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

SS.K12.3. Compare and evaluate sources for relevance, perspective, and accuracy.

CSS.K12.4. Use sources to gather evidence to develop and refine claims.

SS.K12.5. Communicate conclusions.

SS.CG.9-12.5. Evaluate how citizens and institutions address social and political problems at the local, state, tribal, national, and/or international levels.

SS.CG.9-12.10. Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

SS.CG.9-12.11. Analyze the impact and roles of personal interests and perspectives, market, media, and group influences on the application of civic virtues, democratic principles, constitutional rights, and human rights.

SS.CG.9-12.12. Evaluate citizens’ and institutions’ effectiveness in ensuring civil rights at the local, state, tribal, national, and international levels.

SS.H.9-12.1. Analyze how unique circumstances of time, place, and historical contexts shape individuals’ lives.


SS.H.9-12.3. Identify ways in which people and groups exercise agency in difficult historical, contemporary, and tribal contexts.

SS.H.9-12.4. Analyze multiple, and complex causal factors that have shaped major events in US and world history, including American Indian history.

SS.H.9-12.7. Analyze how historical, cultural, social, political, ideological, and economic contexts shape people’s perspectives.

SS.H.9-12.8. Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history they produced.

SS.H.9-12.11. Evaluate the limitations, biases, and credibility of various sources, especially regarding misinformation and stereotypes.

SS.H.9-12.12. Analyze multiple historical sources to pursue further inquiry and investigate additional sources.

SS.H.9-12.13. Integrate evidence from multiple relevant historical sources and interpretations into a reasoned argument about past and present people, events, and ideas.


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 https://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins)
- Document Analysis Worksheet (see below, Appendix 3)
- Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint (available at https://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, box 80, folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute
  - Envelope, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 80, folder 1, 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.)

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 https://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins)
- PowerPoints of case files documents, optional (available online at https://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 in the Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint.
- 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 students that Hazel 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 https://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 https://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: https://sosmt.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: https://sosmt.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 Suffrage Primary Source PowerPoint at https://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins.
Appendix 2

The Women’s Rights Movement, 1848–1920


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. 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.”

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. 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). 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.”

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). 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). 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. 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. 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.

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<th><strong>Question</strong></th>
<th>Write at least one question you have after investigating this source. What are you confused about? What new questions does this source raise?</th>
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<th><strong>Corroboration</strong></th>
<th>(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?</th>
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Appendix 4

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

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

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

See also the transcribed excerpt on pages 16-17.
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 an-
other, “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 broadband of snow slams
against the windows!”

They meant well, those fathers of their country, but
they didn’t copper enough bets. That dream of Washington-
ians 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 sup-
plies 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
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 staying qualities of the White House
pickets which inspires admiration even in this mecca of the
officeworker. 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 remark-
able when one studies the past performances of the fair
sentries.

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 gradu-
ated 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 amend-
ment 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,

HAZEL HUNKINS, BILLINGS SUFFRAGIST 17
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. 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....
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 Capitol. 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 Federal amendment across the way nothing else has for ages—since Susan B. Anthony was shamed for a similar offense. It would be like base desertion to quit 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 that 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 "L’ Evection of Shells". 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 on.

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 Aztec 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 children’s bureau. Then last night I was to dinner with Mary Darrach exil3. 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.
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 don't want to stay here much longer. I can't stay here much longer. I have got to get a little ahead. Every month I spend 25% of my salary and it isn't 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 expenses. 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 don't need the vote; that they are represented by the men; that man is naturally woman's superior; that women should wait till 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 can't 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 aloof dirty dishonest politician that women weren't 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 haven't trained him right if he is naughty. You don't understand him. Try and understand him and he will be alright. I want him to be a good little dog that is worthy of a place in the family. I don't want him to become a long haired alley cat. Please oh please keep him nice. He won't 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 weighs. Has he changed his habits of eating much? Do you ever play with him the way I used to? Do that so that he won't 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 tell me 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.” 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: https://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.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence from the Source</th>
<th>My Reaction</th>
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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 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” https://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 discusses 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 31, 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.” (Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March–5 April 1776 [electronic edition]. Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive. Massachusetts Historical Society. (https://www.masshist.org/database/5))

