Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #6—Dissension within the Movement

At the request of the textbook committee your class has been asked to investigate the role of Hazel Hunkins and whether she should be added to the next edition of your textbook. In order to answer this larger question, the committee must first understand that many different organizations and individuals participated in the suffrage fight. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to decide how much credit the National Woman's Party—and by extension Hazel Hunkins—deserves for winning the right to vote.

- What disagreements existed among suffragists about the best course of action?
- How much credit do you think the National Woman's Party deserves for the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment?

Step 1. Review Background Information

According to historian Margaret Mary Finnegan, "Different ideological and tactical perspectives kept the late nineteenth-century suffrage movement divided. … Suffragists disagreed not only on why women needed the vote, but also on how to win it. Some—particularly those in the South—advocated state referenda. Others pushed for a constitutional amendment. In theory, the NAWSA [the National American Woman Suffrage Association] had always favored a federal suffrage amendment, but it did not actively pursue one until 1916, after the brilliant Carrie Chapman Catt became the Association's president. By that time, a new group of radicals committed to a national suffrage bill had challenged NAWSA leadership. Led primarily by followers of Harriot Stanton Blatch's Women's Political Union (WPU) and Alice Paul's Congressional Union (CU), these women (along with several western state campaigns in the early 1910s) helped awaken the movement from the self-proclaimed 'doldrums' of roughly 1896 to 1910. Infusing the cause with a well-needed dose of spectacle, drama, and cross-class appeal, radicals made woman suffrage a topic of national interest. They inaugurated woman suffrage parades, mass meetings, and entertainments; they aggressively lobbied state and federal legislatures, vocally criticized government, and refused to defer to either authority or tradition." (From Finnegan, Mary Margaret. *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture & Votes for Women*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 5-6)

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 6-A Newspaper clipping: "Another Lady from Montana," *Helena Independent*, June 29, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 6-B Newspaper clipping: "Montana Women Do Not Lend Approval," *Butte Miner*, July 1, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 6-C Typed letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 5, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 6-D Newspaper article: "Quit White House Siege, Suffragists Are Advised," *Evening Ledger—Philadelphia*, May 25, 1917

Exhibit 6-E Newspaper article: "President Long Ready to Approve Amendment," *Washington Times,* January 10, 1918

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: Crack the Case

Based on your analysis of the documents and citing evidence to support your answer, please create a presentation to share with the other members of the textbook committee (your class). You may use technology if you wish and, for your convenience, we have provide images of all the documents you examined in a PowerPoint, available for download at http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins. However you structure your presentation, it should answer the following questions:

1. Describe some of the things that suffragists disagreed about.

2. Do you agree or disagree with Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association's position on the White House pickets?

3. Given the negative press Hazel Hunkins received, do you think she was doing more harm or more good for the movement?

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 #6—Dissension within the Movement

HELENA, MONTANA
Friday, June 29, 1917.

T1

Helena Independent

ANOTHER "LADY FROM MONTANA."

"You are a dirty, yellow traitor," shouted a woman as she made her way out of the mob in front of the White House gate, toward a girl of eighteen or twenty who stood holding a Suffrage banner. The woman was neatly dressed, somewhat excited, about forty-five years of age with hair turned gray. She was Mrs. E. D. Richardson of Missouri.

The demure bit of a girl wearing a flannel shirt and pink picture hat, was Miss Hazel Hunkins of Montana, who just graduated from Vassar college.

Mrs. Richardson grabbed the banner Miss Hunkins was holding and tore it to shreds. During the encounter, so we are told by the New York World, Miss Hunkins succeeded in landing several blows on Mrs. Richardson's jaw, but Hazel "another lady from Montana" came out of the skirmish with her banner destroyed, her shirtwaist torn and she was crying bitterly.

Hazel had been called a "dirty, yellow traitor" by another woman, and the crowd had cheered the other woman who had torn up the banner of pretty Miss Hazel and soiled her shirt waist and picture hat.

Truly Montana is getting into the limelight when we can send our young women away to college, graduate them from Vassar to stand at the gates of the White House holding banners which in the judgment of sane people are nuisances at best and agencies of sedition at their worst.

The Independent does not agree with Mrs. Richardson that Hazel Hunkins of Montana is a "dirty, yellow traitor."

