

Hazel Hunkins, Billings Suffragist

A Primary Source Investigation

Grade Level: 7-12

Created by Ruth Ferris, Billings School District for the Montana Historical Society, funded in part through the National Endowment for the Humanities' National Digital Newspaper Project.

Overview:

In this lesson, student historians will participate in sourcing photos, letters, artifacts, political cartoons, and newspapers to learn more about the suffrage movement as experienced by Billings, Montana, native and National Woman's Party activist Hazel Hunkins. The lesson is designed to give students practice analyzing documents and drawing their own conclusions based on the evidence.

After providing some background information on the history of woman's suffrage, the teacher will model how to analyze different types of primary sources. Students will then practice their analysis skills in small groups to learn more about specific aspects of woman's suffrage before sharing their findings with the class.

Finally, students will write briefs, based on all the evidence examined in class, arguing for or against the inclusion of Hazel Hunkins in the next edition of their American history textbook.

Standards

Common Core Anchor Standards

CCRA.R.1 Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.

CCRA.R.2 Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.

CCRA.R.4 Interpret words and phrases as they are used in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative meanings, and analyze how specific word choices shape meaning or tone.

CCRA.R.6 Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.

CCRA.R.7 Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse media and formats, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.

CCRA.R.8 Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence.

CCRA.R.9 Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.

CCRA.R.10 Read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently.

CCRA.W.1 Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

CCRA.W.4 Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

CCRA.W.9 Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

CCRA.W.10 Write routinely over extended time frames (time for research, reflection, and revision)

and shorter time frames (a single sitting or a day or two) for a range of tasks, purposes, and audiences.

CCRA.SL.1 Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

CCRA.SL.2 Integrate and evaluate information presented in diverse media and formats, including visually, quantitatively, and orally.

CCRA.SL.4 Present information, findings, and supporting evidence such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning and the organization, development, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

Montana State Social Studies Standards

Content Standard 1—Students access, synthesize, and evaluate information to communicate and apply social studies knowledge to real world situations.

Content Standard 2—Students analyze how people create and change structures of power, authority, and governance to understand the operation of government and to demonstrate civic responsibility.

Enduring Understanding: Social change is never “top down.” It requires ordinary citizens to develop leadership skills and to fight for their own rights against great odds and injustices.

Focus Questions: Was Hazel a criminal, a hero, or both? What was she trying to accomplish? Was her work important?

Objectives: Students will:

- Understand that until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, many states denied women the right to vote.
- Use primary and secondary sources to understand the ways that women advocated for the right to vote.
- Demonstrate their understanding of historical events by creating a presentation to share.
- Learn to analyze primary sources by asking when

a source was produced, who wrote it, and for what purpose.

- See how an individual's actions can influence the course of historical events and how historical events change individuals.
- Learn to identify bias within the context of a document or artifact.

Materials

Part 1

- Computer with internet access and projector
- Image of Hazel Hunkins (see below, Appendix 1 or Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint)
- Copies of “The Women's Rights Movement, 1848-1920” (see below, Appendix 2) or Building Background Knowledge PowerPoint (available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>)
- Document Analysis Worksheet (see below, Appendix 3)
- Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint (available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>)
- Model Document Analysis Worksheets (incorporated in the Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint)
- Primary sources (provide copies or arrange to project. See below, Appendix 4 or Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint)
 - Photo and hand-written caption: Hazel Hunkins in front of a plane, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute
 - Envelope, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute
 - Newspaper clipping, “The Women Who Are Guarding the White House Portal,” *Washington Post*, February 4, 1915, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 10, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute
 - Letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, March 30, 1917 (first page), Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger

Library, Radcliffe Institute, and transcribed excerpt (If you are short on time, just use the first paragraph.)

- Cartoon: “I Did Not Raise My Girl to Be a Voter.” Political cartoon published in *Puck* [magazine], October 9, 1915, p. 6. Image from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Part 2: Student Investigations

- Document Analysis Worksheet (see below, Appendix 3)
- Historical Case Files (see below, Appendix 7, or have students access these online at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>)
- PowerPoints of case files documents, optional (available online at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>)

Part 3: Writing a Brief

- Writing the Brief Graphic Organizer (see below, Appendix 5)
- Student-created exhibits

Part 4: Wrapping Up

- Computer with internet access and projector
- Student pre-tests from Part 1
- “Bad Romance” Allusions (see below, Appendix 6)

A note on terminology: Although people today typically refer to “women’s suffrage,” the terms “woman suffrage” or “woman’s suffrage” were generally used during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to historian Nancy Cott, “Nineteenth-century women’s consistent usage of the singular *woman* symbolized, in a word, the unity of the female sex. It proposed that all women have one cause, one movement.” (Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, New Haven, CT: 1989, 3).

Part 1: Introduction

Pre-lesson Preparation

- Arrange to project the Hazel Hunkins’ yearbook photographs.
- Make copies of the Document Analysis Worksheet.
- Make copies or arrange to project other sources listed under Part 1 Materials.
- Review Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint

Procedure

Hook: Project the yearbook photographs of Hazel Hunkins. Tell them that she grew up in Billings, Montana, where her parents owned a jewelry store, that she graduated from Billings High School in 1908, and that these pictures are from the high school annual. Ask students to predict: In what historical event do you think Hazel Hunkins participated? How might her actions have changed American society?

Tell students that Hazel Hunkins was part of the woman’s suffrage movement. Let them know that they are going to become historical detectives, investigating the case of Hazel Hunkins to answer the following questions:

- Who was Hazel Hunkins?
- What did she have to do with the woman’s suffrage movement?
- Was Hazel representative of the contributions made by other women working for the vote?
- Was she a criminal, a hero, or both?
- Were her contributions historically significant? (As a class, define “historical significance” and record your definition for future reference.)
- Should her story be included in the next edition of your American history textbook?

Explain to students: At the request of the textbook committee, the case has been reopened to determine if Hazel Hunkins’ story should be included. As members of the commission selected to review the case, their job is to examine evidence and, ultimately, write

a brief arguing for or against Hunkins' inclusion in the next edition of their American history textbook.

Let them know that they will examine a number of different sources to come to a conclusion.

Step 1: Build Background Knowledge

As a class, read and discuss the excerpt from "The Women's Rights Movement, 1848-1920" or show students the Building Background Knowledge PowerPoint.

Step 2: Model Document Analysis

Distribute the Document Analysis Worksheet.

Explain to students that working with primary sources is a bit like creating a collage. Each piece of evidence becomes a part of the collage—they put these pieces of evidence together to create a larger picture. Note that all sources should be examined critically. Asking **when a source was produced, by whom, and for what purpose** will help students better understand the sources they encounter. Tell students that you are going to analyze a series of primary sources as a class, after which they will be analyzing primary sources independently in small groups.

Consider these additional questions as you investigate:

- How did the suffrage campaign use group organizing and advocacy to change mainstream opinion?
- What other methods did these activists use to create social change?
- Were these tactics effective? Why or why not?
- If it brings about social change, do you believe that breaking a law is justified (civil disobedience)? Why or why not?
- What was Hazel Hunkins' role in this campaign?
- Are there other perspectives to consider?
- Whose perspective was not represented in the material you read?

Project (or distribute copies of) the photograph, with hand-written caption, of Hazel Hunkins in front of a

plane. As a class, spend about five minutes examining this image and discussing it, using the Document Analysis Worksheet as a guide. Encourage students to take notes. If students get frustrated, remind them that each source is a small piece of the larger picture that they are working to discover. Share the completed worksheet provided in the PowerPoint as a model. How did your class answers differ?

Project or distribute copies of the *Washington Post* clipping and transcribed excerpt. As a class, spend about ten minutes reading the clipping and analyzing it, using the Document Analysis Worksheet as a guide. (If you are short of time, just read the paragraph on Hazel Hunkins.) Again, share the model worksheet for comparison.

Project or distribute copies of the envelope. Again, spend a few minutes analyzing it as a class and, using the Document Analysis Worksheet as a guide, discover what you can glean from it. Compare your answers to those on the model worksheet.

Project or distribute copies of the "Letter to Mother," March 30, 1917. Read the first paragraph aloud and, as a class, analyze it, using the Document Analysis Worksheet as a guide. As time permits have students read the remainder of the letter and add their thoughts to the Document Analysis Worksheet. Again, share the model worksheet for comparison.

Project or distribute copies of the political cartoon, "I Did Not Raise My Girl to Be a Voter." Analyze it using the Document Analysis Worksheet as a guide and then comparing your findings with those on the model worksheet.

As a class, discuss what you have learned from these various pieces of evidence about the woman's suffrage movement and about Hazel Hunkins' role in it. How can this material help students answer the focus questions and complete the assignment (recommending for or against Hunkins' inclusion in the next edition of the textbook)?

Discuss what you have learned about working with primary sources from this exercise.

Part 2: Historical Casework

Pre-lesson Preparation

- Make copies of each the Historical Case File instruction sheets and Document Analysis Worksheets.
- Arrange for students to access the “evidence” (primary sources)—either by printing them out or by providing them with online access through <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>.
- Create six mixed-ability groups.

Procedure

Step 1: Divide students into six groups and let them know that each group will be investigating one of six History Scene Investigation (HSI) Case Files.* Each case file includes an instruction sheet and copies of primary source documents and photographs from the Library of Congress and the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America. Each case file offers evidence about a different aspect of the very complicated and multifaceted woman’s suffrage story.

Step 2: Review the Assignment. Tell students that you expect them to use what they learned about analyzing primary sources during Part 1 to explore documents relating to various aspects of the suffrage movement and Hazel Hunkins’ experiences as part of that movement. Among other tasks, students will need to examine each source for credibility and bias.

Students should expect to spend about five to ten minutes on each source in their case file. After they analyze each individual piece of evidence, they will need to answer the general questions and prepare a five-minute presentation so that they can share what they learned with the class, helping to piece together the role of Hazel Hunkins and the National Woman’s Party in the woman’s suffrage movement. Let them know they will have about twenty minutes to create their presentation and that they can find PowerPoints with their documents (so they can project them to the class as they

discuss each one) at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>.

Since, ultimately, each student individually will be asked to use evidence from their case file, the evidence reviewed in Part 1, and the evidence presented by their fellow students to write a brief for the “textbook committee,” groups will also be responsible for making their documents and analysis available as an “exhibit” for other students to refer to when it comes time to write the briefs. Give students the option to use technology (or not) when they create their presentation and exhibit their primary sources.

Teaching notes: You may wish to assign students individual documents within each group, differentiating by assigning photos to students who struggle with reading and longer written pieces to faster readers. (If you have more documents than students, some students will need to analyze multiple documents since each document provides different evidence.) Have students complete a Document Analysis Worksheet on their assigned document(s) and then work together to “Crack the Case” and create their presentation.

GoogleDocs provides an easy way for students to collaboratively write their final report (Step 3: Crack the Case). It is also a great way for them to share their evidence and conclusions with their classmates.

Step 3: Examine the Case Files. Distribute the case files and clean copies of the Document Analysis Worksheet:

- Historical Case File 1: Selling Suffrage
- Historical Case File 2: Anti-Suffrage and Saloon Men
- Historical Case File 3: Silent Sentinels
- Historical Case File 4: Pickets, Arrests, and Riots
- Historical Case File 5: Prisoners and Hunger Strikes
- Historical Case File 6: Dissension within the Movement

Remind students to **read their group instruction sheet in its entirety** before starting to analyze the documents. Have them read the background information provided at the beginning of their case file out loud within their group before they begin to work with the primary sources. Circulate as each group analyzes its primary sources and assist them as needed—both in the analysis and as the groups create their presentations and exhibits.

Teaching Notes: You can either print the primary sources (low-tech) or students can read them online (hi-tech) or some combination of both. Many students find it easier to work with the primary sources when they are printed; however, if you want your students to see the newspaper articles in context (e.g., surrounded by other articles) and don't have access to a large-format printer, you will need to direct students to the *Chronicling America* website so they can easily enlarge the material. Provided in each case file are newspaper clippings; a URL is listed where the newspaper is available online so you and your students can access the full page.

Since many students have difficulty reading handwriting, we have included transcripts for the hand-written letters in the case files. You may wish to give students a few minutes to investigate the original documents before providing them with the transcripts.

Step 4: Class Presentations. Remind students that you expect them to use the evidence in their classmates' case files when they write their brief, so they should take notes and listen attentively to each other's presentations.

Have each group present in turn, projecting the documents for everyone to see as they review their evidence.

Conclude the investigation by synthesizing the varying perspectives and evidence. Make sure that everyone in the class has a basic understanding of Hazel Hunkins' role in the suffrage movement, the National Woman's Party's tactics, and how both proponents and

opponents perceived the actions of the NWP.

Then encourage students to draw conclusions about whether Hazel Hunkins and other NWP members were justified in breaking the law. To facilitate this process, you may wish to pose some of the following questions, probing for insightful responses and accepting all reasonable conclusions while requiring students to provide evidence to back up their claims:

- How did the suffrage campaign use group organizing and advocacy to change mainstream opinion?
- What other methods did these activists use to create social change?
- Were these tactics effective? Why or why not?
- If it brings about social change, do you believe that breaking a law is justified (civil disobedience)? Why or why not?
- Are there other perspectives to consider?
- Whose perspective was not represented in the material you read?

Part 3: Writing the Brief

Ask students to think about the focus questions and the evidence presented by their classmates as they write a brief answering the following questions: "Is Billings suffragist Hazel Hunkins a criminal, a hero, or both? Should her story be included in the next edition of the American history textbook?" Tell students that they need to support their opinion with at least two details from the primary source evidence they investigated as a class and in their small group and at least one piece of evidence from another group's investigation. Quote evidence from the sources and use in-text citations (MLA style).

Part 4: Wrap-up

Pre-lesson Preparation

- Arrange to broadcast the "Bad Romance: Suffrage" YouTube video to your class. (Search "Bad Romance Women's Suffrage Parody" for the link.)

- Review the “Bad Romance” Allusions sheet
- Review (and/or arrange to project) information on voter registration on the Secretary of State website: <http://www.sos.mt.gov/elections/Vote/>

Procedure

Step 1. Ask students to take out a piece of paper and create a numbered list 1-10.

Step 2. Tell them they are going to watch a music video about woman’s suffrage (a take off of Lady Gaga’s video “Bad Romance.”) Let them know that there are many allusions to actual people, symbols, and events in the video. Their job is to list as many as they recognize. Hint: there are more than ten.

Step 3. Debrief and discuss filling in gaps with information you’ve gained by reviewing “Bad Romance” Allusions. (If you wish, collect the students’ lists as another assessment.)