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” (https://teachtnhistory.org/File/Harry_T._Burn.pdf)

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.” (https://teachtnhistory.org/File/Harry_T._Burn.pdf)

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.”
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. https://www.loc.gov/static/collections/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 https://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-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 [https://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins](https://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?
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, net 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 Hard Yeld, 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 capital. 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-suffragists 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

Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage

Exhibit 1-C

Notes: Title and date from unverified caption data received with the Harris & Ewing Collection.
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 isn’t so hard even if I have yet to tell the 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 isn’t 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 openings do not come to he or she has one until after become "prominent" as 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 Ebel 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 Ira 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 own too flimsy 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 opportunities, of all kinds.
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 ex-
perience." 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 pre-
paratory school of life. Life sometimes seems very serious and all that
but it all seems preparation for something else that has 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 sent a batch of them to
as well as I
the members of the women's Club, and I know they will never
confess to reading it, I know that they will, read it out of curious-
ity. 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 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 Mrs
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 can't get the right order of events so I am only going to try
and give you what just concerns me and maybe I won't 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 WSH 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
rudey 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 rudey act not the women who silently stood there as they had stood
for 152 days preceding.

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 govern-
ment 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 com-
mon 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 o 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 such colonial times of just such very 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 nonresistant 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. Heeox.

Up to that time there had been only four people in the drama—the felon, her incensor, Mrs. Heeox and myself. When that man tore the banner down, then the whole vast crowd again came crashing into my consciousness. It had all happened in probably three minutes but I have lived every second of it over many times and I know every move that was made during the entire time. One minute I was standing there in perfect peace and quiet holding a banner that has had it duplicating in every fight that has ever been made for political rights; three minutes later I was holding a broken staff with no banner and at the center of a surging crowd, and to quote one of our most distinguished members in Washington who was passing in her electric carriage out to stand by me, I stood there with a "paler 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 don’t know whether you got newspaper accounts of it all but here are all the horrible details. I haven’t 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 won’t dwell more on this incident because others will be just as interesting.

Maybe you don’t think it all very interesting. It wasn’t 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 doesn’t understand or is unfriendly to. I know a lot more about the wheels of justice than I used to, both legally speaking and
speaking in terms of public praise or condemnation. I think that considering the general type of human mind constituting part of the physical make-up of the unt public, I am perfectly content to condemned by them. Its an honor to put entirely out of their school 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 Scharie 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). https://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 https://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-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 https://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. Men need to be in the Fashion—Severe Criticism of Opponents

Having published an article on the progress made by the Women’s Franchise Movement, Mrs. Belmont, this paper invited her to present her side of the question. Mrs. Belmont immediately answered the challenge by publishing an article of her own on the League for Women’s Suffrage. The two articles are presented here.

Mrs. Jones, president of the League for Women’s Suffrage, is a woman who believes in education. She has written many articles for the League’s magazine, which are now collected in a book titled “The Case for Women.”

Mrs. Jones says: “A Suffragist is a woman who votes for the benefit of women, not for the benefit of men. The League for Women’s Suffrage is an organization of women who work for the betterment of society.”

New Definitions in the Suffrage Fight

Mrs. Jones says: “A Suffragist is a woman who votes for the benefit of women, not for the benefit of men. The League for Women’s Suffrage is an organization of women who work for the betterment of society.”

Mrs. Jones explains that the term “suffrage” comes from the Latin word “suffrare,” meaning “to say.” In ancient Rome, only men who could speak were considered citizens. Women were excluded from the process of citizenship, and therefore from the right to vote. The League for Women’s Suffrage is working to change this by promoting the idea that women should have equal rights with men.

