

Reclaiming Lost Ground

The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in New Jersey

by
Neale McGoldrick
& Margaret Crocco



The Dayton Daily News, 1982

LOOK GUYS... WHY DON'T WE JUST SAY THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED
EQUAL... AND LET THE LITTLE LADIES LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES?

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by

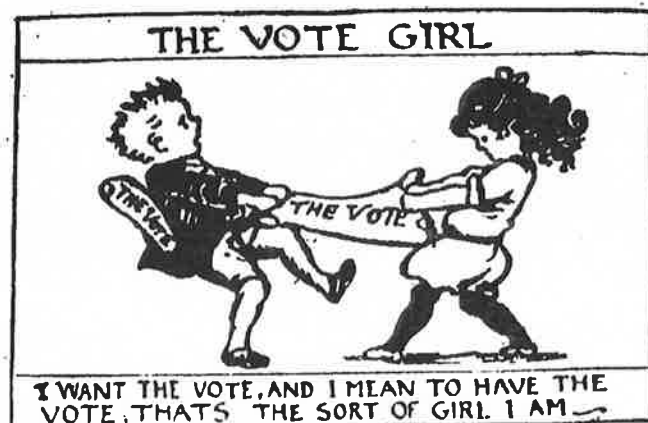
Neale McGoldrick
& Margaret Crocco

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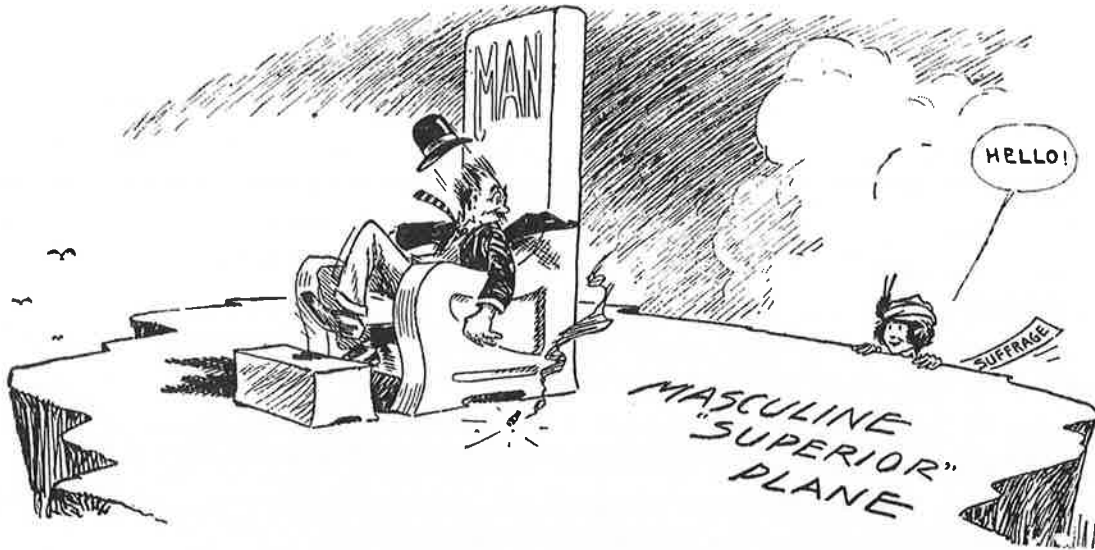
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Chicago Daily News, 1920

The impetus for this book came from the Women's Project of New Jersey, which published *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*, a reference work on the history of women in New Jersey. Taking just one of the many topics suggested by that book, we have attempted to show the relationship between the movements for woman suffrage in New Jersey and on the national level.

The story begins in 1776 when women of property were accepted as voters under New Jersey's original constitution. Later in the nineteenth century, women of New Jersey became involved with the same questions, stumbled over the same conflicts, and faced the same hurdles as women elsewhere. Some of the most prominent women in the national movement lived in New Jersey at various times. Lucy Stone lived in Orange, Elizabeth Cady Stanton lived in Tenafly, and Alice Paul was born in Moorestown. Ironically, however, these national figures did not dominate the local organizations such as the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association. Instead, readers will find new names: Lillian Feickert, Alison Hopkins, Mary Philbrook and others throughout the state, from Elizabeth to Vineland, from Morristown to Atlantic City.

We anticipate the book will raise more questions than it will answer. The history of suffrage in both the state and the nation remains incomplete. Archival research, long neglected, leaves many gaps in the narrative. We hope that others will take the lead offered here and uncover more details of this fascinating story.

Neale McGoldrick and Margaret Crocco

Credits

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"Make Way!"

Life, 1912

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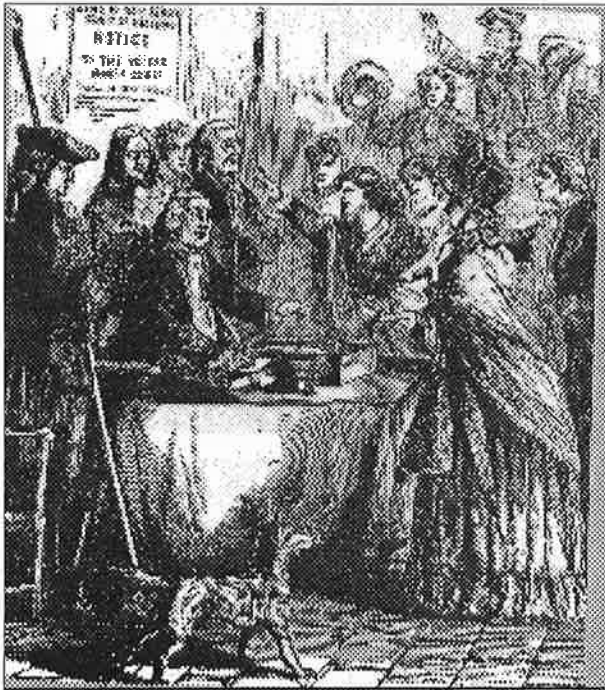
The Newark *Centinel of Freedom* ran perhaps the only poem on woman suffrage published in the eighteenth century on October 18, 1797. In the November 7, 1800 issue, the *Centinel* printed a letter written by a member of the state legislature which affirmed the fact that the extension of the vote to women was intentional:

The bill for a general election of members of Assembly has this day been passed... while the aforesaid bill was pending before the House of Assembly, a motion was made to amend the bill by adding that "it is the true intent and meaning of this act that the inspectors of elections ... shall not refuse the vote to any widow or unmarried woman of full age..." The House unanimously agreed that this section would be clearly within the meaning of the Constitution and as the Constitution is the guide of inspectors it would be entirely useless to insert it in the law. The motion was negatived. Our Constitution gives this right to maids or widows, black or white.

During the presidential election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, several New Jersey newspapers commented on the role of women:

Newton: *May their patriotic conduct at the late elections add an irresistible zest to their charms.*

Mendham: *May their republican conduct be pleasing and exemplary to their sisters of the Union.*



Women voting in New Jersey in the 18th century
From the Library of Congress, source unidentified

Hackensack: *Rights of women. May they equally participate with men in the rights of men.*

Liberty Corner: *The fair daughters of America particularly those who stepped forward to show their patriotism in the cause of republicanism in the late election.*

Westfield: *May they stand unrivaled in their love of freedom and justice.*

Bloomfield: *The fair of New Jersey who gave their suffrage to the Republican candidate, may they receive for their reward peace and happiness.*

But despite this praise, complaints surfaced about women voting: some argued that married women had voted, others that women voted twice. But the most vigorous complaint, often voiced in the suffrage debates more than a century later, was that women were not "independent" voters, being too easily swayed by the men in their lives.

William Griffith, a lawyer in favor of constitutional reform, offered this negative comment on women voting:

It is perfectly disgusting to witness the manner in which women are polled at our elections. Nothing can be a greater mockery of this invaluable and sacred right, than to suffer it to be exercised by persons, who do not even pretend to any judgement on the subject.

Records exist of both African Americans and women voting in Hunterdon County in 1802. This election was very close, and both sides offered petitions to the legislature with regard to fraud. Among the issues raised were the charges that married women, slaves, minors, and out-of-state residents had voted. The legislature refused to set aside the election, arguing that the only time a person's vote could be challenged was at the time of voting and that no individual had been challenged at the polls. The court did give special consideration to the question of one married woman who had voted, deciding ultimately that she was entitled. She had been deserted by her husband, had resumed use of her own name, and had paid property taxes.

While evidence suggests that women got support from both Federalists and Republicans, and voted for a variety of candidates, those candidates who lost tended to use female voters as scapegoats. Finally, in 1807, after a hotly contested election in Elizabeth about the location of Essex County Courthouse, women were disenfranchised in the name of "election reform." Evidence indicates that the election of 1807 involved a great deal of fraud, but not that either female or black voters were specifically implicated in the fraud. The voting took place over

A "Friend to the Ladies" on the loss of the vote...

Among the striking scenes which our election presents to the disinterested observer, none is more amusing than the sight of whole wagon loads of those "privileged fair," who for the lucky circumstance of being possessed of 50 pounds and of being disengaged at the age of 21 are entitled to vote.

What a blissful week has the preceding one been for them! How respectfully attentive each young Federalist and Republican has been to the fair elector! How ready to offer them his horses, his carriages, to drag them in triumph to the election ground! Oh sweet week! Why do you not last the whole year round!

However pleasing these reflections may be to the Ladies, it must be owned that the inconvenience attending the practice far outweighs the benefits derived from it. We may well be allowed to answer without being accused of detractions, that those votes are rarely, if ever unbiased. Timid and pliant, unskilled in politics, unacquainted with all the real merits of the several candidates, and almost always placed under the dependence or care of a father, uncle, or brother, they will of course be directed or persuaded by them; and the man who brings his two daughters, his mother, his aunt

to the elections really gives five votes instead of one....

When our Legislature passed the act by which the females are entitled to share in our elections they were not aware of its inconveniences, and acted from a principle of justice, deeming it right that every free person who pays a tax should have a vote. But from the moment when party spirit began to rear its hideous head, the female vote became its passive tools, and the ill consequences of their admission have increased yearly. This year their number arose to an alarming height; in some townships I am told they made up almost one fourth of the total number of votes, and we cannot blame the apprehensions of an old farmer who feared that the next election would be entirely left to the ladies.

Let not our fair conclude that I wish to see them deprived of their rights. Let them rather consider that female reserve and delicacy are incompatible with the duties of a free elector, that a female politician is often subject to ridicule and they will recognize in this writer a sincere

Friend to the Ladies.

Trenton True American

October 18, 1802

a three-day period and a considerable number may have voted twice. The results of the elections clearly seem to have been manipulated. Three times as many votes were cast in Newark for this election as had been cast the year before!

The law which restricted suffrage was introduced into the legislature by John Condict of Essex County, who had been nearly defeated by the votes of women in Elizabethtown in 1797. His proposal stated that: *from and after the passage of this act no person shall vote in any state or county election for officers in the government of the United States, or of this state, unless such person be a free white male citizen of this state.* (Note that since the 1776 Constitution did not specifically include women, the Constitution did not need to be amended in order to restrict the vote.) Thus in one sentence, women and blacks lost the vote, despite the fact that inconsistencies and irregularities were fixed features of voting in New Jersey elections at the time. Ironically, this same law also effectively eliminated property qualifications for white male voters who were twenty-one years of age.

Some historians have suggested that women were not concerned about losing the right to vote because they had not fought to gain suffrage in the first place. A more likely reason might be due to the restricted lives women led and their limited ability to influence politics. Women could not hold office and had no political organizations to assist them. By contrast, the black communities of Lawnside in Camden County and Gouldtown in Cumberland County vigorously opposed the restrictive suffrage legislation and continued their opposition for decades.

The *True American* commented on the legislative session which produced this law with the following lines published on November 30, 1807:

Election bill met better fate.

On every hand defended,

To check confusion through the State

The female's voting ended.

Despite the short-lived nature of black and female suffrage, the fact that women *had* voted gave inspiration to later suffragists who fought to restore those rights in New Jersey.

Seneca Falls: 1848

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness....

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no voice....

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object....

Resolutions:

Resolved, *That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, & therefore of no force or authority.*

Resolved, *That woman is man's equal — was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.*

Resolved, *that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to elective franchise.*

Resolved, *that the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerce.*

From the *Declaration of Sentiments*

Women's Rights in

After 1807, New Jersey simply fell in line with the rest of the states in denying the franchise to women. But the precedent remained, and in 1844, when the state revised its entire constitution, the words "white" and "male" were made part of the state constitution.

Every white male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of this State one year, and of the county in which he claims his vote five months, next before the election, shall be entitled to vote for all officers that now are, or hereafter may be elective of the people....

From the *1844 New Jersey Constitution*

In the period from 1807 until 1840, little public discussion of woman suffrage occurred although reports exist that some widows voted in Barnsboro in the election of 1824. During the period 1820 to 1840, many states broadened the franchise for men by eliminating property qualifications for white male voters.

Many reformers of the day saw slavery as the most serious evil in the United States. The abolitionist cause grew in numbers and intensity with each decade until the Civil War. Virtually all of the women who were involved in the early movement for female suffrage were abolitionists.

While attending an anti-slavery convention in London in 1840, two American female abolitionists had an experience which planted the first seeds of the women's movement. Women were not seated on the convention floor of the anti-slavery conference; they had to sit in the balcony. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and their husbands refused to remain at the convention. Thus, a number of American women began to see the need for a formal movement to improve women's rights as a result of their work to end slavery.

When these women met again in 1848, they planned the first major convention on women's rights to be held in Seneca Falls, New York. In all,

the Jacksonian Era

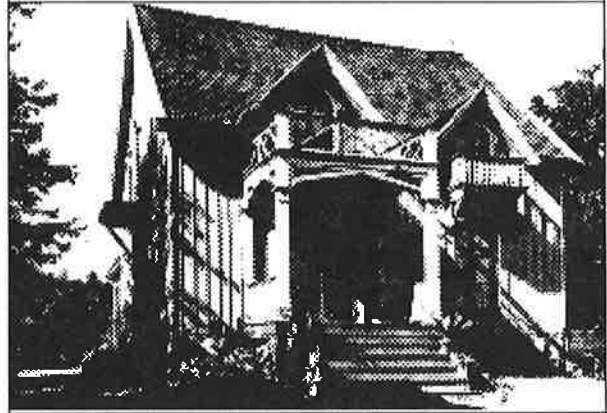
three hundred people, forty of them men, attended that first convention. Of all the resolutions presented in the *Declaration of Sentiments*, only the one for woman suffrage failed to pass unanimously. For the leaders of the convention, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, this marked the first major event in a lifelong struggle which would take seventy years. Only one woman who attended that first convention at Seneca Falls lived to see the suffrage amendment ratified in 1920!