Hazel is simply one of the misguided "friends" of the suffrage cause—she is a part of the lunatic fringe which hangs forever around the edge of the suffrage cause. Hazel has read in the newspapers of the picketing of the White House and the bravery of the women of the Congressional Union. She never thought of these vicious minded women as notorious disturbers of the peace. Her young mind pictures a young woman who will hold a banner at the White House gate as sort of a heroine. And Hazel was a heroine until the "Lady from Missouri" read her banner and called her an awful name.

Our Montana girls should follow some other ideal than the notorious disturbers of the peace, whose chief stock in trade is doing some desperate or fool thing to get their names in the papers. Weak minded love of notoriety and downright perversity has led a little band of women to keep up the campaign at the White House gates against the indignant protests of the leading suffragists. These women have won distinction not possible for them in other ways.

Little Hazel Hunkins of Montana has been misled. It is the duty of Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin to hunt up the little Vassar graduate and pin a tag to her so she will not get lost on the long journey, then send her back to Montana. If Hazel is naughty when she gets out here in the sunshine where straight thinking is the rule, her mother should take her out behind the wood shed and let the neighbors hear the gentle patter of her slipper on the bustle of Hazel's overalls. (We guess Suffragettes wear overalls.)

Exhibit 6-A "Another 'Lady from Montana'," *Helena Independent*, June 29, 1917 (clipping) Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

July 1, 1917 Butte Miner

MONTANA WOMEN DO NOT LEND APPROVAL

Telegram Is Sent to Washington Voicing Sentiment of the Club Women of Yellowstone County.

(Special Dispatch to the Miner.)

Billings, Mont., June 30.—At a meeting of the executive committee of the Woman's club of Billings the question of the display of banners before the White House at Washington was given consideration, and at its close a telegram was addressed to the Congressional union, in care of the women's party at the national capital, stating that the club did not approve of the displays, and that they were in no sense the sentiment of this community, especially in time of war.

The secretary was also instructed to write Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin that while the belief might prevail there because a Billings girl was one of the seemingly star performers in parading the banners, this should not be construed as expressive of sentiment in Billings on the subject of woman suffrage.

According to press reports, a Billings girl was one of the last to save her banner from the raiders, and she climbed one of the posts and waved it at the crowd. According to the press reports, however, her victory was short lived, for a man reached up and pulled her and the banner down.

The sentiments expressed on the banners, according to Mrs. Harry Smith, president of the club, and Mrs. Peters, the secretary, are improper at a time when the nation is at war. They rather subscribed to the published views of Rev. Anna Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

Exhibit 6-B "Montana Women Do Not Lend Approval," *Butte Miner*, July 1, 1917 (clipping) Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Historical Case File #6: Dissension within the Movement

July 5, 1917.

Dear little Mother Of Mine,

It is so hard to write you that I have put it off until it just has to be done. How can I ever make you catsh up with events, How can I ever make you see these things as I do? I have taken the only path open to me in all these proceedings and I am not sorry for a single thing that I have done. I have been ashamed and grieved at some things that have happened and many things I would have changed, but at no time would I have changed my own conduct. I say that in no boastfulness, but merely as a plain matter of fact. I think if you had been here you would heartily approved of all I have done.

It has not been hard for me, here, in the midst of the spirit of the thing to keep up my spirits when we have been attacked in the press, but every minute has been darkened by the thought of what you were suffering. I know how you hate publicity and I also know how little you know of the dirty game thatpress work is. When I see so plainly day in and day out how news is twisted and contorted to suit the policy or the views of the editor(or of the editor's asst., if the editor happens to be out of town), I can not be so mad at the things they print. You must take the attitude that more than half you read is false and the other half is so contaminated with the writers' view point that it isnt worth much. It is seldom that you can find in a paper a straight news story with no editorializing mixed with it.

I can imagine you walking up town and feeling that every eye is on you as the mother of a notorious character. Well when you get the right perspective of the press you wont mind it. If friends ask you about it I would treat it as a good joke that you didnt relish rather than anything serious. If you could only have been here and could have seen how matter-of-fact it all was and how really commonplace! I dont feel ashamed or grieved (except as it grieves you) and I havent changed one mite from what I was when I left home. My standards are the same and the thing that comforts me is that I dont woory about it more. Then, too, I have watched public opinion change in such a short time thatI wouldnt be suprised to be greeted as a hero rather than an offender sooner or later. Dont mistake me and think that is what I am after-----as so many of our enemies think we are. Nothing

Exhibit 6-C Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 5, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

would suit me better than to have been in all these happenings and never have been mentioned in any way as a participant.