Mrs. Jones continues: “We believe that women should have the same rights as men, including the right to vote. We are working to educate the public about the importance of women’s suffrage, and to encourage women to vote in elections.”

Mrs. Jones is a strong advocate of women’s suffrage. She has been active in the movement for many years, and has written many articles and speeches in support of women’s rights. She is a respected member of the League for Women’s Suffrage, and has been recognized for her contributions to the cause.

Mrs. Jones concludes: “We believe that women should have the same rights as men, including the right to vote. We are working to educate the public about the importance of women’s suffrage, and to encourage women to vote in elections.”
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

“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 the readers. Consequently the following article, by Mrs. Gilbert H. 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 newspapers. Our answer is to publish her article in full, as written by her including her statement that “reporters are generally socialists or suffragists.”

New Definitions in the Suffrage Fight.

Mrs. Jones says: “A Suffragist is a gentleman or lady lunching with Mrs. Belmont at Sherry’s.”

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

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

One must discount the report of all Anti-Suffrage movement, written by Mrs. Belmont at Sherry’s.

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

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 muffls, sheath skirts, hoopskirts, 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 doing so are quite often openly expressed. When I asked an ambitious mother why she had become a Suffragist she said, “Because I have two daughters, and I need society for their sake. It is well worth while to know the Four Hundred. A charming little woman (not rich) said “Mrs. Belmont is so nice, and so noble and moral, that I need to be under her leadership.” A letter received a week ago reads as follows:

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

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

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

The latest definition of a “Suffragist” is a gentleman or 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 pools, and women must always still look to the men to help them.

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

Taxation does not mean representation with an unqualified universal suffrage, yet thousands of women say they should vote because they pay taxes,—men do not, why should women? Enlightenment and more education such as we give in our League is what most women need. We give facts, not Anti-Suffrage arguments, and that is why we are not even liked by most of the suffrage women in our State. But our good work is growing. Our motto is “Truth,” our emblem is the American flag, and our pass word is “Tolerance.”
Historical Case File #2—Anti-Suffrage and Saloon Men

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

Note: In the first two pages of this letter, Hazel reports on her new post as “organization secretary ... in charge of state organizers” and discusses how her actions have been received by friends and acquaintances. (See Case File #1) Hazel Hunkins describes the “Russian banner episode” beginning on page 3.
it by absolutely ignoring it and saying nothing. That is a habit I learned—when in doubt do nothing. This woman then began to upbraid 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. Mecox 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. Mecox 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 hairlip. 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. 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. Mecox 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 step-
ped up to complete it. It only took one jerk from this man to rip the
banner from the staff held by the unsuspecting Mrs. Henex.

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

I dont know whether you got newspaper accounts of it all
but here are all the horrible details. *** I haven't 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 wasn’t
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 Amer-
ican public does not understand or is unfriendly to. I know a lot more
about the wheels of justice than I used to, both legally speaking and
speaking in terms of public praise or condemnation. I think that considering the general type of human mind constituting part of the physical make-up of the wit public, I am perfectly content to condemned by them. Its an honor to put entirely out of their class by them themselves.

It has gotten very late and I am trying to take care of myself. I have worked very hard and have been under a constant strain and I want sleep and rest. You see how mature and careful I am getting when I begin looking after myself before any real difficulty comes. I am most careful of my food and proper rest and relaxation. Goodnight and a big kiss for both you and Carl and oh how I'd like to have Schanie 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.
A big crowd had assembled shortly after noon along the entire front of the White House to witness the erection of the third banner addressed to the Russian commission. It failed to appear at the scheduled time. While the throng was waiting, Mrs. Richardson suddenly ran up to the yellow pennant held by Miss Hunkins and spat upon it.

"You are a dirty yellow traitor!"

she shrieked.

Both Suffs Shed Tears.

