Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #2—Anti-Suffrage and Saloon Men

At the request of the textbook committee your class has been asked to investigate whether Hazel Hunkins deserves to be included in the next edition of the textbook. This case cannot be solved without an understanding of those who opposed suffrage for women. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to better understand the anti-suffrage movement.

- Who opposed woman's suffrage and why?

Step 1. Review Background Information

The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture's description of the Oklahoma Anti-Suffrage Association applies to similar anti-suffrage organizations across the country: "Anti-suffrage members alleged that the right to vote would not solve the problems of women and society. They opposed suffrage primarily because of their belief in the 'cult of true womanhood' (piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness) and in the separate sphere of the home. The apolitical association served to educate and to legitimize activism within the traditional female domain. Members rarely coordinated efforts to elect anti-suffrage candidates to state or federal offices or to form coalitions for political issues. Only on occasion would an anti-suffragist speak in public. Rather, they campaigned at county fairs by distributing bulletins while offering advice on such womanly subjects as first aid. Considered the 'Heaven, Home and Mother crowd,' they held teas, fund-raising balls, and luncheons at hotels and women's colleges, as opposed to the noisy parading, picketing, and public speaking promoted by suffragists. The 'antis,' wearing their emblem of pink or red roses, campaigned quietly by circulating anti-suffrage literature in the state legislative gallery.... "Antisuffragists described themselves as positive, quiet, genteel, and dignified. However, in 1918 suffragists accused the Oklahoma Anti-Suffrage Association of being 'backed by the breweries and anti-prohibitionists [who] are paid fat salaries to work up feelings against this movement.' Members of both groups hurled charges and countercharges, resulting in an interesting lawsuit." (From Tally D. Fugate, "Anti-Suffrage Association," Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, www.okhistory.org, accessed August 04, 2015). http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entryname=ANTI-SUFFRAGE%20ASSOCIATION

Step 2: Investigate the Evidence

Expect to spend about ten minutes on each of the sources in your packet, available online at http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins.

Exhibit 2-A Newspaper article: "Why We Don't Want to Vote," Woman's Home Page, *Bridgeport Evening Farmer*, April 30, 1910.

Exhibit 2-B Typed letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 8, 1917, pp. 3-6, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 2-C Newspaper article: "Women Fight, Weep, and Rip Suff Banners," *Topeka State Journal*, June 21, 1917

Exhibit 2-D Photograph: "National Anti-Suffrage Association," c. 1911, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. LC-USZ62-25338

Exhibit 2-E Newspaper article: "Retail Liquor Dealers to Fight Woman Suffrage," *Ronan Pioneer*, March 6, 1914

For each source, answer all the questions on the Document Analysis Worksheet. **Note: You will be sharing these answers with your class in an "exhibit" format—so write legibly!**

Step 3: Search for Clues

1. What are the arguments against women voting and participating as full citizens in the life of the nation?

2. Who do you think the main opponents to woman's suffrage were? What were their motives?

3. Why did people attack the picketing suffragists? Did issues beyond suffrage play a role in the attack? If so, what issues?

4. Did you find any instances when the documents contradicted one another? If so, describe them. Which account do you think is more accurate? Why?

Step 4: Crack the Case

Based on your analysis of the primary sources and citing evidence to support your answer, please create a presentation to share what you have learned with other members of the textbook committee (your class.) You may use technology if you wish. Your presentation should answer the following questions:

1. What were the arguments against woman's suffrage?

2. What groups/types of people were opposed to woman's suffrage?

3. How popular do you think the anti-suffrage movement was?

4. How does the material you analyzed relate to Hazel Hunkins and the committee's larger question: whether she should be included in the next edition of the textbook?

Make sure to include in your report:

- Specific examples! Quote from the documents.
- Information about where and how the documents contradicted each other (if this occurred) and how you decided which ones to trust.
- A list of any additional questions you still have that were left unanswered through your investigation.