Step 4. Discuss current-day relevance of the woman’s suffrage movement. Ask: why is voting important? Do students plan to register and vote when they turn eighteen? Share information on how to register to vote: <http://www.sos.mt.gov/elections/Vote/>

Step 5. Discuss the pros and cons of public protest and direct action. Compare the NWP pickets to more current protests (for example, Black Lives Matter.) Ask students if they would do what Hazel Hunkins did. Remind them that Hunkins hated picketing. How do they think they would feel about it?

*This activity is modeled after the Historical Scene Investigation Project developed by Mark Hofer and Kathleen Owings Swan and *History Labs: A Guided Approach to Historical Inquiry in the K-12 Classroom*, which was developed through a partnership between the UMBC Center for History Education (CHE) and Maryland school systems, with support from the United States Department of Education’s Teaching American History grant program.

Appendix 1

Photos from the 1908 *Kyote Annual* (Billings, Montana, High School). Images also available in the Primary Source PowerPoint at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>.

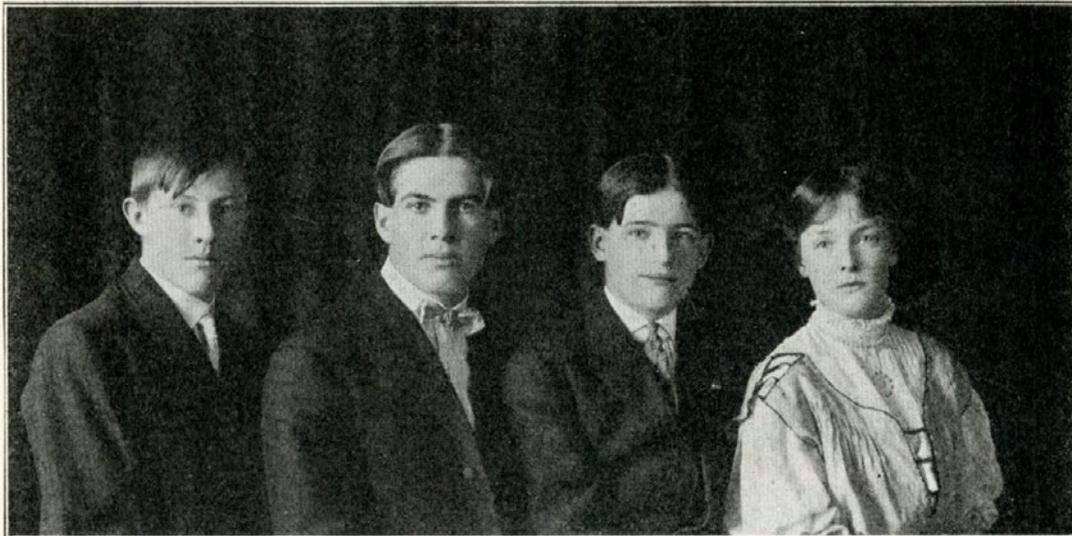


Hazel Hunkins

Another student who has completed her High School course in less than four years. Has been prominent in debating and basketball and was chosen Valedictorian of the class. She is preparing for Vassar.

THE KYOTE

43



Orville Cotner

Ray Van Houten

Ernest Steele

Hazel Hunkins

THE DEBATING TEAM

Appendix 2

The Women's Rights Movement, 1848–1920

Excerpted from History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, *Women in Congress, 1917–2006*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2007. “The Women’s Rights Movement, 1848–1920,” <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Essays/No-Lady/Womens-Rights/> (accessed September 02, 2015)

The beginning of the fight for women’s suffrage in the United States, which predates Jeannette Rankin’s entry into Congress by nearly 70 years, grew out of a larger women’s rights movement. That reform effort evolved during the 19th century, initially emphasizing a broad spectrum of goals before focusing solely on securing the franchise for women. Women’s suffrage leaders, moreover, often disagreed about the tactics for and the emphasis (federal versus state) of their reform efforts. Ultimately, the suffrage movement provided political training for some of the early women pioneers in Congress, but its internal divisions foreshadowed the persistent disagreements among women in Congress and among women’s rights activists after the passage of the 19th Amendment.

The first gathering devoted to women’s rights in the United States was held July 19–20, 1848, in Seneca Falls, New York. The principal organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a mother of four from upstate New York, and the Quaker abolitionist Lucretia Mott.¹ About 100 people attended the convention; two-thirds were women. Stanton drafted a “Declaration of Sentiments, Grievances, and Resolutions,” that echoed the preamble of the Declaration of Independence: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that

all men and women are created equal.” Among the 13 resolutions set forth in Stanton’s “Declaration” was the goal of achieving the “sacred right of franchise.”²

The sometimes-fractious suffrage movement that grew out of the Seneca Falls meeting proceeded in successive waves. Initially, women reformers addressed social and institutional barriers that limited women’s rights; including family responsibilities, a lack of educational and economic opportunities, and the absence of a voice in political debates. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, a Massachusetts teacher, met in 1850 and forged a lifetime alliance as women’s rights activists. For much of the 1850s they agitated against the denial of basic economic freedoms to women. Later, they unsuccessfully lobbied Congress to include women in the provisions of the 14th and 15th Amendments (extending citizenship rights and granting voting rights to freedmen, respectively).

In the wake of the Civil War, however, reformers sought to avoid marginalization as “social issues” zealots by focusing their message exclusively on the right to vote.³ In 1869 two distinct factions of the suffrage movement emerged. Stanton and Anthony created the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), which directed its efforts toward changing federal law and opposed the 15th Amendment because it excluded women. Lucy Stone, a one-time Massachusetts antislavery advocate and a prominent lobbyist for women’s rights, formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA).⁴ Leaders of the AWSA rejected the NWSA’s agenda as being racially divisive and organized with the aim to continue a national reform effort at the state level. Although California Senator Aaron Sargent introduced in Congress a women’s suffrage amendment in 1878, the overall campaign stalled. Eventually, the NWSA also shifted its efforts to the individual states

where reformers hoped to start a ripple effect to win voting rights at the federal level.

During the 1880s, the two wings of the women's rights movement struggled to maintain momentum. The AWSA was better funded and the larger of the two groups, but it had only a regional reach. The NWSA, which was based in New York, relied on its statewide network but also drew recruits from around the nation, largely on the basis of the extensive speaking circuit of Stanton and Anthony. Neither group attracted broad support from women, or persuaded male politicians or voters to adopt its cause. Susan B. Anthony and Ida H. Harper cowrote, "In the indifference, the inertia, the apathy of women, lies the greatest obstacle to their enfranchisement." Historian Nancy Woloch described early suffragists' efforts as "a crusade in political education by women and for women, and for most of its existence, a crusade in search of a constituency."⁵

The turning point came in the late 1880s and early 1890s, when the nation experienced a surge of volunteerism among middle-class women—activists in progressive causes, members of women's clubs and professional societies, temperance advocates, and participants in local civic and charity organizations. The determination of these women to expand their sphere of activities further outside the home helped legitimate the suffrage movement and provided new momentum for the NWSA and the AWSA. By 1890, seeking to capitalize on their newfound "constituency," the two groups united to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).⁶ Led initially by Stanton and then by Anthony, the NAWSA began to draw on the support of women activists in organizations as diverse as the Women's Trade Union League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and the National Consumer's League.

For the next two decades, the NAWSA worked as a nonpartisan organization focused on

gaining the vote in states, though managerial problems and a lack of coordination initially limited its success. The first state to grant women complete voting rights was Wyoming in 1869. Three other western states—Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), and Idaho (1896)—followed shortly after NAWSA was founded. But prior to 1910, only these four states allowed women to vote. Between 1910 and 1914, the NAWSA intensified its lobbying efforts and additional states extended the franchise to women: Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon. In Illinois, future Congresswoman Ruth Hanna McCormick helped lead the fight for suffrage as a lobbyist in Springfield, when the state legislature granted women the right to vote in 1913; this marked the first such victory for women in a state east of the Mississippi River. A year later, Montana granted women the right to vote, thanks in part to the efforts of another future Congresswoman, Jeannette Rankin.

Despite the new momentum, however, some reformers were impatient with the pace of change. In 1913, Alice Paul, a young Quaker activist who had experience in the English suffrage movement, formed the rival Congressional Union (later named the National Woman's Party).⁷ Paul's group freely adopted the more militant tactics of its English counterparts, picketing and conducting mass rallies and marches to raise public awareness and support. Embracing a more confrontational style, Paul drew a younger generation of women to her movement, helped resuscitate the push for a federal equal rights amendment, and relentlessly attacked the Democratic administration of President Woodrow Wilson for obstructing the extension of the vote to women.

In 1915, Carrie Chapman Catt, a veteran suffragist since the mid-1880s and a former president of the NAWSA, again secured the organization's top leadership post. Catt proved

an adept administrator and organizer, whose “Winning Plan” strategy called for disciplined and relentless efforts to achieve state referenda on the vote, especially in non-Western states.⁸ Key victories—the first in the South and East—followed in 1917 when Arkansas and New York granted partial and full voting rights, respectively. Beginning in 1917, President Wilson (a convert to the suffrage cause) urged Congress to pass a voting rights amendment. Another crowning achievement also occurred that year when Montana’s Jeannette Rankin (elected two years after her state enfranchised women) was sworn into the 65th Congress on April 2, as the first woman to serve in the national legislature.

Catt’s steady strategy of securing voting rights state by state and Paul’s vocal and partisan protest campaign coincided with the Wilson administration’s decision to intervene in the First World War—a development that provided powerful rhetoric for and a measure of expediency for granting the vote.⁹ The NAWSA

publicly embraced the war cause, despite the fact that many women suffragists, including Rankin, were pacifists. Suffrage leaders suggested that the effort to “make the world safe for democracy” ought to begin at home, by extending the franchise. Moreover, they insisted, the failure to extend the vote to women might impede their participation in the war effort just when they were most needed to play a greater role as workers and volunteers outside the home. Responding to these overtures, the House of Representatives initially passed a voting rights amendment on January 10, 1918, but the Senate did not follow suit before the end of the 65th Congress. It was not until after the war, however, that the measure finally cleared Congress with the House again voting its approval by a wide margin on May 21, 1919, and the Senate concurring on June 14, 1919. A year later, on August 26, 1920, the 19th Amendment, providing full voting rights for women nationally, was ratified when Tennessee became the 36th state to approve it.

Appendix 3

Document Analysis Worksheet

Take a moment to investigate the source. Then answer the following questions as best you can.

Note: You may NOT be able to find definitive answers to all of these questions. Feel free to record your DEDUCTIONS, SPECULATIONS, and CONJECTURES.

Title of Document
Creator
Date created
Content What information do we learn from this source? What symbols are present? If it is a written document: What claims does the author make? What evidence does the author use?
Subtext How close to the event depicted was this source created (both time and place)? Why was this item created? What was its purpose? Who was the intended audience? Does this document exhibit a point of view or bias? If so, how?
Context What events were occurring during the time period the document was created? How might this have influenced the source?
Question Write at least one question you have after investigating this source. What are you confused about? What new questions does this source raise?
Corroboration (Complete after reading the other documents in the case file) How do other sources support or contradict this source? How reliable do you think this source is? Why?

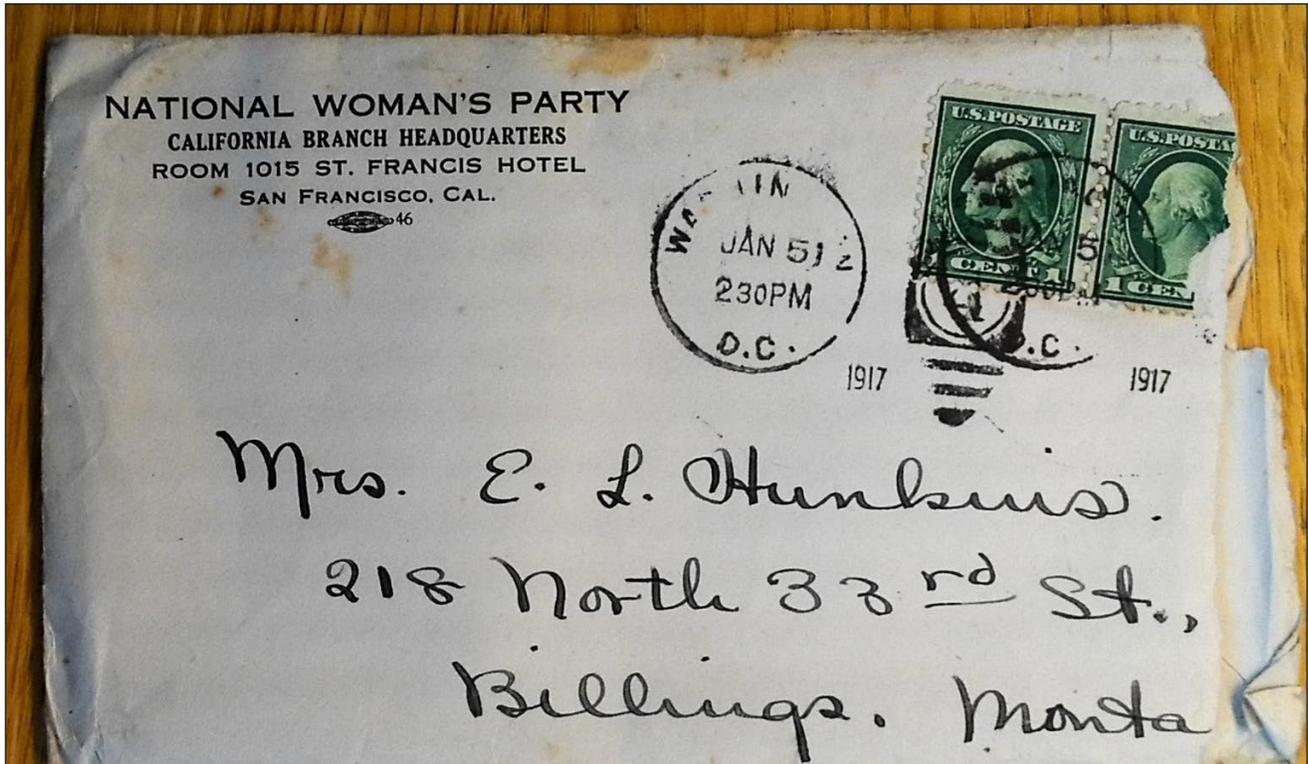
Appendix 4



My first ride in an aeroplane with
Silas Christopherson, a stunt pilot.
He took me over San Francisco & I
scattered suffrage leaflets on the crowds
below. 1916

Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Also available in the Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>



Envelope, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Also available in the Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>

Though men may vote and women must wait.
There's a "bill" to be done at the White House
And the picket line is hoping.
(The most acknowledged to Mr. Knappe.)