Following the Seneca Falls convention, the movement for women's rights spread. During the 1850s a series of nationally advertised conventions were held in New York, Massachusetts and elsewhere. Lucy Stone and other proponents of women's rights traveled around the country speaking to civic groups. Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, lived in New Jersey during this period. The property they owned in Orange was in Lucy Stone's name. In 1858, she refused to pay taxes on the grounds of "no taxation without representation." In response, the tax collector came to the house and removed some of her possessions to be sold at auction to cover the taxes. Supportive neighbors bought the items and returned them to Stone.

Woman suffrage was only one of the issues that concerned these activists, and to many it was considered secondary to reform of laws on property, divorce, and the rights of citizenship. Most of these women were also active in the abolition movement, temperance, dress reform and other causes of the period. Dorothea Dix and Sarah and Angelina Grimké provide examples of other national reformers who lived and worked in New Jersey for part of their lives.

As the country came closer to war through the 1850s, reformers turned more of their attention to the slavery question. Suffrage took a back seat. Once the Civil War broke out, national attention was consumed by that conflict. Further discussion of the rights of blacks and women had to wait until the war came to an end. However, women who had worked hard for the rights of both slaves and women clearly anticipated that both groups would benefit from the post-war settlement.

No Taxation without Representation



Orange, N.J.
December 18, 1858

Mr. Mandeville, Tax Collector, Sir:

Enclosed I return my tax bill without paying it. My reason for not doing so is that women suffer taxation, and yet have no representation, which is not only unjust to one-half of the adult population, but is contrary to our theory of government. For years, some women have been paying their taxes under protest, but still taxes are imposed, and representation is not granted. The only course now left us is to refuse to pay the tax. We know well what the immediate result of this refusal must be.

But we believe that when the attention of men is called to the wide difference between their theory of government and its practices, in this particular, they cannot fail to see the mistake they now make, by imposing taxes on women, while they refuse to grant them the right of suffrage, and that the sense of justice which is in all good men, will lead them to correct it. Then shall we cheerfully pay our taxes — not till then.

Respectfully,

Lucy Stone

New Jersey Women and Dress Reform

Dress reform was a major issue for some women who found it difficult to lead active lives in the tight corsets and full skirts of the day. In the period just after the French Revolution, women in France had adopted a style of dress which required no corset, allowing women to move more freely. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the corsets were as tight as ever, severely limiting not only women's movements, but the functioning of their internal organs as well. The voluminous skirts also caused problems, making it more difficult for women to move about and requiring extensive care in cleaning and mending.



Several proponents of dress reform emerged at this time, but the best known was Amelia Bloomer, an advocate of temperance and women's rights who also published a newspaper called *The Lily*. The outfit she promoted was a loose-fitting tunic or a short dress with a comfortable, natural waist, which was worn over a pair of long Turkish-style pantaloons. Elizabeth Smith Miller, daughter of reformer Gerrit Smith, was the first to wear the new outfit, but the name came from Amelia Bloomer, who popularized it.

In New Jersey, Susan Pecker Fowler of Vineland championed the cause of dress reform along with woman suffrage. But dress reform was a difficult issue for many. Women were uncomfortable being ridiculed in public, and even male suffragists found dress reform hard to accept.

Henry Blackwell recorded his observations of these outfits on his visit to the home of Angelina Grimké and Theodore Dwight Weld in New Jersey:

June 13, 1853

Yesterday I spent very pleasantly with Mr. and Mrs. Weld and Miss Sarah Grimké (Aunt Sarah as they call her). They live at Belleville, New Jersey, some three and a half miles north of Newark on the Passaic River — a beautiful place shaded by trees and overlooking the wa-

ter. On going up to the house with my friend Dr. Dorrance we first met two ladies draped in the Bloomer costume which I have learned to like of late.

However, Henry Blackwell was a little less enthusiastic about the outfit when it came to his own wife, Lucy Stone. Having a wife *be* an advocate of new roles for women was one thing, but having her advertise the fact as she walked down the street was clearly a different matter.

February 7, 1856

Dearest Lucy,

What Anna says about the superiority of the short dress and your disinterestedness in giving it up for my sake gives me mingled pain and pleasure in the thought of your love which has prompted you to change it and pain that you should think it necessary to my happiness to do so. Dearest Lucy, I shall have to go on my knees to you to induce you to resume the short dress. If your judgement still decides that you had better wear it, I would infinitely rather you should do so. I am not so thin skinned as you imagine and am quite willing to help you wear it and indeed to help you carry out your own convictions in every way. I want you to feel and know that I aid you, not retard you. So dearest, I am desirous to meet you next Saturday night two weeks in the short dress and pants. I shall find nothing disagreeably masculine within the dress and so can easily overlook the externals.



A cartoon entitled "Woman's Emancipation"
Harper's Monthly, August, 1851

Susan Pecker Fowler

1823-1911

Susan Pecker Fowler, suffragist, tax protester, and dress reformer, was born on May 31, 1823, in Amesbury, Massachusetts. By her own account she suffered impaired health in childhood, "by the scourge of scarlet fever with maltreatment, hence ... had little vitality."

Although little is known about Fowler's formal training, her background was sufficient to permit her to become a teacher, merchant and farmer, though she found her energy depleted after each day's work. At age twenty-eight, after reading an account of short skirts and Turkish pants in a newspaper, Fowler fashioned a suit that gave her "the sense of a bird uncaged." She called the dress the "American costume," the term used by Harriet Austin and James Jackson in the *Laws of Life*, a health reform newspaper. She testified that the mobility thus gained made it possible to carry out her strenuous vocations. Her costume was similar to a mandarin coat, buttoned down the front, lightly tailored to the torso, and flared from the waist to about calf length. Beneath the coat she wore tapered trousers and sometimes a simple white blouse.

Fowler did not marry. She probably settled in Vineland shortly after it was founded by Charles K. Landis as a planned agricultural community. Early Vineland was akin to a pioneer town, welcoming settlers no matter what their ideas. The town had an active intellectual life including lectures by visiting speakers and many social gatherings. Fowler played an active role in the social and political life of the community, where she was a farmer of blueberries, secretary of the Grange, and acting secretary of the New Jersey Association of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress. When the local dress reform society sponsored an Anti-Fashion Convention in 1874, she served as vice-president.

Fowler was committed to equal rights for women: *Through all opposition the personal benefits of the reform [dress] have compensated; but had it been mainly sacrifice, the thought of working for the amelioration of women and the elevation of humanity would still have been the*

beacon-star guiding me on amid all discouragements.

Fowler worked both locally and nationally for woman suffrage. She and others circulated a petition for equal rights in 1867 and gathered 678 signatures in Vineland. The petition was presented to the Republican State Convention at Trenton demanding that they "organize a campaign for Impartial Suffrage, irregardless [sic] of Sex and Color." She and other determined Vineland women voted in the election of November 3, 1868.

By 1872 Fowler seemed to abandon hope for equality in existing political parties. She traveled widely and wrote an open letter from Florida urging citizens to join women of the North to form a new political party: *The intelligent women of the North will be ignored no longer. They are demanding the right of the ballot.... There are many widespread and rapidly growing parties outside the women suffragists. The working men, the Internationalist, the Temperance party, the Spiritualists and all the new educational forces are working toward a union.*

Like many financially independent women, Fowler resented being taxed while she was denied the vote. She protested payment of taxes each year by a letter to the *Vineland Evening News*. On December 16, 1907 she wrote: *As a tax paying citizen of the United States I am entitled to a voice in Governmental affairs... Having paid this unlawful Tax under written Protest for forty years, I am entitled to receive from the 'Treasury of Uncle Sam,' the full amount of both principal and interest.*



From *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*,
selection by Charlotte Perry-Dickerson and Joyce Bator-Rabinoff.

Henry Blackwell, Portrait of a Male Suffragist

1825-1909

It is quite natural that the image that first comes to mind when we think of suffragists is a woman. But for the movement to be successful, men had to accept the idea since they would ultimately decide the matter. One of the earliest and most dedicated male suffragists was Henry Blackwell, the husband of Lucy Stone. Like many suffragists, Blackwell's early involvement was with the abolitionist movement.

Henry Blackwell was born on May 4, 1825, in Bristol, England. He was the fifth of nine surviving children. There were many women in the household. In addition to his mother, he had four maiden aunts, and five sisters (three older and two younger), who benefited from their father's belief that girls should be educated equally with boys. His mother was a spiritual woman, influenced by the fact that her father had been a jeweler who was convicted of forgery and sent to Australia. His father came from a prosperous middle class family, who made money in the sugar business. Since the sugar business was closely allied to the slave trade, Blackwell tried to experiment with extracting sugar from beets. (Other American abolitionists also experimented with this sugar cane substitute).

The family moved from England to New York when he was seven and became involved in the abolitionist movement, harboring a runaway slave. After the father became ill with malaria, the family moved to Jersey City and then to Cincinnati, Ohio, when Henry was thirteen. Unfortunately, the father died just months after the move, leaving the family destitute. To make ends meet, Henry and his brother got clerical jobs, while his mother and three of his sisters started a school in their home.

Blackwell modeled his "ideal woman" after his strong-minded, unconventional sisters. Instead of following the traditional route of marriage and motherhood, they remained single and

adopted children. Moreover, most distinguished themselves in some way: Anna was a newspaper correspondent in Paris; Emily and Elizabeth became doctors. Elizabeth established the New York Infirmary for Women and Children whose all-female staff included her sister Emily. She also started a medical school as part of the infirmary which was incorporated into the Cornell University Medical College. Henry applauded his sisters, though his own hardware business was less successful. He continued to

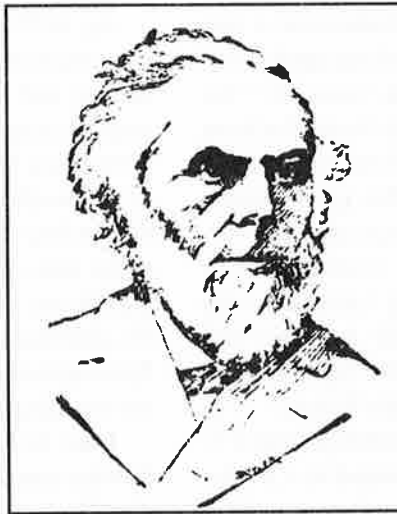
live in Cincinnati where he knew such prominent reformers as Lyman Beecher and his daughter Harriet Beecher Stowe.

When Henry Blackwell first met Lucy Stone in 1850, he was twenty-five and she was eight years his senior — quite old by the standards of the day. She came into his hardware store in Cincinnati to cash a draft to get to Massachusetts to attend the first National Woman's Rights Convention. (This was two years following the Seneca

Falls Convention, but it was the first meeting to be advertised nationally). Blackwell was familiar with Lucy Stone's name since her articles appeared in *The Liberator* and other abolitionist periodicals which he read regularly. Their next meeting was three years later in New York where Blackwell heard her give an impassioned anti-slavery speech. He wrote his reaction to his brother:

I shall endeavor to see more of [Lucy] before I come west ... as I decidedly prefer her to any lady I have ever met, always excepting the Bloomer dress, which I don't like practically, though theoretically I believe in it with my whole soul.... It is quite doubtful whether I shall be able to succeed in again meeting her, as she is travelling around — having been born locomotive I believe.

Blackwell was eager to develop a courtship



with Lucy Stone, but she was resistant, arguing that the institution of marriage was incompatible with her view of female equality. Blackwell wrote her lengthy letters, trying to persuade her that there might indeed be such a thing as a good marriage:

My idea of the relation involved no sacrifice of individuality but its perfection — no limitation on the career of one, or both but its extension. I would not have my wife drudge.... I would not even consent that my wife should stay at home to rock the baby when she ought to be off addressing a meeting or organizing a Society.... If both parties cannot study more, think more, feel more, talk more & work more than they could alone, I will remain an old bachelor & adopt a Newfoundland dog as an object of affection.

Stone was resistant, but Blackwell persisted, and the wedding finally took place two years later. Objecting to the traditional marriage vows, they wrote their own.

Not content to make the statement just to each other, they also sent it to the local newspaper. In addition to criticism of the ceremonies attached to marriage, Stone also rejected other conventions, deciding to keep her name. It was legal to do so, but she was often forced to sign documents Lucy Stone Blackwell. Whenever possible, she would write, "Lucy Stone, wife of Henry Blackwell."

In the first years of their marriage, the couple continued to be active in their careers. Because Stone was better known, she made numerous trips around the country speaking about abolition. Blackwell continued to participate in various enterprises in Cincinnati and invested in land in Wisconsin and also did work for abolitionist groups. As a result the two were often apart.

Dearest Harry,

All three of my lectures were such as they used to be, and ... I am so glad to find again the old inspiration and it comes to me more and more. I cleared \$130 over expenses.... Harry dear you are the best husband in the world. In the midst of all the extra care, hurry and perplexity of business, you stop to look after all my little affairs, even to the counting my tickets.... How shall I ever pay you for all your thoughtful kindness? I will love you, as I do, with all my heart, and in future try and be as careful for you, & not leave the leggings for [your] Mother

The Marriage Vows of Stone and Blackwell

While acknowledging our mutual affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife, yet in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it a duty to declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being, while they conjure upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess. We protest especially against the laws which give the husband:

- *Custody of the wife's person.*
- *The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.*
- *The sole ownership of her personal property, and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her, or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, lunatics, and idiots....*
- *Finally against the whole system by which "the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage," so that in most states she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued in her own name, nor inherit property.*

to mend! Be sure I did not know they needed it, but I ought to have known.

Although they had made plans to continue on with their active careers, a number of circumstances caused them to change their plans. The first was Stone's health (she suffered from severe headaches); the second was the birth of their daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell; the third was a miscarriage a year later. This third event caused Stone to focus her attention on Alice, and to avoid making speeches which would cause her to be away from home. Instead she decided to help support the family by getting involved in the real estate business near their home in Orange, New Jersey. For the next ten years, Stone focused her

attention on the homefront, and urged Blackwell to do the same. When the Civil War broke out, Blackwell was drafted. At that time men had the option of paying a substitute to serve in their place, and despite his many years of work as an abolitionist, Blackwell decided to "buy" a replacement rather than fight.

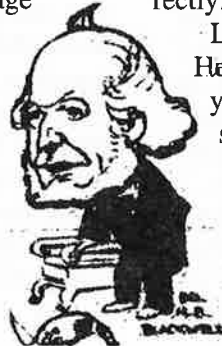
After the Civil War, Blackwell, Stone, and the other advocates of women's rights worked for the enfranchisement of both blacks and women. They invited former abolitionists into the American Equal Rights Association. Unfortunately, they were forced to take a position on whether to support the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which gave rights to black males, but excluded women. Blackwell, who had dedicated much of his life to the cause of abolitionism, made a speech in 1867 in which he told Southern legislators that they should give women the vote because there were more white women in the South than blacks of either sex.

