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HOW SUFFRAGE WAS ATTAINED BY WOMEN

After Sixty-Six Years of Endeavors, Women May Vote

With the ratification of the [eighteenth (sic)] nineteenth amendment by the Tennessee legislature, giving some twenty-seven million women the right to vote, a brief history of the long and many times discouraging battle by leaders of the cause will be of interest.

Sixty-six years have passed since Susan Brownell Anthony, a Quaker school teacher, born in Massachusetts and reared in Rochester, N.Y., began her fight for complete legal equality of the sexes -- known and ridiculed for a long time thereafter as "women's rights." Her federal suffrage amendment, now ratified line for line just as she wrote it, she offered in 1878 forty-two years ago. Both the big political parties put suffrage into their platforms in 1916 -- four years ago. The house of representatives passed the amendment first on January 10, 1918 -- two years and seven months ago. The senate passed it on June 4, 1919 - fourteen months ago.

Tennessee, the thirty-sixth state, ratified it last week.

Those are milestones of suffrage. At the beginning women who ventured to assert that they and their sisters had political rights were set down as "brazen hussies." At the end more than 26,000,000 of them are entitled to vote this fall for president of the United States or anybody else who is running for office.

The complete historian of suffrage will go much further back than, Susan B. Anthony, but the "movement" for a Federal amendment began with her. Few women sided with Abigail Adams when she wrote to her husband, John Adams, then serving in the Continental congress, threatened a women's rebellion and saying:

"We will not hold ourselves bound to obey laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Lucretia Mott is credited with being the first woman to speak at a public meeting in America. She, too, was a Quaker. In 1848 she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton called a convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., which drew up a woman's bill of rights. Even by most members of their own sex they were regarded as freaks, as were the generation of workers who came after them.

In 1852 Susan B. Anthony, who had been fighting slavery and rum

and who founded the first American women's temperance society, attended a convention of the sons of Temperance in Albany. To her astonishment, when she rose to speak she was rebuked by the presiding officer.

Rebuke for Susan B. Anthony

"The sisters were not invited here to speak but to listen and learn," he said.

Thereafter she gave suffrage her serious attention, and after 1854 devoted her life to it except in the Civil War period. In the early '50's "women's rights" conventions were held in several states. In 1860 two national organizations were formed -- the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe were leaders of the first and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Anthony the second. There was a cleavage of purpose which has existed between two groups up to a recent time. The Anthony-Stanton group believed it most important to work for a federal amendment, the Stone-Howe group preferred to win the fight state by state. In the end the winning of states helped mightily in the winning of congress.

The pioneer suffrage state, Wyoming, then a territory, came in 1869; for twenty-four years thereafter, despite all the efforts for the

“cause” not another state, joined her.

Meanwhile Susan Anthony, traveling first through New York state, toured the whole country, enduring no end of discomfort, even going to the mining camps of California, to preach her gospel. In 1872 she tried, by having herself arrested, to obtain an interpretation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which would allow women to vote. She went to the polls in Rochester and cast her ballot. A jury, after six months, found her guilty and she was sentenced to pay a fine of \$100 and costs.

"May it please your Honor," she said to the Judge, "I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty and I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old revolutionary maxim, 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.'"

Fellow suffragists sent in money, but Miss Anthony never paid the fine and was never imprisoned. The court in this case, not knowing what to do, discreetly did nothing. She and followers made another attempt for recognition under the fourteenth amendment and carried it to the supreme court.

The adverse decision there caused Miss Anthony to draw up the amendment to the constitution, the ratification of which was completed last week. She wrote the text in 1875, since which year suffragists have worked

both in the states and through congress to establish their right to the ballot.

The amendment in its present form was presented to the United States senate in 1878 in behalf of the National Woman Suffrage Association by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California, and was promptly voted down in committee of both branches of congress. Every year thereafter the suffragists saw to it that their amendment was reintroduced, but congress continued to discourage their efforts, although now and then a committee returned a favorable report. Mrs. Stanton served as president of the association from 1869 to 1892; Miss Anthony, who had at first declined to accept any office higher than membership in the executive committee, was president from 1892 to 1900. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt from 1900 to 1904; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw from 1904 to 1915, and Mrs. Catt, reelected two years before Dr. Shaw's death, from 1915 to the present time.

Much vain knocking at the doors of congress persuaded the women that before national suffrage was achieved they must first win over enough states to make the vote of women a real political power. While Miss Anthony led the national campaign in Washington, Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe labored with the state legislatures. They got Wyoming, as has been said, in 1869. They also got Utah in 1870, but

Congress upset this decision and Utah did not actually arrive at equal suffrage until 1895. Colorado enfranchised women in 1893, Idaho in 1896.

There, for fourteen years the case rested. Not another state was added. The suffrage movement seemed to have stopped. Little was heard of it. When it came to a vote for the first time in the senate, on January 25, 1887, the score of the defeat was 34 to 16. It did not come up again until March 19, 1914, and never reached a vote in the house until January 25, 1915.

