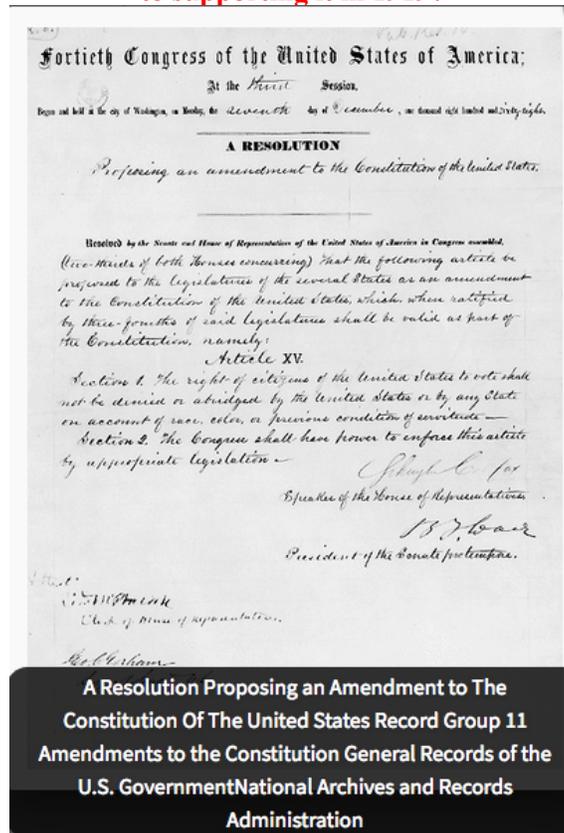


High School Lesson

Why did New Jersey's representatives change their position opposed to woman suffrage in 1915 to supporting it in 1919?



Background Information: First Countries to Give Women the right to vote:

- 1893 New Zealand
- 1902 Australia
- 1906 Finland
- 1913 Norway
- 1915 Denmark
- 1917 Canada
- 1918 Austria, Germany, Poland, Russia (Great Britain gave women a limited right to vote)
- 1919 Netherlands
- 1920 United States

First 15 States to Give Women the right to vote:

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Wyoming 1890 | California 1911 | Nevada. 1914 |
| Colorado 1893 | Arizona 1912 | New York 1917 |
| Utah 1896 | Kansas. 1912 | Michigan. 1918 |
| Idaho 1896 | Oregon 1912 | Oklahoma. 1918 |
| Washington 1910 | Montana 1914 | South Dakota. 1918 |

Women in Illinois 1913 voted for president in the Election of 1916.

Although these states granted women the right to vote before the ratification of the 19th Amendment, the next presidential election was in November 1920, after the 19th Amendment was ratified on August 18, 1920.

Nebraska 1917	Iowa 1919
Ohio 1917	Minnesota 1919
Indiana 1917	Missouri 1919
North Dakota 1917	Wisconsin 1919
Rhode Island 1917	

Core Idea: Stating a Claim and supporting it with an argument based on evidence.

Prioritize the reasons below why women should vote and then categorize the reasons by themes.

(cultural/social, political, other, etc.)

<http://loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/progress/suffrage/whyvote.html>

Document 1: Why Women Should Vote From a publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Alice Stone Blackwell. Editor.

1. Because it is fair and right that those who must obey the laws should have a voice in making them, and that those who must pay taxes should have a vote as to the amount of the tax and the way it is spent.
2. Because the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women would be got more easily if women had votes. New York women have worked in vain for years to secure a legislative appropriation to found a state industrial School for Girls. Colorado women worked in vain for one till they got the ballot; then the Legislature promptly granted it.
3. Because laws unjust to women would be amended more quickly. Only 13 states give equal guardianship to mothers. New Jersey is not one of the 13 states.
4. Because women are not paid fair wages. Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor said in an address delivered at Smith College "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."(February 12, 1902)
5. Because equal suffrage would increase the proportion of educated voters. The high schools of every state are graduating more girls than boys-often twice or three times as many. (Report of Commissioner of Education.)
6. Because it would increase the proportion of native-born voters as almost 1 million immigrants per year are coming to the United States and becoming citizens. 1901 - 1910: 8,795,386 immigrants arrive in the US; 1911 - 1920: 5,735,811 immigrants arrived in the US
7. Because woman's ballot will make it hard for the notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. In the equal suffrage states, both parties have to elect people of respectable character or lose the women's vote.
8. Because it would increase women's influence as documented by the number of meetings state legislators in Colorado have with women's organizations. Club women outside the suffrage states do not have this experience.

9. Because experience has proved it to be good. Women have for years been voting in England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Utah, and Idaho. In all these places the opponents have not yet found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that the results have been bad, while scores of prominent men and women testify that it has done good.

Prioritize the reasons why people did NOT want women to vote and then categorize them by themes. (cultural/social, political, other)

Document 2: Argument Against Women's Suffrage, 1911

<https://sfpl.org/pdf/libraries/main/sfhistory/suffrageagainst.pdf>

1. Suffrage is not a right. It is a privilege that may or may not be granted. Politics is no place for a woman, consequently the privilege should not be granted to her.
2. The mother's influence is needed in the home. She can do little good by gadding the streets and neglecting her children. Let her teach her daughters that modesty, patience, and gentleness are the charms of a women.
3. The courageous, chivalrous, and manly men and the womanly women, the real mothers and home builders of the country, are opposed to this innovation in American political life. There was a bill (the Sanford bill) before the last legislature which proposed to leave the equal suffrage question to women to decide first before the men should vote on it. This bill was defeated by the suffragettes because they knew that the women would vote down the amendment by a vote of ten to one.
4. The men are able to run the government and take care of the women. Do women have to vote in order to receive the protection of man? Men have gone to war, endured every privation and death in defense of women.
5. Woman suffrage has been proven a failure in states that have tried it. It is wrong. Statistics show that in most equal suffrage states, Colorado particularly, that divorces have greatly increased since the adoption of the equal suffrage amendment, showing that it has been a home destroyer. Crime has also increased due to lack of the mothers in the home.
6. Woman is woman. She cannot change her sphere. Let her be content with her lot and perform those high duties intended for her by the Great Creator, and she will accomplish far more in governmental affairs that she can ever accomplish by mixing up in the dirty pool of politics. Keep the home pure and all will be well with the Republic. Let not the sanctity of the home be invaded by every little politician that may be running up and down the highway for office. Let the manly men and the womanly women defeat this amendment and keep woman where she belongs in order that she may retain the respect of all mankind.