After your presentation is complete, organize your material into an "exhibit" so your fellow committee members can easily access your evidence when creating their briefs. Your exhibit must include your answers to the following questions:

- What is the source called?
- Who created it?
- When was it created? How soon after the event it describes?
- Who was the audience for this document?
- Why was it created?
- Did you find evidence of bias or point of view? If so, what?
- How do these factors affect the source's credibility?

Historical Case File #2—Anti-Suffrage and Saloon Men

"SUFFRAGE FAD OF THE SMART SET"

Leader of "Antis" says Women are Joining Franchise Movement Merely to be in the Fashion—Severe Criticism of Opponents

Having published an article on the progress made by the Woman Suffrage movement, written by Mrs. Belmont, this paper invited the Anti-Suffragist leaders to present their side of the question to its readers. Consequently the following article, by Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones of New York, founder and president of the "League for the Civic Education of Women," is published herewith.

Mrs. Jones complains of unfair treatment accorded to the Anti-Suffrage leaders by the newspapers. Our answer is to publish her article in full, as written by her, including her statement that "reporters are generally socialists or suffragists."

EDITOR.

NEW DEFINITIONS IN THE SUFFRAGE FIGHT.

Mrs. Jones says: "A Suffragist is a gentleman or lady lunching with Mrs. Belmont at Sherry's."

"A Suffragette is a woman who rushes into the street and bites a policeman."

As I am asked to write this article in a spirit of "Breezy Criticism of the Woman Suffrage Movement," I will begin at what I deem a most unfortunate sign of its existence,—a lack of tolerance on the part of the Woman Suffrage leaders, and in newspaper reports.

One must discount the report of all Anti-Suffrage news now-a-days,—and the published accounts of any anti-speaking in private or public are hardly recognizable as the message from the platform is so distorted or misconstrued.

The reporters are generally Socialists or Suffragists, and they cannot disguise their personal feelings when reporting an Anti-Suffragist's speech. As they generally face me when I am speaking, their eyes flash and their temper is soon evident, and then I know what to expect in their report.

In a large Eastern city last week I said that I personally had not met a cook that I cared to see vote, as they were generally foreigners, and rarely understood our customs and conditions. Nearly all of the reporters wrote that I was a "snob," saying I refused to go to the polls with a cook.

An editorial in one of that city's best dailies went on to say, "It ill becomes a well-clad and well-fed woman to speak of her sisters in any such contemptuous manner."

The first lecture of our "National League for the Civic Education of Women," of which I am the founder, was held December 4, 1908. A great many Suffragists attended the lecture, and I had the pleasure of literally holding Mrs. Bowman Wells down in her seat, as she is a Suffragette, and was bent on breaking up the meeting. I begged her to put forth her venom in my left ear, instead of letting her cry aloud, and after Mrs. Ida Husted Harper had sent her a note she contented herself with one or two outbreaks at Lyman Abbott, and then began to write furiously on a piece of paper.

A letter from President Roosevelt was read from the platform, and in it he showed very conclusively that he was not in favor of Woman Suffrage. Presto, change! The Suffragists were aroused. That same day they had called a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall in the evening, and some pretty hard things were slung publicly at the antis. But the climax was reached when the great Suffrage leader loudly proclaimed that in consequence of Roosevelt's indifference to the woman suffrage question, "the President of the United States was a tree-toad," and the Suffrage audience broke into wild applause.

Of another Suffrage leader, it was with difficulty that one recognized in her a woman minister, as her sarcasm and ridicule of her sister opponents is so severe and merciless.

Hardly a public Suffrage meeting is now given that women who do not believe in Suffrage are not openly ridiculed.

Woman Suffrage is now the fashion in New York City. What will not fashion do to advance a cause,—big hats, large muffs, sheath skirts, hoop-skirts, false hair, frivolities, extravagances and vices are whipped into everyday existence just because the fashionable world plays with it all; until a new sensation can follow,—and so it is with Woman Suffrage. Hundreds of women are Suffragists in New York because some of the so-called "Four Hundred" are conspicuous in the movement. For years these lukewarm women were on the fence, and could not be persuaded to act,—but now that money and society are in question, women have rushed to the fashionable headquarters (not elsewhere), and their reasons for so doing are quite often openly expressed. When I asked an ambitious mother why she had become a Suffragist she said, "Because I have two daughters, and I need society for their sake. It is well worth while to know the Four Hundred. A charming little woman (not rich) said "Mrs. Belmont is so nice, and so noble and moral, that I need to be under her leadership." A letter received a week ago reads as follows:

"I resign from your Anti-League because you represent the selfish and wrong women of the country. I am proud to state that I am under the leadership of Mrs. Belmont, the best example of American womanhood; a woman whose saintly life, majestic heroism and high loftiness of thought is beyond criticism. Would that all other New York women had lived her pure and simple life."