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

Another banner held by Mrs. H. T. Heacox was similarly treated. Both banners were roughly handled by Mrs. Richardson. Both banner holders were treated.

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.

The 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 banner, Senator J. Hamilton Lewis stopped to tell Miss Hunkins he was "strong for woman suffrage," but that he doesn't believe the women should go to war 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 booted.

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 these 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 this study to luncheon. The noise from the crowd

(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 Evoy Root are deceiving Russia" constitute treason.

He insisted the local police could cope with the situation at least for the time being.
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 Harriett 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 rebuff. 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: https://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-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 provided images of all the documents you examined in a PowerPoint, available for download at https://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?
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 amount 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 east to west has been riveted on the federal amendment, whereas, in ordinary routine, none would ever mention it. This 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.’s attitude, we know the picketing won’t change his mind but the public opinion centered by it will have its affect 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 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, and going to write up my experiences.

Last night I was up to Thomas Pay's to dinner. They are so interesting the 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 sustained this week. Let me say, goodbye.

The enclosed is in payment of the 1st payment I borrowed. I'm not homesick; you've got Schyler.

Oceans of love. I wish you were here to feel and think of the same sentiments as I am. Hazel.
I am so sorry about your post 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. Think 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 Boise 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 unhappiness is largely dissatisfaction with me and you shouldn’t be so. I am the most fortunate girl in Billings. And largely — 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 edges.
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.

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 “Pennsylvania on the Picket Line,” 1917, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. https://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000212/
Historical Case File #3—Silent Sentinels

Wants Retirement First

Mormon is Opposed

Florida Society Will Entertain

Proposal in Report.

GLASS TELEPHONE COMPANY

PLAN FOR INAUGURAL

-from That State.

Let us keep it up,

The first squad of silent suffrage

SuffrageSentries

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 hours 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 Un-

ion 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 Miss

Mollie Holland Boisseau, and, incident-

ally, make another appeal to Mr. Wil-

son 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

ey every opportunity, the fact that the

vote-for-woman advocates have not

yet given up hope.

First Squad of Sentinels.

The first squad of silent suffrage

sentinels was led by Miss Vivian

Pierce, of California, carrying a huge

banner, and with a body guard in-

cluding the Misses Mildred Gilbert

and Bert A’Cune, both of California,

each of whom carried suffrage stand-

ards.

Other members of the first squad in-

cluded Mrs. M. C. Dowell, Philadel-

phia; the Misses Joy Young, Eliza-

beth Smith, and Winifred Frances

of Columbia; Miss Maude

Jamison, Norfolk, Va.; Mrs. Bessee

Papandre, California; the Misses

Augusta and Gertrude Crocker, Illinois,

and Mary Gertrude Fendall, Balti-

more.

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 col-

ors 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 uselessness evident

among some of them, however.

“Gee whiz, how about eating? I’m

hungry already,” one suffragist ex-

claimed as she started from Congress-

ional Union headquarters.

Police Will Not Act.

“And what are we going to do if

we can’t even talk?” one of her com-

panions said, “That leaves us in a

fierce position.”

The twelve suffrage pickets will

not be disturbed by the police. In-

spector Harry Gasford, at police

headquarters, said the department

do not regard such banners as the

suffragists are displaying as adver-

tisements, and that, therefore, no per-

mit was necessary for the silent dem-

stration.

Major Pullman, superintendent of

police, said the suffragists would not

be interfered with unless they vio-

lated 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 “beck-

king the President” was voiced today

by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, presi-

dent of the National American

women’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 Associa-

tion is just as impatient of the delay

in procuring suffrage as any other or-

ganization can be.”

“However, it does not consider

President Wilson himself responsible

for the delay. The association regrets

that he should be heckled by advo-

cates of the cause at this time.”

PICK KEY MEMORIAL SITE.

Secretary of War Baker and Quar-

ter-master General Sharpe went to

Baltimore today to select a site for

the Francis Scott Key memorial, to

be erected on the Fort McHenry reser-

vation. They are to determine what

buildings on the reservation will

have to be razed.