The next suffrage battle took place in Kansas, which put two separate referenda before the voters. One would remove the word "white" from the state constitution and the other would remove the word "male." Both Stone and Blackwell went to Kansas to campaign for the referenda, and Blackwell made a second trip by himself but both measures went down to defeat. He described the difficulty:

Lucy and I are going over the length and breadth of this state speaking every day and sometimes twice, journeying ... sometimes in a carriage and sometimes in an open wagon with or without springs. We climb hills and dash down ravines, ford creeks and ferry over rivers, struggle through muddy bottoms, and address the most astonishing (and astonished) audiences in the most extraordinary places.

When Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment the following year, Stanton and Anthony refused to support it. Stone and Blackwell joined those who accepted the amendment, forming the American Woman Suffrage Association. They also created a newspaper called *The Woman's Journal* which spoke to the issue of woman suffrage but avoided controversial issues like divorce, which might alienate some voters. The journal was produced by Stone and Blackwell for many years, then taken over by their daughter and continued until 1916.

Blackwell next worked to get the Republican Party to endorse "in principle" the concept of woman suffrage in its platform. As a result of his efforts, they came up with the following:



The Republican Party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom; their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction and the honest demands of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

Over the next decades Blackwell alternated between working for woman suffrage and various business enterprises. In March, 1880, he wrote to Lucy:

I ... decided to stay and go to Mr. Cook's party tonight & do the best I can to advocate Woman Suffrage in your stead.... It was a funny affair.... At 8:15 some sixty were closely packed into seats; 2/3 women. Around the edges about 20 men. Mrs. Howe and Miss Eastman spoke well for suffrage —then Prof. Gulliver spoke pretty well against it, though in favor of co-education at Harvard [and] Yale....

Over time he realized that the prospect of a referendum on suffrage was growing weaker, not stronger. He explained the problem to his daughter, Alice:

Between ourselves there is no more hope of carrying suffrage in Nebraska than of the millenium coming in the next year. Both [political] parties have avoided it.... I had not been in Omaha 48 hours before I saw how the matter stood, but we don't want to discourage the workers, we keep our opinions to ourselves & talk and work as if we expected to win. But the prospect is not so good as it was in Kansas in 1869.

Despite his pessimism, Blackwell then went on to work in campaigns in Colorado, Utah, North Dakota, and Montana after Stone withdrew from public life almost entirely for health reasons. Granting presidential suffrage in some Western states was a critical step. Once women could influence the outcome of a national election, the major political parties (and presidential candidates) would naturally have to address their concerns more directly.

Lucy Stone died in 1893 at age seventy-five. Henry Blackwell survived his wife by many years. He continued to produce the weekly suffrage newspaper *The Woman's Journal* despite the financial burden and worked collaboratively with his daughter who became a prominent suffragist in her own right. Henry died in 1909, having given more than sixty years of his life to the cause of women's rights.

Two Directions in National Suffrage Movement 1860-1900

After the Civil War, Congress faced the question of how to define the status of the former slaves. Knowing that the southern states would balk at giving rights to their former slaves, the Radical Republicans, who controlled Congress after 1866, used their power to add amendments to the Constitution which defined the status of citizens and guaranteed African Americans the vote. Prior to the Civil War, qualifications for voters had been determined totally by the states.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the state wherein they reside.

Section 2. When the right to vote ... is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States... the basis of proportion [for representation in Congress] shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens....

From the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

From the Fifteenth Amendment

These amendments posed a dilemma for former abolitionists who also supported women's rights. Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony proposed that former abolitionists join them in a combined movement for universal suffrage. Henry Blackwell became an officer of the new organization, called the American Equal Rights Association. They tried to convince the Radical Republicans in Congress to remove the word "male" from the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, but they were unsuccessful.

When these amendments went before the states for ratification, a split occurred among the advocates of women's rights. Despite gains promised to black men under the amendments, the language of the Fourteenth Amendment specifically disenfranchised women. In 1868 this amendment introduced

the word "male" into the U.S. Constitution for the first time. In this amendment, the word "citizen" and the word "inhabitant" were linked to the word "male" whenever the vote was discussed.

That same year Congress made the split between the two movements even greater by proposing the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave black males the right to vote. By defining the right to vote in a separate amendment, Congress implied that the right to vote was not synonymous with citizenship. Up to that time the Constitution had been silent on the subject. While it would have taken an interpretation by the courts or a legislative act to grant women the vote, once the Fifteenth Amendment was passed, nothing less than an additional amendment would do.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton realized that since the Constitution had defined voting rights in this way, it would take another amendment to the Constitution (rather than an act of Congress or a decision of the courts) to grant women the right to vote. For this reason, they campaigned against passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, a position which caused serious tensions among both black and white supporters of those amendments, and some members of the women's movement. Stanton was outraged that African Americans, Chinese Americans and other immigrants should be deemed more fit to vote than



Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton

women, but the leading black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who had been a notable proponent of women's rights, saw it differently. Note his omission of the unique needs of black women in the following speech:

When women, because they are women, are dragged from their homes and hung up upon lamp-posts; when their children are torn from their arms and their brains dashed to the pavement; when they are objects of insult and outrage at every turn ... when their children are not allowed to enter schools; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot.

Stanton was more charitable in a letter she wrote from Newark in March, 1869, defending the lack of interest in woman suffrage on the part of Charles Sumner, who had been influential in assuring that freed slaves were granted the vote:

We must be forever grateful for what [Sumner] has done for human rights, even though it does not tell directly for us. I think God rarely gives one man, or one set of men, more than one great moral victory to win. Hence we see the old abolitionists generally shrink from the van of our movement tho' they are in hearty sympathy with it. If Mr. Sumner "don't want to be in this fight," as he told me, in my heart I say "God bless him!" Our victory is sure to come.

The first debate in Congress on woman suffrage occurred in 1866 when it considered a bill that would extend suffrage to African Americans in the District of Columbia without a restriction limiting the vote to males. Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey stated views that became commonplace during the decades of debate that followed:

It seems to me as if the God of our race has stamped upon the women of America a milder, gentler nature, which not only makes them shrink from, but disqualifies them for the turmoil and battle of public life. They have a higher and holier mission. It is in retracy [sic] to make the character of coming men. Their mission is at home by their blandishments and their love to assuage the passions of men as they come in from the battle of life, and not themselves by joining in the contest to add fuel to the very flames... It will be a sorry day for this country when those vestal fires of love and piety are put out.

In 1869, two different national woman suffrage groups were established which took opposing views about the best strategy for attaining woman suffrage. In May, the National Woman Suffrage Association was begun by

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Only women were accepted for membership in the NWSA, which supported not only suffrage but also divorce reform and equal pay. The following November, Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell founded the American Woman Suffrage Association in reaction to the creation of the NWSA. The AWSA was a single issue organization, not wishing to be encumbered with issues such as divorce, child labor, or criticism of the status of women in the churches. Acknowledging that a federal amendment to the Constitution might be necessary, they nevertheless chose to work in individual states first.

During this time, both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone were living in New Jersey: Stanton in Tenafly and Stone in East Orange. Sensitive to the criticism that a second organization might weaken the cause, Lucy Stone sought to explain herself in a letter to Susan B. Anthony written in 1869 which emphasized the shared goal, rather than the rivalry in having two organizations for woman suffrage.

As the two groups evolved during the late nineteenth century, a fundamental difference in ideology emerged. The American Woman Suffrage Association adhered more closely to social conventions for Victorian women, fearing that they would lose the support of middle class men and women if they challenged the status quo too sharply. The AWSA also confined its tactics to genteel and philanthropic activities in its effort to achieve woman suffrage on a state-by-state basis.

The National Woman Suffrage Association moved away from the conservative cultural prescriptions for women of the Victorian era, embracing more aggressive tactics and a broader cross-section of women while still excluding men. They set a national strategy designed to win the passage of an



amendment to the federal constitution which would give the vote to all women. From this period until 1890, the AWSA and the NWSA followed their separate paths on the road to suffrage.

Starting in 1869, Elizabeth Cady Stanton began a three volume history of woman suffrage in collaboration with Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage. In it, she argued from the "Gibraltar rock of reason," accusing her opponents of using "ridicule and petty objections" as their weapons. She claimed that women's rights would ultimately "be established by the same process of reason as that by which he demands his own."

The fundamental principle of our government — the equality of all citizens of the republic — should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution, there to remain forever. To leave this question to the States and partial acts of Congress, is to defer indefinitely its settlement, for what is done by this Congress may be repealed by the next; and politics in the several States differ so widely, that no harmonious action on any question can ever be secured, except as a strict party measure. Hence, we appeal to the party now in power, everywhere, to end this protracted debate on suffrage, and declare it the inalienable right of every citizen who is amenable to the laws of the land, who pays taxes and the penalty of crime.

While the wheels of suffrage ground slowly in the East, the western territories jumped into the lead. The territory of Wyoming passed the first law allowing woman suffrage in 1869, followed by Utah in 1870. In 1878, a suffrage amendment was introduced into Congress by California Senator A.A. Sargent, who was a friend and supporter of Susan B. Anthony. It stated that: *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.* This bill was introduced into Congress on a regular basis from 1878 through 1918. Over time it became known as the "Anthony Amendment."

In 1872, Virginia Minor, the president of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association, decided to test the issue of suffrage by registering to vote in St. Louis. When the St. Louis registrar, Reese Happersett, refused to allow Minor to register, she challenged him. In doing so, she also challenged the Missouri state constitution which specifically denied women the right to vote. At about the same time, a similar case was brought to the New York state courts by Susan B. Anthony.

Virginia Minor lost in the Missouri courts and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. A unanimous

The Suffrage Movement Splits



Newark N.J.

October 19, 1869

Dear Mrs. Stanton,

Enclosed I send you a copy of the call for a convention to form an American Woman Suffrage association. I wish I could have had a quiet hour with you, to talk about it. I hope you will see it as I do, that with two societies each, in harmony with itself, each having the benefit of national names, each attracting those who naturally belong to it, we shall secure the hearty active cooperation of all the friends of the cause, better than either could do alone. People will differ, as to what they consider the best methods and means. The true wisdom is not to ignore, but to provide for the fact. So far as I have influence, this society shall never be an enemy or antagonist of yours in any way. It will simply fill a void and combine forces, which yours does not. I shall rejoice when any of the onerous works are carried, no matter who does it.

Your little girls and mine will reap the easy harvest which it costs so much to sow.

With sincere good will

Truly your friend,

Lucy Stone

court held in 1874 that the privilege of suffrage was not automatically conferred on those who were citizens. The states were allowed, under the U.S. Constitution, to restrict suffrage to certain classes of citizens and specifically to withhold suffrage from women.

To decide the case, the Supreme Court reviewed the question of whether a woman was a citizen. It determined that she was. Then the Court considered whether a female citizen had the right to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment. It determined that she did not because the Constitution left it up to the states to determine the qualifications for voting. As a result of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, only race was protected.

To reach this conclusion, the Court reviewed the history of voting laws passed in the states at the time the original Constitution was written. It noted that states like Tennessee, which were admitted to the union after the Constitution had been adopted, limited their suffrage to white men. Therefore, the Court concluded, the framers of the Constitution had *not* intended that suffrage was an essential right of citizenship within the democratic process.

It is true, of course, that voting rights in almost all states had been limited by some level of property qualifications (and were, therefore, not equated with citizenship). Nevertheless, had the court looked instead at New Jersey, it might have come to a different conclusion. New Jersey women had voted, legally and in significant numbers, in the three decades right after the ratification of the Constitution.

The interest in reform in the 1890s was not limited to suffragists. The 1890s found the country facing numerous problems associated with the changes brought about by industrialization and urbanization. Many northern states introduced literacy requirements for voting in an effort to "protect the ballot" from both blacks and immigrants. Increasingly, women in urban areas found themselves pulled and pushed into reform work to deal with the living conditions of the slums: tenement housing, poor sanitation, poverty, prostitution, alcoholism and disease.

A major new impetus for reform came from women's clubs which emerged around the country and were subsequently organized into the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1890. This national organization was incorporated in 1893 in Newark. Its first president was a New Jersey woman, Charlotte Emerson Brown, the sister-in-law of Antoinette Brown Blackwell. Women's clubs involved members in a variety of social causes and also

Arguments for Woman Suffrage

The Liberal Argument

From the *Women's Declaration of Rights* by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 1876

We declare our faith in the principles of self-government; our full equality with man in natural right that woman was made first for her own happiness, with the absolute right to herself—to all the opportunities and advantages life affords for her complete development; and we deny that dogma of the centuries, incorporated in the codes of all nations—that woman was made for man—her best interests, in all cases, to be sacrificed to his will. We ask of our rulers, at this hour, no special favors, no special privileges, no special legislation. We ask justice, we ask equality, we ask that all the civil and political rights that belong to citizens of the United States, be guaranteed to us and our daughters forever.

The Conservative Argument

Testimony to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage by Helen Morris Lewis of North Carolina, 1896

When women's opinions are counted as well as men's, it will only be adding fresh dignity and respect to the home; it will only be opening the darkened windows and letting the sunshine of enlightenment nurture the nurseries of our nation. Voting will never lessen maternal love. Officeholding will never smother conjugal affection. The hardest problems of government will never shatter love's young dream.

Gentlemen, in the name of these women of my State, and for the betterment of the wives, mothers, and daughters of our land, I implore you to use your influence for our enfranchisement.

provided cultural activities which expanded women's horizons outside the home. Among the most famous clubs of the period was "Sorosis," a professional women's club organized in New York in the 1860s by Jane Croly after she was refused admission as a woman to a dinner given in honor of Charles Dickens.

On the national level, the largest organization to become concerned with the suffrage question was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). During the early years of the nineteenth century, men usually held the positions of leadership and set the direction for the temperance movement. Frances Willard and Annie Wittenmyer felt the necessity of a temperance organization for women, establishing the WCTU in 1874. In 1892 under the leadership of Frances Willard, the WCTU followed the motto "Do everything," an attack on all the evils of society linked to alcohol. By 1892, the WCTU had nearly 150,000 dues-paying members, while at the same time only 20,000 women belonged to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. By 1911 the WCTU almost doubled its membership, growing to 245,000 members. The WCTU also served as a catalyst for the organization of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, which stimulated and organized the efforts of black women at social welfare within their community.

The late nineteenth century club movement allowed numerous women the opportunity to expand their sphere beyond the home, to utilize their educations, and to enjoy the companionship of other women while working towards the betterment of society. With no public relief agencies to care for indigent persons, women organized to provide these social services.

The impact of clubs on the suffrage organiza-

tions was both positive and negative. On the one hand they involved women in a variety of other causes which distracted them from the suffrage issue, but, in the long run, they helped the cause by drawing women into a wider sphere of public activity. Women in these clubs only gradually came to support the concept of suffrage with the understanding that the vote would allow women to be more effective social housekeepers.

By 1890, the old differences between the AWSA and the NWSA seemed less important. Neither was doing well alone and each had to deal with the proliferation of women's clubs. In that year, the two groups merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Elizabeth Cady Stanton became its first president, followed by Susan B. Anthony in 1892.