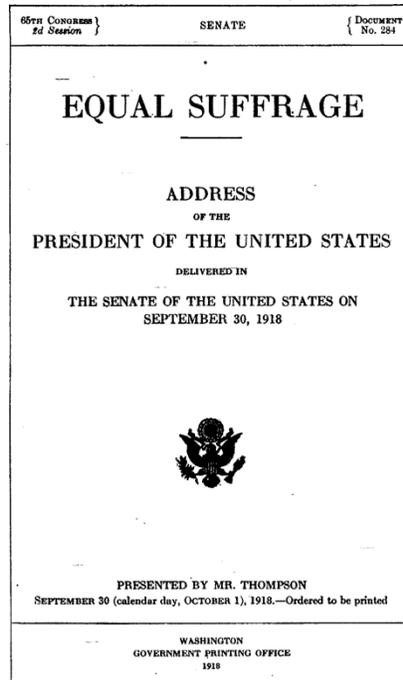
From **Argument Against Women's Suffrage, 1911** Prepared by J. B. Sanford, Chairmen of Democratic Caucus, ARGUMENT AGAINST SENATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 8, J. B. Sanford, Senator 4th District.

Chronology:

In 1915, New Jersey had a referendum on the right to vote for women. Locate the town where you live to see how the people voted 100 years ago. Discuss possible reasons for why the men voted the way they did on this issue. (Open the PDF file)



1915 NJ Election by
Town.pdf



Document 3: EQUAL SUFFRAGE President Wilson’s Speech to the U.S. Senate: (September 30, 1918). Consider having students in groups read each paragraph (beginning with Paragraph #2) and identify the evidence presented by President Wilson in support of women suffrage.

Mr. Vice President and gentlemen of the Senate, the unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in- the view not only of our own people and of our own consciences but also in view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you. I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the, extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to appraise you of every circumstance and element involved in -this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country. Neither party therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute federal initiative for state initiative, if the early adoption of the measure is necessary to the successful

prosecution of the war and if the method of state: action proposed in the party platform is- of 1916 is impracticable within-any-reasonable length of time, if practicable at all. And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you with solemn earnestness for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem conclusive to you as they have seemed to me. This is a peoples' war and the peoples' thinking constitutes its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the - political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less' persuasive and convincing than our actions. Our professions will not suffice.

Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for, in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels; not by Foreign Ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious; expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they wish. I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking, upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous Democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to follow or to trust us; They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy,- seen old governments like Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it, the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain, to governments as well as to peoples.

Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that women can give, service and sacrifice of every kind, and still. say that we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance. of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and of right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women,- services rendered in every sphere, not merely in the fields of effort 'in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself. We shall not only be distrusted but shall deserve to be distrusted if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought or our action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers. whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice; but I know the magic it will work in their' thoughts and spirits if you give it them. I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world, were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war; and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and (do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our women? Is that true an asset or is it not I tell you, plainly, as commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questioning or be shamed, as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses,-I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need then a vision of affairs which is theirs, and, as we have never -needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counselling we shall be only half wise.

That is my case. This is my appeal, Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ. [Applause.]

1. Why do you think President Wilson delivered this speech to the Senate?
2. Why do you think President Wilson selected the date of September 30, 1918 to deliver this speech?
3. What impact do you think his speech had on the senators?
4. What impact do you think his speech had on the nation?

Commentary: President Wilson worried, too. He feared that if the Senate, with the Democrats in the majority, rejected the amendment, suffragists would target his party in the midterm election. Wilson decided to take a bold step. On September 30, 1918, he delivered a brief, impassioned speech in the Senate Chamber, pleading with senators to deliver “justice to women.” In particular, the president sought to persuade a coalition of southern Democrats and northeastern Republicans, known as the “unholy alliance,” who opposed woman’s suffrage for reasons that were by now all too familiar. “Do not force upon [the states] the enfranchisement of those women who are not of our race,” implored one opponent. Others argued that women possessed neither the intellectual nor emotional capacity to make reasoned decisions. Still others chaffed at the thought of relenting to the demands of the so-called “petticoat brigade.”

Having delivered his address, Wilson returned to the White House to wait. On the following day, October 1, the Senate took up the suffrage bill. Suffragists, dressed in white gowns with purple sashes, watched impatiently from the gallery as the final debate began. Supporters offered one last defense of the bill. Women had selflessly supported the war effort, Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado observed. “Why do we ask American doughboys to fight for Europeans’ right to self-determination,” Thomas wondered, while “50 per cent of our population is disenfranchised”?

After the debate concluded, Senator Jones successfully beat back efforts to amend the bill, and the roll call began. When the final vote was cast, the amendment fell two votes short of the two-thirds present and voting required for passage, 53-31. Disappointed, Andrieus Jones promised to call another vote before the congressional session ended in March 1919.

Where would suffragists get the two votes necessary to pass the amendment through the Senate—their so-called “Last Trench”? Alice Paul dialed up the pressure on Borah. With the assistance of local women, Paul convinced the Idaho Republican Party to adopt a party plank supporting a national suffrage amendment. Would Senator Borah defy his own state party and continue to oppose the bill? Occupied with war-related measures, Borah remained in Washington in the weeks before the election, but his chances for reelection were looking grim. His projected lead over his opponent had virtually disappeared. In desperation, Borah made an appointment to see Alice Paul. When that fateful meeting concluded, Paul wired a statement to Idaho suffragists:

“We have talked over the...situation with Senator Borah,” Paul wrote, “**and our understanding...is that he will carry out his platform and vote for the suffrage amendment if elected.**” Aware of Borah’s long opposition to the amendment, a few suffrage leaders remained skeptical. Did Paul get Borah’s commitment in writing? Would he indeed support the amendment? While Paul told her lieutenants in Idaho to stand down, **Borah wired his supporters to inform them that his position had not changed.**

On November 5, 1918, just as Wilson (D) had feared, suffragists punished congressional Democrats for failing to approve the national suffrage amendment. Thanks to his pledge to the National Woman's Party, William Borah fared better, besting his opponent by nearly 30 points. In March of 1919, Republicans would assume the majority in the House and Senate, and Senator Borah would be among them.

During the lame-duck session that convened on December 2, 1918, Senator Jones scheduled another vote. As the vote drew near, Borah remained coy, issuing no public statements. **At a heated Democratic caucus meeting on February 6, South Carolina's William Pollock joined 19 other Democrats and declared his support for the bill, providing one of the two additional votes needed for passage. Suffragists expected Borah to provide the last vote.**

On Monday, February 10, 1919, the Senate prepared to vote. "This is no new proposition before the American people," observed Senator Pollock as the roll call began. The fate of the bill was soon known. Coming early in the roll call of senators, **Borah betrayed Alice Paul and the Idaho suffragists and voted no.** When the final vote was tallied, the suffrage amendment fell one vote short of the required two-thirds majority, 55-29. Suffragists seated in the galleries quietly hung their heads. Anticipating that the next Congress would approve the bill, one irritated suffrage leader called the Senate vote a "futile delay...to betray the people."