Your telegrams have sent me every day into tears and a mad desire to get on the next train and come home and tell you all about it. I have wanted to so many times, but to-day I am in some what the same position as a soldier in the trenches who has the choise of going back or of going on----and he chooses to go on. I have given my services to this organization and for many months I was of no particular good to them; I was in the apprentice stage, as it were. The last four months I have more than made up for the time I was of little help. The organization needs me now as it has never needed me before and just when I begin to be of some use to them; how would it be for me to throw the whole thing up? And I am devoted to this bunch as I never have been to any work before. But there is one person I am more devoted to than any thing on earth and that is my mother. I dont want you to want me to come home. I dont want you to be miserable on account of me. But if you want me to come home and be, from now on and forever a school teacher in the Billings High School; or if you want me to come home and marry some dub for money or so that I wont be an old maid------if any of those things would ensure you of happiness and nothing else would, why I would do it. There is one person in this world who cant be replaced and that is my mother. Everything else in this world can in some way or another be duplicated or substituted except my mother and you're the one person that I have got to have on my side, with me ----come what will, even being any one of the things left open to me at home.

I have felt for so long that you werent with me in this work and I have wanted so much to have you come to Washington to see for yourself, to know and feel the work we are doing--not to merely see each little act as a separate incident, but rather to see the thing as a whole, as one big movement towards betterment in the whole great world sweep toward a different civilization, whether it be a better one or not. I have had all winter an ominous feeling that sooner or later there would something come up which you wouldnt understand and just what this sort of lack of communion would mean to us. Oh, Mother, please try and see these things that the press and the people say in the

light of years or even months. Every time I see something that makes me sort of sick to my stomick, I put it away in my private clipping folder and think how funny that will look when I show it to my grandchildren. A man came down the picket line the other day and said to me, "I brought my little boy down especially to see you girls. I wanted him to see history in the making".

And I am spending all this time just talking to you and not telling you just what has happened. It is after twelve now and I have had a hard day and have another hard day to-morrow, so I think I will mail this and let it go on the two oclock train and finish all the actual happenings to-morrow. I want to tell you too about Florence's wedding.

Good-night, Mama. Try to be with me in spirit even when it is easiest to condemn. It has all been so interesting and really nothing at all to fuss about. I am going to write a long letter to Carl. Somehow I feel that he isnt so dead set against what I am doing as I would naturally believe.

Historical Case File #6—Dissension within the Movement

QUIT WHITE HOUSE SIEGE, SUFFRAGISTS ARE ADVISED

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt Tells Miss Alice Paul That Patrol Is Harming Cause

WASHINGTON, May 25.—"Remove the suffrage pickets from the White House."

This was the appeal made to Miss Alice Paul, of Philadelphia, chairman of the National Woman's party, today, by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

In an open letter to Miss Paul, the national suffrage leader declares that "recent events have demonstrated beyond dispute that the picketing is harmful to the suffrage movement."

The communication is the first that has passed between the two leaders of the suffrage movement since Miss Paul broke away from the national association and formed a separate organization known as the Congressional Union—now the Woman's party.

Exhibit 6-D "Quit White House Siege, Suffragists Are Advised," *Evening Ledger—Philadelphia*, May 25, 1917. Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045211/1917-05-25/ed-1/seq-3.pdf

Historical Case File #6—Dissension within the Movement

PRESIDENT LONG READY TO APPROVE AMENDMENT

Decided He Would Indorse National Woman Suffrage Back in November When Leaders Called on Him.

By DAVID LAWRENCE.

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President Wilson chose the psychological moment to express his support of the Federal amendment for woman suffrage—and thereby hangs a tale. For months a group of militant suffragettes have picketed the White House in an effort to influence Mr. Wilson to do what he did last night. But long before they began to see the error of their way—which was just before Thanksgiving—when they diverted their energies from attacks on the President to a raid on members of Congress, Mr. Wilson had virtually made up his mind that when the right moment arrived for an expression of opinion, he would come out for the Federal amendment. This is not an ex post facto explanation of his course, but it can now be disclosed that when Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and other leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association called on the President, immediately after suffrage won its victory in New York State, he showed a sympathy with their advocacy of the Federal amendment that gave them faith in his ultimate announcement of that fact.

Explained to Him.

The leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in contrast to the mistaken tactics of the National Woman's Party, sat down with the President and explained the difficulties of State action, explained how Indiana, for example, offered a typical case of the practical impossibility of getting the State constitution amended for many years, and thus depriving the women of that State of a chance to vote. Mr. Wilson was deeply impressed. He did not think, however, that an expression from him at the time would be wise. He preferred to be left to consider the question further, and in this Mr. Wilson was wise. Any announcement from him would have been so confused with the action of the pickets as to develop the idea that he had merely issued a statement to get rid of the question, and that he did not really feel deeply on the matter.

Went Forth Jubilant.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association's leaders went forth from the White House on that occasion very jubilant, but they kept their secret. They did not go out and argue that Mr. Wilson secretly favored the Federal amendment, as the National Woman's Party tastlessly did. They worked steadily and without losing confidence or hope that Mr. Wilson would do whatever he could for them at his own convenience and when he believed it would do suffrage most good.

On every side, however, the suffrage workers were confronted with the opposition of Southern Democrats, many of whom said that if the President favored it, they would vote for it, and their constituencies would justify the action. In other words, with Mr. Wilson as the leader in world democracy, his decision in favor of suffrage at this time would carry weight. The women leaders struggled hard against Southern opposition. They carried on their campaign in a dignified way—they used the advertising columns of the newspapers and paid their own money to get their case before the public. They finally suggested to the members of Congress who were hesitant and noncommital that if they sought Mr. Wilson's advice, the President would give it. Still they had no definite promise

(Continued on Page 12, Column 5.)

Exhibit 6-E "President Long Ready to Approve Amendment," *Washington Times*, January 10, 1918. Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1918-01-10/ed-1/seq-1.pdf

PRESIDENT LONG READY TO APPROVE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE

By DAVID LAWRENCE.

(Continued from First Page.)

from the President—they were merely relying on his fairness, on his readiness to see the just and right side of every question when all phases are thoroughly explained to him.

Busy Day at White House.

It was a busy day at the White House—there were many engagements, and to upset the schedule or insert a special engagement can be accomplished only in urgent matters. Secretary Tumulty was told early in the day of the willingness of a delegation of members to come to the White House to ask the President to see them about woman suffrage. He recognized the importance of the request and within a short time had placed the matter before the President. The engagement was granted for late in the day. The conference was long because the members explained individually what their position had been and why an expression from the President would be helpful. And Mr. Wilson unhesitatingly gave his advice. He said the State by State method had been his position in the past, yet while he still believed that would eventually bring the right to vote to all women the process was long drawn out and new world conditions required revolutionary methods to get this reform. He mentioned the fact that earlier in the day he had lunched with the governor general of Canada who had told him how women saved the day for conscription in Canada. Mr. Wilson referred to the declarations of the British and French governments in favor of woman suffrage and argued that with America proclaiming her leadership in the cause of democracy, the United States could not afford to be behind her allies.

Women have made the maximum sacrifice—they have given of their flesh and blood to sustain the honor of the nation in this war—and Mr. Wilson believed that it was "an act of right and of justice to the women of this country and the world."

The women leaders were jubilant—not merely the National American Woman Suffrage Association but the National Woman's Party pickets, too, for while the latter did not pursue a wise course in the beginning they discontinued their tactics two months ago and have since done effective work in persuading members of Congress to vote for the Federal amendment. When the history of the movement shall be written, it will not be denied that they had a great part in achieving victory, though their policy in picketing the White House was offset by the wisdom of the Chief Executive himself, who feels now as he did when he wrote to the women leaders of New York State that the picketing of a minority should not interfere with the grant of the vote to the great majority who have relied on dignified methods of persuasion.

Saved His Party.

Mr. Wilson incidentally saved his party from defeat at the polls next fall and perhaps in 1920—that is, he removed a troublesome issue. If the Democratic party is going to be driven out of power, it will not be because of suffrage, but something else. The crisis in the Democratic party's position has been everywhere appreciated. The Republicans have been united in favor of the Federal amendment. It is a test of progressivism. Had the Southern Democrats brought about the defeat of the measure, young men throughout the nation choosing their party would have felt that the Democratic party was handicapped by the South and could not be progressive on vital issues. But the Democrats by their abandonment of the States' rights argument in prohibition and now in woman suffrage have proved that they are abreast of the times, that they are not a reactionary party, but ready to conform to the spirit of liberalism that is revolutionizing the life of the whole world.

http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1918-01-10/ed-1/seq-12.pdf