During the late nineteenth century, many middle class women also became actively involved in the Populist and Progressive movements, working for reform of the labor laws, conservation, and consumer protection. Often reformist women felt that these other causes were more important to the welfare of the nation; but over time many women realized that they could do more for all their causes if they had the vote.

In the 1890s, the old idea of female suffrage based on Enlightenment ideals of equality gave way to a defense of woman suffrage based on an ideology that claimed women's moral nature would help solve some of the problems in the cities thought to have been created by industrialization, alcohol and massive immigration. This shift in direction was the result of the expanded influence of women's clubs.

Despite the emergence of a unified woman suffrage movement in the 1890s, the period has been criticized as both conservative and lethargic. Suffrage support from the women's clubs, temperance organizations and other reform groups produced an array of arguments both novel and traditional in their bent.

By the start of the twentieth century justifications for woman suffrage came from a wide variety of platforms: woman suffrage would clean up the cities; woman suffrage would turn the tide of immigration; woman suffrage would end the abuse of alcohol; woman suffrage would usher in a new age of moralism. Older arguments that women had a right to vote were gradually supplemented by arguments that women needed the vote to become effective moral caretakers of society.



The one who votes.

Life, 1913

This cartoon reflects the attitude held by some suffragists that voting women would improve the morals of the nation.

Voting in Vineland, 1868

At a meeting of women, held the week before election, a unanimous vote was taken that we would go to the polls. John Gage, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Association of Vineland, called a meeting, and, though the day was an inclement one, there was good attendance. A number of earnest men as well as women addressed the audience.... One gentleman placed a small table for our use. Another inquired if we were comfortable and the room sufficiently warm. "Truly," we thought, "this does not look like a very terrible opposition." As time passed, there came more men and women into the hall. Quite a number of the latter presented their votes first at the table where those of the men were received, where they were rejected with politeness, and then taken to the other side of the platform and deposited in our box.... One beautiful girl said: "I feel so much stronger for having voted." It was pleasant to see husbands and wives enter the hall together, only they had to separate, when no separation should have taken place.

Some women spent the day in going after their friends and bringing them to the hall. Young ladies, after voting, took care of the babies while the mothers came out to vote. Will this fact lessen the alarm of some men for the safety of the babies of enfranchised women on election day? John Gage — bless his soul — identifies himself so completely with this glorious cause, and labors with an earnestness that is truly charming. His team was out all day, bringing women to vote.

A gentleman said to me last week: "What is the use of your doing this?" "It will do good in two ways," I replied. "You say there will not be five women there. We will show you that women do want to vote, and it will strengthen them for action in the future." Both of these ends have now been accomplished; and we are to meet again, to consider what to do about the taxation that is soon coming upon us.

As reported in the suffrage periodical,
Revolution, November 5, 1868

Suffrage Activities in

Like women across the country, women in New Jersey found the denial of the right to vote painful, demeaning, and unjust. Lucy Stone's presence in the state was significant: she helped to organize suffrage groups in Orange, Vineland, Newark, Trenton and other cities. By 1885, the suffrage society in her hometown of Orange had eighty-five members.

In 1867 the various suffrage societies around the state came together in the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association. Lucy Stone served as the president. That same year the suffrage society in Vineland staged a public protest against women's disenfranchisement, perhaps the earliest demonstration for woman suffrage in the state. The following year they set up their own ballot box at the polls for the presidential election. Women entering the voting place went first to the station used by the men where they were "rejected with politeness." The women then moved to the other side of the platform where they deposited their ballots in the women's box. The results of the ballot cast by the Vineland women were: Ulysses S. Grant, 164; Horatio Seymour, 4; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 2; John C. Fremont, 1; and Mrs. Governor Harvey of Wisconsin, 1. In subsequent mock elections, 216 women voted for president in 1872 and 158 voted for governor in 1874.

In 1871, the Equal Rights Party nominated the controversial advocate of free-love, Victoria Woodhull, for president in Vineland. The town was also noted for its interest in other issues of the day like spiritualism, hydropathic medicine, spelling reform and dress reform. Susan Pecker Fowler and Mary Tillotson helped organize the "Anti-Fashion Convention" there in 1874. In a similarly progressive vein, the Unitarian Church in town included women on its committees and allowed them to assist in the services.

In 1871, Ann Hora Connelly of Rahway successfully petitioned the legislature to pass a law giving men and women equal rights with regard to their offspring in divorce proceedings. Up to that point, the courts had favored the father, no matter what the circumstances of the divorce. In 1874, the state also revised its laws enabling married women

New Jersey 1865-1900

to hold property and inheritance in their own names. In 1895, married women in the state also gained the right to contract and to sue. Finally in 1896, New Jersey women won the legal right to have their earnings and wages viewed as their own property.

It was while living in Tenafly in 1869 that Elizabeth Cady Stanton began writing the first of three volumes on the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Years later, in 1880 she caused a huge stir in the town when she attempted to vote and was denied the right to do so.

Lucy Stone was also still in New Jersey at this time, serving as president of the NJWSA until she and her husband moved to Massachusetts in 1869. There they helped to direct the New England woman suffrage movement. During these years in New Jersey, Stone wrote a pamphlet called *Reasons Why the Women of New Jersey Should Vote* which was endorsed by the Executive Committee of the NJWSA in Vineland.

Much of the energy of the NJWSA focused on the fight for women's school suffrage which grew in response to the new statewide laws on compulsory education. Many states which steadfastly refused women the right to vote in general elections had permitted them to vote in local elections related to schools. In 1868 women formally petitioned the New Jersey state legislature for the right of school suffrage which included elections of the school boards and in some cases voting on school bond issues.

Another early effort of the NJWSA was the presentation of a "memorial" to the Judiciary Committee of the State Senate in 1869. A report from the *Paterson Daily Press* from March of 1869 announced that this attempt to introduce "an act relative to the right of suffrage in the State of New Jersey" into the legislature was greeted with much derision. The formal response by the Judiciary Committee to the act included some satirical commentary on the qualifications of voters in the state:

In South Jersey, it is well known that no citizen is admitted to the polls unless competent to detect the difference between greenbacks of the different denominations, while in the county of Salem, in addition to this qualification, a complete and

Stanton Votes in Tenafly, 1880

A letter to Theodore and Henry Stanton



Tenafly
November 12, 1880

Dear Children,

On ... election day I went down to the polling booth and offered my ballot and argued the case with the inspectors. The Republican wagon and horses, all decked with flags and evergreens, came for the male part of the household. I told the driver that my legal representatives were all absent, but that I would go down and vote. "You flabbergast me," he answered. But as I am now in the midst of writing the chronicles of the women's suffrage movement, it seemed quite in line with the work to give a practical demonstration of the faith which is in me. So, notwithstanding the flabbergasted condition of the driver, I thought I would take the risk and go down to the polls with him. Once there, I had great fun frightening and muddling with these old Dutch inspectors.

The whole town is agape with my act. A friend says he never saw Tenafly in such excitement. The men have taken sides about equally. This is a good example of what I have often said of late that acts, not words, are what is needed to push this woman suffrage question to the fore. The next evening when I went down for the mail, the postmaster said he would give five dollars for the ticket I proffered. "I would have it framed up in my house," he added. I should add that I really felt quite tired holding that ballot so long and arguing with the judges of election.

Good night.

intimate acquaintance with the personal habit, general appearance, sex and size of that noble animal, the shad, is an indispensable prerequisite to any exercise of the elective franchise....

This mockery of the NJWSA petition elicited editorial outrage from at least two prominent newspapers, the *Paterson Daily Press* and the *Newark Journal*. The Paterson editors commented that the issue of woman suffrage: *has assumed a position which entitles it at least to candid and dignified discussion on its merits, and should remove it from the arena of ridicule and buffoonery.*

In 1873, Senator Cutler of Morris County oversaw the passage of another law, a supplement to the compulsory education laws, requiring that school board members or "trustees" be literate and permitting women over twenty to hold these offices. New Jersey women in villages and county districts were then granted "school suffrage" in 1887, enabling them to vote for these trustees where such votes

took place as part of a school meeting. However, in 1894, the State Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional as it applied to voting for school board members. Still, women continued to vote on school taxes. According to suffragist records, at least fifty women held the office of school trustee by 1895 and at least one African American woman, Mrs. Edward Washington, ran for a seat on a local school board (Haddonfield) as a result of the school suffrage legislation.

Reflecting back on the state's suffrage tradition from the eighteenth century, *Harper's Weekly* took an interest in the New Jersey suffrage question in 1880, commenting:

If women are competent to vote at school meetings, they can not on other questions involving the common interests of the sexes, be classed fairly with criminals and lunatics. This was the conviction of the people of New Jersey many years ago, and women were enfranchised and voted. The



Mrs. Belva Lockwood, a prominent woman lawyer, ran for president on an Equal Rights ticket in 1884. She won 4,149 votes in six states. In this illustration, the men of Rahway, N.J. tried to ridicule Lockwood's campaign for president by parading in Mother Hubbard outfits with striped stockings. Lockwood was the first woman to practice law before the Supreme Court. Among her other successes was the drafting of a bill in 1872 which granted women who worked for the federal government equal pay for equal work.



charming picture drawn for the Weekly by Mr. Howard Pyle, which appears in this number, is a glimpse of the quaint old times, interest and preference which is indicated by casting the ballot in this drawing, and there is an intimation of the humanizing and refining influence which would result from the voting of women upon subjects in which they have a common concern with men — an influence which is felt in every fair association of men and women.

Restoring the right of suffrage required an amendment to the state constitution. Passing an amendment in New Jersey is a complex process, slightly different from that for federal amendments. The legislature must pass the measure in two successive years before the amendment can be submitted to voters. Suffrage legislation faced the formidable hurdle of being presented twice to state legislators and then a third time in a referendum to the voters, all of whom were men. Passage was further hampered by the requirement that, if defeated, an amendment could not be resubmitted to the voters for five years.

In 1890, Dr. Mary D. Hussey, a lawyer in East Orange whose mother Cornelia was a Quaker pioneer for suffrage in the state, used the issue of the loss of school suffrage to re-ignite the suffrage movement in New Jersey, calling on a number of active suffragists to join in resuscitating the NJWSA which had languished during the 1880s. Undoubtedly encouraged by the unification of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association, the NJWSA adopted a constitution and elected Judge John Whitehead, husband of the suffragist, Cornelia Whitehead, as its president. (Later presidents were women). The Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell became president in 1891, then Amelia Dickinson Pope.

Florence Howe Hall, elected president of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association in 1893, attempted to rally women by saying: *The loss of school suffrage in our state should inspire the women of New Jersey with greater determination to gain full suffrage....* The organization decided that it should keep women interested in voting in the school elections by printing a leaflet describing the contributions which had been made by female school trustees and informing women that they could still vote on bonds and fiscal appropriations. Through extensive petitioning and lobbying, the women waged a three year battle for school suffrage. Wide-



In 1880 *Harper's Weekly* ran an illustrated story about New Jersey's history of woman suffrage, informing many women of a heritage they had lost.

spread opposition among state legislators to full school suffrage forced the NJWSA to settle for a proposal to restore only the limited school suffrage of 1887.

The measure passed the legislature in 1895 and 1896. In 1897, after the NJWSA had obtained 7,000 signatures on a school suffrage petition, the legislation passed for the third time. The women again waged a furious campaign of public speeches, newspaper articles, pamphlets, and petitions, and also recruited support from churches, prominent public figures, and other sympathetic organizations, such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Grange and the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs. A special election was held on September 28, 1897, but the result was a major disappointment. An amendment to regain school suffrage, to which it was generally supposed there would be practically no opposition, was defeated — 75,170 to 65,000. The measure was defeated in urban counties and not supported strongly enough in rural counties to make up the difference. Since the woman suffrage movement was associated with temperance and nativism, it seems likely that the ethnic, Catholic vote in the urban counties may have contributed to defeat of the school suffrage bill.

The labor expended in this campaign was not fully lost, however. Through the efforts of the NJWSA the public learned that women still had a partial vote in school elections. In Cranford, for example, women helped to pass legislation which built two new schools, one at a cost of \$24,700

and another at a cost of \$11,000. There was certainly irony in the fact that women could go to the polls to vote on school fiscal issues but not for candidates for school trustee.

Despite a succession of failures, the suffragists periodically submitted petitions to the New Jersey Legislature asking for the restoration of the full suffrage they had lost in 1807. In addition to leaflets and petitions, the NJWSA relied on parlor meetings to sway public opinion and build support for woman suffrage. In one year, Dr. Mary Hussey reported that more than 12,000 leaflets had been distributed and 800 suffrage papers were given out at twenty-five meetings. The NJWSA held its annual meetings in Newark during the 1890s and stressed education and networking with other women's organizations as its chief political strategies.

Other progress in New Jersey women's rights could be noted during the 1890s. In 1894, the state legislature passed a law making it possible for a woman to serve as notary, and in 1895 eliminated the ban against a woman as Commissioner of Deeds. In 1895, the state legislature passed a bill allowing women to practice as attorneys. That same year, Mary Philbrook was formally admitted to the bar as the first female attorney in New Jersey. In 1896, Philbrook won passage of a law enabling women to serve as masters of chancery court (that is, officers of the court of equity). Because of the support of

suffragists like Florence Howe Hall and Mary Hussey who had introduced Philbrook to Stanton and Anthony, Mary Philbrook became the legal counsel for the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association.

By 1900, eight women were practicing law in the state. Likewise, one hundred women were practicing medicine in New Jersey, despite the fact that no medical training was available in state for women. Women in the northern part of the state could attend the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, founded in 1868 by the Blackwell sisters as the first medical college run for and by women. Women from the southern part of the state could attend the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania with internship training at the Woman's Hospital in Philadelphia. As medical professionals in New Jersey, women were eventually accepted as members of most county medical societies. However, for many, acceptance required a struggle. Dr. Sophia Presley applied seven times to the Camden County Medical Society before being accepted in 1890. By 1900, however, Dr. Frances S. Janney was elected president of the Burlington County Medical Society, the first woman in the state to receive this honor.

The revitalized NJWSA forged important ties to the New Jersey Woman's Christian Temperance Union founded in Trenton in 1876 and the New Jersey Grange. The NJWCTU became the most highly organized and active group of women in the



Settlement houses such as this one were a major focus for women, providing support for immigrants and education for girls. Local women's clubs often provided similar services to their communities on a smaller scale.

state. It had seventeen departments, but efforts concentrated largely upon young people and the circulation of literature concerning the evils of alcohol. Relying on tactics later borrowed by the NJWSA, in 1879, the NJWCTU reported that its workers had handed out 30,700 pages of leaflets.

Sarah Corson Downs became president of the NJWCTU with twenty-six chapters in 1881. By 1890 the NJWCTU had grown to 208 chapters and 8000 members. Under Downs' leadership the state organization worked to have temperance taught in the schools and became increasingly pro-suffrage.