The battle was lost, but the war continued. The 66th Congress convened on March 4, 1919, and soon took up the bill. The House quickly approved it on May 21. In the Senate, several newly elected members had publicly pledged their support for the amendment, making the suffragists reasonably confident of its passage. On June 4, 1919, suffragists packed the Senate gallery once again. "There was no excitement," Maud Younger later recalled. "The coming of the women, the waiting of the women, the expectancy of the women, was an old story." After so many years of fighting for their rights, suffrage activists in the gallery and across the nation found this final vote to be almost mundane. In a bipartisan effort, senators approved the national suffrage amendment with two votes to spare, 56 to 25. A few minutes later, Vice President Thomas Marshall joined prominent suffragists for a signing ceremony in his office in the Capitol. The amendment had passed a major hurdle; now it would go to the states for ratification.

Checking for Understanding:

Why was the vote so close in the Senate? (Review how students prioritized the arguments for and against suffrage and explain the cultural and political factors that were part of the debate)

Stating a Claim and Building an Evidence-Based Argument:

Develop a Claim Statement as a class regarding a possible reason why New Jersey and the Congress overwhelmingly rejected the proposed bill giving women the right to vote and why they reversed their position within four years. Use the documents below for evidence in developing an argument for or against your Claim Statement as a class.

The House's 1918 Passage of a Constitutional Amendment Granting Women the Right to Vote

January 10, 1918



Rep. Jeannette Rankin (R-Montana) Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives

On January 10, 1918 in the midst of World War I, the House passed a constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote by a count of **274 to 136.** Representative [Jeannette Rankin](#) of Montana who, a year earlier, had become the first woman to serve in Congress, implored her colleagues to support the

legislation: “How shall we answer their challenge, gentlemen: how shall we explain to them the meaning of democracy if the same Congress that voted for war to make the world safe for democracy refuses to give this small measure of democracy to the women of our country?” **The Senate, however, failed to pass the amendment in the 65th Congress (1917–1919)**, so the measure was once again reintroduced in the House in the 66th Congress (1919–1921), passing on May 21, 1919, by a vote of 304 to 90. The Senate concurred shortly afterward. The 19th Amendment then went to the states, where it was finally ratified in August 1920.

The **65th Congress** (1917 – 1919) was divided with 214 Democrats and 215 Republicans. There were 3 representatives from the Progressive Party, 1 from the Prohibition Party, 1 from the Socialist Party, and 1 Independent. <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/65th/>

Below is the profile of the 435 elected representatives.

Party Divisions: 214 Democrats, 215 Republicans, 3 Progressives, 1 Independent Republican, 1 Prohibitionist, 1 Socialist

New Jersey’s representatives in the House of Representatives was mostly Republican. The “Yes” or “No” next to the name of the representative indicates how they voted on January 10, 1918. If the “Yes” or “No” is missing, it is possible that they did not vote or the information is not easily available as a digital record.

Do you Agree or Disagree with the votes of New Jersey’s representatives in Congress and the Senate?

NJ Republican Representatives

R-Isaac Bacharach, *Atlantic City* – Yes
R-William Browning, *Camden* – No
R-Elijah Hutchinson, *Trenton* – Yes
R-Frederick R. Lehlbach, *Newark* – Yes
R-John Capstick, *Montville* (died March 17, 1918)
R-William F. Birch, *Dover* (replaced John Capstick)
R-Dow H. Drukker, *Passaic*
R-Richard Wayne Parker, *Newark*
R-Edward W. Gray, *Newark*

NJ Democratic Representatives

John Eagan, *Weehawken*

The **66th Congress** (1919-1921) was divided with 192 Democrats and 240 Republicans. There was 1 representative from the Union-Labor Party and 1 from the Prohibition Party.

Party Divisions: 192 Democrats, 240 Republicans, 1 Prohibitionist, 1 Union-Labor

NJ Republican Representatives

William Browning, *Camden* (Died March 24, 1920.)
Replaced by Francis F. Patterson, Jr on November 2, 1920)
Isaac Bacharach, *Atlantic City*
Elijah C. Hutchinson, *Trenton*
Ernest R. Ackerman,
John R. Ramsey, *Hackensack*
Amos H. Radcliffe, *Paterson*
Frederick R. Lehlbach, *Newark*

NJ Democratic Representatives

Thomas J. Scully, *South Amboy*
Cornelius A. McGlennon
Daniel F. Minahan
John J. Eagan, *Weehawken*
James A. Hamill, *Jersey City*

William J. Browning, *Camden* Isaac Bacharach, *Atlantic City* Thomas J. Scully, *South Amboy* Elijah C. Hutchinson, *Trenton*
John H. Capstick, *Montville* William F. Birch, *Dover* John R. Ramsey, *Hackensack* Dow H. Drukker, *Passaic* Edward W. Gray,
Newark Richard Wayne Parker, *Newark* Frederick R. Lehlbach, *Newark* John J. Eagan, *Weehawken* James A. Hamill, *Jersey City*

NJ Senators:

D-Walter Evans Edge (former Governor of NJ) (1919-1929). 66th Congress
R-Joseph Frelinghuysen (Raritan) (1917-1923) 65th and 66th Congress
R-David Baird (Camden) March 2, 1918) 1918-1919 65th Congress. He replaced William Hughes (pro-suffrage)
DIED Jan. 30, 1918 65th Congress

Document 4: PRESIDENT URGES SENATORS TO ACT ON SUFFRAGE PLAN Another determined effort is to be made to get the Senate to act favorably on the woman's suffrage amendment. It developed today that in addition to Senator SHIELDS, President Wilson has written letters to other Senators asking them to reverse their position and to vote to submit the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the people.

According to information at the Capitol, the President has written to Senator DAVID BAIRD, of his home State, New Jersey, asking that he support the amendment. It is understood to be the position of the administration that, in as much as Senator William Hughes, whose death caused the vacancy to which Senator BAIRD was named, was an enthusiastic advocate of suffrage, the incumbent Senator should support it.