WHEN Mr. Washington and his associates hit on a site for the nation's Capital they felt reasonably sure that future American lawmakers would escape one mental anguish. "The dear old town may suffer from the heat in summer time, you know," they observed complacently to one another, "but there'll be none of that 'city the men at sea' tonight's stuff. We'll drive the men so far back from the coast that impending Washingtonians may bask in the glow of the fireplace on windy evenings without worry about the sailor lads every time a broadside of snow slams against the windows!" They meant well, those fathers of their country, but they didn't copper enough bets. That dream of Washingtonians talking their ease in the ruddy radiance from the hickory logs with cheerful disregard of weather conditions outside the hat panned out well enough a hundred years ago, but it doesn't register in these days of five and ten centers. How can the high-strung, chivvies near-citizens of the District enjoy a steam-heater in perfect comfort and tranquillity this month while that thin gray line of heroines stands guard at the White House portals to protect the President against forgetfulness of his case? It's true we haven't any boys at sea these stormy nights. But we have those dear suds on our hands all day.

Lack of Action Trying.
The wearers of the white and yellow are up against a tough game. It is practically impossible to get in all supplies from the White House or disconnect the pipes which connect the basement to the executive offices. Moreover, think of the Congressional Union pickets having to suffer in silence on a cold pavement beyond the fence while newspaper correspondents, sheltered from the icy blasts, do their watchful waiting within the warm porch of the beleaguered building! Words of sympathy from passerby help, of course. But they cannot temper the biting wind nor stop the fall of rain and snow. It's the lack of action that makes the vigil doubly tiresome. If Mr. Tumulty would only lead a sortie from the left wing or if the ants could be induced to start something, the cause wouldn't be so frightful. But when you have led gallant charges against a rules committee it is hard, very hard, to stand around for a month or two merely to hold a purple banner against a white background.

Studied Calm Amazes.
However, it's the striking qualities of the White House pickets which inspires admiration even in this mecca of the office-seeker. The ladies on guard at the executive mansion are testing a theory of the prize ring. And their patience in this new phase of the fight for votes seems more remarkable when one studies the past performance of the fair-ones.

Here are the life histories of the silent seven who are picture on this

Some Interesting Facts About the Suffrage "Pickets" Who Are Braving Wintry Winds These Days to Form a Living Advertisement for the "Cause."



Washington Post Sunday, Feb. 4, 1917
President Wilson Running the Gauntlet



Miss Iris Calderhead Kansas
Miss Elsie Hill Washington D.C.
Miss Mildred Louise Gilbert California
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins New Jersey
Miss Hazel Hunkins Montana
Miss Nina E. Alexander Washington

Page. The energy they have shown in their crises presents a striking contrast to their present attitude of studied calm.

Would you suppose, for example, that dancing was a suit the pickets at the White House gates? Or, from another point of view, would you suppose that it means to exchange a "bunny hug" for a "gentle snuff" or to "snuff" a "gentle snuff" and to accompany photograph, and single out that of Miss Mildred Louise Gilbert on can gaze upon the brown eyes and auburn hair of a young woman who went to that length for suffrage.

Sacrifices for Cause.

While the recent presidential election campaign was at its height in California, Miss Gilbert went one evening to a dance at a San Francisco hotel, which the dance was given were the headquarters of the National Women's party. Miss Gilbert's eye was caught by the colors of the organization. The next morning, having had scarcely three hours sleep meanwhile, she presented herself at the suffrage headquarters and immediately began to picket the meetings which Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York and other Democrats, were holding in her State.

Since then, dance? That frivolous artifice is passed.

That, while probably the greatest, as by no means the only sacrifice made by this young woman. Having graduated from Leland-Stanford University in 1914, Miss Gilbert had taken research work in Japanese prints and Chinese porcelains. Now the poor "ants and porcelains are covered with austerian deed of beauty" picketing resident Wilson.

Miss Gilbert came to Washington several weeks ago determined to resist until the constitutional amendment is passed by Congress. She hopes to return West this spring. Well, as she said in his Keary on Mar. "Hope rings eternal in the human breast." Some women inherit their sufferings of suffrage, while others contract the consuming fever. Miss Hazel Hunkins (don't fail to insert accompanying photograph), of Billings, Mont., was a suffragist. Her parents resided

at the time of her birth in Colorado and her mother was a voter. She, like the Chicago suffragists, will tell you that the "band that rocks the cradle will never rock the boat."

Miss Hunkins was district chairman for the Congressional Union in Montana, and during the recent campaign stumped northern California against the Democrats.

She came to Washington late in November to insist that President Wilson shall "mother instead of smother" the suffrage constitutional amendment. Though now a member of the picket brigade, Miss Hunkins, while in California, belonged to the aviation corps of the suffrage army. She flew over San Francisco's suburban towns scattering burning (used figuratively) literature bearing on the "cause."

While Miss Hunkins was registered in Montana she was so "wrapped up" in her work of urging others to vote right that she overlooked the little detail of casting a ballot herself last November.

Two Washington women, caught in the tentacles of suffrage, have cast aside their life's work (that is if it takes a lifetime to accomplish their purpose) to secure the cause of a constitutional amendment.

Miss Elsie Hill, daughter of Representative Elmore J. Hill, of Connecticut, has recently been serving on the picket line. Miss Hill until last February was a teacher of French in the Central High School of this city. She resigned to spend a year that was to be divided between study and activity with the Congressional Union.

The union sent her out to organize women's party campaign in Illinois, Indiana, North Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa as field secretary for the central

"The Women Who Are Guarding the White House Portal," *Washington Post* clipping, February 4, 1915, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 10, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Also available in the Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>

See also the transcribed excerpt on pages 16-17.

Magazine Section, *The Washington Post*, February 4, 1917

The Women Who Are "Guarding" the White House Portals

Some Interesting Facts About the Suffrage "Pickets" Who Are Braving Wintry Winds These Days to Form a Living Advertisement for the "Cause."

Though men may vote and women must wait.
There's a "bit" to be done at the White House gate—
And the picket line is hoping.
(The usual acknowledgements to Mr. Kingsley.)

When Mr. Washington and his associates hit on a site for the nation's Capital they felt reasonably sure future American lawmakers would escape one mental anguish. "The dear old town may suffer from the heat in summer time, you know," they observed complacently to one another, "but there'll be none of that 'pity the men at sea tonight' stuff. We'll drive the stakes so far back from the coast that impending Washingtonians may bask in the glow of the fireplace on wintry evenings without worry about the sailor lads every time a broadside of snow slams against the windows!"

They meant well, those fathers of their country, but they didn't copper enough bets. That dream of Washingtonians taking their ease in the ruddy radiance from the hickory logs with cheerful disregard of weather conditions outside the flat panned out well enough a hundred years ago, but it doesn't register in these days of five and ten reelers. How can the high-strung, chivalrous near-citizens of the District enjoy a steam-heater in perfect comfort and tranquility this month while that thin gray line of heroines stands guard at the White House portals to protect the President against forgetfulness of the cause? It's true we haven't any boys at sea these stormy nights. But we have those dear suffs on our hands all day!

Lack of Action Trying.

The wearers of the white and yellow are up against a tough game. It is practically impossible to cut off all supplies from the White House or disconnect the pipes which carry heat from the basement to the executive offices. Moreover, think of the Congressional Union pickets having to suffer in silence on a cold pavement beyond the fence while newspaper correspondents, sheltered from the icy blasts, do their watchful waiting within the warm portals of the beleaguered building!

Words of sympathy from passersby help, of course. But they cannot temper the biting wind nor stop the fall of rain and snow. It's the lack of action that makes the vigil doubly tiresome. If Mr. Tumulty would only lead a sortie from the left wing or if the antis could be induced to start something the suspense wouldn't be so frightful. But when you have led gallant charges against a rules committee it is

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Here are the life histories of the silent seven who are pictured on this page. The energy they have shown in other crises presents a striking contrast to their present attitude of studied calm.

Would you suppose, for example, that dancing was suitable preparation for indefinite standing around at the White House gates? Or, from another point of view, can you, a neutral, appreciate what it means to exchange the "bunny hug" for a standing stunt?

Yet "gentle reader," believe it or not, if you will glance at the accompanying photograph and single out that of Miss Mildred Louise Gilbert, you can gaze upon the brown eyes and auburn hair of a young woman who went that length for suffrage.

Sacrifices for Cause.

While the recent presidential election campaign was at its height in California, Miss Gilbert went one evening to a dance at a San Francisco hotel. Across the corridor from the hall in which the dance was given were the headquarters of the National Women's Party. Miss Gilbert's eye was caught by the colors of the organization. The next morning, having had scarcely three hours sleep meanwhile, she presented herself at the suffrage headquarters and immediately began to picket the meetings which Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York and other Democrats, were holding in her state.

Since then, dance? That frivolous pastime is passed.

This, while probably the greatest, was by no means the only sacrifice made by this young woman. Having graduated from Leland-Stanford University in 1914, Miss Gilbert had taken up research work in Japanese prints and Chinese porcelains. Now the poor prints and porcelains are covered with dust while she goes on with her "humanitarian deed of beauty"—picketing President Wilson.

Miss Gilbert came to Washington several weeks ago determined to remain here until the constitutional amendment is passed by Congress. She hopes to return West this spring. Well, as Pope said in his *Essay on Man*, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast."

Some women inherit their sufferings for suffrage,

while others contract the all-consuming fever. Miss Hazel Hunkins (don't fail to inspect accompanying photograph), of Billings, Mont., was born a suffragist. Her parents resided at the time of her birth in Colorado and her mother was a voter. She, like the Chicago suffragists, will tell you that the "hand that rocks the cradle will never rock the boat."

Miss Hunkins was district chairman for the Congressional Union in Montana, and during the recent campaign stumped northern California against the Democrats.

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While Miss Hunkins was registered in Montana she was so "wrapped up in her work of urging others to vote right that she overlooked the little detail of casting a ballot herself last November....

March 30, 1917.

Dear Mother,

If I had the price of a railroad ticket I sure would come home by the next train. We are going to start picketing again and no one knows how I hate it. Those wonderful spring days doing nothing but hold a flag out in front of the White House or the Capital. Oh how I hate it. But somehow I can't say no when everybody else is doing it and it is just as much of a burden to them as it is to me. And it is a wonderful piece of publicity. I got the message of the ~~fed~~ federal amendment across, the way nothing else has for ages-- since Susan B. Anthony was stoned for a similar offence. It would be like base desertion to quite at a time when they need me worse than they ever have before. But oh how I hate it. It may not seem like a successful piece of publicity to you because we got so much unfavorable comment on it. However every one from S.F. to Washington was talking about the pickets and what they were doing it for and no one in the country is in doubt about the other way of getting suffrage. Lots of people still think that you should get it by state amendments or at least they thought so before we started picketing the first time. Now every one knows that the way the president can help is to pass the federal amendment. I am heart and soul with the idea. Its just the physical torture that I hate. And then too I've just gotten my department going and I hate to be diverted.

Life has been more fun lately. Last week we went to see Nazimova in "The Captions Shoals". As far as the amount of good it will do it was alright. It is a good piece of propaganda, but it is very inartistic and overdrawn and not applicable to general facts at all. "So Long Letty" is the best musical comedy I have seen in an age. For amusement, for an evening of pure fun go and see "So Long Letty". It is as good as "It Pays to Advertise" and that is going some.

I took a nice walk with Miss Reigel of Bryn Mawr the other day. She is an independently wealthy old maid who has traveled all over the world. We went to the Pan American Bldg and it was so interesting to hear her tell of her travels in S.A. They have a patio in the bldg with a fountain and all the S.A. birds and tropical plants and monkeys and it is one of the most beautiful places I have ever seen. They have duplicated a lot of the old Astec Ruins and it is most interesting. I went to dinner Monday night with Laura Clarke V.C. '14 who is Julia Lathrop's secretary in the childrens bureau. Then last night I was to dinner with Mary Darrach ex 13. She had another girl Dorothy Williams of 13 up too and we had quite a V.C. reunion. I never knew either of them very well but it was nice to see them.

As soon as I get a chance I am going to call on a number of people I have met and half way know. I am beginning to feel as if I really know some people here. I can walk down the street now and find several friends and I think if there is any one thing which will make you feel at home it is to find people on the street you know. It is a wonderful feeling.

Hazel Hunkins to Mother, March 30, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

I get so blue when I think of ever trying to reconcile my ambitions and my home. I will never be willing to come home and teach much less stay home and do nothing. And there is nothing else for me to do at home but those things. If I am going to do chemical work which I am prepared for or if I am going to study more which I want, or if I am going to travel which I want most of all to do, I have got to be away from home. And yet there is nothing in this world that appeals to me quite as much as being at home. There is a constant pull in those two directions and I am not willing to sacrifice either to the other. I dont want to stay here much longer. I cant stay here much longer. I have got to get a little ahead. Every month I spend every cent of my salary and it isnt right that I should be penniless at the end of every month. And there is no getting ahead here. One's salary is never raised except in most unusual circumstances. It would seem a crime to take any more than is absolutely necessary anyway because it all comes so hard. No one takes more than enough to pay actual expences. So there has got to be a change sometime soon. Goodness knows what it will be.

I have been lobbying a lot lately. Can you imagine men still saying that women dont need the vote; that they are represented by the men; that man ws naturely woman's superior; that women should wait til after the war; (not considering the fact that they have waited thru three wars). I never knew what made women bitter until I came here and saw the dominion men have over women and the way they lord it over them. If they are cornered in any way, they revert to the animal and insult her. It is like a brutesneering at a beautiful work of art that has a soul, but still cant speak to defend itself. If there is any thing that can make me boil it is to be told by some great big fat pompous slobby dirty dishonest politician that women werent capable of voting correctly and in the same breath say with a smirk that he'd do anything for the ladies. And to think that he has the power to decide on this question!

Please take Schadie into the house. You havent trained him right if he is naughty. You dont understand him. Try and understand him and he will be alright. I want him to be a good highbred cat that is worthy of a place in the family. I dont want him to become a long haired alley cat. Please oh please keep him nice. He wont know me when I come home, but I am awfully anxious to see him. Take him up town some time and see how much he waighe. Has he changed his habits of eating much? Do you ever play with him the way I used to.? Do that so that he wont forget how. Is he nice in his bath? how often do you bathe him? you know whether he is clean or not makes a lot of difference in his habits. What incentive would he have to cleanliness if he never had any encouragement with that mass of hair? Please for my sake take care of him.