There are many women who believe or think they believe all this, and they never noticed Suffrage when the old leaders were at the head of the movement. Such is the power of "fashion."

The movement will have great impetus on account of this element, and it will be felt throughout the land. The Suffrage movement will help many climbing women to wedge themselves into society by joining Mrs. Belmont's association.

The latest definition of a "Suffragist" is a gentleman or a lady lunching with Mrs. Belmont at Sherry's,—a Suffragette is a "woman who rushes into the street and bites a policeman."

The Anti-Suffragists are ridiculed for speaking of "Woman's Sphere," and are generally accused of trying to keep the woman in the "home." It is more fortunate to observe that most American women are in the home,-and nothing could induce them to leave it, but it is equally fortunate to observe that there are thousands of splendid women who are making a "Womanly Sphere" in places other than the home, and they do not need the ballot to make themselves felt and recognized.

There was a woman who was known as "The Angel of the Tombs," as the result of her marvelous work done there. Mrs. Ballington Booth is rarely at home,—no other woman in our State has ever had so exalted a "Womanly Sphere" as this remarkable woman. Women create their own sphere and can be felt wherever they show any individuality or worthiness of purpose. Their loyalty to a cause is what makes its imprint. It matters little where her endeavor is placed as long as it carries and works for the good of mankind and her fellowman.

Suffragists invading "the home" with discontent are creating a far greater danger to the State than most people realize. The "home" will be changed but little. But if Suffrage comes the burden will fall on the State, and confusion, complications, expenses and miseries of all kinds would soon clog the machinery of our great State and municipal Government. Women say they should have the municipal franchise as they bet-

MRS. GILBERT E. JONES, of New York, President and Founder of the National League for the Civic Education of Women

Exhibit 2-A Newspaper article: "Why We Don't Want to Vote," Woman's Home Page, *Bridgeport Evening Farmer*, April 30, 1910. Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022472/1910-04-30/ed-1/seq-8.pdf. See the following page for a transcript.

The Case for the "Antis": Why We Don't Want to Vote, by Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones, President of National League for the Civic Education of Women

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It is the most hopeless and unsuccessful institution known in civilized city life, and usually shunned by the many; the next step is the hotel, and immediately the housekeeping is done by a man. The cook also is a man, the head waiters are men, etc. When it comes to municipal housekeeping, we find city departments with a whole staff of men, with scientific and disciplined direction and order, all beyond the management of a woman. Women can take part in some of the easier classifications of work, but one in fifty thousand is not equal to men in all the larger and more complicated routine life of city government. The sooner some of the Suffragists look into this truth the better, even if their conceit received a bold shock.

The Anti-Suffragist's pride is in the nonpartisan influence they can exercise. To be a constituent of a politician immediately limits the person asking for a reform, etc., and one party of the other will claim the votes for his own. The woman without the vote goes to the power-that-be for the cause itself, and promises to ask no favors or conditions. Nearly all of the reforms and good that women can claim they have done have been accomplished in this way, and the woman's vote in Colorado can show nothing better.

Women in Colorado have not made laws that regulate equal pay for equal work,—as they are not to be found on the statute books of that State. Miss Summer's book on "Equal Suffrage" is absolute Suffrage authority, and the title page reads:
"Equal Suffrage."

The Results of an Investigation in Colorado Made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State.

Miss Sumner says: "Though it is almost universally asserted in Colorado that women receive the same pay as men in public employment, it is evident that this is true only as between very minutely classified positions. By overstepping the bounds of a reasonable classification it may be said that women receive 'equal pay for equal work,' but, taking public employment as a whole, women receive considerably lower remuneration than men.