Other Southern senators besides Senator Shields were reported to have been urged by the President to support suffrage when the Senate returns and gets down to business. (August 8, 1918, Congressional Record, P.9212)

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1918-pt9-v56/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1918-pt9-v56-21-1.pdf>

Document 5: Carrie Catt Chapman Address to the U.S. Congress (1917)

<https://newyorkessays.com/essay-carrie-chapman-catt-address-to-congress-on-womens-suffrage/>

Document 6: From Gilder Lehrman: Carrie Catt Chapman support for New York vote on suffrage (Nov. 6, 1917)

<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-now/essays/modern-women-persuading-modern-men-nineteenth-amendment-and-movement-woman>

Catt and her lieutenants moved swiftly and decisively in Washington after the New York referendum. The House of Representatives passed the Nineteenth Amendment, endorsed by President Wilson as a "war measure," on January 10, 1918, coincidentally the same day the House of Lords gave final passage to woman suffrage in Britain. After the Senate fell just two votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority on October 1, strong campaigns by suffragists replaced anti-suffragists David Baird (R-NJ), who did not run for reelection, and John W. Weeks (R-MA) with pro-suffrage Senators Walter Edge (D-NJ) and David I. Walsh (D-MA) in the 1918 election, paving the way for the submission of the amendment to the states on June 4, 1919. The ratification by a one-vote majority in the Tennessee legislature, on August 18, 1920, brought the Nineteenth Amendment into effect.

Document 7: Excerpt from a controversial letter from Carrie Catt Chapman (National American Woman Suffrage Association) (Bold font is for emphasis)

In January 1918, for instance, Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the country's largest suffrage organization, wrote a letter to House Judiciary Committee Chairman [Edwin Yates Webb](#) of North Carolina, who opposed women's voting rights.

"If the South is really in earnest in its desire to maintain white supremacy," Catt wrote, "its surest tactics is to indorse the Federal Suffrage Amendment." She continued, "If you want white supremacy, why not have it constitutionally, honorably? The Federal Amendment offers the way."

<https://history.house.gov/Blog/2019/May/5-21-Suffrage/>

<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/webb-carrie-catt>

Document 8: Letter to Senator David Baird (R-Camden) from Mrs. Carroll P. Bassett, of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

Mrs. Bassett Sends Letter Opposing Suffrage Amendment. Protesting against the passage of the proposed woman suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution,

Mrs. Carroll P. Bassett, of Summit, president of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has sent a letter to United States Senator David Baird. The amendment to which Mrs. Bassett takes exception has already passed the House and is now in committee in the Senate.

Mrs. Bassett's letter follows; "As a loyal American whose "only thought at this time must be to win the war, can you view with unconcern the facts stated in the enclosed leaflet and the menace they plainly show? or the announcement in the *New York Sun* of July 7 of the proposed organization by the Socialists of the negro population of the country?"

"With the Russian situation now demanding the attention "of the President and of Congress have not these figures grave significance? "I beg to call your attention to the following facts: "The Bolshevik! of Russia and the corresponding element in Finland are advocates of woman suffrage. The outright Socialists in the" United States are Bolsheviks in character and standards. They oppose the war; they oppose the draft, and their claim is that 'Socialism and Woman "Suffrage go hand in hand.' (See N.Y. Socialist platform.)

"An analysis of the vote in the House of Representatives on the woman suffrage amendment and the declaration.' of war, respectively, is worthy of note, "Of the fifty votes cast against the declaration of war In the House of Representatives, thirty-eight were cast for woman "suffrage, or seventy-six per cent. ' "Of the 188 votes cast against woman suffrage in the. House of Representatives, 128 were cast for war, or ninety per cent, "The Secretary of War believes that in a short time there will be several millions of voting Americans in France, Do you think that any great domestic question that properly can wait, should" be decided in-the absence of the voice and Influence of these voters? Is It not the duty of all thoughtful Americans, especially those in high position, to defer consideration of this" radical change until the war is won and the people in a state of mind to view such questions in their proper proportion?

"Furthermore, when a conservative estimate places the cost of the woman vote in this country at \$25,000,000 each year—an amount sufficient to provide 500,000,000 rounds of ammuniton for our men—Is it not criminal to needlessly divert this vast sum from war purposes?

"I earnestly Implore you to vote to leave this question of suffrage where it justly belongs—in the hands of the individual States."

Biographical profiles of New Jersey's representatives in the 66th Congress which passed the proposed 19th Amendment on Woman Suffrage

Consider reading the profiles and discuss how each man voted or hold a model congress and debate in the House and Senate.



Senator Frelinghuysen, Joseph – R

FRELINGHUYSEN, Joseph Sherman, (cousin of Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, Peter Hood Ballantine Frelinghuysen, Jr., and Rodney P. Frelinghuysen, great grandson of Frederick Frelinghuysen [1753-1804], great-nephew of Theodore Frelinghuysen), a Senator from New Jersey; born in Raritan, Somerset County, N.J., March 12, 1869; attended the public schools; interested in insurance companies; served in the Spanish American War in 1898 as second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and ordnance officer; member, State senate 1906-1912, serving as president 1909-1910; Acting Governor of New Jersey ad interim; president of the State board of agriculture 1912-1925; president of the State board of education 1915-1919; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate and served from March 4, 1917, to March

3, 1923; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1922; chairman, Committee on Coast Defenses (Sixty-sixth Congress); resumed his insurance business until his death in Tucson, Ariz., February 8, 1948; interment in St. Bernard's Cemetery, Bernardsville, N.J.



Senator BAIRD, David (appointed)

Baird was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the [United States Senate](#) in 1910, but he was appointed on February 23, 1918 to the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of [William Hughes](#). He was subsequently elected as a [Republican](#) on November 5, 1918 and until March 3, 1919, when he did not run for reelection. He resumed his former business pursuits in Camden, where he died and was interred in [Harleigh Cemetery](#). Baird was the father of [David Baird Jr.](#), also a Senator from New Jersey. Senator Baird missed 60% of the votes in the 66th Congress (101 out of 169), which is double the average for members of this Congress.



Senator EDGE, Walter Evans - D

EDGE, Walter Evans, a Senator from New Jersey; born in Philadelphia, Pa., November 20, 1873; moved with his parents to Pleasantville, N.J., in 1877; attended the public schools; employed in a printing office in Atlantic City, N.J., 1890-1894; newspaper owner and publisher; journal clerk of the State senate 1897-1899; during the Spanish-American War served as a second lieutenant; secretary of the State senate 1901-1904; member, State house of assembly 1910; member, State senate 1911-1916, serving as president in 1915; **Governor of New Jersey 1917-1919, when he resigned, having been elected United States Senator; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1918;** reelected in 1924 and served from March 4, 1919, until his resignation on November 21, 1929, to accept a diplomatic post; chairman, Committee on Coast and Insular Survey (Sixty-sixth Congress), Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals (Sixty-seventh through Seventy-first Congresses), Committee on Post Office and Post Roads (Sixty-eighth Congress); appointed Ambassador to France by President Herbert Hoover 1929-1933;

again Governor of New Jersey 1944-1947; died in New York City, October 29, 1956; interment in Northwood Cemetery, Downingtown, Pa.