NEW YORK BEEF

WITH MASHED POTATOES

15c

White Palace

Luncheon Rooms

1113 Pa. Ave.
1417 G St.
314 9th St.

Buy Your GRAFONOLA

AND RECORDS the Easy Way

Payments arranged to suit you.
Our easy ownership plan makes it possible.

WORCH

1119 G N.W.
Come and Hear a Demonstration.

For Votes For Women.

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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.’


**Step 2: Investigate the Evidence**

Expect to spend about ten minutes on each of the sources in your packet, available online here at https://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. https://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 https://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?
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.
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. Keys, 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 police men that 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 was written, “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 sing, “Take them, boys,” cried a fury 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 Bow.

At the attack 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 Women’s party, “with the result that the court refused to try and our case was postponed, that no charges have ever yet been filed against us and our money is therefore held over yet, practically as a fine. This time we will not be held to give bail, with the possibility of incurring the same unjust consequences.”

All thirty-seven of the women were shortly tried, but no sooner lifted the building in marching lines thanCONTINUED ON PAGE THREE.

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 50 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 inscriptions 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 excite 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 declaimed 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
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 highhanded 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. https://archive.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. https://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 https://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins.


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 https://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?

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 Brown 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 Anna 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, and 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 23. I found them suffering from many causes, that on public grounds, ought to be instantly remedied.

“arrests for which I am counseled gave the following report on the food served them:

“In amount it is ample, but in quality often unpalatable. 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 enclosing with this letter affidavits of Mrs. Virginia Hovey and of Mrs. Robert Baker, who visited Occoquan on August 25. The prisoners for whom I am counsel are aware that cruel practices go on at Occoquan. On one occasion they heard Whitaker kicking a woman in the next room. They heard Mr. Whitaker’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.

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 bond 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

Historical Case File #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes

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/)
HAZEL HUNKINS, BILLINGS SUFFRAGIST

grounds of the national mansion.

The parks were filled with a general air of excitement during the summer — nothing disturbed the pickets, ever reminding the President of his duty yet unfulfilled.

The next day, August 29th, was another attempt to get the women's votes back.

During that time, Alice Paul had been arrested as an enemy of the pickets, and had been held for 5 months. Her release was still enough to make her determined to get the women's voices heard.

After her release, Alice Paul and her co-suffragists realized the fact that they had succeeded.

The women's voices were heard.

The day of the attack made it clear that the suffragists had been heard.

The police had been ordered to protect the women's rights and to prevent any violence.

Overnight, there had been a change in the policy of the police.
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 any propaganda. The paper has been used as a weapon of propaganda other than the one intended.

This has been especially true of the attitude toward the Suffragists in Washington, where a number of the reform leaders are trying to be drowned in the war fever.

I have been through the press conferences meeting set up by the National Woman's Party and I turn to the Montana Liberal as an organ for the real struggle and to help put facts before its audiences. In our struggle for a new complete democracy in this country we have the same enemies—capital & the interest controlled by capital, chief among them the press of the country which is giving an unfair twist to our activities.

Be Laurence that your liberal readers understand the state of affairs and have a more accurate account and fair interpretation of what the women who agitate for 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 short articles than one long one.

Indeed, we need more than ever the support of kindred workers in the cause of women's suffrage, and the dissemination of the truth by those who are interested in the matter.
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 pre-
ceding 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 effi-
cient 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 pro-
paganda 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 meeted 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 glo-
ries 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 suf-
frage 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 can-
not use either. Hoping I may have your help in this matter.
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
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 disfranchised 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

