top like a newborn rooting for the breast.
Her pink fist is clenched, hitting-out,
every sob ragged as an old man's last breath.

Sharon Berg
Toronto, Ontario