The following are New Jersey's representatives in the 66th Congress



Ackerman, Ernest Robinson - D

ACKERMAN, Ernest Robinson, a Representative from New Jersey; born in New York City, N.Y., June 17, 1863; moved with his parents to Plainfield, N.J., very shortly thereafter; educated at public and private schools and was graduated from the Plainfield High School in 1880; engaged in cement manufacturing; member of the common council of **Plainfield, N.J.**, in 1891 and 1892; member of the State senate 1905-1911, serving as president in 1911; delegate to the Republican National Conventions at Chicago in 1908 and in 1916; member of the board of trustees of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N.J., 1916-1920; Federal food administrator for Union County during the First World War; member of the State board of education 1918-1920; member of the New Jersey Geological Survey and associate of the American Society of Civil Engineers; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-sixth and to the six succeeding Congresses and served from March 4, 1919, until his death in Plainfield, N.J., October 18, 1931; interment in the family plot, Hillside Cemetery



BACHARACH, Isaac - R

BACHARACH, Isaac, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Philadelphia, Pa., January 5, 1870; moved to New Jersey in 1881 with his parents, who settled in **Atlantic City**; attended the public schools; entered the real-estate business and also became interested in the lumber business and in banking; member of the council of Atlantic City, N.J., 1905-1910; member of the State house of assembly in 1911; delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1920; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-fourth and to the ten succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1915-January 3, 1937); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1936 to the Seventy-fifth Congress; engaged in the real-estate and insurance business in Atlantic City, N.J., until his death there on September 5, 1956; interment in Mount Sinai Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pa.



BIRCH, William Fred - R

BIRCH, William Fred, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Newark, N.J., August 30, 1870; moved with his parents to Phillipsburg, N.J., in 1872 and to **Dover, Morris County**, N.J., in 1874; attended the public schools and was graduated from the New Jersey State Model School at Trenton and from Coleman's Business College at Newark in 1887; engaged in the manufacture of boilers and smokestacks at Dover; member of the Dover Common Council for several years; city recorder 1904-1909; member of the State house of assembly 1910-1912; elected as a

Republican to the Sixty-fifth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John H. Capstick and served from November 5, 1918, to March 3, 1919; was not a candidate for re-nomination in 1918; resumed his former manufacturing pursuits; also engaged in the fire-insurance and automobile businesses and was interested in banking; retired from business activities in 1941; died in Glen Ridge, N.J., January 25, 1946; interment in Orchard Street Cemetery, Dover, N.J.



BROWNING, William John - R

BROWNING, William John, a Representative from New Jersey; born in **Camden, N.J.**, April 11, 1850; attended the Friends' School; at an early age engaged in the wholesale dry goods business in Camden; member of the Camden Board of Education and of the city council; appointed postmaster of Camden on June 18, 1889, and served until June 1, 1894, when his successor was appointed; Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States 1895-1911; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-second Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Henry C. Loudenslager; reelected to the Sixty-third and to the three succeeding Congresses and served from November 7, 1911, until his death in the Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., March 24, 1920; interment in Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, N.J.



CAPSTICK, John Henry - R

CAPSTICK, John Henry, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Lawrence, Mass., September 2, 1856; attended the public schools of Lawrence; moved with his parents to Providence, R.I., in 1868; attended a business college; member of the Rhode Island Militia in 1870 and 1871; moved to **Montville, N.J.**, in 1883, and engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics the same year; member of the State sewerage commission 1905-1908; president of

the State board of health 1908-1914; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses and served from March 4, 1915, until his death in Montville, Morris County, N.J., March 17, 1918; interment in Greenwood Cemetery, Boonton, N.J.



DRUKKER, Dow Henry

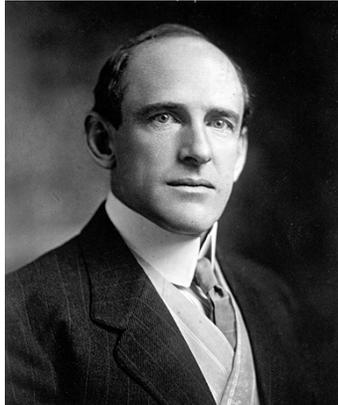
DRUKKER, Dow Henry, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Sneek, Holland, February 7, 1872; immigrated to the United States with his parents, who settled in Grand Rapids, Mich., the same year; attended the public schools of Grand Rapids, Mich.; moved to New Jersey in 1897 and settled in Passaic; businessman and banker; member of the Passaic County Board of Chosen Freeholders 1906-1913, serving as director 1908-1912; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-third Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Robert Gunn Bremner; reelected to the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses and served from April 7, 1914, to March 3, 1919; was not a candidate for re-nomination in 1918; publisher of the Herald-News of **Passaic-Clifton** 1916-1963; became president of the Union Building and Investment Co., in 1909; knighted as an Officer of the Order of Orange-Nassau by Queen Juliana for services rendered in the great flood of 1953; resided in Clifton, N.J., and Lake Wales, Fla., until his death in Lake Wales January 11, 1963; interment in Cedar Lawn Cemetery, Paterson, N.J.



EAGAN, John Joseph - D

EAGAN, John Joseph, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Hoboken, N.J., January 22, 1872; was graduated from public, parochial, and private schools; in 1894 founded and was president of the Eagan Schools of Business in

Hoboken, Union Hill, and Hackensack, N.J., and Brooklyn, N.Y.; first vice president of the Merchants & Manufacturers' Trust Co.; collector of taxes of Union, N.J., 1896-1899; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-third and to the three succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1913-March 3, 1921); delegate to the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco in 1920; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; again elected to the Sixty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1925); unsuccessful candidate for re-nomination in 1924; resumed his former business pursuits; member and president of the Board of Education, **Weehawken, N.J.**, 1932-1940; appointed collector of taxes and custodian of school moneys of Weehawken in 1940; collector of taxes 1941-1955; resided in Weehawken, N.J., until his death in Paramus, N.J., June 13, 1956; interment in Rosendale Cemetery, Tillson, N.Y.



GRAY, Edward Winthrop - R

GRAY, Edward Winthrop, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Jersey City, N.J., August 18, 1870; attended the public schools; newspaper reporter in New York City 1894-1896; owner and publisher of the Summit (N.J.) Herald in 1897 and 1898; city editor and managing editor of the **Newark Daily Advertiser** 1898-1902; president and general manager of the Newark Daily Advertising Publishing Co. 1902-1904; secretary to Gov. Edward C. Stokes 1904-1907; appointed by Governor Murphy a commissioner to investigate tenement-house conditions in 1902; member of the board of tenement-house supervision 1900-1908; secretary of the Republican State committee 1908-1913; organized the Commercial Casualty Insurance Co., Newark, N.J., in 1909; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1915-March 3, 1919); unsuccessful candidate for election in 1918 to the United States Senate; unsuccessful candidate for nomination for Representative in 1924 and for Senator in 1928; writer, publisher, and lecturer; died in Newark, N.J., June 10, 1942; interment in Mount Pleasant Cemetery.