"That as teachers, also, women receive lower salaries on the average than men is shown by table XIX.

"But the conclusion is inevitable that, on the whole, men teachers are better paid in Colorado than women teachers.

"The economic effect of equal suffrage during the dozen years of its existence in Colorado has evidently been slight. The only clearly demonstrable results, indeed, appear to have been the opening up to women of a few new avenues of employment, such as political canvassing and elective offices, their employment in somewhat greater number as clerks and stenographers in public offices, and the equalizing in most public positions of their salaries with those of men doing the same work. But the positions are graded, the men are given the best paid places. The average wages, even of women teachers, are still decidedly lower than those of men teachers.

"Considering the slight influence which equal suffrage can be clearly demonstrated to have exerted over the public employment of women, it would be surprising if the enfranchisement could be shown to have had any marked effect on their employment in private industry. As one woman said, in answer to the question in regard to the effect of equal suffrage on the wages and conditions of employment of women, 'It is the same old story of demand and supply in the commercial world.' "

I will add only a line about two of the Suffrage States.
A letter just received from Denver tells its own story, and enlightens us in the East as to how the granting of the ballot to women in Colorado has had its effect:

Denver, Col., Feb. 9, 1910.

Dear Madam:—

The records show that more than 50 per cent of the registered voters of Denver are women. This being undeniably true, does it not seem more the part of wisdom than valor that a bunch of cheap politicians like Governor Shafroth, Justice Steele, Editor Patterson, should rush valiantly to the protection of this mass of voters whenever the occasion offers?

Understand, please, that all the women entitled to vote here do not vote. A large percentage of them do vote, however, sometimes. Understand

again, please, that all the women voters are not of the same class any more than they are of the same mind.

So stand right by your guns,—content in the knowledge that you do not have to depend on the women for votes, hence you are in a position to tell the truth about them.

Denver's women politicians are as corrupt, as dishonest and as disreputable as Denver's men politicians,—and that is not a slanderous statement because it is a true one. At the same time it must be born in mind that the good women of Denver who vote,—and there are many of them,—see as little of the women political leaders as the average good male citizen anywhere sees of the male political leaders. Which is to say, the masses of women who vote are not necessarily corrupt just because their leaders are in the dark lantern class.

Not long sine the women of Denver cast many votes for one B. B. Lindsey in the belief that he had discovered some terrible political crime. They were sincere, and it was the first, last and only time they have every gotten together to benefit the community with one stand-together vote.

Furthermore, in a community where there are as many women as we have here, it is part of our political game to keep the newspapers lined up where we want them on the suffrage question. And any time they break over all we have to do is to whisper to the big department stores to whisper to the advertising agent of the offending paper—and lo and behold, that paper gets back in line and does it in a hurry. That is why Editor Patterson is so keenly supporting the cause.

If I wasn't dead tired and sick of the whole nasty political business, I wouldn't mix in this fight to the extent of writing this lengthy epistle to you. But I am sick of it all, because it is next of kin to White Slavery, and the world should know it. At least the good women of the world should know it, and they should also know that the quicker they back out of this political mess the sooner they will get back to clean motherhood and pure life—two things that do not mix with politics in any way.

Yours very truly,
(Signed by a woman of Denver)

First as a Territory and then as a State Utah has granted women full universal Suffrage for forty-one years. They have lived openly and defiantly in a state of complete polygamy; reform and command for law and order came from without and not within this polygamous State—woman's self-respect did not change this evil and it is still said that polygamy will continue in Utah,—just because women exercise a political power, and they enjoy polygamy.

Fancy what would be said if Utah were Anti-Suffrage and polygamy prevailed. The Gentiles are heard from at some elections, but the Mormon church is a great political power, and is surely heard from when they have an axe to grind.

How often the Suffragist scoffs at the Anti-Suffragist's mention of the "Indirect Influence." Yet the Antis have a silence rejoinder in watching the indirect results of a vote. Could anything be more vague than the individual vote? While with primaries, caucuses, party politics, a single woman's expression must be swamped by the thousands of promiscuous votes that are cast at any and all elections. Majorities carry the voice at the pools, and women must always still look to the men to help them.