How much of that grey voile is there at home. I want to have a dress made of what I have here and what you have at home. When I know where the rest of my life is to be spent i want to have some more clothes sent to me. I will want my panama hat and a lot of things, but I will wait til I need them to talk of them. But tellme about the grey voile. Can I have it?

I must stop and do some work. Oceans of love to the dearest little mother on earth.

your Hazel.



"I DID NOT RAISE MY GIRL TO BE A VOTER"

SOPRANO SOLO WITH VOCIFEROUS SUPPORTING CHORUS OF MALE VOICES

"I Did Not Raise My Girl to Be a Voter." Political cartoon published in *Puck* [magazine], October 9, 1915, p. 6. Image from Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

Also available in the Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>

Appendix 5

Writing the Brief Graphic Organizer

The graphic organizer will help you collect your ideas. After you fill out the graphic organizer write your brief.

Source	Evidence from the Source	My Reaction

With whose perspectives do you most agree? Why?

Write a claim that summarizes your response to the focus questions: Was Hazel Hunkins guilty of being a criminal, or was she was a hero? Or was she both? Is she important enough to merit inclusion in the next edition of your American history textbook?

Appendix 6

“Bad Romance” Allusions

Below are a list of some of the historical events alluded to in “Bad Romance: Suffrage” <http://www.soomolearning.com/suffrage/>

Group tableau: (0:01) Presents all the major players in the suffrage fight. The woman at the center represents Alice Paul. Doris Stevens, a fellow suffragist, described her this way: “Quiet, almost mouse like, this frail young Quakeress ... baffles you with her contradictions. Large, soft, gray eyes that strike you with a positive impact make you feel the indescribable force and power behind them. A mass of soft brown hair, caught easily at the neck, makes the contour of her head strong and graceful. ... Dressed always in simple frocks, preferably soft shades of purple, she conforms to an individual style.” (Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*) The figure’s pose, holding a glass of wine—or more likely grape juice—alludes to the original Lady Gaga video of which this is a parody. It is unlikely that Paul drank alcohol.

Purple, yellow and white ribbons (:19): Refers to National Woman’s Party colors.

National Woman’s Party (:25): Refers to the National Woman’s Party, formed in 1916. More radical than the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the National Woman’s Party’s sole goal was passage of the woman’s suffrage amendment. After passage and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, the National Woman’s Party switched focus to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which Alice Paul drafted in 1923. Although Congress passed it in 1972, only thirty-five states ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, three states short of the thirty-eight required to amend the Constitution.

Woman in straightjacket (:41): Refers to Alice Paul’s confinement to the psychiatric ward or perhaps her incarceration in England, where she joined British suffragist radicals, was arrested, and also placed in a straightjacket and force fed.

“They’ve passed the Fifteenth” (:49): Refers to passage of the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteeing African American men the right to vote.

“Still women have no right, Nor guarantee, To liberty, child, health, wealth, or property” (:55): Refers to the Declaration of Independence as well as to the Declaration of Sentiments (written at the first woman’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848) and the Declaration of Rights of the Women of the United States (presented July 4, 1876 by members of the National Woman Suffrage Association), both of which specifically discuss women’s lack of custody rights.

Scenes of Alice Paul in a straightjacket being pushed down onto a stretcher (beginning 1:25): Refers to the hunger strike she and other suffragists engaged in while in prison and the force feeding.

Women with banners “Mr. President How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty” (2:03): Refers to the Silent Sentinels.

Man with glasses (2:05): Represents President Wilson.

Pouring scotch/men with cigars (2:09 following): Refers to liquor interests that opposed suffrage because they believed it would lead to Prohibition.

Red roses in lapels (2:10): Refers to the anti-suffrage symbol.

Alice Paul in prison (2:14): Refers to repeated arrest of Silent Sentinels.

Woman with fancy dress and feather plume (2:25): Refers to Mrs. Dodge and other women anti-suffragists.

Man “conducting” well-dressed woman’s song (2:26): Refers to the popular belief that the liquor interests hid behind and secretly coordinated the anti-suffragist women’s activities.

“The rights of citizens shall not be denied or abridged” (2:39): Refers to the Fifteenth Amendment: “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude” and the Nineteenth Amendment: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”

Yellow rose (2:55): Refers to pro-woman suffrage symbol.

“Formed this most perfect Union” (2:58): Refers to the preamble of the Constitution: “We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union...”

Young man with a red rose (first appears at 3:10): Refers to twenty-four-year-old Tennessee representative Harry T. Burn. After the suffrage amendment passed both houses of Congress by a two-thirds majority, it had to be ratified by three-fourths of the states. The last state to ratify was Tennessee. In 1920, thirty-six of forty-eight states needed to vote to ratify. When the Tennessee legislature met in August 1920, thirty-five states had already ratified the amendment. Burn made it clear that he opposed woman’s suffrage (hence his red rose).

Police arresting pickets in front of White House (3:21): Refers to arrests of Silent Sentinels.

“Remember the Ladies” (3:42): Refers to a request by Abigail Adams to her husband, founding father (and second president of the United States) John Adams. Abigail wrote to John on March 15, 1776, while he was at the Continental Congress: “I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.” (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/adams/filmmore/ps_ladies.html)

Harry Burn looks at the letter in his pocket (4:02): Refers to a letter written to Burn by his mother. It read “*Dear Son:*

Hurrah and vote for suffrage! Don’t keep them in doubt! I notice some of the speeches against. They were bitter. I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don’t forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put the “rat” in ratification.

Your mother” (<http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/exhibits/suffrage/beginning.htm>)

Harry Burn votes Aye (4:15) The vote was 48-48 when Burn cast the deciding vote, surprising everyone by voting in favor of the suffrage amendment. According to the Tennessee State Library and Archives, “When called upon to explain his vote, he listed several reasons: ‘*I believe in full suffrage as a right. I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify. I know a mother’s advice is always safest for her boy to follow, and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification.*’

From his statements, he changed his mind because of his mother's note persuading him to support the amendment. Many say his vote cost Burn his political career." (<http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/exhibits/suffrage/beginning.htm>)

Men begin to fight (4:18): Refers to the anger the anti-suffrage forces felt toward Burn for betraying their cause. According to the Tennessee State Library and Archives, "after Burn cast his historic vote, he hid in the attic of the capitol until the maddening crowds cleared away. It is also rumored that the anti-suffragists were so angry at his decision that they chased him from the chamber, forced him to climb out a window of the Capitol and inch along a ledge to safety." (<http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/exhibits/suffrage/beginning.htm>)

Appendix 7

Historical Case Files

Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage

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 what tactics were effective in gaining women the right to vote. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to decide how effective the National Woman's Party was in its use of symbols, technology, and public relations.

- What symbols, technologies, and tactics did women use to win the right to vote?
- How did the media of the day respond?

Step 1. Review Background Information

Before 1912, the suffrage movement focused primarily on state campaigns; nine states had granted women voting rights by 1912, with Montana and Nevada joining the ranks of woman suffrage states in 1914. By that year, a younger, more militant wing of the suffrage movement began to assert itself; under the leadership of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, these young radicals “endeavored to shift [the main suffrage organization] NAWSA’s attention away from winning voting rights for women at the state and local levels to securing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to enfranchise women nationally.” (Library of Congress American Memory, “Historical Overview of the National Woman’s Party,” Web. 4 Sept. 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/collections/static/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf>)

According to historian Mary Margaret Finnegan, the young radicals infused “the cause with a well-needed dose of spectacle,

drama, and cross-class appeal,” making “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 1-A Undated newspaper clipping:

San Francisco Call and Post, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Switchboard Photo, box 60, folder 10, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 1-B Newspaper article: “5,000

Women in Suffrage Parade at Washington,” *South Bend [Indiana] News Times*, May 9, 1914

Exhibit 1-C Photograph: Woman Suffrage

Parade, 1914, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. LC-DIG-hec-04137.

Exhibit 1-D Typed letter: Hazel Hunkins to

Mother, July 8, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

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. What strategies and tactics did women use to win the right to vote?
2. How did the media of the day respond to these strategies and tactics?
3. What techniques, symbols, and types of technology did suffrage activists use to advance their cause?
4. Whose perspective was not represented in the material you read? How might other perspectives change your analysis?
5. 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 #1—Selling Suffrage

CISCO CALL AND POST * * *California's Greatest Evening Newspaper* *

BIGGEST WOMEN'S RALLY IN S. F. TO BE HELD SUNDAY

Miss Hazel Hunkins, who will be at the telephone switchboard Friday evening to handle the Chicago connections when women on the stage will listen to speeches being made by suffragists in the Illinois city. Miss Hunkins was snapped at the switchboard by an International Film Service camera man.



People On-Stage to Hear Chicago Suffrage Talks Over Telephone

Sunday night's rally of the California Woman's Party in Scottish Rite Hall is expected to be the biggest political demonstration ever made by women in this city. The meeting, set for Friday evening, will be combined with that of Sunday.

Miss Hazel Hunkins, who has been campaigning for the party against President Wilson and all Democratic candidates, will take a conspicuous part in the meeting. Mrs. William Kent, wife of Congressman Kent, will preside and the speakers will be Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Miss Maude Younger, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille and Miss Gail Laughlin.

Fifty telephone receivers will be installed on the stage, so that those sitting there can listen directly to the address of leading suffragists over the telephone from Chicago.

The Chicago speakers will tell the reasons why they are opposed to President Wilson.

Exhibit 1-A

San Francisco Call and Post, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 60, folder 10, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

5,000 WOMEN IN SUFFRAGE PARADE AT WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, May 9.—Suffrage cohorts marched and countermarched through the streets of Washington today, making a brilliant spectacle as they formed for the great parade to the capital to present their petition to congress asking that women be given the right to vote.

More than 5,000 women from every state in the union, representing every profession, interest and class, enthusiastic over the prospects of the demonstration gathered for the march.

Distinctive attire was worn by delegations from the various states and the waving banners and pennants made the demonstration one of the most striking that ever has been witnessed here. The assembling point of the marchers was Lafayette square and the course of the march was up Pennsylvania av. to the capitol. The forces were marshalled by members of the Congressional Union Equal Suffrage.

Rep. Mondell of Wyoming, who introduced the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to provide equal suffrage was given the place of honor in the procession, a carriage near the head of the parade being assigned for his use.

The day was clear and moderately warm, letting the women wear their prettiest gowns and bringing out crowds of spectators apparently friendly to the cause.

The only discordant note was furnished by the anti-suffragets who posted small boys along the line of parade to distribute red roses, the emblem of opposition to suffrage.

"The March of the Women," composed by Dr. Ethel Smyth, was selected as the official song of the pageant and a chorus of 1,000 women was chosen to furnish the music of the procession.

Exhibit 1-B

"5,000 Women in Suffrage Parade at Washington," *South Bend [Indiana] News Times*, May 9, 1914. Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87055779/1914-05-09/ed-1/seq-1.pdf>

Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage



Exhibit 1-C

“Woman Suffrage Parade, 1914, Washington, D.C.,” Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. LC-DIG-hec-04137.

Notes: Title and date from unverified caption data received with the Harris & Ewing Collection.

Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage

Exhibit 1-D

Typed letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 8, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

July 8, 1917.

Dear Mother,

Somehow the ice was broken by the last letter I wrote and it is easier to write you now. It seems a tragedy that the phrase "the ice is broken" should be a fitting one to use to my own mother, but it was hard to write and now it isnt so hard even if I have yet to teallthe things which have been the cause of that spiritual separation .

I have gotten in touch with the correspondent of the Republican newspapers of Montana and most of the stuff which isnt A.P. stuff will hereafter be the dope from my own pen. I think that ~~if~~ I had been able to do that before, things would have been put in a very different light ~~put~~ there, but those ppenings do not come to one until after ~~they/they~~ ^{he or she has} become "prominent" so called in the newspaper world. So after this you can believe almost half of what you read as "special to the Gazette!"

I think I once told you in a wire that I had been made organization secretary which means that I have had a sort of raise in the world, although that raise is not financial. I have charge of the organizers out in the states; directing their work in as much as anyone can direct when one is not on the field. I send speakers all over the country and direct the work of all the state chairmen in arranging meetings for the speakers,-- a sort of middle-man for the whole business. At present I have my thumbs on a tour of Mabel Vernon in Morristown, N.J. Saturday; Hartford, Conn. Monday; Framingham, Mass Tuesday; New York, Wednesday; Philadelphia, Thursday; Also a meeting for Mrs. Lawrence Lewis in Sherwood Forest on Tuesday; one for Iris Calderhead in Baltimore Monday and one in Greenville, S.C. Friday. Those meetings are all managed from Headquarters and I am the one who does the managing. It is interesting work and I like the responsibility of it. To-day Miss Paul asked me to do the writing of the organization page in "The Suffragist" every week. That means about 500 words a week from my none too flpent pen. I am crazy about that idea because it will make me write and that is what I want to do more than anything else. I am crazy about the oppurtunities, of all kinds

(2)

that this work gives me. There is always one thing that makes me a little dissatisfied. That is, that my life seems to be nothing but "getting experience!" It does seem that sometime soon I ought to be giving-out instead of forever taking-in. I have never reached the place where I have given-out rather than taken-in. I seem forever to be in that preparatory school of life. Life sometimes seems very serious and all that but it all seems a preparation for something else that has ^{not} yet come. That is the problem that comes to my mind every once in a while and but for that problem I was never so satisfied that I am doing what I want to, as I am now. I love my chemistry and I often think that I want to go back to it, as I would go back to a thing that I am particularly well prepared for. But what I wish is that I had studied political economy, and American History, if you will, (I see you smile) and even law, as I once heard Papa say he'd like to have me.

I don't know just how to begin telling you all of what has happened. I guess chronologically is the best way, but how in the world I can remember one day from another is more than I can tell. For Heavens sake read "The Suffragist", it alone can give you the spirit of the whole thing. I am sending a whole lot of the papers to every friend I have (or I should say, had, in Montana). I have send a batch of them to the members of the woman's Club and ~~as well as I~~ ^{as well as I} I know they will never confess to reading it, I know that they will ~~not~~ read it out of curiosity. I have gotten a lot of letters from all over the country, from people I have never met and people that I never knew even remembered me saying all sorts of perfectly wonderful things to me in praise. The people who condemn do not do so to your face, they do so to the press. It has been a wonderful way of separating my friends and my acquaintances. I take for example Mrs Sasse. She wrote me a letter I shall always keep as an example of true devotion. Mr. Sasse wrote to Senator Stone of Mo. and asked him to place himself at my disposal as far as a legal advice was concerned and to Mr. Ruby, representative from Brunswick, to help me if I needed help. The Sasse family are just about the dearest people in the world to me. Also Senator Walsh and Miss Rankin have both been at my disposal with their approval and almost congratulations as to our actions. Neither of them can take public

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 concerned 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 ~~had~~ 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 preceeding.