HAMILL, James Alphonsus - D

HAMILL, James Alphonsus, a Representative from New Jersey; born in **Jersey City, N.J.**, March 30, 1877; attended St. Bridget's Academy; was graduated from St. Peter's College, Jersey City, N.J., in 1897 and from the New

York Law School in 1899; was admitted to the bar in 1900 and commenced practice in Jersey City, N.J.; member of the State house of assembly 1902-1905; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1908; elected as a Democrat to the Sixtieth and to the six succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1907-March 3, 1921); chairman, Committee on Elections No. 2 (Sixty-second through Sixty-fifth Congresses), Committee on Reform in the Civil Service (Sixty-fourth Congress); was not a candidate for renomination in 1920; resumed the practice of law in New Jersey and New York; represented the Ukrainian people of the United States at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919; decorated Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor for work in French literature; corporation counsel of Jersey City 1932-1941; died in Jersey City, December 15, 1941; interment in Holy Name Cemetery.



HUTCHINSON, Elijah Cubberley - R

HUTCHINSON, Elijah Cubberley, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Windsor, Mercer County, N.J., August 7, 1855; attended the public schools and Riders Business College, Trenton, N.J.; became a merchant miller in **Hamilton Township**; also interested in banking and in the manufacture of fertilizer; served as township clerk for three years; member of the State house of assembly in 1895 and 1896; served in the State senate 1899-1904 and was president of that body in 1903; State road commissioner 1905-1908; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-fourth and to the three succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1915-March 3, 1923); unsuccessful for reelection in 1922 to the Sixty-eighth Congress; resided in Trenton, N.J., until his death there June 25, 1932; interment in Greenwood Cemetery.



LEHLBACH, Frederick Reimold -R

LEHLBACH, Frederick Reimold, (nephew of Herman Lehlbach), a Representative from New Jersey; born in New York City January 31, 1876; moved with his parents to **Newark, N.J.**, in 1884; attended the public schools; was graduated from Yale University in 1897; attended the New York Law School; was admitted to the bar in February

1899 and commenced practice in Newark, N.J.; member of the Newark Board of Education 1900-1903; member of the State house of assembly 1903-1905; clerk of the State board of equalization of taxes from April 3, 1905, until his resignation on April 14, 1908; appointed assistant prosecutor of Essex County on April 15, 1908, and served until April 6, 1913, when he resigned to resume the practice of law; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-fourth and to the ten succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1915-January 3, 1937); chairman, Committee on Reform in the Civil Service (Sixty-sixth through Sixty-eighth Congresses), Committee on Civil Service (Sixty-ninth through Seventy-first Congresses); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1936 to the Seventy-fifth Congress; continued the practice of law in Washington, D.C., until his death there on August 4, 1937; interment in Fairmount Cemetery, Newark, N.J.



McGLENNON, Cornelius Augustine - D

McGLENNON, Cornelius Augustine, a Representative from New Jersey; born in East Newark, N.J., December 10, 1878; attended Holy Cross School, Harrison, N.J., and St. Francis Xavier's High School in New York City; was graduated from Seton Hall College, South Orange, N.J., in 1899; public and high school principal 1901-1926; studied law at the New Jersey Law School, Newark, N.J.; was admitted to the bar in 1916 and commenced practice in **East Newark, N.J.**; member of the State senate in 1917 and 1918, serving as Democratic floor leader in 1918; mayor of East Newark 1907-1919; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1919-March 3, 1921); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; resumed the practice of his profession in East Newark, N.J.; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1920; appointed judge of the court of errors and appeals in 1924 and served until his death; also supervising principal at Harrison, N.J., 1926-1931; died in Newark, N.J., June 13, 1931; interment in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery, East Orange, N.J.



MINAHAN, Daniel Francis – D

MINAHAN, Daniel Francis, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Springfield, Ohio, August 8, 1877; attended Stevens Institute Preparatory School and Seton Hall College, South Orange, N.J.; superintendent of work for his father, who was a contractor; **mayor of Orange, N.J.**, from May 1914 until August 1919, when he resigned; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1919-March 3, 1921); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; again elected to the Sixty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1925); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1924 to the Sixty-ninth Congress and for election in 1930 to the Seventy-second Congress; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1928; engaged in land development and resided in East Orange, N.J., until his death on April 29, 1947; interment in St. John's Cemetery, Orange, N.J.



PARKER, Richard Wayne - R

PARKER, Richard Wayne, (grandson of James Parker), a Representative from New Jersey; born in **Morristown**,

Morris County, N.J., August 6, 1848; was graduated from Princeton College in 1867 and from the law school of Columbia College in 1869; was admitted to the bar of New Jersey in 1870 and commenced practice in Newark; member of the State house of assembly in 1885 and 1886; unsuccessful Republican candidate for election to the Fifty-third Congress; elected as a Republican to the Fifty-fourth and to the seven succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1895-March 3, 1911); chairman, Committee on the Judiciary (Sixty-first Congress); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1910 to the Sixty-second Congress; resumed the practice of law in Newark, N.J.; elected to the Sixty-third Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Walter I. McCoy; reelected to the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses and served from December 1, 1914, to March 3, 1919; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1918 to the Sixty-sixth Congress; delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1916; elected to the Sixty-seventh Congress (March 4, 1921-March 3, 1923); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1922 to the Sixty-eighth Congress; died in Paris, France, on November 28, 1923; interment in St. Peter's Churchyard, Perth Amboy, N.J.



RADCLIFFE, Amos Henry – R

RADCLIFFE, Amos Henry, a Representative from New Jersey; born in **Paterson, N.J.**, January 16, 1870; attended the public schools of Paterson; was graduated from the New York Trade School; blacksmith and ornamental and structural iron worker; sergeant in the National Guard of New Jersey 1888-1893; in 1896 became associated with his father's firm and in 1907 was made secretary of James Radcliffe & Sons Co., a structural iron manufacturing company; member of the State house of assembly 1907-1912; delegate to the Republican State conventions in 1910, 1911, and 1912; sheriff of Passaic County 1912-1915; fish and game commissioner 1914-1919; mayor of Paterson 1916-1919; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Congresses (March 4, 1919-March 3, 1923); was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1922 to the Sixty-eighth Congress; resumed active interests in Radcliffe & Sons Company and was treasurer at the time of his death; founder and a former president of the Franklin Trust Company, of Paterson, and served as chairman of the board; in 1925 became a member of the Board of Standards and Appeals, Paterson, N.J.; died in Baleville, N.J., on December 29, 1950; interment in Cedar Lawn Cemetery, Paterson,



RAMSEY, John Rathbone - R

RAMSEY, John Rathbone, a Representative from New Jersey; born in **Wyckoff, Bergen County, N.J.**, April 25, 1862; attended the public schools and a private school in Parkersburg, W. Va., where he lived from 1872 to 1879; studied law in Hackensack, N.J.; was admitted to the bar in 1883 and commenced practice in Hackensack, N.J.; county clerk of Bergen County 1895-1910; delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1908; president of the Hackensack Brick Co. 1909-1933; director of several banks; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-fifth and Sixty-sixth Congresses (March 4, 1917-March 3, 1921); was an unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1920; resumed the manufacture of brick; died in Hackensack, N.J., April 10, 1933; interment in Hackensack Cemetery.