The NJWCTU also fought the opposition of immigrant groups and the liquor lobby, trying to bring an end to liquor trafficking in the state. Between 1900 and 1906, two-day suffrage rallies were held during the summer months at Ocean Grove at the invitation of the Methodist Camp Meeting Association which advocated temperance. Numerous black women also supported the WCTU, including Ann Harrison of Trenton who regularly attended the meetings and willed her property to the union "to be used only in the cause of temperance."

In rural parts of New Jersey, the Grange or Patrons of Husbandry also demonstrated an interest in the suffrage cause. Local assemblies not only permitted women but required a percentage of female members, to be granted a charter. Women could both vote and hold all leadership positions within the assemblies. Grange women in Vineland were among the earliest suffragists in the state. They reported to the NJWSA that members "frequently discussed and were mostly in favor of woman suffrage." The Grange also had close ties with the WCTU, requiring pledges of abstinence by its members.

Women's clubs emphasized the role of woman as social housekeeper. In 1894, Cornelia Bradford, a member of the Jersey City Woman's Club, established the Whittier House, the first settlement house in the state. The YWCA's of Newark and Trenton followed the policy of helping those who tried to help themselves. This included providing shelter and sometimes work. During the late nineteenth century, The Women's Employment Society of Morristown provided work for unemployed seamstresses who were paid standard wages for making dresses to be given to the needy.

Local women's clubs were also directed toward self-improvement. Perhaps the best known such club flourished in Orange. It was founded in 1872 when

a group of fifteen women met in East Orange upon the invitation of Louise Rile to talk about subjects other than their children or servants. In addition to discussion meetings, the club's fundraising contributed to community projects, giving ten dollars to two schools "towards a library" and enabling the schools to qualify for an equal amount from the state. In time, the Woman's Club of Orange also became more political, taking an active interest in civic affairs. Its members led a drive for signatures on petitions for the restriction of child labor, for state factory inspection, and for preservation of the Palisades.

The Contemporary Club of Trenton was established for similar purposes:

... to create an organized center of thought and action among women of Trenton, and stimulate an interest in science, literature, art, social and ethical culture, that will render the members helpful to one another and useful to society.

In 1889, at the twenty-first birthday celebra-



Nowadays.

"My dear Susan, would you please keep your trousers on your side of the closet."

Life, 1895



Old Gent: "As Mrs. Nettlerash has gone to the Sorosis Club, I thought I'd just come over with my knitting. Baby not well, eh?"

Young Gent: "No, poor thing, he requires so much care that I really don't get time to do my mending!"

Harper's Weekly, 1869

tion for the famous New York City club, Sorosis, three New Jersey groups were represented: The Woman's Club of Orange, the El Mora Ladies Literary and Social Club of Elizabeth and the Monday Afternoon Club of Plainfield.

In 1894, the Woman's Club of Orange appealed to other women's clubs in the state to organize a state federation. Meeting in Orange, the women voted unanimously to follow a suggestion to federate made by Margaret S. Yardley, who became the first president of the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs. Nearly fifty groups, representing communities from throughout the state, with a heavy concentration of clubs from the Newark metropolitan area, became charter members. They included the Friday Club of Bridgeton; Woman's Literary Union, Elizabeth; Monday Afternoon Club, Plainfield; Ray Palmer Club, Newark; Odd Volumes, Jersey City; Wednesday Morning Club, Cranford; and the Haliti Cumi Club, Vineland. The club with the strangest name was the Philitscipora of Newark, derived from the club's interests in **philosophy, literature, science, poetry, oratory and art.**

The membership and leadership of the various women's organizations were tightly interconnected, with groups such as the NJWSA, Grange and NJWCTU all working together in support of issues like school suffrage. Several leaders of the NJWSA served as leaders of the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, in particular, Antoinette Brown Blackwell and Florence Howe Hall. The president of the Orange Woman's Club in 1890 was Charlotte Emerson Brown, who helped in the formation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Black women also organized clubs, and some black women were active in suffrage organizations. One member of a black woman's club was Catherine Scudde, who belonged to the Presbyterian Church in Princeton. Within this community, the Colored Woman's Club taught several branches of industrial skills and furnished entertainment for African American women there.

The work of New Jersey women in these public organizations can be better appreciated when viewed from the perspective of the narrow codes of behavior which severely limited women's activities in the nineteenth century. As clubs became more popular, the Reverend E.R. Craven of Newark condemned women for speaking in public places and charged a fellow minister with disobedience to the divinely enacted ordinance against women speaking in church. After considering the charge against the minister, the Presbytery concluded:

Inviting women to preach in his pulpit at the regular public services on the Sabbath Day was irregular and unwise, and contrary to the views of the Scriptures and of the Church order derived from them ... and as such misconduct may open the way to disorder and mischief, we affectionately counsel and admonish Brother See to abstain from it in the future.

Although the clubs provided an outlet for women's social and political interests, the very success of these general interest clubs in New Jersey was believed by state suffragists to have limited the popularity of clubs specifically aimed at suffrage. Demanding full suffrage for women was still perceived as a radical demand; many club women supported only a more limited option like that of school or municipal suffrage. As the 1890s came to a close, the New Jersey suffrage movement was distracted by the many other reform movements of the Progressive Era.

Sarah Corson Downs

1822-1891

One of the most influential temperance leaders of nineteenth century New Jersey was Sarah Jane Corson Downs who joined the temperance cause late in life. Born to a Philadelphia family, Downs attended Pennington Female Institute, a Methodist school. She had been raised in the Dutch Reform Church, but at seventeen, she professed a conversion experience to evangelical Methodism. She taught school briefly in Pennington and Milford, N.J., and later in New Egypt, N.J. In 1850 she met the Rev. Charles S. Downs, a Methodist circuit minister and left her teaching career to marry.

For almost two decades Downs was the helpmate of a country parson, following her husband from New Egypt through three other southern New Jersey districts: Allowaystown, Cape May, and Millville. Downs played hostess at church functions, taught Sunday school, and raised four children. In 1860 failing health forced Reverend Downs from the ministry, and the family moved to Tuckerton. To make ends meet, Sarah Downs returned to teaching and wrote local news articles for the *New Jersey Courier* of Toms River. The precarious economic circumstances following her husband's death left her acutely aware of the financial difficulties of single women and their children.

In 1874 Downs returned to Pennington as principal of the public school, and moved to Ocean Grove. By this time she had won considerable recognition for her educational and church work.

Since her youthful conversion, Downs had expressed sympathy for the "dry" cause. For a time she was a member of the local Daughters of Temperance, and later she joined the Good Templars. Neither was especially militant, but they did have chapters across the nation and kept the temperance issue alive during the movement's doldrums after the Civil War.

Militancy returned to the temperance struggle in 1873 and 1874. As part of the so-called Women's War—a virtually spontaneous revolt of women across America against the liquor traffic—women in several New Jersey towns organized a series of

public protests. Although Downs took no part, these activities led her to join the local chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) which emerged from the Woman's War. For the first time, leadership in a major national reform movement had passed into women's hands.

Downs rose steadily in the ranks of the WCTU. Her forte was the ability to inspire and organize others. A large woman with a quick wit and determination in debate, Downs was imposing on the platform. She generally spoke without notes, which lent a spontaneous and sincere quality to her presentations. Even opponents, credited her with real eloquence, and she was sought after as a speaker. Frances Willard, president of the national WCTU, later commented that had Downs been a male she could well have become a Methodist bishop. Thus, to no one's surprise, the state WCTU convention almost unanimously selected Downs as president in 1881.

During the decade of Downs' leadership, membership in local New Jersey unions increased from 517 women in twenty-six chapters in 1881 to over 8,000 women in 208 chapters ten years later. She became a familiar figure to legislators, and she kept anti-liquor activity constantly in the public eye. Her platform was simple: "the entire extirpation and annihilation of the liquor traffic."

While "wets" frustrated efforts to ban liquor sales during the 1880s, there were some important reform victories. The WCTU led a successful campaign to require "scientific temperance instruction" in the public schools, and Downs worked strenuously to promote woman suffrage and the right of women to play wider roles in church affairs. In a state with a growing and generally wet immigrant population, Downs did as much as anyone to make the WCTU a force in the state.

Downs ultimately became an important figure in the national WCTU. As state president, she was a member of the national Executive Committee, where she was a staunch supporter of Willard who called her "the Andrew Jackson of the Executive Committee."

Downs stood by Willard in one of the bitterest disputes within union ranks over whether to broaden the union's reform agenda beyond temperance issues. The opposition objected in particular to Willard's pro-suffrage stance. Losing the debate, the conservatives finally seceded to form the separate Nonpartisan WCTU. Downs helped to keep most of the Executive Committee with Willard and the new group found little support in New Jersey.

To the end, the chief interests of "Mother

Downs" (as her admirers called her) were prohibition in the form of "gospel temperance" and "home protection." Her support for suffrage came only after strong remonstrances of other New Jersey union women. Downs supported the ballot as a means for women better to protect their homes and children. Still, she argued that extending the vote to women would inevitably broaden their roles in society. To her credit, Downs accepted these changes, even if she only cautiously endorsed them.

From *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*, selection by Mark Edward Lender.



Hanging them up to dry

Twenty-two counties in Illinois voted "Dry" at the Election last week.

The National Movement 1900-1915

While women suffragists of the nineteenth century saw the suffrage struggle as part of a crusade for women's equality, many women at the turn of the century saw woman suffrage as a means to protect the "female sphere." The term suffragist and feminist are sometimes used interchangeably. A feminist is someone (male or female) who views women as the equal of men in all aspects of business and politics. The term suffragist is used for those who support the idea that women should vote. Thus, it is generally safe to assume that while all feminists were suffragists, not all suffragists were feminists. More conservative suffragists usually argued that women needed to vote because they had special moral and personal characteristics that made them different from men. They fought against the idea that giving women the vote would produce

radical change in society as a whole. Many cartoons in this book reflect the stereotypes against which the suffragists fought. Suspicion of the concept of woman suffrage was widespread even among women, and animosity towards the wider cause of feminism was rampant.

The moderate strategies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association can be seen in the leadership of Anna Howard Shaw between 1904 and 1915. Fearful of alienating its mainstream constituency and political supporters, the organization rejected militancy and relied largely on the education of women and state suffrage campaigns to do the work. Typical of NAWSA arguments were laments that immigrants, criminals and idiots could vote, while women could not. Other arguments focused on the idea that women had higher morals and needed the vote to protect the home.

At this time, the NAWSA also shied away from recruiting black women or immigrants as members for fear of losing support from its largely middle and upper middle class white constituency. The NAWSA increasingly turned to the support of Southern women. As a result, by 1900 numerous black woman suffrage clubs and more general black women's clubs with suffrage projects existed in different parts of the country. African American women were either discouraged in their efforts to help or segregated in their attempts to join demonstrations.

In 1913, for example, NAWSA officials asked Ida Wells Barnett, representing the Alpha Suffrage Club of Chicago, not to march with the white delegation because it might offend certain "unnamed" Southern women. Likewise, the national women's club movement expressed its concern for "race suicide" and "social purity," code words for the mixing of ethnic groups.

These social attitudes were reflected in the NAWSA publication, *The Woman's Journal*. The four-page weekly newspa-



per contained articles about the suffrage struggle in all the states, lessening the isolation that women's organizations undoubtedly felt.

In addition to articles about the suffrage struggle and the "women's sphere," the paper also included news related to women's history including that of ethnic groups. One article, for example, described a monument to Sacajawea; another offered a lengthy obituary for Harriet Tubman. This chronicle of suffrage progress provided an archive for suffragists across the nation.

Another source of inspiration was the radical English movement for woman suffrage. In the early twentieth century, English suffragists, led by Emmeline Pankhurst, regularly engaged in various forms of political protest to publicize their cause. They marched, destroyed public property, attacked politicians and even went to jail. One English suffragist threw herself in front of a group of horses coming around the bend at a race track, deciding the cause needed a martyr! Alice Paul, a New Jersey Quaker, was studying in London during this period. She gained experience in this confrontational political style as part of her work with the English suffrage movement. However, in 1909, Alice Paul returned home from her studies at the London School of Economics to find a much more sedate American suffrage scene.

In 1912, Paul joined the NAWSA and became co-chair with Lucy Burns of the Congressional Committee. Drawing on her experience in Eng-

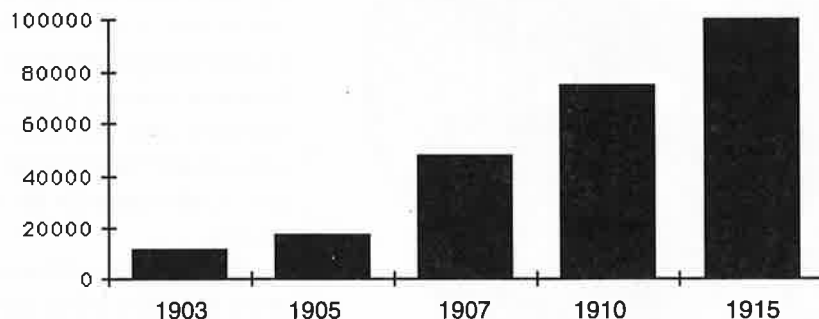
land, Paul staged a parade of 7,000 suffragists in Washington, D.C. at the same time as President Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. Federal troops were called in, largely due to the hostile reaction of the onlookers to the parade. The subsequent investigation and notoriety surrounding the parade made Paul a national figure.

Remaining in Washington, Paul focused all her attention on pressure for a federal amendment. Her



When the Congressman Was Elected: His Return

NAWSA Membership



campaign was based on constitutional principles rather than arguments about the special nature of the female character.

Carrie Chapman Catt had worked in the New York suffrage referendum campaign and was widely believed in that state to be the best organizer in the suffrage movement nationwide. Her assumption of the presidency of the NAWSA after Anna Howard Shaw stepped down in 1915 gave a boost to morale and brought focus to the national movement.

Catt's move into the presidency marked the "last hope" of many suffragists. She immediately made major organizational and strategic changes that infused new life in the movement and helped turn the tide toward victory. Recognizing the failure of the state-by-state effort, Catt developed what she called her "Winning Plan" for gaining an amendment to the Constitution by throwing out the old bureaucratic structure and personnel and replacing them with women dedicated to working on the task on a full time, professional basis.

For a while, the moderate suffragists seemed to be making steady progress toward suffrage in the western states. In 1890 Wyoming was admitted to statehood having had woman suffrage as a territory since 1869. Colorado in 1893 and Idaho and Utah in 1896 also adopted woman suffrage. In 1910 Washington joined these states, followed by California in 1911. In 1913, women in Illinois were the first east of the Mississippi to gain suffrage in township and presidential elections. Surprisingly, urban bosses in Chicago enthusiastically supported the change. By 1916 suffrage was also extended to Nevada, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona.

But despite this progress, the South appeared determined not to extend suffrage, and suffrage in the East was challenged by political bosses, liquor interests, and others who feared that woman suf-



This cartoon appeared in the NAWSA *Woman's Journal* in 1912 under the headline "Chinese Women Encourage their English and American Sisters." The Chinese practice of footbinding in evidence here was similar to the restrictive corsets of American women, limiting movement and sacrificing health in pursuit of an aesthetic ideal.

frage would result in prohibition.