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 than 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 ~~w~~ 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 (I now believe to have been the tool of 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 in our colonial times, of just such fiery 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 to save my banner and the other was to be a non-resistant pacifist and not an offender in any way.

To save my banner I stepped onto the coping of the White House fence and to maintain it and be non-resistant 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. I held 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. Haecox by this time had stepped to the other side of me and took the banner from my hand. That leaving both off my hands free, I took both off 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 incensed 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 unsuspecting Mrs. Heacox.

Up to that time there had been only four people in the ~~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} ~~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 its duplicate in every fight that has ever been made for political rights; ~~the~~ 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 "palor 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~~ it all but here are all the horrible details. ~~and~~ 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 doesnt understand or is unfriendly to. I know alot more about the whells of justice than I used to, both legally speaking and

(6)

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 nut public, I am perfectly content to be condemned by them. It's 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. Good-night and a big kiss for both you and 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. Don't 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 don't 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.

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: 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. What were the arguments against woman’s suffrage?
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?
5. 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?

“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.”

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-

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

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 worth-

NEW DEFINITIONS IN THE SUFFRAGE FIGHT.

Mrs. Jones says: “A Suffragist is a gentleman or lady lurching 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 this 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 outbursts 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 anti. 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



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

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

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 lurching 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

ness 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-

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 pages 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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EDITOR

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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 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 better understand housekeeping than men. Do they? Have women solved the "Servant Question?" What is the proverbial boarding house like, and generally kept by women?

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 Sumner'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 since 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 ever 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 polls, 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 ~~was~~ 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 preceeding.

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. 16th, 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 than 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 (I now believe to have been the tool of someone else) tore the banner from the staff that Mrs. Haecox was holding and ran into the street 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 in our 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 didn't exist. I had two objects in mind one was to save my banner and the other was to be a non-resistant pacifist and not an offender in any way.

To save my banner I stepped onto the coping of the White House fence and to maintain it and be non-resistant 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. I held 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. Haecox by this time had stepped to the other side of me and took the banner from my hands. That leaving both off my hands free, I took both off 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 incensed 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 unsuspecting Mrs. Heacox.

Up to that time there had been only four people in the ~~the~~ drama--the feline, her incenser, Mrs. Heacox and myself. When that man tore the hanner down, then the whole vast crowd again came crashing into my consciousness. It had all ^{happened} ~~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 politival rights; ~~the~~ threee minutes later I was holding a broken staff with no banner and the center of a surging snowd, and to quite 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 "palâur 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. ~~and~~ I havent spared you at~~l~~ all. I am not in the least to blame for anything that happened. I was a vietim 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

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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 nut public, I am perfectly content to be condemned by them. It's an honor to be 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. Good-night and a big kiss for both you and 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. Don't 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 don't 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 Suffrs 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>

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



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 argu-

ments 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.

Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #3—Silent Sentinels

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 looking at the role of the National Woman's Party (NWP), its relationship with President Wilson, and the NWP's most visible campaign tactic: organizing "silent sentinels" to picket the White House. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to determine how the NWP strategists used this tactic to escalate pressure on President Wilson, and what effect it had.

- Why did the NWP decide to picket the White House?
- How effective was this tactic?

Step 1: Review Background Information

In 1920 suffragist Doris Stevens wrote *Jailed for Freedom*, a book about the woman's suffrage movement from the perspective of someone active in the cause. In it, she remembered attending the meeting where the National Woman's Party decided to picket the White House. It occurred right after the suffragists had met with President Woodrow Wilson to plead their case. The President told them that he had little power to advance woman's suffrage because he did not control the political agenda and could not force change. The suffragists were outraged by what they believed was the President's unwillingness to act. As Harriet Stanton Blatch, the daughter of renowned suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, saw the situation:

"Never before did the Democratic Party lie more in the hands of one man than it lies today in the hands of President Wilson. Never did the Democratic Party have a greater leader, and never was it more susceptible to the wish

of that leader, than is the Democratic Party of today to President Wilson. He controls his party, and I don't think he is too modest to know it. He can mould it as he wishes and he has moulded it. He moulded it quickly before election in the matter of the eight-hour law. Was that in his party platform? He had to crush and force his party to pass that measure. Yet he is not willing to lay a finger's weight on his party today for half the people of the United States . . . Yet today he tells us that we must wait more—and more.' "

Stanton Blatch continued, proposing a new line of action:

"We can't organize bigger and more influential deputations. We can't organize bigger processions. We can't, women, do anything more in that line. We have got to take a new departure. We have got to keep the question before him all the time. We have got to begin and begin immediately.

"Women, it rests with us. We have got to bring to the President, individually, day by day, week in and week out, the idea that great numbers of women want to be free, will be free, and want to know what he is going to do about it.

"Won't you come and join us in standing day after day at the gates of the White House with banners asking, 'What will you do, Mr. President, for one-half the people of this nation?' Stand there as sentinels—sentinels of liberty, sentinels of self-government—silent sentinels. Let us stand beside the gateway where he must pass in and out, so that he can never fail to realize that there is a tremendous earnestness and insistence back of this measure. Will you not show your allegiance today to this ideal of liberty? Will you not be a silent sentinel of liberty and self-government?"

According to Stevens, "Deliberations continued. Details were settled. Three thousand dollars was raised in a few minutes among

these women, fresh from the President’s re-buff. No one suggested waiting until the next Presidential campaign. No one even mentioned the fact that time was precious, and we could wait no longer. Everyone seemed to feel these things without troubling to put them into words. Volunteers signed up for sentinel duty and the fight was on.” (From Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, New York: Liveright Publishing, 1920, pp. 58-60. Available at https://books.google.com/books?id=ASoEAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

Step 2: Investigate the Evidence

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

Exhibit 3-A Hand-written letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, January 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 3-B Photograph: “Women Voters Day on the Picket Line,” February 14, 1917, National Woman’s Party Records, Group I, Container I:160, Folder: Pickets, 1917, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. <http://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000208/>

Exhibit 3-C Photograph: “Penn[sylvania] on the Picket Line, 1917,” Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. <http://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000212/>

Exhibit 3-D Newspaper article: “Wilson Runs Gauntlet of ‘Suff’ Guards,” *Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.), January 10, 1917

Exhibit 3-E Newspaper article: “Angry Men Tear Up Women’s Banners,” *New Iberia Enterprise* (New Iberia, Louisiana), June 23, 1917

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. Who were the Silent Sentinels and what were they trying to accomplish?
2. Was posting Silent Sentinels an effective tactic? What evidence did you find that supports your belief?
3. Why did people attack the picketing suffragists? Did issues beyond suffrage play a role in the attack? If so, what issues?
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 #3—Silent Sentinels

Sunday, Jan. 14. 17

Dear little Mother,

I am almost sure now that I'll be here until after March 4th or inauguration. The enclosed clippings will explain the activity of the "picket line" and beside that we are working up a big convention for the 1st, - 4th of March. There is an immeasurable amt. of work to do in Wash. and the "field" is not so important at present. After March 4th, goodness knows where I'll be!

You know doubt are wondering about the White House picket; and probably think it is ridiculous and atrocious. It is justified in this way. For at least 3 days and intermittently from now on until inauguration, the attention of the public from coast to coast has been riveted as the federal amendment; whereas, in ordinary routine, no one would ever mention it. It has lined people up as for or against it which is much better than not having sides taken at all. And most of all it has called everyone's attention to Pres. W. attitude. We know the picketing won't change him but the public opinion concerted by it will have its effect on him and Pres. W.

Exhibit 3-A Hazel Hunkins to Mother, January 1917, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute (See pages 55-56 for a transcript.)

is very much affected by public opinion.

Joining the picket, by comments and conversations of the passing throng, we have a wonderful opportunity to see people's opinion of the Pres., and I never supposed a man could be so hated in the town which knows him best. I believe if the District had the franchise that it would have gone 100,000 against Wilson.

I am still doing work in the Treas. office, but little by little, I am edging my way into the Suffragist office which is my goal if I am to stay here. I am on the picket line a good part of every day. I am going to write up my experiences.

Last night, I was up to the Mac Kaye's to dinner. They are so interesting tho' not as radical as many people, I meet here. I love the radicals. They get to the base of things, and have the courage of their convictions.

I'll try and write a Justice this week, but I am so busy!

The enclosed is in payment of the 1st pension I borrowed. Don't be lonesome; you've got Schagie. Oceans of love. I wish you were here to feel and think by the same stimuli as I am! Hazel

Private

I am oh so sorry about your foot troubles!
It seems terrible that such a small thing
apparently could cause such pain etc.

I feel that this new work is a great big
step off the beaten path, but never have I
regretted it even when I was most dissatisfied.
There is so much gained and so little lost
by the new view pt. I am going places and
meeting people, and doing things that make
life interesting and I think that what I am
gaining is so much more than I could any-
other way. Look, where I've been and what
I've done & who I've met that -- we'll
say Esther or Catherine have not -- since
last Sept. Compare my life the last five months
with anyone in Bgs and you'll see how much
I have to be thankful for. Why, I wouldn't
take anything for my experiences.

I say these things because I feel that your
dumppiness is largely dissatisfaction with
me and you - shouldn't be so. I am the most
fortunate girl in Billings. And lazily - I'm
planning to be home next summer.

Just faint at the enclosed check! And heaps
of love to the dearest person on earth - Take care of Esther

Hazel Hunkins to Mother, January 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Sunday, Jan. 19, 1917

Dear Little Mother,

I am almost sure now that I'll be here until after March 4th or inauguration. The enclosed clippings will explain the activity of the "picket line" and beside that we are working up a big convention for the 1st-4th of March. There is an immeasurable amt. of work to do in Wash. and the "field" is not so important at present. After March 4th, goodness knows where I'll be!

You know doubt are wondering about the "White House picket", and probably think it is ridiculous and atrocious. It is justified in this way. For at least 3 days and intermittently from now on until inauguration, the attention of the public from coast to coast has been riveted as the federal amendment; whereas, in ordinary routine, no one would ever mention it. It has lined people up as for or against it which is much better than not having sides taken at all. And, most of all it has called everyone's attention to Pres. W. attitude. We know the picketing won't change him, but the public opinion concerted by it will have its affect on him and Pres. W. is very much affected by public opinion.

During the picket, by comments and conversations of the passing throng, we have a wonderful opportunity to see peoples' opinion of the Pres., and I never supposed a man could be so hated in the town which knows him best. I believe if the District had the franchise that it would have gone 100,000 against Wilson.

I am still doing work in the Treas. Office, but little by little I am edging my way into the Suffragist Office, which is my goal if I am to stay here. I am on the picket line a good part of every day. I am going to write up my experiences.

Last night I was up to the MacKay's to dinner. They are so interesting, tho not as radical as many people I meet here. I love the radicals. They get to the base of things, and have the courage of their convictions.

I'll try and write a 2nd time this week, but I am so busy!
The enclosed is in payment of the 1st pension I borrowed. Don't be lonesome; you've got Schazie. Oceans of love. I wish you were here to feel and think by the same stimuli as I am!

Hazel

Private

I am oh so sorry about your foot troubles! It seems terrible that such a small thing apparently could cause such pain, etc.

I feel that this new work is a great big step off the beaten path, but never have I regretted it, even when I was most dissatisfied. There is so much gained and so little

lost by the new view pt. I am going places and meeting people, and doing things that make life interesting and I think that what I am gaining is so much more than I could any other way. Look, where I've been and what I've done and who I've met that—we'll say Esther or Catherine have not—since last Sept. Compare my life the last five months with anyone in Bgs and you'll see how much I have to be thankful for. Why, I wouldn't take anything for my experiences.

I say these things because I feel that your dumpiness [?] is largely dissatisfaction with me and you—shouldn't be so. I am the most fortunate girl in Billings, and hazily I'm planning to be home next summer.

Don't faint at the enclosed check! And heaps of love to the dearest person on earth—take care of Schazie.

Historical Case File #3—Silent Sentinels



Exhibit 3-B Women Voters Day on the Picket Line, February 14, 1917, National Woman's Party Records, Group I, Container I:160, Folder: Pickets, 1917, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Note: The lead woman carrying the American flag and wearing a sash that reads "Voter" is Hazel Hunkins.

Historical Case File #3—Silent Sentinels



Exhibit 3-C “Penn[sylvania] on the Picket Line,” 1917, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. <http://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000212/>

Historical Case File #3—Silent Sentinels

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**ANGRY MEN TEAR UP
WOMEN'S BANNERS.**

**Peaceful Pickets At White House
Finally Provoke Near Riot.**

Washington, June 20.—The peaceful picketing of the White House grounds by silent sentinels of the suffrage cause resulted in the first disorder today when a crowd of angry men tore down banners the women were holding for the Russian mission to see when it visited President Wilson. The rumpus was over before the police got on the scene, and no arrests were made.

The banners were inscribed:
"President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say 'we are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracy may survive.'
"We, the women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement. Help us make this nation really free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim free Russia as an ally."

The banners attracted groups of men passing, who stopped and discussed them. Finally discussion gave way to action.

Cries of "traitors," "treason," and "they are enemies of their country," were shouted at the two men holding the banner and after one yelled "let's tear it down," the crowd jumped forward and the canvass was torn from fastenings leaving the suffragists holding the frames and poles.

One of the White House police pursued a man who, he said, was leading the crowd. The man was Walter S. Timmins, of New York, an electrical engineer. The po-

liceman recovered a banner from Timmins, but it was beyond repair, so the suffragists contented themselves with holding the damaged frames aloft in evidence of their "martyrdom" as one of them expressed it.

The torn banner was carried by Miss Lucy Burns, of New York, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, of the executive board of the National Woman's Party. They stood at the west gate of the Pennsylvania side of the White House and unfurled it just a few minutes before the Russian mission was driven into the grounds. Members of the mission paid no attention to it.