With the beginning of the new century the struggle entered what is known as its "political period." In 1900 the two national organizations were combined under the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1909 it moved its headquarters from Warrenton, Ohio, to New York. Since then it has conducted its campaign from New York first from offices at 505 Fifth avenue, partly financed by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, and later from 171 Madison avenue, the present headquarters.

Suffrage Party Is Launched

In the same year Mrs. Catt launched her woman suffrage party, organized first in New York city on strict political lines and copied all over the country. Through modern organization the movement gained new headway and more states began granting suffrage to their women.

Washington came into line in 1910, California in 1911, Arizona, Oregon and Kansas in 1912, Montana and Nevada in 1914.

The next piece of applied strategy was the presidential suffrage conferred by states upon their own women. A Chicago woman lawyer, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, devised this plan of boring from within. Illinois voted for presidential suffrage in 1913, North Dakota and Nebraska in 1917, and others trooped into line. Many states now had full suffrage and in others women voted for presidential electors.

The moral and political effect of this growth was enormous, but the biggest and most potent event in the history of the victory period of suffrage was the winning of the vote by the women of New York state in 1917. When New York, the back bone of the east, gave in, all the stoutest of the antis were ready to admit that the end was in sight.

In 1912 the National American Woman Suffrage Association renewed its drive on congress. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns then identified themselves with it. Alice Paul -- a Quaker, as were Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony -- was just back from England, where she had served a term in Holloway jail for militancy under the guidance of Mrs. Pankhurst.

The ordinary suffrage tactics in this country were too tame for her. She did not remain long as chairman of the old association's congress

committee, but organized the Congressional Union on Pankhurst lines. From it developed the National's Woman's party, founded in 1916. After Paul's group were the "picketing suffragists." It picketed the White House in 1917, and the women were arrested and subjected to imprisonment, which was declared illegal by the District Court of Appeals. Alice Paul was forcibly fed. When the picketers were released they hired a train -- the "prison special" -- and toured the country with their propaganda.

The militants of the Woman's party favored the use of spectacular methods, and of bringing to bear on members of congress the weapon of ridicule wherever they could. They made the conservatives furious, and there was much quarreling back and forth, yet it now seems to be agreed that both groups of women, each working its own way, contributed to the victory.

"West Slambang at Job"

With its countrywide organization and an aggressive lobby in Washington, the National Woman's party went slambang at the job of getting the amendment through congress and the state legislatures. Latterly by the use of adroit political methods, it has been moving heaven and earth to obtain ratification by the thirty-sixth state in time for women to vote this year.

While its chairman, Alice Paul, stayed in the east, working upon the powers in Washington, its political chairman, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, went to Chicago and San Francisco and buzzed the two conventions. Alice Paul kept suffrage constantly before President Wilson until congress had passed the amendment and later until the legislatures of the necessary thirty-six states had ratified it. The basis of the power of the National Woman's party was the power of the woman voters of the suffrage states of the west. Its policy was to hold the party in power responsible for the passage of the amendment.

In 1914 the party entered every suffrage state, appealing to the women to refuse to return to office the party which had withheld national suffrage. As every candidate in the suffrage states was in favor of the national amendment this meant an attack on men who were individually the friends of suffrage, but only in this way could the party be reached. Of the forty-two men campaigned against only twenty-one were elected.

Suffrage Plank Inevitable

Inevitably a suffrage plank was placed in the platforms of both the republican and democratic parties in the national conventions of 1916. There was endless criticism of the picketing of the White House, but it is to be noted that one year from the day it began the amendment passed

the house with President Wilson as its staunch advocate. That was on January 10, 1918, the vote began 274 yeas and 136 nays out of 410 voting. The measure was now before the senate, and there it stayed for a year and a half, blocked most of the time by one vote. The senate finally capitulated on June 14, 1919, when the yeas totaled 66 and the noes 30. The lower house had again voted for the amendment on May 31, 1919, giving 304 yeas and 89 nays.

Then began the fight for ratification. The senate's delay increased the difficulty of this campaign, for the amendment could not be brought before the regular 1918-1919 sessions of the various legislatures. In order to obtain ratification in time for women to vote for president this year the suffragists had to influence twenty-nine governors to call special sessions of their state legislatures.

Redoubled Effort

The expense of special session, the fear that other and unwanted legislation would be slipped through and local political quarrels, as well as opposition to suffrage itself, were all factors against the women, but having got thus far they redoubled their efforts. National suffrage was now a certainty, even if not quite established. To politicians it seemed that refusal to call special sessions might be a matter for reprisal when

the men actually did vote. But in some cases the state governors refused to act until word came down the line from, the highest party leaders.

Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan ratified on June 10. New York's was the second legislature to meet especially for ratification. In West Virginia the amendment was saved by the vote of a state senator who was rushed from California on a special train. On March 22 last Washington ratified. It was the thirty-fifth state. Delaware was expected to be the thirty sixth, but Delaware failed the women.

The struggle for the thirty-sixth state lasted five months. The antis, with their backs against the wall, cried, "You shall not have it!" The pressure on the legislature of Tennessee from the leaders of both political parties was terrific. Tennessee wobbled, but last week it came through, and as soon as the formalities of proclamation and so on are complied with we shall have votes for women -- twenty-seven million of them.