The manner in which our Suffrage friends accept any and all statements given them by their leaders deserves severe criticism. They rarely investigate any of their declarations. For instance, citizenship does not entitle a man to vote, yet Suffragists cry aloud that it is their natural right.

Taxation does not mean representation with an unqualified universal suffrage, yet thousands of women say they should vote because they pay taxes,—men do not, why should women? Enlightenment and more education such as we give in our League is what most women need. We give facts, not Anti-Suffrage arguments, and that is why we are not even liked by most of the suffrage women in our State. But our good work is growing. Our motto is "Truth," our emblem is the American flag, and our pass word is "Tolerance."

Historical Case File #2—Anti-Suffrage and Saloon Men

Exhibit 2-B Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 8, 1917, pp. 3-6, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Note: In the first two pages of this letter, Hazel reports on her new post as "organization secretary … in charge of state organizers" and discusses how her actions have been received by friends and acquaintances. (See Case File #1) Hazel Hunkins describes the "Russian banner episode" beginning on page 3.

(3)

stand on the question. I tell you about that later.

To light into the bare facts of the situation. On Wednesday -----I cant get the right order of events so I am only going to try and give you what just concerns me and maybe I wont even get that straight. The Russian banner episode happened Wednesday June 20th. On the morning of June 21st another Russian banner was prepared and was taken out. The first banner had been demolished by one man who was an unauthorized person from New York and the actions on the part of the police, although they were somewhat late in the first instance, had lead us to believe that we would have police protection if the same roudy element should appear again. The second banner was torn out by a youngster in the spirit of bravado, because the first offender had not been interfered with by the police. The police had shut one eye to all of this as they have to a lot of other things in the District until someone there has the courage to show them up. There was nothing but the truth on the banners and the offender was the the man committing the roudy act not the women who silently stood there as they had stood for 152 days preseeding.

After the youngster had torn the second Russian banner out I relieved one of the pickets,as I have done for every day since Jan. 10th, holding the same banner that I have from the time that Congress reconvened till that day. It read"We demand democracy and self government in our own land". The word had gone out that there would be a third Russian Banner in due course of time and there was a goodnatured crowd waiting to see the act of tearing the third one from the frame. I stood there as I have stood for months and innocently waited for my relief to come as it always does every hour. We never stand more then an hour unless we want to and not that unless we want to.

A Mrs. Richardson came up to me and said I ought to be ashamed of myself to stand there and hold that banner. She was very common looking and seeing her hostile beyond words I said nothing. She walked on by and I supposed the incident closed. It is seldom anyone comes up to you with anything but pleasant remarks. A minute after this same woman came back and took hold of my banner and spit on it. My heart sank. It was the first time I had seen such venom and I only could meet

it by absolutely ignoring it and saying nothing. That is a habit I learned--when in doubt do nothing. This woman then began to upraid for standing there when there was a war on and called me a traitor. Gladly do I join the "traitors" if doing what I was doing is traitor What she said was too much for Mrs. Haecox who was standing with me. Her husband is an army officer, her brother in the army reserve, and her father a retired army officer. She said as much. With that,this woman (whom I now believeto have been the toollof someone else) tore the banner from the staff that Mrs, Haecox was holding and ran into the st. waving it in the air and then stamped on it in the gutter. I think if I did know American history better I could find an analogy innour colonial times,of just such Tory actions. The crowd had gathered and I saw this woman running for me. What was a crowd,vanished,and I saw only a big woman in a white dress with a black belt and black shoes--and a curious mental picture is that her shoes were run over,--her heels leaned in---a black bag and a black hat, red hair and a hair lip. I never felt so alone and so helpless in my life. I could have run from her,; I could have stopped her with the pole of my banner; I could have climbed the White House fence,as some papers said I did. I could have done many things and every one of them flashed through my mind. I never felt so superior before and I never expect to again. The crowd didnt exist. I had two objects in mind one was tosave my banner and the other was to be a non-resistent pacifist and not anoffender in any way.