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Exhibit 3-D "Angry Men Tear Up Women's Banners," *New Iberia Enterprise*, (New Iberia, Louisiana), June 23, 1917. Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064328/1917-06-23/ed-1/seq-1.pdf>

WILSON RUNS GAUNTLET OF 'SUFF' GUARDS

President Smiles as His Car
Passes Through Line of
Silent Sentinels.

PICKET WHITE HOUSE GATES

"Mild Militants" Flout Pen-
nants Demanding President
Aid Votes for Women.

"Silent sentinels," a dozen of them, each bearing yellow banners inscribed "Mr. President, How Long Must Women Wait?" are pacing back and forth in front of the two Avenue entrances to the White House grounds today, in the campaign being waged by the suffragists to force the President to give a definite answer to the question asked of him yesterday, when 300 or more of them visited the Chief Executive in the East Room of the Executive Mansion.

The twelve women will remain on duty till 6 o'clock tonight. Whenever the President leaves the White House before that hour, he will see one of these sentinels and her blazing banner.

Six At Each Entrance.

At each of the two entrances, six suffragists are located. They are saying nothing to the crowds of curious attracted by their presence. Like the sentry on guard at an army post, they are apparently oblivious to their surroundings.

An hour after the time fixed for their arrival—9 o'clock—the sentinels reached the Executive Mansion. They made no efforts to get to the White House. They remained on the sidewalks outside the entrance gates, and waited.

Every day, Sundays and holidays included, for an indefinite period, the sentinels will guard the entrances to the White House grounds.

White House Officials Puzzled.

They will be on duty but eight hours out of each twenty-four, however, and will be relieved at regular intervals. Every minute of the time between 10 o'clock in the morning and 6 in the evening, however, will find one of the "mild militants" on the job.

The White House officials are somewhat at a loss as to what shall be done, should the sentinels attempt to carry their campaign even further than the entrance to the grounds. They realize that they are facing a difficult proposition.

Wilson Sees Banners.

The President returned from a game of golf at 10:30 o'clock this morning and was driven to the White House through the northwest gate of the Pennsylvania avenue side of the White House grounds. On either side of the gate stood three of the silent sentinels.

So quick was the move of the Presidential car off the Avenue into the grounds that the suffragists did not

(Continued on Third Page.)

Exhibit 3-E "Wilson Runs Gauntlet of 'Suff' Guards", *Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.), January 10, 1917, p. 1. Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1917-01-10/anded-1/seq-1.pdf>

SUFFRAGE SENTRIES GUARD WHITE HOUSE

**Flaunt Banners Demanding
That President Take Stand
For Votes For Women.**

(Continued from First Page.)

know of Mr. Wilson's presence until several seconds after he had passed through.

The President had seen the tri-colored banners at a distance and knew their meaning. His face was wreathed with smiles as his car passed through between the delegates.

Follows Visit to President.

The decision to place pickets about the Executive Mansion was reached at a meeting of the Congressional Union officials last night, following the visit to the White House earlier in the day of 300 or more suffragists, who called to present a memorial to the President on the death of Inez Milholland Boissevain, and, incidentally, make another appeal to Mr. Wilson for his support in their work. The President gave them a slight rebuff, and explained that he could, as the leader of his party, take no definite stand on that matter until his party had directed him to do so.

It then was determined to call to the attention of the President, at every opportunity, the fact that the votes-for-women advocates have not yet given up hope.

First Squad of Sentries.

The first squad of silent suffrage sentries was led by Miss Vivian Pierce, of California, carrying a huge banner, and with a body guard including the Misses Mildred Gilbert and Bert a'Crone, both of California, each of whom carried suffrage standards.

Other members of the first squad in-

cluded Mrs. M. C. Dowell, Philadelphia; the Misses Joy Young, Elizabeth Smith, and Winifred Frances, District of Columbia; Miss Maude Jamison, Norfolk, Va.; Mrs. Bessie Papandre, California; the Misses Augusta and Gertrude Crocker, Illinois, and Mary Gertrude Fendall, Baltimore.

The suffragists have orders to keep silent, and stand with their backs to the fence, facing the street, so that all passers-by can see the inscription on their banners.

Wear Suffrage Colors.

"If the police press you further, go out to the curb and stand there. If they press you still further, move your lines into the gutter. If they won't allow you to remain there, get in parade formation and march around the grounds, going from gate to gate.

"Don't come back here until your time is up."

Each picket wore ordinary street clothes, with a ribbon of suffrage colors across their breasts. It was a somewhat dreary day for "guard mount" duty, damp and raw, but all of the picketers cheerfully took their position.

There was some uneasiness evident among some of them, however.

"Gee whiz, how about eating? I'm hungry already," one suffragist exclaimed as she started from Congressional Union headquarters.

Police Will Not Act.

"And what are we going to do if we can't even talk?" one of her companions said, "That leaves us in a fierce position."

The twelve suffrage pickets will not be disturbed by the police. Inspector Harry Gessford, at police headquarters, said the department does not regard such banners as the suffragists are displaying as advertisements, and that, therefore, no permit was necessary for the silent demonstration.

Major Pullman, superintendent of police, said the suffragists would not be interfered with unless they violated the law. Just how far the women would have to go in their silent picketing to violate the law could not be learned.

Opposition to this method of "heck-

ling the President" was voiced today by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, who issued a statement disapproving of the vigil.

"I think the Congressional Union is beginning at the wrong end," said Mrs. Catt, "when it seeks to embarrass the President. The National Association is just as impatient of the delay in procuring suffrage as any other organization can be."

"However, it does not consider President Wilson himself responsible for the delay. The association regrets that he should be heckled by advocates of the cause at this time."

PICK KEY MEMORIAL SITE.

Secretary of War Baker and Quartermaster General Sharpe went to Baltimore today to select a site for the Francis Scott Key memorial, to be erected on the Fort McHenry reservation. They are to determine what buildings on the reservation will have to be razed.



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1417 G St. 314 9th St.

"Wilson Runs Gauntlet of 'Suff' Guards", *Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.), January 10, 1917, p. 3.
Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1917-01-10/ed-1/seq-3.pdf>

Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #4—Pickets, Arrests, and Riots

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 the National Woman's Party's decision to commit civil disobedience. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to better understand the details of this campaign.

- What did the NWP hope to gain from picketing despite threats of arrest?
- How were the picketers treated?

Step 1: Review Background Information

Members of the National Woman's Party began picketing the White House on January 10, 1917, demanding that President Wilson mobilize Congress to pass a woman's suffrage amendment. At first, the president tolerated the pickets. But, according to suffrage activist Doris Stevens,

"The manifestations of popular approval of suffrage, the constant stream of protests to the Administration against its delay nationally, and the shame of having women begging at its gates, could result in only one of two things. The Administration had little choice. It must yield to this pressure from the people or it must suppress the agitation, which was causing such interest. It must pass the amendment or remove the troublesome pickets.

"It decided to remove the pickets."

Stevens wrote about what came next in her book, *Jailed for Freedom*, which she published in 1920, just after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. According to Stevens, some officials proposed establishing "a military zone around the White House" on the assumption that "Women could not advance on

drawn bayonets." Others proposed a raid on the National Woman's Party headquarters.

"Finally a decision was reached embodying the combined wisdom of all the various conferees. The Chief of Police, Major Pullman, was detailed to 'request' us to stop 'picketing' and to tell us that if we continued to picket, we would be arrested.

" 'We have picketed for six months without interference,' said Miss Paul [the leader of the National Woman's Party]. 'Has the law been changed?'

" 'No,' was the reply, 'but you must stop it.'

" 'But, Major Pullman, we have consulted our lawyers and know we have a legal right to picket.'

" 'I warn you, you will be arrested if you attempt to picket again.' " (From Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, New York: Liveright Publishing, 1920, pp. 93-94. Available at https://books.google.com/books?id=ASoEAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

Step 2: Investigate the Evidence

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

Exhibit 4-A Newspaper article: "Capital Police End Suffrage Picketing," *Daily Missourian*, June 22, 1917

Exhibit 4-B Photograph: "Police Arresting Picketers outside White House," August 1918, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. <http://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000301/>

Exhibit 4-C Newspaper article: "Thirty-Seven Suffs Taken and Retaken," *Washington Herald*, August 13, 1918

Exhibit 4-D Typed document: Hazel Hunkins' response to charges in court (typed), Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

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. What did the NWP hope to gain from picketing despite threats of arrest?
2. How were the pickets treated—by the police, by the crowd, by the court, by the press, by their fellow suffragists?
3. How persuasive do you find Hazel Hunkins' response to the court charges? How persuasive do you think her contemporaries would have found it?
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?

CAPITAL POLICE END SUFFRAGE PICKETING

Militants Are Forbidden to
Flaunt Banners or Stand
Near White House.

MANSION IS GUARDED

Measures Are Result of Con-
ference With Leader of
Suffragettes.

By United Press

WASHINGTON, June 22.—Police to-
day put an end to all suffrage picket-
ing at the White House following two
days of near rioting. Major Pullman
issued strict orders against permit-
ting the militants to flaunt banners
or stand near the White House.

Formal notice was served on the
women at 9:30 o'clock this morning
that they could not continue their
picketing. Then Major Pullman
strung a line of patrolmen and police
women from the suffragette head-
quarters a block away from the
White House up to and along the
avenue which the mansion fronts.

"The period of leniency has passed,"
the major told the United Press after
issuing this order. The order came
as a result of a conference of Major
Pullman, Inspector Grant and Miss
Alice Paul, leader of the suffragettes.
Just what Miss Paul told the officers
was not made public.

Exhibit 4-A "Capital Police End Suffrage Picketing," *Daily Missourian*, June 22, 1917. Full page avail-
able at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89066314/1917-06-22/ed-1/seq-1.pdf>

Historical Case File #4—Pickets, Arrests, and Riots



Exhibit 4-B “Police Arresting Picketers outside White House,” August 1918, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

THIRTY-SEVEN SUFFS TAKEN AND RETAKEN

Militants Arrested, Released; Repeat Offense; Re-arrested, Released.

LAFAYETTE PARK FARCE

Six Hurt in Station House Scramble; One Man Arrested.

Thirty-seven militant suffragettes representing seventeen States, attempting a suffrage demonstration again yesterday in Lafayette Park, opposite the White House, were arrested, hauled to the police headquarters in patrol wagons, and private autos, were released on their own recognizance, again marched to the park again and were again arrested and freed, all within two hours. Of the thirty-seven arrested today, twenty had been arrested in the police raid of last week and were out on five and ten dollar cash bonds.

The cases from last week are supposed to come up in police court today and those arrested yesterday on Wednesday, though the few arrested all agreed that they would not appear in court and refused to promise the authorities that they would.

"We'll have to come for you with patrol wagons to your houses," said an inspector. "All right," replied the women. "You come or you won't see us."

Petty Riot at Station.

For a while after the second demonstration and the second arrests there was panic in the halls of the District Building. The arrested women had been locked in one large room where they were being booked, and examined. Police women sought to remove their yellow sashes and regalia from about their waists and shoulders.

The prisoners protested that the ribbons were their own property and not subject to police removal. During the argument some became hysterical. Shrieks rang through the closed and guarded doors.

Husbands Attempt Rescue.

Sympathizers who had followed the prisoners from the park rushed toward the room only to be forced back by the police guard. Husbands of three of the women inside, led by Gilson Gardner, well known Progressive, attacked one of the doors but were restrained by another detail of police, who assured them that no one was being hurt, but refused to let them see their wives.

The Casualty List.

The casualty list as announced from the Women's headquarters later included:

Mrs. Ruby Koenig, Hartford, Conn., whose arm was badly wrenched last week in the demonstration, and has been in a cast since. Arm again injured. Doctor fears bone may be cracked; X-ray ordered.

Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore, back sprained, when shoved over table.

Miss Hazel Hunkins, Billings, Montana, wrist sprained.

Miss Lucy Burns, Brooklyn, wrist sprained.

Miss Edna Purcell, Hartford, Conn., wrist sprained.

The police also announced that police matron, Mrs. Keyes, was injured in the melee. They said that she was kicked in the stomach.

The police said they would hold two of the arrested suffragettes on assault and battery charges in connection with this case, but failed to do so, though threatening warrants later.

Suffragettes also had a list of numbers of policemen whom they accused handling women roughly, and against whom they plan to prefer charges.

The women had left their headquarters on Jackson Place across from the park, passed before the White House and approached the Lafayette statue. This was surrounded by policemen, but as the women advanced carrying their yellow suffrage banners and two big signs on which were printed "Mr. President, How long must women wait for liberty?" and "Justice delayed is justice denied," the police opened up a long lane through the gathering crowds and permitted the marchers to group themselves across the Pennsylvania avenue pedestal of the statue.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, stepped to the front and began to speak. "Take them, boys," cried a burly officer and the arm of each woman was firmly taken by a policeman and each was urged down the steps and to the waiting police wagons.

Refused to Bond.

At the station the women refused to put up cash bonds as they had the week before.

"On the last occasion we put up the bail demanded," said Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Woman's party, "with the result that the court refused to try and our case was postponed, that no charges have even yet been filed against us and our money is therefore held even yet, practically as a fine. This time we prefer to be held than give bail, with the possibility of incurring the same unjust consequences."

All thirty-seven of the women were shortly freed, but had no sooner left the building in marching line than

CONTINUED ON PAGE THREE.

THIRTY-SEVEN SUFFS TAKEN AND RETAKEN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.

the police were again hurriedly called out for the second demonstration. Again they and the police went through the same maneuvers, the women were allowed on the monument lot, Mrs. Lewis advanced to speak, the police closed in, the women were arrested and taken to the station and freed.

One Man Arrested.

Only this time a man was arrested. He had been watching the proceedings, and after it was about over, quietly strolled over to Lafayette's statue and sat down. He gave his name at No 1 precinct as Norman Ives, 1775 P street northwest. He was booked on the charge of trespassing on a government reservation contrary to the statutes, the same charge being placed against the women. He is the first man to be arrested on such a charge in Lafayette park, but as the arresting officer said, "Why, I'd just arrested a bunch of women for the same thing and what could I do?"

Despite the fact that thousands of people were walking on the grass and on everything else that could be possibly walked on, the police only arrested one man.

Ives, according to the police, sat down at the foot of the statue of Lafayette, directly in violation of the park regulations. He was charged with the same offense as the suffragists, and deposited \$5 collateral at No. 1 precinct.