In 1915 New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania held referenda on the question of woman suffrage. Both suffragists and anti-suffragists realized that this was a turning point in the long campaign for the vote. If even one of these states carried woman suffrage, the national political scene would change dramatically.

Although little effort was made to recruit non-white speakers for the suffrage cause, there were some notable exceptions. Mrs. Wong Yie, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was inspired by the efforts of Sun Yat-Sen's revolution in her homeland. Although she could speak only Chinese, she addressed club meetings using her husband as an interpreter. Mrs. Yie noted that she was disappointed that Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's efforts had not led to true liberation for Chinese women.

New Jersey's 1914 Delegation to President Wilson

A new Congress was to convene on December first. Ever since his inauguration, suffrage agitation of a strong, dignified and convincing character had been brought to the president's attentions. Suffragists hoped, therefore, that the president would feel that he could recommend the Suffrage Amendment to this new Congress. They decided, however, to present the matter to him in a forcible way. A fourth deputation of seventy-three women from his own state of New Jersey came to Washington in the middle of November, 1914.

This delegation arrived on Saturday afternoon, November 15. Until Monday morning they tried in every possible way to arrange for an appointment with the president at the White House. Representative McCoy of New Jersey endeavored to assist them in this matter. Their efforts and his were fruitless.

Monday morning at 10 o'clock, Alice Paul telephoned the Executive Office to say that, as it was impossible to find out what hour would suit the convenience of the president, the delegation was on its way to the White House. She explained that they would wait there until the President was ready to receive them, or would definitely refuse to do so. The clerk at the Executive Office declared over the telephone that it would be impossible to see the president without an appointment. He assured Alice Paul that such a thing had never been done. Representative McCoy called up Headquarters, and reported his failure to secure an appointment. On being told that the delegation was going to call on the President anyway, he protested vehemently against its proceeding to the White House without

the usual official preliminaries. Alice Paul's answer was a single statement: — "The delegation has already started."

In double file the seventy-three New Jersey women marched through Fifteenth Street, through Pennsylvania Avenue, past the Treasury Department, and up to the White House Grounds. And, lo, as though their coming spread a paralyzing magic, everything gave way before them. Two guards in uniform stood at the gate. They saluted and moved aside. The seventy-three women marched unchallenged through the grounds to the door of the Executive Office. An attendant there requested them courteously to wait until after their two leaders should be presented to the president by his secretary.

The request that these seventy-three New Jersey women made to President Wilson was that he should support the Constitutional Amendment enfranchising women. President Wilson replied: "I am pleased, indeed, to greet you and your adherents here, and I will say to you that I was talking only yesterday with several Members of Congress in regard to the suffrage committee in the House. The subject is one in which I am deeply interested, and you may rest assured that I will give it my earnest attention."

It is to be seen that the President's education had progressed, a little. To previous delegations, he had stated that because of other issues, there would be no time for the suffrage question. In advocating a Suffrage Committee in the House, he had made an advance — tiny to be sure — but an advance.

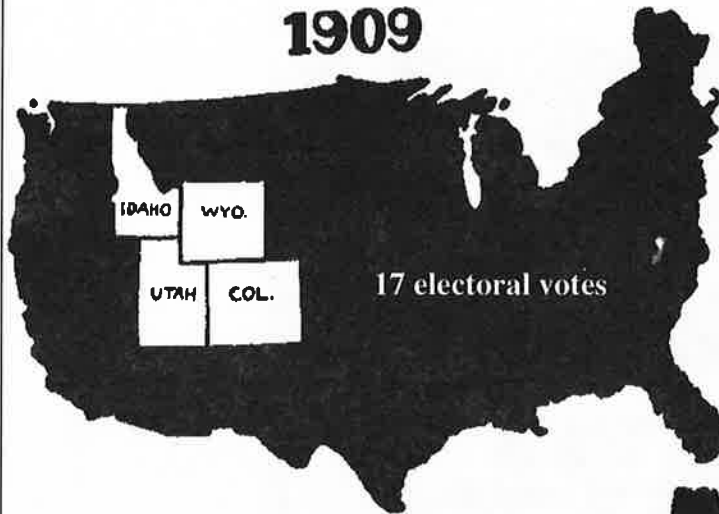
From *The Story of the Woman's Party* by Inez Haynes Irwin

The New Jersey Delegation: Starting from the left are: Mrs. William Reilly of Newark, Amelia B. Moorfield of Newark, Mrs. Harry Campton of Newark, Lillian Feickert of Dunellen, Mina Van Winkle of Newark, Ann Hora Connelly of Newark and Melinda Scott of Irvington.

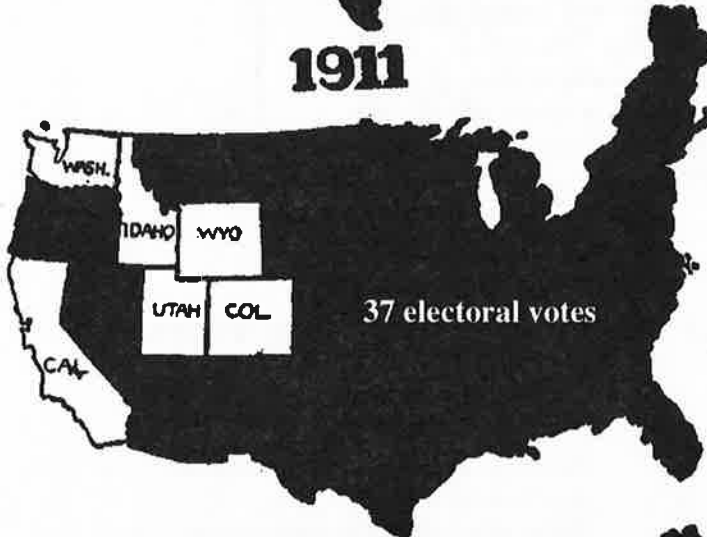


Suffrage in the States

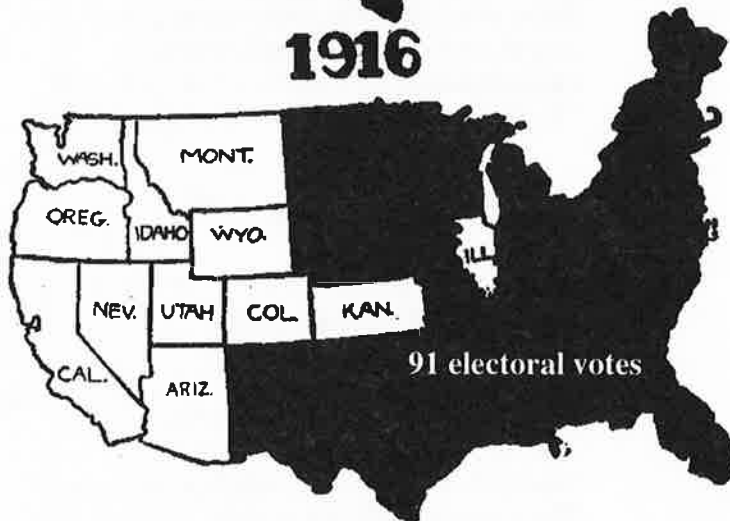
1909



1911



1916



History of the Federal Amendment

Drafted: 1875

Reported from Committee:

In the Senate

- 1878 Adverse majority
- 1879 Favorable minority
- 1882 Favorable majority, adverse minority
- 1884 Favorable majority, adverse minority
- 1886 Favorable majority
- 1890 Favorable majority
- 1892 Favorable majority
- 1896 Adverse majority
- 1884 Favorable majority, adverse minority
- 1913 Favorable majority
- 1914 Favorable majority
- 1916 Favorable majority

In the House

- 1883 Favorable majority
- 1884 Adverse majority, favorable minority
- 1886 Favorable majority
- 1890 Favorable majority
- 1894 Adverse majority
- 1914 Without recommendation
- 1916 Without recommendation

Voted Upon:

In the Senate

- January 1887: Yeas 16, nays 34, absent 26
- March, 1914: Yeas 35, nays 34

In the House

- January 12, 1915: Yeas 174, nays 204

Data as reported in the *Woman's Journal* of the NAWSA, 1916



Little Jack Horner sat in a corner
 Eating Political Pie 🍪 🍪 🍪
 He put in his thumb and pulled out a plum
 And said What a Big Boy am I 🍪 🍪 🍪
 Poor little Mary (not really contrary)
 Had a good right to look glum 🍪 🍪 🍪
 Why should Jack Horner on pies have a corner
 And poor little Mary have none! 🍪 🍪 🍪

M. D. L. W. 1890

Mother Goose Rhymes

Jack and Jill have equal will
 And equal strength and mind
 But when it comes to equal rights
 Poor Jill trails far behind.

Mary, Mary, quite contrary
 How does suffrage grow?
 With courage, faith and patience,
 And working girls all in a row.

This little pig went to business.
 This little pig stayed home
 This little pig had suffrage
 This little pig had none,
 This little pig said wee wee wee,
 I'm going to get it some day.

Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall.
 Humpty Dumpty had a great fall;
 Its takes all the women as well as the men
 To make a true Republic. Amen.

Here's to the Women

Tune: "Here's to the maiden."

Here's to the baby of five or fifteen,
 Here's to the widow of fifty,
 Here's to the flaunting extravagant queen,
 And here's to the hussy that's thrifty —
 Please to take note, they are in the same boat;
 They have not a chance of recording a vote.

Tune: "Vicar of the Bray"

When good queen Bess was on the throne
 Three hundred years ago, sir,
 For forty years she reigned alone
 As everyone must know, sir.
 She labored for her country's sake,
 And no one questioned then, sir,
 The right of England's queen to make
 The laws for England's men, sir.