SCULLY, Thomas J. - D

SCULLY, Thomas Joseph, a Representative from New Jersey; born in South Amboy, **Middlesex County, N.J.**, September 19, 1868; attended the public schools, and Seton Hall College, South Orange, N.J.; engaged in the towing and transportation business; member of the board of education 1893-1895; mayor of South Amboy, N.J., in 1909 and 1910; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-second and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1911-March 3, 1921); delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1912; again mayor of South Amboy, from 1921 until his death in that city December 14, 1921; interment in St. Mary's Cemetery.



PATTERSON, Francis Ford, Jr. R

PATTERSON, Francis Ford, Jr., a Representative from New Jersey; born in Newark, N.J., July 30, 1867; moved with his parents to Woodbury, N.J., in 1874; attended the public schools; employed in a newspaper office at the age of thirteen; moved to **Camden, N.J.**, in 1882; connected with the Camden Courier 1883-1890; New Jersey editor of the Philadelphia Record 1890-1894; owner and publisher of the Camden Post-Telegram 1894-1923; president of the West Jersey Trust Co. 1916-1925; director of the West Jersey Title Co. 1920-1925; member of the State house of assembly in 1900; county clerk of Camden County 1900-1920; delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1920; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William J. Browning; reelected to the Sixty-seventh, Sixty-eighth, and Sixty-ninth Congresses and served from November 2, 1920, to March 3, 1927; unsuccessful candidate for re-nomination in 1926; engaged in banking, serving as president of the West Jersey Parkside Trust Co., of Camden, N.J., until his death in Merchantville, N.J., on November 30, 1935; interment in Colestown Cemetery, Cherry Hill, N.J.

<https://history.house.gov/Blog/2019/May/5-21-Suffrage/> House Tally Vote May 19, 1919 (3rd image)

https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/People/Women/Nineteenth_Amendment_Vertical_Timeline.htm

Wilson delivered his short speech for suffrage, then returned to the White House to wait. The following day, on October 1, 1918, the Senate took up the suffrage bill. A clerk called the roll: Mr. Ashurst, aye. **Mr. Baird, no.** And on and on it went. When Senator Wolcott of Delaware cast the final vote—nay—the amendment fell one vote short of passage. Five weeks later, the president lost his congressional majorities in the 1918 midterm election, in part because of the party's failure to approve the suffrage amendment.

Document 9:

The Vote in Detail (Senate)

The roll call on the amendment follows: FOR ADOPTION - 36.

Republicans – 36 Capper, Cummins, Curtis, **Edge**, Elkins, Fall, Fernald, France, **Frelinghuysen**, Gronna, Hale, Harding, Johnson, (Cal.) Jones, (Wash.) Kellogg, Kenyon, Kayes, La Follette, Lenroot, McCormick, McCumber, McNaty, Nelson, New, Newberry, Norris, Page, Phipps, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Warren, Watson.

Democrats – 20 Ashurst, Chamberlain, Culberson, Harris, Henderson, Jones, (N. M.) Kenrick, Kirby, McKellar, Myers, Nugent, Phelan, Pittman, Ransdell, Shepard, Smith, (Ariz.) Stanley, Thomas, Walsh, (Mass.) Walsh, (Mon.)

AGAINST ADOPTION - 25

Republicans – 8 Borah, Brandegee, Dillingham, Knox, Lodge, McLean, Moses, Wadsworth.

Democrats – 17 Bankhead, Beckham, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Harrison, Hitchcock, Overman, Reed, Simmons, Smith, (Md.) Smith, (S. C.), Swanson, Trammell, Underwood, Williams, Wolcott.

Paired. Ball and King, for, with Shields, against; Calder and Townsend, for, with Penrose, against; Gerry and Johnson of South Dakota, for, with Martin, against; Gore and Colt, for, with Pomerone, against.

Absent and Not Paired. Owen, Robinson, and Smith of Georgia. The vote came after four hours of debate, during which Democratic Senators opposed to the amendment filibustered to prevent a roll call until their absent Senators could be protected by pairs. They gave up the effort finally as futile.

Changes Defeated.

Before the final vote was taken Senator Underwood of Alabama, called for a vote on his amendment to submit the suffrage amendment to Constitutional conventions of the various States, instead of to the Legislatures, for ratification. This was defeated by a vote of 45 against to 28 in favor.

Senator Gay of Louisiana offered an amendment proposing enforcement of the suffrage amendment by the States, instead of by the Federal Government. Senator Gay said that from a survey of the States he could predict that thirteen States would not ratify the amendment, enough to block it. His amendment was defeated, 62 to 19.

During debate, Senator Wadsworth of New York, who has been an uncompromising opponent of woman suffrage, explained his attitude as being actuated by the motive of preserving to the States the right to determine the question, each State for itself.

"No vote of mine cast upon this amendment would deprive any of the electors of my State of any privilege they now enjoy," said the Senator. "I feel so strongly that the people of the several States should be permitted to decide for themselves, that am frank to say that, if this amendment, instead of being drafted to extend woman suffrage all over the country, were drafted to forbid the extension of the franchise to women in the States, I would vote against it. Even though one might be opposed on general principles to the extension of the franchise to women, one cannot logically object to the people of a State settling that question for themselves.

"It seems to me that it is incumbent upon a Senator in considering his attitude on this matter to regard the nation as a whole and to give consideration to the wishes of the people of the various States which have expressed themselves from time to time."

Overriding State Votes

Senator Wadsworth spoke of the results in **Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Wisconsin**, and other States where woman suffrage was defeated at the polls.

"Now the question is," he resumed, "whether the people of these States are competent to settle the question for themselves. There is no tremendous emergency facing the country, no revolution or rebellion threatened, which would seem to make it necessary to impose on the people of these States a thing they have said as free citizens they do not require or desire. Is it contrary to the spirit of American institutions that they shall be left free to decide these things for themselves?"