A medley of their national airs will be sung, and 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. Tousan 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. Averough, Mrs. George J. Boening and Miss Edna Purcell, of Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia; Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Women's Party; Mrs. Agnes Chase, Miss Katherine Fisher, and Mrs. Margaret Oakes, of Washington; Miss Clara Welt, of Portland, Ore.; Miss Hazel Hunkins, of Billings, Mont.; Mrs. Helen Hill Weed and Miss Elsie Hill, daughters of the late Representative Hill, of Connecticut; Mrs. Anna Main, of Togek; Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pa.; Miss Kate Hoffinger, of Shaker Heights, Ohio; Miss Gertrude Crocker, of Chicago; Mrs. Irving Gross, of Boston; Miss Lavinia Dook, of Fayetteville, Pa.; Miss Alice Kimball, of New York; Mrs. Annie Arnone, of Wilmington; Miss Edith Ainge, of Jamestown, N. Y.; Mrs. Lucy Hurst, of Brooklyn; Miss Gladys Greiner, Miss John Emery and Dr. Anna Ruth, of Baltimore; Mrs. Harriet Stanton Balch, daughter of the pioneer suffragist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Miss Mary Younger, and Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKay of the decoration of the theater.

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

Mrs. Champ Clark, Mrs. Charles Boon almost 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 MacKay of the decoration of the theater.

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 Misses E. S. Atwater, District chairman, Mrs. William R. Thompson, Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Mrs. M. H. Young, Mrs. Hornsey Evans, Mrs. Lawrence Darr, Misses Anne Water, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Harriet McCutcheon, Mrs. Arthur Ramsey, and Mrs. A. D. Rottani.

**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 https://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**
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 https://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.
**Exhibit 6-A “Another ‘Lady from Montana’,”**

*Helena Independent*, June 29, 1917 (clipping)

Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532,

Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute
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
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 f# work is. When I see no 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 mast., 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 writer’s 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/####/ 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
would suit me better than to have been in all these happenings and never have been mentioned in any way as a participant.

Your telegram 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 go many times, but to-day I am in some sort of a 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 one 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’s one person in this world who can’t be replaced and that’s 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 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 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 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
two o'clock
mail this and let it go on the train and finish all the actual
happenings to-morrow. I want to tell you too about Florence’s
wedding.

Good-night, Mama. Try to be with me in spirit even when it
is easiest to condemn. It has all been so interesting and really
nothing at all to fuss about. I am going to write a long letter to
Carl. Somehow I feel that he isn’t 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.

President Long Ready to Approve Amendment

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

By DAVID LAWRENCE.

President Wilson chose the psychological moment to express his support of the Federal amendment for woman suffrage—and thereby hang 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.

Women have made the maximum sacrifice—give and blood to sustain the honor of the nation in this war—and the nation must have right to decide upon the future of the world. The women leaders were jubilant, not merely the National American Woman Suffrage Association but the entire country should see the great majority who have rallied on the demand for the vote for women in the United States and the world. 

The crisis in the Democratic party’s position has been everywhere appreciated. The Republicans have relied on their fairness, on their readiness to see the just and right side of every question when all phases are considered. The new central bureau created by the committee men was organized bucket squads when the camp was made. 

Mr. Wilson incidentally saved his party from defeat at the polls next fall. There was something in the Democratic party, something in the South party, and something in the Republican party in the winning of the war. Mr. Wilson has been a clear, brave, and determined advocate of the South party in the winning of the war and the defense of the country.

The fire was discovered in the early morning of the day of the willingness of a delegation of members to come to the White House to ask the President to intervene in the crisis of the picketing of the White House. It was a busy day at the White House, and the President would eventually bring the right to picketing, but it was learned that the President’s position in the winning of the war and the defense of the country should not interfere with the great majority of the people who have rallied on the organizers of the amendment.

Mr. Wilson unhesitatingly gave the necessary endorsement of the amendment. The transfer of the truck was made to the coal condition in New York. The crisis in the Democratic party’s position has been everywhere appreciated. The Republicans have relied on their fairness, on their readiness to see the just and right side of every question when all phases are considered. The new central bureau created by the committee men was organized bucket squads when the camp was made.

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