Exhibit 4-C "Thirty-Seven Suffs Taken and Retaken," *Washington Herald*, August 13, 1918. Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1918-08-13/ed-1/seq-1.pdf> and <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1918-08-13/ed-1/seq-3.pdf>

Historical Case File #4: Pickets, Arrests, and Riots

It is absurd to say that I obstructed the public highway, or any portion thereof. The sidewalk proper at the place charged is about 25 feet in width, perhaps twice as wide as the ordinary sidewalks of the District. The roadway is likewise unusually spacious, probably approximating 80 feet in width. My body occupied a space in this vast area perhaps one foot square.

The court, in the trial of the other defendants, seemed to proceed upon the theory of a sort of constructive blocking of the street and highway by exhibiting banners, which exhibition caused a large crowd to assemble. As to this, I would beg to suggest the following:

That many hundreds of persons have stood on the sidewalk in front of the White House with banners similar to the one which I carried for months preceding the day in question; that these persons walked to and fro with the banners exposed without causing more than passing interest and certainly without any unusual number of persons gathering upon the streets and sidewalks attracted by the banners or the persons carrying them; that there was no inscription upon the banner which I carried, nor were the inscriptions upon any of the banners of a violent or startling nature. It is conceded that there was nothing in my conduct or actions which, in itself, would evoke excitement or interest upon the part of passers-by.

Obviously, therefore, the unusually large assemblage of people was caused by something entirely aside from any act of mine.

To any intellectually honest and discerning mind, the cause of the assembling of the crowd was the following:

The police officials declared in published statements, preceding my arrest, that they had decided to completely change their attitude towards myself and associates, in this: That they would send large numbers of the district police to a point in front of the White House, who would forcibly seize any banners from the hands of persons who might be carrying the same and would arrest and convey to the police station any women exercising what had theretofore been construed as their legal right; to thus peaceably call attention to the justice of the cause which they sought to present to the public.

This reversal of policy on the part of the police, so openly and notoriously proclaimed, naturally excited great public interest, so that a large crowd of

Exhibit 4-D Hazel Hunkins' response to charges in court (typed), Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

persons repaired to the place, who otherwise would not have been there, and hundreds of pedestrians stopped at this point whose everyday habit was to proceed about their more or less busy ways. These were palpably curiosity seekers, gathered for the purpose of witnessing the execution of the published threats of the police to seize myself and others and confiscate our banners.

The crowd was caused to congregate, therefore, primarily and directly by the actions of the police and not by any act of mine. The moral responsibility must be laid at the door of the persons who gave the orders to Captain Sullivan and the police acting under him. The names and identity of the person or persons have not been divulged, so that I have not met my accuser or accusers face to face.

It logically follows, therefore, that I am innocent of the offense charged against me in the information, or of any other violation of the law.

If the court, notwithstanding this, inflicts punishment upon me, I wish to say, in addition to the foregoing, that no torturings or twistings of the legalistic mind can convince me that I have not been condemned in arbitrary and high handed violation of the following substantial rights of my American citizenship:

1. The right of trial by jury:
2. The right to be faced by my real accusers:
3. The right to a separate trial, so that I might have the judgment of the court upon the merits of my individual case.

Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes

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 the National Woman's Party's decision to commit civil disobedience, their demands to be treated as political prisoners, and the attention their imprisonment brought to the cause. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to better understand the why these women decided to break the law and what affect their actions had.

- Why did suffrage prisoners consider themselves to be political prisoners? Do you agree with their claim?
- How effective was this tactic?

Step 1: Review Background Information

The National Woman's Party (NWP) introduced tactics to the American woman's suffrage movement that were inspired by its leaders' experiences with the militant wing of the British suffrage movement. According to historian Robert Cooney, "The movement's many nonviolent strategies deserve closer inspection particularly because they repeatedly offered suffragists the way out of strategic binds, dead ends, discouragements and immobility." (From Cooney, Robert. "Enduring Significance of the American Woman Suffrage Movement." Women's Studies Database Reading Room, n.d. Web. 02 Sept. 2015. <http://mith.umd.edu/WomensStudies/ReadingRoom/History/Vote/enduring-significance.html>.)

Among the NWP's non-violent tactics was braving arrest and imprisonment. Although they were ostensibly sentenced for "obstructing traffic," the suffragists viewed themselves as political prisoners, unjustly incarcerated for

peacefully exercising their right to petition their government. Because they believed themselves to be political prisoners, the women refused to cooperate with their jailors.

According to an article published on the website American Memory, the imprisoned women were "sometimes beaten (most notably during the November 15 "Night of Terror" at Occoquan Workhouse), and often brutally force-fed when they went on hunger strikes to protest being denied political prisoner status. Women of all classes risked their health, jobs, and reputations by continuing their protests. One historian estimated that approximately 2,000 women spent time on the picket lines between 1917 and 1919, and that 500 women were arrested, of whom 168 were actually jailed. The NWP made heroes of the suffrage prisoners, held ceremonies in their honor, and presented them with commemorative pins. Women went on publicity tours dressed in prison garb and talked about their experiences in prison in order to win public support for their cause." (From Library of Congress American Memory, "Historical Overview of the National Woman's Party," Web. 4 Sept. 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/collections/static/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf>)

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 5-A Photograph: "Miss [Lucy] Burns in Occoquan Workhouse, Washington," National Woman's Party Records, Group II, Container II:274, Folder: Individual Photographs Nos. 18-70 "B," Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. <http://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000011>

Exhibit 5-B Newspaper article: " 'Suff' Pickets Go to Hospital," *Washington Herald*, August 31, 1917

Exhibit 4-C Hand-written letter: Hazel Hunkins to the *Montana Socialist* newspaper, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 5-D Telegrams: Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Perkins, August 15, 1918, and Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Hunkins, August 21, 1918, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 5-E Newspaper article: “Twenty-six Suffragists Get Tribute,” *Washington Herald*, December 15, 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. Why did suffrage prisoners consider themselves to be political prisoners? Do you agree with this description for them?
2. In her letter to the *Montana Socialist*, Hazel Hunkins makes a point of stating that the suffrage picketers are serving their sentences “with the worst negro element of this country.” Why do you think she does this?
3. Why do you think the suffragists held a

meeting honoring the women who went to jail for the cause? What purpose did this meeting serve politically?

4. Did their arrests and imprisonment advance the cause of suffrage? If so, how? If not, what effect do you think they had?
5. 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 #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes



Exhibit 5-A “Miss [Lucy] Burns in Occoquan Workhouse.” National Woman’s Party Records, Group II, Container II:274, Folder: Individual Photographs Nos. 18-70 “B,” Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Additional information: This image was likely taken at Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia in November 1917. Lucy Burns, of New York City, who with Alice Paul established the first permanent headquarters for suffrage work in Washington, D.C., helped organize the suffrage parade of March 3, 1913, and was one of the editors of *The Suffragist*. Leader of most of the picket demonstrations, she served more time in jail than any other suffragist in America. She was arrested for picketing in June 1917 and sentenced to 3 days; arrested Sept. 1917, sentenced to 60 days; arrested Nov. 10, 1917, sentenced to 6 months; in Jan. 1919 arrested at watchfire demonstrations, for which she served one 3-day and two 5-day sentences. She also served 4 prison terms in England. Burns was one of the speakers on the “Prison Special” tour of Feb.-March 1919. Source: Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), 356.

“SUFF” PICKETS GO TO HOSPITAL

Four Occoquan Prisoners Are Weak from Eating Rough Food.

Four of the six women pickets confined at the Occoquan workhouse have been placed in the hospital because of weakened condition.

The women have been unable to eat the prison food and the hardship of confinement has reduced them to the point where their health is threatened. In the hospital they will be given special food and medical treatment.

The women in the hospital are Mrs. William Upton Watson and Miss Lucy Ewing, of Chicago; Miss Lavinia Dock, of Pennsylvania, and Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado.

Miss Burns Files Papers.

Alleged abuses at the Occoquan workhouse were yesterday reduced to charges when Miss Lucy Burns, of Cameron House, filed a complaint with District Commissioner Brownlow about the treatment received by the six pickets who are serving sentences of thirty days at the institution.

Miss Burns was accompanied to the District Building by Mrs. Abby Scott Baker and Miss Anne Martin. The latter furnished the surety for the pickets now out on bail.

They did not see Commissioner Brownlow, as he was out of the city, but left the following letter:

“As counsel for six women imprisoned for a month in the Occoquan workhouse, on the charge of ‘obstructing traffic,’ I visited these prisoners on August 21, 22, and 25. I found them suffering from many causes, that on public grounds, ought to be instantly remedied.

“The prisoners for whom I am coun-

sel, gave the following report on the food served them:

In amount it is ample, but in quality often uneatable. The hominy, the chief article of the morning meal, is sour and dirty. The meat served at the midday meal is very tough and old and often tainted. The corn-bread served at dinner and supper cannot be eaten. One of the prisoners found worms in it. The soup served at dinner and supper is often very bad. As soup and corn bread are all that is served to the prisoners for supper, they have had on two occasions to my knowledge to go without supper altogether.

Cruelty Is Charged.

“Concerning the general conditions in the prison, I am inclosing with this letter affidavits of Mrs. Virginia Bovee and of Mrs. Robert Baker, who visited Occoquan on August 27. The prisoners for whom I am counsel are aware that cruel practices go on at Occoquan. On one occasion they heard Supt. Whittaker kicking a woman in the next room. They heard Mr. Whittaker’s voice, the sound of the blows and the woman’s cries.”

PICKETS IN WRECK GOING TO OCCOQUAN

Auto in Collision; Miss Burns and Mrs. Dixon Slightly Hurt.

Two of the Cameron House pickets were “roughed up” yesterday on the road to the Occoquan workhouse and whether it was the fault of the chauffeur of their machine or that of the manipulator of the auto with which they collided, will have to be decided in the courts.

Miss Lucy Burns, acting general of Cameron House, and Mrs. Dixon, mother of one of the pickets, serving a 30-day sentence at Occoquan, were in the machine when the collision occurred. They knew nothing regarding what occurred previous to the crash, but were made aware of trouble when the machine turned over on its side.

Is Your Organization Represented
USE SLIP

Organization
Honor Parade, Wash
National
Tuesday, Sept

Name of organization.....
Character of uniform.....
Number and character of units,
.....
Number to march.....
Number of bands.....
Vehicles (restricted strictly to
.....
Officer authorized to make entry
sent.....
Address
Phone No..... Business.....

Both women escaped with no serious injury apart from bruises.

Bernie Hackett, colored, chauffeur of the machine, was taken to Alexandria and held in \$50 bonds for reckless driving. Surety was furnished. The complaint was made by John S. West, of Fairfax County, Va.

MUSIC AND DANCING GIVEN BY FROLICKERS

A musical program furnished the feature of an entertainment given last night by the Frolickers at the home of

Exhibit 5-B “Suff’ Pickets Go To Hospital,” *Washington Herald*, August 31, 1917. Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1917-08-31/ed-1/seq-7.pdf>

Historical Case File #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes

at the present time in the
 200 square workhouse in Lorton, Va,
 eleven women of American
 citizenship are imprisoned for
 "obstruction of justice" in the streets
 of Wash. D.C. They were arrested,
 tried and convicted by the police court
 of our national capital and are now
 serving a sixty-day sentence with
 the worst negro element of the
 country. Why intelligent, refined,
 noble women are given such a
 petty misdemeanor, indeed,
 indeed, what they did was a
 breach of civic law at all, is a question
 it will take the administration in
 Wash. a long time to explain.

On Jan. 9th a deputation of about
 300 women called on President Wilson
 asking him to put his power
 behind the Messrs. C. Anthony amend-
 ment which at that time was
 buried in committee in both houses
 of Congress. His reply was as evasive as it
 had been at the 17 other deputations

of women representing the interest
 of American which have gone to him
 with the same plea. In effect
 his answer was that at this time it
 had not yet become politically
 expedient for him to do so and that
 we would have to "concent public
 opinion."

On Jan 10th the national woman's
 party began its picket of the White
 House. Every day from 10 in the
 morning until 5 in the evening
 there was a woman at each
 side of the Penn. Ave. ~~entrance~~
 to the White House, bearing a
 banner which asked the ~~question~~
 why he did not say the words to
 Congress "How long must women
 wait for political liberty or what will
 you do for woman suffrage?" These
 banners with the purple white
 and gold of the organization were
 seen every day during the long
 frigid winter months of wind and
 snow; during the down-pour of
 rain preceding the the verdure
 and bloom that turns the

Exhibit 5-C Hazel Hunkins to the Montana Socialist newspaper, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute (See pages 77-78 for a transcript/)

grounds of the national mansion
and the park of points into a veritable
fairground of blossoms during the
humid, ~~exhausting~~ heat of mid-
summer - nothing daunted
the pickets, ever reminding the
President of a duty yet evaded
and ~~calling~~ calling to the attention
of the ~~entire~~ entire nation to fact
that he had not yet acted on a
matter that his representatives
had promised ~~to~~ the women
of the west in an attempt to get
their votes last fall.

During that time Elihu Root
had been ~~sent~~ sent as an envoy
to the free Russia and had told
that new born still struggling
democracy that we in America had
"free, equal & universal suffrage"; on
his return to ~~the~~ the masses who had
slut him, our banners advertised
the fact that he had deceived the
Russian people. We have not "free
equal & universal suffrage" when
there are 20,000,000 women yet unenfranchised
and who will have to

remain so until an amend-
ment to the constitution frees
them. This banner was visible
at the office of the secretary of
the president & was not termed
"disloyal" "traitorous" or "seditious" by
that office or any of the lawyers
of national repute who also saw it.
It was torn down by ~~one~~ one man,
a second banner was torn down by
2 boys, ~~attempts~~ to the police
attempting to ~~make~~ making a
tardy attempt to protect the pickets.
These followed days of picketing
with the same banners which had
been used for the 5 months
preceding & the pickets were
protected by the police from ~~and~~ and boys
& demerol woman, ~~and~~ and nervous
The day after the attack made
by the latter, ~~the~~ the pickets were
surprised to find that our pickets
had been arrested for violation of the
peace & order act which includes
foul language & drunkenness.
Overnight there had been a
change in the policy of the police.



THE SUFFRAGIST

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Editorial and Business Offices
Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

PHONE MAIN 547

EDITOR
MISS LUCY BURNS
ART EDITOR
MRS. NINA E. ALLENDER
BUSINESS MANAGER
MISS S. ADA FLATMAN
OFFICE MANAGER
MISS ELIZABETH SMITH

CHAIRMAN CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
MRS. W. T. BURCH
CIRCULATION COMMITTEE
MISS LUCILE ATCHERSON, OHIO
MISS ELIZABETH ELDER, PA.
MRS. GEORGE M. KENYON, MINN.
MRS. ALFRED LINTON, ILL.
MISS MARY M. BROWN, ILL.
MRS. MARY E. BROWN, DEL.
MRS. CARRIE GLEDHILL, CAL.
MRS. RUBY KOENIG, CONN.
MRS. PERCY READ, VA.
MRS. ABRAHAM J. ROBE, N. J.
MISS EDITH STONE, VT.