To save my banner I stepped onto the coping of the White House fence and to maintain it and be nonresistent I planted myself there with a beautiful mental determination to stay. One big red hand reached up and tore off my regalia and loosened the pin off my dress. Iheld the banner then with one hand and stuck my arm out to keep her off. Her other hand reached for the banner and it swayed. Mrs. Heacox by this time had stepped to the other side of me and t ook the banner from my hand. That leaving both of my hands free, I took both of Mrs. Richardson's hands in mine and by some God-given power, I held them there like a vice with no apparent effort on my part at all. If anyone had asked me if I could have held that woman I never in the world would have

said yes. But she was held if she ever was in her life. For a minute the banner was saved and it was all over. But the man who had incenced Mrs. Richardson was not content to see the work incomplete and he stepped up to complete it. It only took one jerk from this man to rip the banner from the staff held by the unsuspaecting Mrs. Heacox.

Up to that time there had been only four people in the drama--the feline, her incenser, Mrs. Heacox and myself. When that man tore the banner down, then the whole vast crowd again came crashing into my consciousness. It had all happened in probably three minutes but I have lived every second of it over many times and I know every move that was made during the entire time. One minute I was standing there in perfect peace and quiet holding a banner that has had it duplicate in every fight that has ever been made for politiual rights; three minutes later I was holding a broken staff with no banner and the center of a surging crowd,and to quote one of our most distinguished members in Washington who was passing in her electric and came out to stand by me, I stood there with a"pallor and determination on my face that was nothing short of sublime"---that from eyes looking through rosy glasses. Well anyway it was "an Experience". I never want to go through it again and I hate to read the accounts of it. I cringe when I do, but I try and cheer up and think,as I have told you before you, it will be funny stuff for my grandchildren to read.

I dont know whether you got newspaper accounts of it all but here are all the horrible details. I havent spared you at all. I am not in the least to blame for anything that happened. I was a victim of circumstance and I conducted myself most admirably. The awful publicity is no fault of mine. It was all so unexpected and so sudden. I wont dwell more on this incident because others will be just as interesting.

Maybe you dont think it all very interesting. It wasnt at the time, but it has been ever since--the psychology of the crowd, the mental pictures I have of it, the feelings I have of it----I feel also very different about trying to do something that the average American public doesnot understand or is unfriendly to. I know alot more about the whells of justice than I used to, both legally speaking and

speaking in terms of public praise or condemnation. I think that considering the general type of human mind constituting part of the physical make-up of the mut public, I am perfectly content to condemned by them. Its an honor to put entirely out of their class by them themselves.

It has gotten very late and I am trying to take care of myself. I have worked very hard and have been under a constant strain and I want sleep and rest. You see how mature and careful I am getting when I begin looking after myself before any real difficulty comes. I am most careful of my food and proper rest and relaxation. Goodnight and abig kiss for both you snd Carl and oh how I'd like to have Schazie on my bed with me out on the porch. Please keep him clean and good. Dont let him get bad habits. If he once gets them it will be impossible to break him of them. I wish so much I had him. Maybe I will sometime soon. I dont know when my vacation will come, but it is coming and when it does the first train takes me home, with no stops off anywhere.

Oceans of love to the dearest people on earth.

WOMEN FIGHT WEEP AND RIP SUFF BANNERS

Plucky Suffragettes Roughly Handled by Huge Mob.

Police Finally Intercept Riot at White House Gates.

CALL LADY PICKETS TRAITORS

Woman Leads Crowd and Battles With Banner Holders.

Mottoes Said, "Wilson and Root Deceiving Russia."

Washington, June 21.—Screaming "traitors!" an angry mob led by Mrs. Dee Richardson attacked the suffrage pickets at both the west and east gates of the White House this afternoon, ripping down their yellow banners and trampling them in the street. The scene was a more spirited repetition of the banner episode Wednesday afternoon.