"My contention has been, with respect to an amendment to the Constitution, that, if it be placed there, it should command the reverence and devotion of all the people of the country. The discussion here yesterday makes it perfectly apparent that, in part at least, in a certain section of this country, this proposed amendment will be a dead letter. No pretense is made that it will be lived up to in spirit as well as in letter. That same attitude has been manifest in the discussion of the last amendment to the Constitution, ratified last Winter. Today there are thousands of people all over the United States who are attempting to contrive ways by which the prohibition amendment can be evaded. This attitude shows an utter lack of appreciation of the Constitution as a sacred instrument, a lack of realization of the spirit of self-government."

Senator Smith of South Carolina opposed giving women the right to vote, he said, because to allow it would induce "sectional anarchy."

Signing of the Resolution

Immediately after its passage by the Senate the Suffrage Amendment was signed. In appreciation of the fifty-year campaign of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the guests were limited to representatives of that association and members of Congress, and the gold pen used was presented to the national association. The women chosen to represent the national association were Mrs. Wood Park of Massachusetts, who for two years has been in charge of the association's Congressional work; Mrs. Helen Gardener of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Ida Husted Harper of New York, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio, Miss Mary G. Hay, and Miss Marjorie Shuler of New York.

Besides Speaker Gillett, who signed the bill, the members of the House present were Frank W. Mondell, majority leader; Champ Clark, minority leader and ex-Speaker, under whom the amendment first passed the House, and John E. Raker, Chairman of the committee which won the suffrage victory in the House last year.

The Senators present at the signing of the bill for the Senate were Albert B. Cummins, President Pro Tempore, who signed the measure; James E. Watson, Chairman of the Suffrage Committee; Charles Curtis, Republican whip; A. A. Jones, Chairman of the Suffrage Committee in the last Congress; Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, Morris Sheppard, Joseph E. Ransdell, and Reed Smoot.

To celebrate the passage of the amendment the national association will give a reception next Tuesday evening at its Washington headquarters to the members of the House and Senate who voted for the resolution and to their wives. These will be the only guests.

Miss Paul, Chairman of the National Woman's Party, issued a statement, in which she said: "There is no doubt of ratification by the States. We enter upon the campaign for special sessions of Legislatures to accomplish this ratification before 1920 in the full assurance that we shall win."

"The last stage of the fight is to obtain ratification of the amendment so women may vote in the Presidential election in 1920," said Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the association. "This we are confident will be achieved. The friends of woman suffrage in both parties have carried out their word. In the result we can turn our backs upon the end of a long and arduous struggle, needlessly darkened and embittered by the stubbornness of a few at the expense of the many. 'Eyes front', is the watchword as we turn upon the struggle for ratification by the States."

Prospects of Ratification

Suffrage leaders say quick ratification is assured in twenty-eight States in which women now have full or Presidential suffrage. These States are Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Arizona, Oregon, Montana, New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, Rhode Island, North Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Nevada, and Texas.

Legislatures now in session are: Illinois, will adjourn late in June; Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, adjourn end of June or first of July; Wisconsin, Florida, in session until June 1, cannot ratify, because an election must intervene between submission of amendment and ratification.

Legislatures to meet comparatively soon, or with prospects of meeting soon, are: Michigan and Texas, extra sessions called in June; Georgia, to meet this month; Alabama, to meet in July; Louisiana, possibility of extra session before September; New Jersey, movement for extra session soon; Maine, special session in October; Iowa, special session in January; Kentucky, South Carolina, and Mississippi, meet in January; Virginia, meets in February; Maryland, meets during 1920; Ohio, meets in June.

Today's victory for suffrage ends a fight that really dates from the American Revolution. Women voted under several of the Colonial Governments. During the Revolution women demanded to be included in the Government. Abigail Adams wrote her husband, John Adams, "If women are not represented in this new republic there will be another revolution." From the time of the Revolution women agitated for suffrage by means of meetings and petitions. In 1848 a woman's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., arranged by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton as the first big suffrage demonstration. From 1848 to the civil war efforts were made to have State laws altered to include women, and Susan B. Anthony became leader of the movement.

For five years after the civil war suffragists tried to secure interpretation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which would permit them to vote. In 1872 Miss Anthony made a test vote at the polls, was arrested, and refused to pay her fine, but was never jailed. **In 1875 Miss Anthony drafted the proposed Federal amendment, the same one that was voted on today. In 1878 the amendment was introduced in the Senate by Senator Sargent of California. It has been voted on in the Senate five times, including today. In 1878 the vote was 16 yeas to 34 nays; in 1914 it failed by 11 votes, in 1918 it failed by two votes, and on Feb. 10, 1919, it failed by one vote. It has been voted on three times in the House. It failed there in 1915 by 78 votes. In 1918 it passed the House with one vote to spare. On May 21, 1919, it passed the House with 14 votes more than the necessary two-thirds.**

Foreign countries or divisions of countries in which women have suffrage are: Isle of Man, granted 1881; New Zealand, 1893; Australia, 1902; Finland, 1906; Norway, 1907; Iceland, 1913; Denmark, 1915; Russia, 1917; Canada, Austria, England, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Scotland, and Wales, 1918; Holland and Sweden, 1919.

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The New York Times.

Sunday, February 15, 1920

Booms Mrs. Catt for Presidency Minnesota Delegate's Suggestion Rouses Furor in Suffrage Convention Praise Hays and Cummings League Takes the Place of Old Association That Won the Fight

CHICAGO, Feb. 14 - The National American Woman's Suffrage Association today came to the defense of Will Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who has been attacked by anti-suffragists for aid rendered to the suffrage cause, and congratulated the Republican Party "for having a Chairman who is astute enough to recognize the certain trend of public affairs and to lead his party in step with the inevitable march of human progress."

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 190 to 22, which was later made unanimous.

Democratic women then introduced a resolution thanking Homer Cummings, Democratic National Chairman, for help he rendered their cause, and it, too, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegates at the ratification banquet tonight were brought to their feet with a cheer when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was proposed for President by Mrs. Peter Olsen of Minnesota. Mrs. Catt waved the suggestion aside with a smile.

Commenting on the fact that the convention program contained the advertisements of two candidates for President, Mrs. Olsen said:

"Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt for President. That is what I would put on the program Others are starting booms. Why can't we? I say this in all seriousness. It is time we did honor to our living leaders."

Mrs. Olsen also was applauded when she predicted: "The League of Women Voters will see to it that the saloon is out to stay out."

Elected permanent convention Chairman of the Congress of the League of Woman Voters, Mrs. Catt today outlined the policies of the new organization and declared women should affiliate with the political parties.

Mrs. Catt's keynote address came at the conclusion of the first session of the new league, at which the work of organization was begun.

Today's meetings were concluded with a ratification celebration banquet tonight at which prominent suffrage workers addressed the delegates.

<https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/2010/9/15/house-section/article/H6726-1>