The picketing which had been ~~being~~ ^{being} ~~law abiding~~ ~~and peaceful~~ for 5 months was suddenly a mis-demeanor. The pickets had always been silent, inactive & non-resistant; any violence what-so-ever had come from irresponsible members of a small crowd easily handled by the efficient metropolitan police. We continued to picket and in the following week 53 of the bravest women in America had been through the mill of the police court & 30 of them had spent 3 days in the district jail.

During the present conditions existing in the U.S. due to the war, it has been ~~quite~~ more than ever impossible to get a square deal from the press of the country ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~propaganda~~ ^{propaganda} other than ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~cause~~ ^{cause}. ~~That~~ ^{That} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~especially~~ ^{especially} true of the attitude toward the suffragists in Washington who refuse to allow that reform to be drowned in the war fever.

I have been through the persecutions meted out to National Woman's Party ^{this past year} and I turn to the Montana Socialist as an organ liberal enough to help put ^{the} facts before its audience. In our struggle for a more complete democracy ~~in~~ ^{Socialist} ~~in~~ ^{Suffragists} this country ~~we~~ have the same enemies - capital & the interest controlled by capital, chief

among these the press of the country which glories in giving an unfair thrust to ^{our} ~~our~~ ^{most democratic} activities.

But knowing that your ~~liberal~~ ^{liberal} paper has ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~many~~ ^{many} liberal readers, I wish to put before them a more accurate account and a fair interpretation of what the women who agitate suffrage at this time are trying to accomplish. To that end I am enclosing ~~some~~ ^{some} two articles which I ask you to print at your earliest convenience. They are really one, but it might be more possible for you to run two shorter articles than one long one.

Enclosed is addressed envelope for the return of articles if you prefer. You cannot rise better. Hoping to hear from you soon. Help us in our mother's cause.

Hazel Hunkins to the *Montana Socialist* newspaper, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

At the present time in the Occoquan workhouse Lorton, Va, eleven of the best of American woman-hood are imprisoned for "obstructing traffic" in the streets of Wash. D.C.

They were arrested, tried and convicted by the police court of our national capital and are now serving a sixty-day sentence with the worst Negro element of the country. Why intelligent, refined, noble women are given such a sentence in such a place; for a petty misdemeanor, indeed why what they did was a breach of civic law at all, is a question it will take the administration in Wash. a long time to explain.

On Jan. 9th a deputation of about 200 women called on President Wilson asking him to put his power behind the Susan B Anthony Amendment, which at that time was buried in committee in both houses of Congress. His reply was as evasive as it had been at the 17th other deputations of women which have gone to him with the same plea. In effect, his answer was that it had not yet become politically expedient for him to do so and that we would have to "concert public opinion."

On Jan 10th, the National Woman's party began its picket of the White House. Every day from 10 in the morning until 5 in the evening there was a woman at each side of the Penn Ave. entrances to the White House, bearing a banner which asked "How long must women wait for political liberty?" or "what will you do for woman suffrage?" Those banners with the purple, white and gold of the organization were seen every day during the long frigid winter months of wind and snow; during the downpour of rain preceding the verdure and bloom that turns the grounds of the national mansion and the park opposite into a veritable fairyland of blossoms during the humid, exhausting heat of mid-summer—nothing daunted the pickets, ever reminding the President of a duty yet evaded and calling to the attention of the entire nation to fact that he had not yet acted on a matter that his representatives had promised the women of the west in an attempt to get their votes last fall.

During that time Elihu Root had been sent as an envoy to the free Russia and had told that new born still struggling democracy that we in America had "free, equal & universal suffrage". On his return to the master who lied [illegible], our banners advertised the fact that he had deceived the Russian people. We have not "free equal and universal suffrage" when there are 20,000,000 women yet unenfranchised and who will have to remain so until an amendment to the constitution frees them. This banner was read [?] at the office of the secretary of the president and was not termed "disloyal", "traitorous" or "seditious" by that office or any of the lawyers of national repute who also saw it. It was torn down by one man, a second banner was torn down by 2 boys, the police making a tardy attempt to protect the pickets. There followed days of picketing with the same banners which had been used for the 5 months preceding and the pickets were protected by the police from mischievous boys and a

demented woman.

The day after the attack made by the latter, we were surprised to find that our pickets had been arrested for violation of the peace and order act which includes foul language and drunkenness.

Overnight there had been a change in the policy of the police. The picketing which had been legal, law abiding for 5 months was suddenly a misdemeanor. The pickets had always been silent, inactive and non-resistant; any violence whatsoever had come from irresponsible members of a small crowd, easily handled by the efficient metropolitan police.

We continue to picket and in the following week 53 of the bravest women in America had been through the mill of the police court and 30 of them had spent 3 days in the district jail.

During the present conditions existing in the U.S. due to the war, it has been more than ever impossible to get a square deal from the press of the country for any propaganda other than that [illegible] to the war. This has been especially true of the attitude toward the Suffragists in Washington who refuse to allow that reform to be drowned in the war fever.

I have been through the persecutions meted out to National Woman's Party this past summer and I turn to the Montana Socialist as an organ liberal enough to help put the facts before its audience. In our struggle for a more complete democracy in this country—Socialists and Suffragists have the same enemies—capital and the interests controlled by capital, chief among these the press of the country which glories in giving an unfair twist to most democratic activities.

Knowing that your liberal paper has liberal readers, I wish to put before them a more accurate account and a fair interpretation of what the women who agitate suffrage at this time are trying to accomplish. To that end I am enclosing two articles which I ask you to print at your earliest convenience. They are really one, but it might be more possible for you to run two shorter articles than one long one.

Enclosed is an addressed envelope for the return of articles if you feel you cannot use either. Hoping I may have your help in this matter.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT 19 NORTH 27TH STREET, BILLINGS, MONTANA ALWAYS OPEN

N88D TH 16

WA WASHINGTON DC 615P AUG 15 1918

MRS E L PERKINS

218 N 33 ST BILLINGS MONT

TWENTY SIX OF AMERICAS FINEST WOMEN ARE ACCOMPANYING ME TO JAIL
ITS SPLENDID DONT WORRY LOVE

HAZEL

950P

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT 19 NORTH 27TH STREET, BILLINGS, MONTANA ALWAYS OPEN

1918 AUG 21 PM 8 48

478 UN 64 BLUE

WA WASHINGTON DC 1053 P 21

MRS E L HUNKINS

206 NORTH 33 RD ST BILLINGS MONT

TWENTY OF US HUNGER STRUCK OUR WAY OUT OF PRISON LAST NIGHT WE
FACED DOWN THE ADMINISTRATION ON EVERY POINT AND WON OUT AT LAST
AM LITTLE WEAR AND SOMEWHAT POISONED BY BAD WATER BUT FEELING
FINE AND EXPECT TO GET TOO FAT AS RESULT EVERYTHING IS SPLENDID
DONT WORRY AM GOING TO NEWENGLAND ON LABOR BOARD INVESTIGATION
AS SOON AS AM ABLE LOVE

HAZEL.

Exhibit 5-D Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Perkins, August 15, 1918, and Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Hunkins, August 21, 1918, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

26 SUFFRAGISTS TO GET TRIBUTE

Women Prisoners Will Be Decorated with Service Pins Today.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York, who is attending the three-day conference of the National Woman's Party, will preside at the mass meeting in the National Theater at 3 o'clock this afternoon, and act as hostess at a reception to be given at the national headquarters this evening.

The mass meeting is held as a protest against the failure of the Senate to pass the suffrage amendment.

To contrast American women, who were the first to demand political freedom, with the enfranchised women of other nations, the twenty-six suffragists who have been put into prison during the present year for demanding political freedom for the women in the country, will be



—Edmonston Photo.

Mrs. O. H. P. BELMONT.

escorted to the stage by representatives of the freed women of other countries dressed in national costume.

A medley of their national airs will be played as the foreign women, carrying the banners of their countries, come forward, while the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" will be the accompaniment for the American prisoners, who will carry the tri-colors, purple, white and gold, representing the struggle for women's freedom. Mrs. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford, Conn., will pay tribute to those who have suffered imprisonment for liberty, and will present them with prison pins, duplicates in miniature of the cell doors, as insignia of their service.

List of Prisoners.

This year's suffrage prisoners are Dr. Sara Lockrey, of Philadelphia; Mrs. W. D. Ascough, Mrs. George L. Koenig and Miss Edna Purtell, of Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia; Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party; Mrs. Agnes Chase, Miss Katherine Fisher and Mrs. Margaret Oakes, of Washington; Miss Clara Wold, of Portland, Ore.; Miss Hazel Hunkins, of Billings, Mont.; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed and Miss Elsie Hill, daughters of the late Representative Hill, of Connecticut; Mrs. Effie Main, of Topoka; Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pa.; Miss Kate Heffelfinger, of Shamokin, Pa.; Miss Gertrude Crocker, of Chicago; Mrs. Irving Gross, of Boston; Miss Lavinia Dock, of Fayetteville, Pa.; Miss Alice Kimball, of New York; Mrs. Annie Arnell, of Wilmington; Miss Edith Ainge, of Jamestown, N. Y.; Miss Lucy Burns, of Brooklyn; Miss Gladys Greiner, Miss Julia Emory and Dr. Anna Kuhn, of Baltimore.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of the pioneer suffragist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Miss Maud Younger, lobby chairman of the National Woman's Party, will speak on the present critical position of the suffrage amendment. Mme. Jane Osborne Hanna will sing the women's Marseillaise, written by Miss Hazel MacKaye.

Will Occupy Boxes.

Mrs. Champ Clark, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, of Washington and Connecticut, and Mrs. Abram Van Winkle, of New Jersey, will be among those occupying boxes. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, is in charge of the mass meeting and Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye of the decoration of the theater.

Miss Adeline Kent, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Kent, is in charge of the ushers, who will include the Misses Margaret Sutherland, Janet Howard, Betty Shaw and Betty O'Brien.

The mass meeting today will be followed by a reception at the party headquarters in Lafayette Square this evening at which the hostesses, in addition to Mrs. Belmont, will be Mrs. Henry Atwater, District chairman, Mrs. William B. Thompson, Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Mrs. S. M. B. Young, Mrs. Hornsby Evans, Mrs. Lawrence Darr, Miss Anne George, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Harriet McCutcheon, Mrs. Arthur Ramsay, and Mrs. A. D. Rottanzi.

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

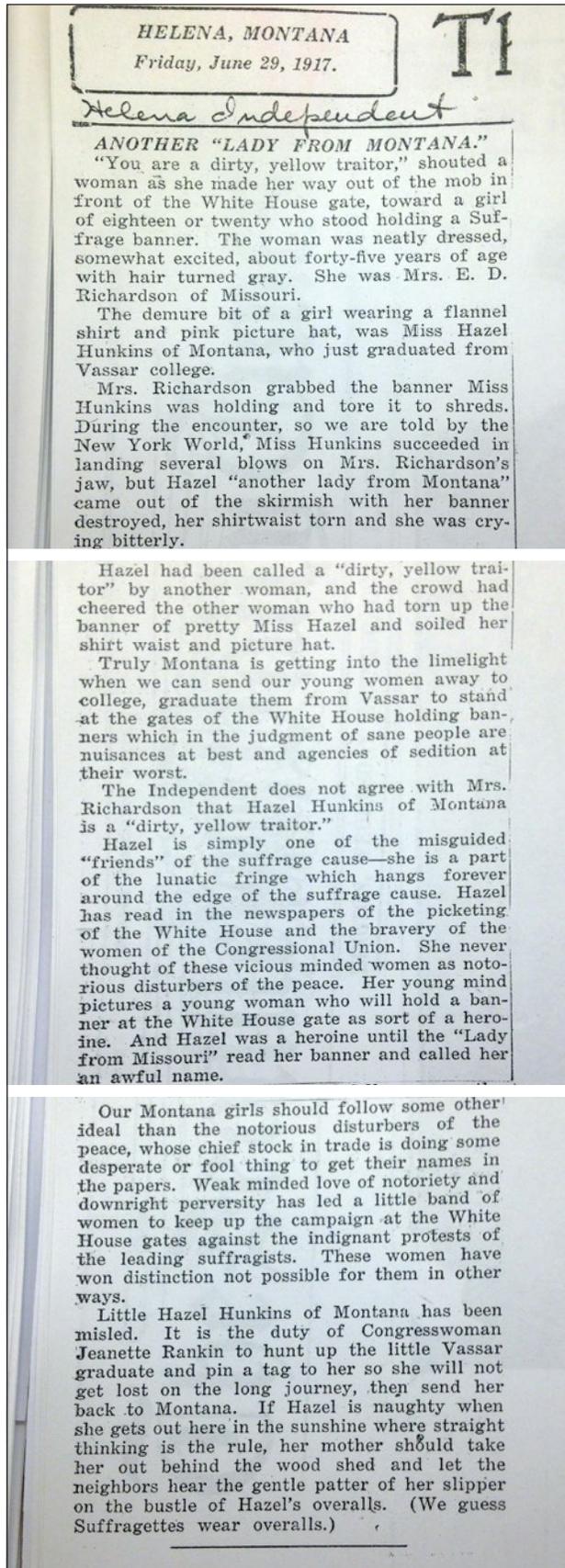


Exhibit 6-A "Another 'Lady from Montana'," *Helena Independent*, June 29, 1917 (clipping)
Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532,
Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

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 tele-

gram 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 catch 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 that press ~~work~~ 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 isn't 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} ~~daughter~~ of a notorious character. Well when you get the right perspective of the press you won't mind it. If friends ask you about it I would treat it as a good joke that you didn't 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 don't feel ashamed or grieved (except as it grieves you) and I haven't 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 don't worry about it more. Then, too, I have watched public opinion change in such a short time that I wouldn't be surprised to be greeted as a hero rather than an offender sooner or later. Don't 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 choice 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 don't want you to want me to come home. I don't 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 dud for money or so that I won't 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 can't 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 weren't with me in this work and I have wanted so much to have you come to Washington to see for ~~you~~ 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 wouldn't 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 stomach, I put it away in my private clipping folder and think ~~what~~ 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} ~~night~~ 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 conform. 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.

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>

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 tastelessly 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 non-committal 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.