Miss Hazel Hunkins, one of the pickets, climbed up on the palings of the White House gates,holding her flag aloft in a vain endeavor to save it. Mrs. Richardson climbed up after her and after a bitter struggle wrenched the banner away and tossed it to the howling crowd.

These banners were old ones, asking the president what he intended to do for suffrage, which have been displayed at the White House gates for months.

Several Thousand in Crowd.

Police reserves were called out to quell the rioting in which several thousand men and a large number of women took part. Nearly ten thousand persons witnessed the rout of the suffrage pickets.

Immediately after the first flags were ripped to bits, a duplicate of the denunciatory banner addressed to the Russian commission was put up at the west gate. The crowd made a rush forward and the sign went down instantly amid the snapping of its wooden frame work and the wild cheering of the crowd which could be heard for blocks.

A big crowd had assembled shortly after noon along the entire front of the White House to witness the erection of the third banner addressed to the Russian commission. It failed to appear at the scheduled time. While the throng was waiting, Mrs. Richardson suddenly ran up to the yellow pennant held by Miss Hunkins and spat upon it.

"You are a dirty yellow traitor!" she shrieked.

Both Suffs Shed Tears.

Then she suddenly grasped the cloth, ripped it from the flag staff after a fight and threw it to the crowd which tramped on it.

Another banner held by Mrs. R. D. Heacox was similarly treated. Both pickets were roughly handled by Mrs. Richardson. Both began to weep.

Mrs. Richardson, leader of the attack, was taken to headquarters by Policewoman Farling amid the applause and jeers of hundreds. No charge was immediately placed against her.

Mrs. Richardson did virtually all the work of tearing down the four banners.

While several movie operators commandeered a passing hack to screen the waving of banner fragments by the crowd, four suffrage recruits marched from their headquarters with four new yellow banners.

She Knocks Man Down.

Those recruiting were extremely belligerent. A leader, a small woman, saw several men with their backs toward her, in her path. She deliberately marched into one, knocking him over.

Police Captain Hartley refused to let the man take revenge on the woman's banner.

Just before the second attack of the day on the banners, Senator J. Hamilton Lewis stopped to tell Miss Hunkins he was "strong for woman suffrage," but that he doesn't believe the women would go at it just that way.

Police inspectors wandering pleasantly thru the growing crowd saying: "Please, gentlemen move on; you'll find a recruiting station just a block away; after all, any one can pull down a banner but it takes a man to shoulder a musket"—were hooted.

From Missouri and Has Red Hair.

Mrs. Richardson is a medium-sized woman with fiery red hair. Her son accompanied her. She said she was "born in Missouri and came to show men that those women are real patriots."

Another son is in the officers' training camp at Fort Myer.

President Wilson was in his study when the riot started and during the excitement went from his study to luncheon. The noise from the crowd

(Continued on Page Two.)

(Continued from Page One)

outside was distinctly audible in the White House.

Attorney General Gregory was inclined to turn away from suggestions that the women's banners with their accusations that "Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia" constitute treason.

He insisted the local police could cope with the situation at least for the time being.

Exhibit 2-C "Women Fight, Weep, and Rip Suff Banners," *Topeka State Journal*, June 21, 1917. Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1917-06-21/ed-1/seq-1.pdf and http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1917-06-21/ed-1/seq-2.pdf