From *The Suffragist*, 1913 and 1914

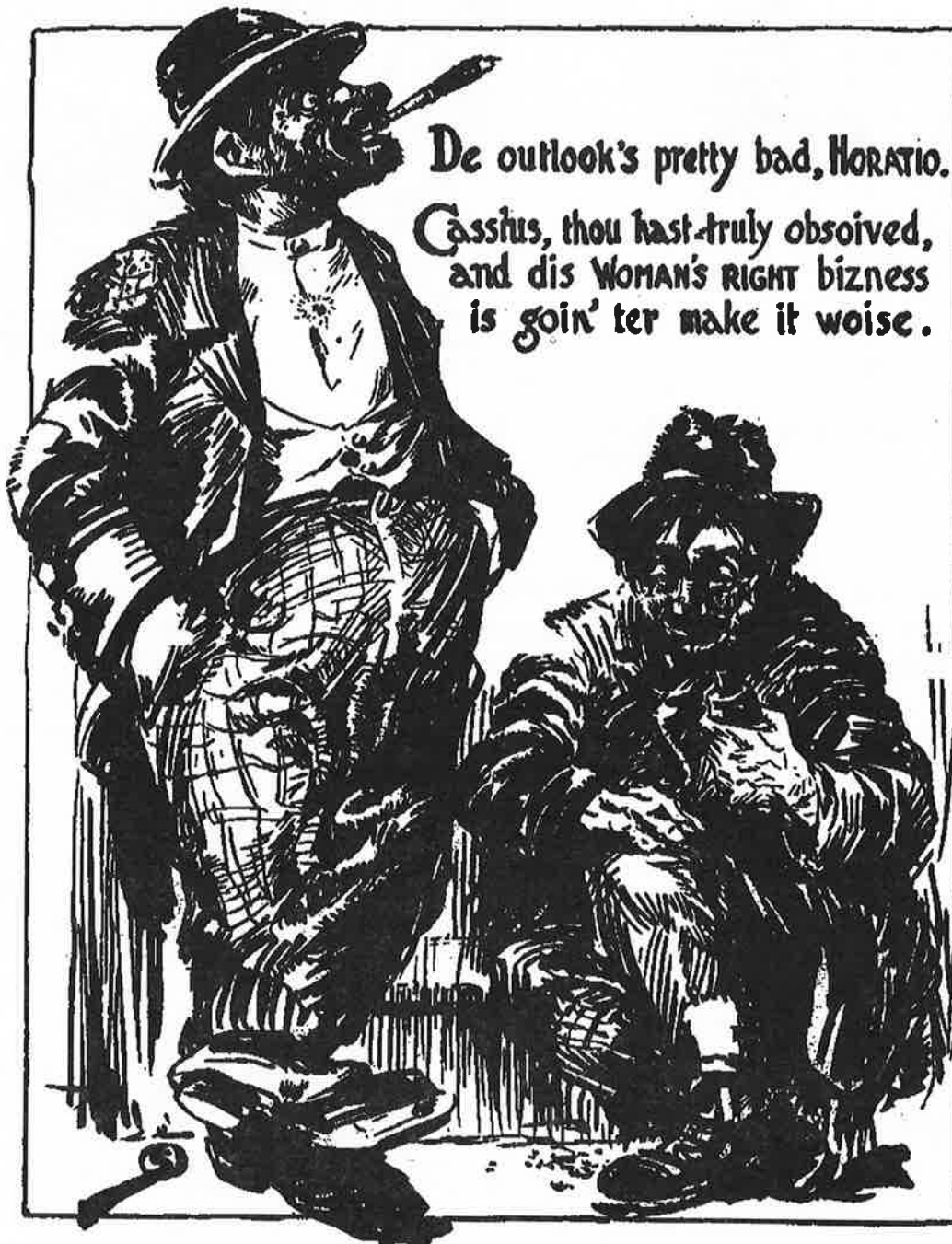
The American Suffragette

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGETTES OF AMERICA

VOL. 2

DECEMBER, 1910

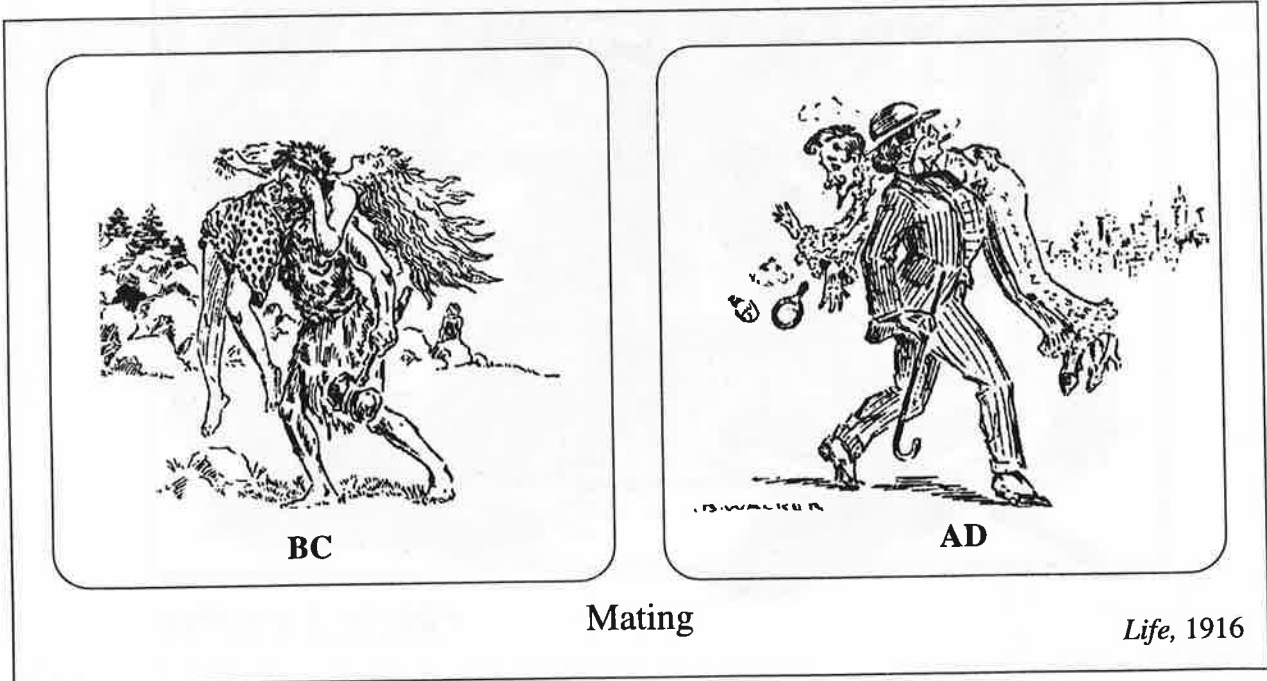
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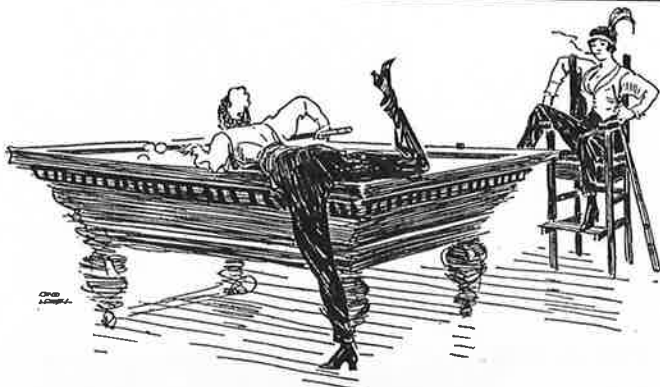


PRICE 5 CENTS



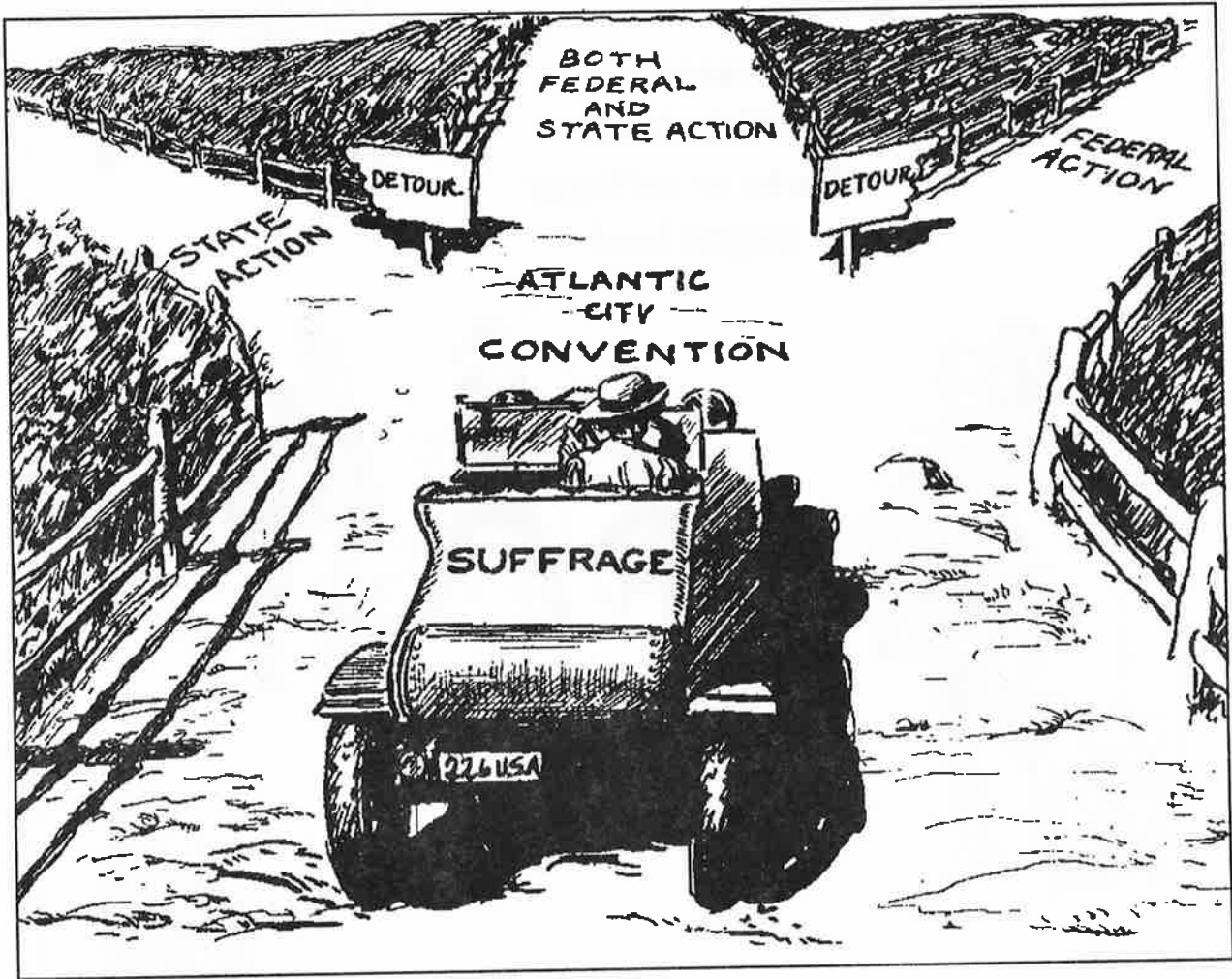
Cartoons in the popular press, like these from *Life* magazine, reflected the popular anti-suffrage view that the movement was in conflict with a woman's nature and would fundamentally change the relationship of the sexes.





**Life magazine's
1914 vision
of where suffrage
might lead**





National Headquarters Newsletter of NAWSA, August 15, 1916

The New Jersey Campaign 1900 - 1915

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Top: Campaign button for New Jersey Suffrage Amendment
Center: Campaigning on Lake Hopatcong
Bottom: Ticket for special suffrage train

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD	
VOTES FOR WOMEN SPECIAL	
TRENTON, N. J. TO JERSEY CITY	
SPECIAL TRAIN	
Leaves TUESDAY, February 18, 1913, 3.00 P. M.	
39	This Card will admit holder to Special Train only.
39	39

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD
Jersey City to Trenton, N. J.
SPECIAL TRAIN
TUESDAY, February 18, 1913
 Leave JERSEY CITY... 8.28 A. M.
 " NEWARK... 8.42 A. M.
 " ELIZABETH... 8.52 A. M.
 Arrive TRENTON, N. J. 9.52 A. M.
 This Card will admit holder to Special Train only.



Because the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) took a state-by-state approach, the prospects for women in each state depended largely on the local organizations which had to petition the legislatures and persuade popular opinion. The national suffrage organizations kept track of the progress being made in each state and reported the states' stories in their newspapers to provide encouragement to others. Despite this encouragement, the early heritage of women voting here and the presence of many suffrage leaders in the state, New Jersey suffragists found the going rough.

A period of relative inactivity during the first decade of the twentieth century followed the defeat in 1897 by the voters of the amendment to the state constitution giving women the right to vote for school trustees. Lillian Feickert and Mary Philbrook, counsel to the NJWSA, worked to mobilize a more concerted effort within the state. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, suffragists joined the many social, cultural and civic clubs popular among women in an effort to promote the suffrage cause. Mary Philbrook, for example, lectured widely in these groups about the difficulties she had experienced in being admitted to the bar, while adding her endorsement of the woman suffrage movement.

A broad range of clubs and political groups were enlisted in the cause directly. Among these were the Paterson Business and Professional Women's Club, The Civic Club of Stone Harbor, the Rutherford Equal Suffrage League, both conferences of the Baptist and Methodist churches, the New Jersey Education Association, the Central Building Trades Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League and the West Jersey Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church. The membership of suffrage clubs formed an interlocking network with the various women's clubs which flourished during this time.

Dr. Mary Hussey and Florence Howe Hall, a daughter of Julia Ward Howe, were charter members of the Jersey City Woman's Club. Florence Howe Hall also served as the president of the Essex County Chapter of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, the president of the Plainfield Branch of the Alliance of Unitarians and of the State Federation of Women's Clubs of New Jersey. Dr. Mary Hussey helped found the Orange Political Study Club around the time she helped revitalize the NJWSA.





This sign in Atlantic City announced: "The owner of this lot believes in suffrage, as does any other man who remembers a good mother."

At meetings of the Jersey City Woman's Club, Mary Philbrook met Cornelia Bradford, founder of the Whittier House. Philbrook became the legal counsel to the Whittier House as well as to the NJWSA. Concerned with the problem of child labor, Bradford, who became a supporter of the suffrage movement, felt that votes for women were also votes for reform of such abuses. In 1914, she spoke before the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association on "The Value of the Vote in Social Service Work." Ella Carter, Clara Laddey and Lillian Feickert were all members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Not all members of women's clubs were suffragists. Between 1906 and 1909 the State Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed suffrage for women; however, the organization moved away from this position because the membership became more divided on the issue and did not endorse suffrage again until 1917. By contrast, the General Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed suffrage in 1915.

In 1911, Mary Philbrook brought a test case to court claiming the right of New Jersey women to vote. *Carpenter v. Cornish* cited the 1776 constitution of New Jersey which allowed women to vote as its justification. Harriet Carpenter, a Newark school teacher who owned property in Passaic Township, demanded that since she paid taxes she be registered as a voter there. The case drew national publicity, and Philbrook's brief was widely circulated. Nevertheless, the New Jersey Supreme Court decided

against Harriet Carpenter's claim of a right to vote, stipulating that the vote for women was "nothing more than a privilege."

The high point of this period was unquestionably the campaign for a state referendum on an amendment for woman suffrage in 1915. By this date, Jeanette Rankin, Republican of Montana, had been elected to serve in the House of Representatives. New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts also had woman suffrage referenda before their voters that year. However, the struggle in the eastern states faced serious obstacles, such as ward bosses, liquor interests and concerted efforts by anti-suffrage forces.

The suffrage amendment which had been proposed unsuccessfully in New Jersey in many previous legislatures passed the Assembly by a vote of 46 to 5 and the Senate by a vote of 14 to 5 in 1915. Despite this apparent endorsement, the political parties did not work for the amendment and many party bosses opposed it. The suffrage amendment did win the support of the Progressives, the Socialists and the Prohibitionists in New Jersey, some of the political leaders of the two major parties, and the backing of the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

A major question for both sides involved the issue of liquor. The pro-suffrage campaign accused the "antis" of receiving money from the liquor interests, and the antis played to men's fears that a vote for women was a vote for prohibition. Essex and Hudson counties, which had the most votes, were home to many of the liquor interests. In these



The tugboat was used to link the suffrage cause in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

areas, the political bosses worked hard to defeat the amendment.

Key elements of the pro-suffrage campaign involved trying to get President Wilson to support the cause. He finally did but restricted his support saying he would personally vote for the suffrage amendment but could not speak for his party. Equally disappointing to the suffragists was the fact that he did not make his announcement until just before the election, giving them little time to take advantage of the endorsement.

Other speakers recruited to the cause were former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan and

congressmen and senators from western suffrage states. Colorado State Senator Helen Ring Robinson made speeches throughout New Jersey. Joe Tumulty, Wilson's secretary, returned to the state to speak for the measure.

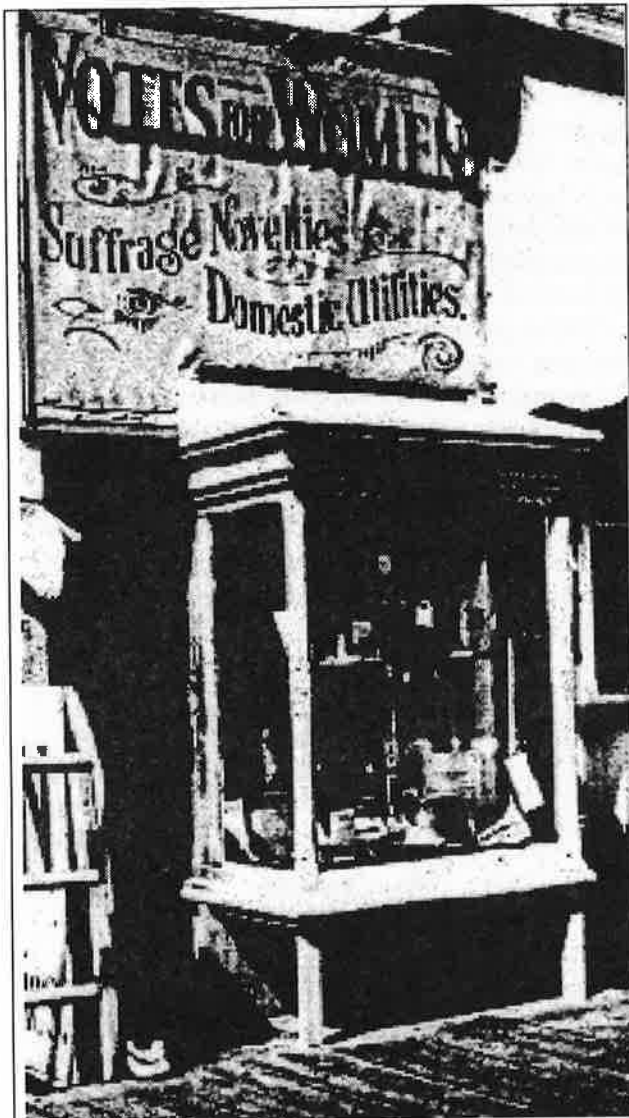
Among the churches endorsing the amendment was the Camden Baptist Association which resolved unanimously that:

we hereby endorse equal suffrage and recommend it to the people as a measure for the promotion of temperance, the protection of the home and the building of higher ideals in national life.

Since only men would be voting in the election to grant woman suffrage, support from prominent New Jersey men was critical. The New Jersey Men's League for Woman Suffrage was led by Banking Commissioner George M. LaMonte. The president of Princeton University declared himself for suffrage, but many of the faculty were antis. Just before the election a group of prominent New Jersey men, including Thomas Edison, made a public statement in support of suffrage which was carried by newspapers throughout the state. Republican Mayor Mark Fagan of Jersey City and his Democratic predecessor, H. Otto Wittpenn, husband of suffragist Caroline Wittpenn, both endorsed the amendment.