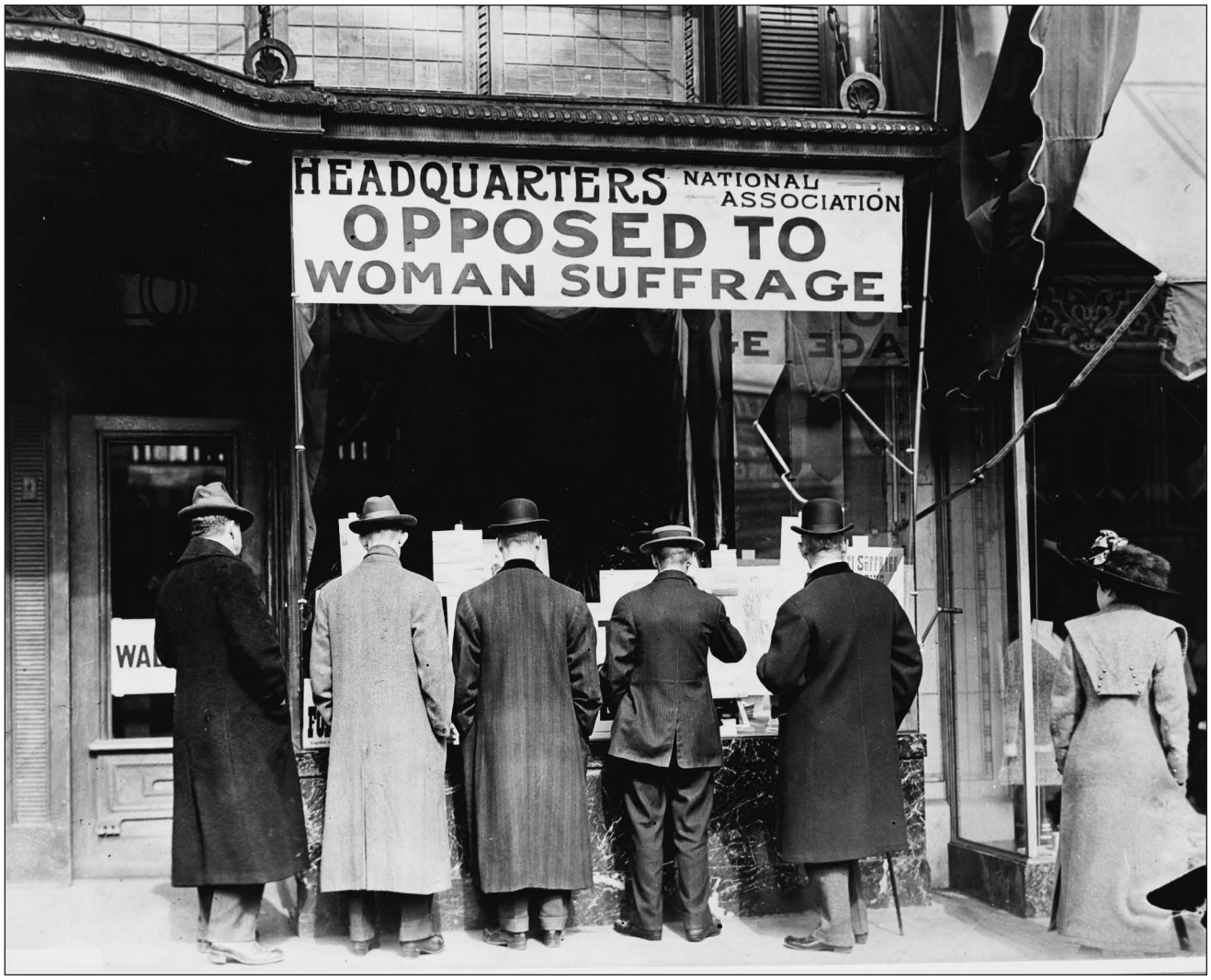

Exhibit 2-D "National Anti-Suffrage Association," c. 1911, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. LC-USZ62-25338

RETAIL LIQUOR DEALERS TO FIGHT WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The daily press last week stated that the saloon men of Butte were organizing to fight the amendment to be voted on at the November election, granting women the right to vote. The news item stated that the saloon men viewed the matter in the light of an attack on their business and that to prevent the women voting them out of business when they were granted the suffrage, they (the saloon men) would make an effort to prevent the women from being allowed to vote at all.

That is one of the best arguments ever advanced why the women of the country should be granted the suffrage. When their influence is always for the advancement of better conditions and opposed to the element engaged in the liquor business there should not be any hesitation on the part of the voters in extending to them the right to have a say in the regulation of civic matters.

The women are fortunate in having the saloon men of the state opposed to them in their fight for the suffrage. This fact alone will make them many votes.

Exhibit 2-E "Retail Liquor Dealers to Fight Woman Suffrage," *Ronan Pioneer*, March 6, 1914 (Column 5). Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86075298/1914-03-06/ed-1/seq-1.pdf