Attracting working-class men to the cause posed problems for the suffragists. One opportunity arose when the president of the New Jersey Firefighters' Relief Association allowed representatives from both pro- and anti-suffrage groups to address their convention in Atlantic City. The anti-suffrage speaker went first; when the pro-suffrage speaker began, considerable commotion broke out among the firefighters. The president threatened to remove those who could not give respectful attention, at which point several hundred men left the convention hall. Organizations endorsing suffrage in 1915 included the State Grange and the Letter Carriers' Association. Nationally, the Socialist and Progressive Parties, the American Library Association, the National Catholic Women's League, and the Council of Jewish Women all supported the movement.

Securing the support of the New Jersey Education Association was another significant development. In 1913, Elisabeth Almira Allen became the first woman president of the New Jersey Education Association. A prominent advocate of pensions for teachers and women's rights, Allen had taught in Atlantic City for many years. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, leader of the NAWSA, spoke at the educators' convention in Atlantic City. Shaw spent sev-



This boardwalk shop in Atlantic City was founded by Ella O. Guilford who kept it open throughout the summer of 1915, playing suffrage songs and selling novelties in order to keep suffrage constantly before the eyes of the "pleasure-seeking crowds which frequent the boardwalk."



eral days in the state speaking in Gloucester and Camden counties and then moving north to campaign in places like Morristown.

Suffragists put pressure on the 13,000 female teachers to help turn out the male vote. Teachers were told that if each of them took responsibility for one vote for suffrage, the amendment would carry the day. Other targeted groups included the male and female factory workers at the Westinghouse Electric Company of Newark and street car conductors in Trenton. One day, the Standard Oil Company plant in Bayonne closed a half hour early so that workers could listen to suffrage speakers. In Newark, Samuel Gompers spoke in favor of suffrage at the Newark Labor Union Suffrage League. The dyers and weavers in the textile mills of Paterson were invited to a formal debate on suffrage sponsored by the local YMCA. Speaking in favor of suffrage was Sofia M. Loebinger, a militant suffragist; speaking against it was a former N.J. legislator, Henry Marelli.

Little effort seems to have been addressed to winning support of racial or ethnic minorities. A rare paid newspaper advertisement in a German language daily was directed at telling German Americans how to vote. Of all the immigrant groups,

Germans were least likely to support suffrage because of their ties to the beer brewing industry. In fact, the national organization of German Catholics had criticized Theodore Roosevelt for his support of suffrage. The organization's slogan, "hausfrauen nicht ausfrauen," meant that women belonged in the home, not outside of it.

Clara Laddey of Arlington, President of the NJWSA from 1908-1912 and a German immigrant herself, specialized in speaking to German societies around the state. Her membership in the WCTU, however, probably did not win her many friends in those societies. Laddey also marched at the head of the NJWSA delegation in the first suffrage parade in New York City and was an American delegate to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Budapest, Hungary, in 1913.

The *Newark Evening News* reported on October 9, 1915, that Mary Church Terrell, a prominent African American woman, had encouraged black men to support woman suffrage out of a sense of justice. At the same meeting Alice Dunbar, wife of the poet Paul Dunbar and a leader in the National Association of Colored Women, argued that suffrage would not take women out of the home any more than church activities had. Other black women associ-



ated with the movement in New Jersey included one of the founders of the NAACP, Grace Baxter Fenderson. Cordelia Thomas Greene Johnson, founder of the Modern Beautician Association and president of the Jersey City chapter of the NAACP spoke around the state to groups of African American women and men on behalf of suffrage.

Dr. Florence Spearing Randolph, feminist, minister, and temperance worker oversaw the growth of the New Jersey Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (NJFCWC) between 1915 and 1927, pulling in temperance groups, missionary societies and clubs for the betterment of self and society. By the 1920s, the NJFCWC included in its membership over thirty-five hundred domestics, day workers, doctors and lawyers who met annually in Atlantic City. Randolph also served as chaplain to the National Association of Colored Women, as an organizer and lecturer for the WCTU and on the executive board of the NJWSA.

Randolph encouraged the membership of the NJFCWC to use their influence to get publicity in the newspapers, to change laws, and to gain appointments on important boards in an effort to wipe out racism, sexism and colonialism.

On behalf of the NJFCWC, Randolph appealed directly to President Woodrow Wilson, asking him to address the issues of race rioting, lynching, and the raping of black women. She also spoke in 1915 in front of the New Jersey Legislature in support of woman suffrage and worked with Lillian Feickert and Republican women on this cause.

The efforts of the suffragists, generally organized at the county level, included the widespread distribution of leaflets and broadsides explaining the suffrage arguments. Most leaflets were distributed during suffrage marches or sent through the mail. Suffragists claimed to have distributed as many as 20,000 flyers in a day.

These tracts made the case that suffrage for women was a logical and historically based extension of human rights in this country. Proponents seemed to assume that men would see the validity of the cause if it were explained in rational terms. The most commonly used arguments stated that the only other persons denied suffrage in the state were foreigners, criminals and the insane.

To combat the argument that suffrage would cause women to neglect their responsibilities in the home, the NJWSA published a pamphlet in 1915 in Plainfield entitled "The Better Babies Pamphlet," an attempt to prove that women who vote had healthier babies. The picture of a baby on the cover carried the caption "I wish my mother had a vote — to keep the germs away." According to Lillian Feickert, the states with the lowest infant mortality were all woman suffrage states!

Suffrage leaders in Paterson organized a coffee house to capitalize on the large crowds attracted by the immensely popular evangelist, Billy Sunday. The coffee house was directly behind the tabernacle and richly decorated with yellow suffrage signs and literature. Sunday's audience included as many as 1400 at one time — many of whom had traveled across the state. The newspaper in Paterson reported that Billy Sunday made a public statement in support of suffrage, despite the fact that he had been entertained by Jennie Tuttle Hobart, widow of former vice president Garret Hobart, who had served under President William McKinley, and who was a prominent anti-suffragist leader there.

Excursions in favor of suffrage, whether by train, boat, car or foot, were sponsored by local suffrage organizations to gain publicity for the cause. One such march in Monmouth County began in Long Branch, proceeded to Red Bank, then divided, with half the group going on to Seabright and Atlantic Highlands and the other contingent going to Freehold, Adelphia, Farmington, Hamilton, and finally Asbury Park. Perhaps the most unusual symbol for the movement was the "suffrage camel" which the Newark office lent out to other groups for their marches and rallies.

Dances were also used as fundraisers. The Trenton Civics and Suffrage Association sponsored a

Lincoln dance in February, 1915, where the season's newest dances were demonstrated. The Women's Political Union of Newark held a series of balls, including one in 1914 and one in 1916 which raised funds for the cause. A huge rally took place in the ballroom of the Essex and Sussex Hotel in Spring Lake. East Orange staged a large celebration honoring Lucy Stone's protest against "taxation without representation." Other tactics included national contests on women and the vote which were promoted by the local suffrage societies. The *American Suffragette* magazine sponsored a national essay contest in 1911, and the NAWSA, a poster contest in 1915.

Events on a smaller scale included a whist party and a Japanese evening organized by the Junior Equal Suffrage League. The Atlantic City Woman Suffrage League promoted the idea of a "suffrage garden." The town of Collingswood featured "Suffrage Girls" at a children's carnival. The Hunterdon County Fair was the scene for the flying of a suffragist balloon. Montclair boasted a "suffrage school." Organizers in New York proposed that women workers go on a one-day strike to demonstrate the importance of women to the economy, but the idea did not get wide support and was not tried in New Jersey.

Newspaper coverage throughout the state was limited, reflecting the lack of interest of the political parties and the major events taking place in the war in Europe. Sixteen of the thirty-seven dailies in



Parade in Long Branch promoting suffrage

New Jersey favored suffrage; four opposed it, and the remainder were neutral. The *Trenton True American* and the *Trenton Evening Times* were among those papers in favor of the referendum of 1915. The *Newark Evening News* gave considerable space and sympathy to the cause. In newspapers which were supportive, many suffragists wrote lengthy letters to the editors explaining their views. Overall, the newspapers were willing to print anything the suffragists sent them, although typically on the women's page where it was not likely to be read by prospective male voters.

During the days of the referendum campaign, women of New Jersey continued to exercise the small degree of school suffrage that they held, sometimes with interesting results. In Washingtonville, a school district in North Plainfield, women turned out *en masse* to support the building of a larger school house. On a similar question in Dover, women voters outnumbered men three to one. Also in 1915, Thomas L. Raymond, the pro-suffrage mayor of Newark, appointed Beatrice Winsler, a member of the Women's Political Union, to the Board of Education. The Union had pressed the Mayor to appoint a woman to serve on the Board.

In the final days of the campaign, both sides insisted that momentum was on their side, and the newspapers generally thought the vote was too close to call. On election day suffragists recruited poll watchers for as many wards as possible and organized cars to drive voters to the polls. Many had predicted a light vote, but in fact the vote was relatively large for an off-year election and resulted in the registration of many new male voters.

In the end, suffragists complained of election fraud, specifically citing the fact that in numerous



The First Citizen Votes "Yes."

"I believe the time has come to extend the privilege and responsibility to the women of the state.... I think New Jersey will be greatly benefited by the change."

Woodrow Wilson

localities, voters who had been on line when the polls closed were not permitted to vote. However, when the final votes were tallied and the measure went down to defeat by almost 50,000 votes, it became clear that these minor complaints had not significantly affected the election. The *New York Times* reported that the use of "Negro women as suffrage watchers at polling places" was thought to have lost votes for the amendment in Atlantic City.

Among those communities which supported suffrage were Metuchen, East Orange, Belleville, Nutley, Glen Ridge and South Orange. In Newark only fifteen of the 189 voting districts went for the amendment. Mina Van Winkle of the Women's Political Union charged that there were "corrupt political influences in the state," but no substantial evidence has been documented.

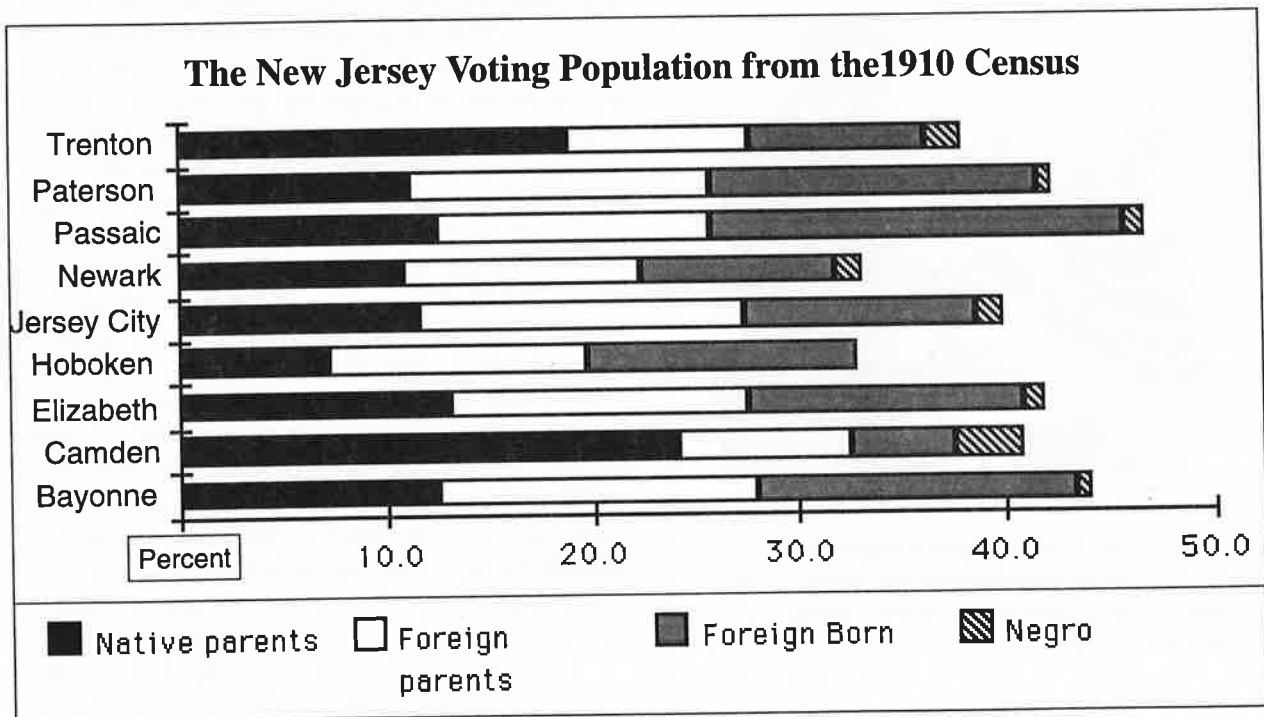
The defeat of the referendum in New Jersey was a significant setback for the suffrage cause and foreshadowed the negative vote in New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Moreover, New Jersey law did not permit the amendment to be reintroduced into the legislature for five years. Since the amendment had to be submitted to *two* successive legislatures for approval, this meant that a New Jersey amendment was at least seven years off.

For some suffragists the defeat of the New Jersey referendum was merely one more hurdle to cross. A delegation of New Jersey women showed up at a New York suffrage parade the following week carrying a sign which read "delayed but not defeated."

Lillian Feickert, president of the NJWSA, announced that the following year the suffrage forces would present a proposal for a New Jersey law permitting women to vote in presidential primaries. She argued that since the primary was not a direct vote for an officeholder, but only for a candidate, participation in primaries was not subject to the limitations of the New Jersey Constitution of 1844. Thus, women should be permitted to vote.

Alice Paul of Moorestown, who had spent all of 1915 working in Washington rather than participating in the New Jersey campaign, realized that the clear defeat in New Jersey would shift the focus to the national amendment, where she believed it belonged. She boldly declared :

The defeat of suffrage in New Jersey will greatly stimulate the movement for an amendment to the national Constitution enfranchising women. For over sixty years women have been trying to win suffrage for the state by the state referendum method advocated by President Wilson. It has meant the expenditure of an enormous amount of energy, of time and of money.... We approach the next session of Congress full of hope that the leverage which the suffrage movement possesses as a result of the fact that one fourth of the Senate and one sixth of the House, and one sixth of the electoral votes now come from suffrage states will mean the passage of the national suffrage amendment, thus doing away with the costly and laborious state campaigns [like that] unsuccessfully waged in New Jersey.



W.E.B. DuBois Urges a Vote for Suffrage

The following article appeared as voters in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were considering state referenda on woman suffrage.

This month 200,000 Negro voters will be called upon to vote on the question of giving the right of suffrage to women. *The Crisis* sincerely trusts that everyone of them will vote Yes. But *The Crisis* would not have them go to the polls without having considered every side of the question. Intelligence in voting is the only real support of democracy.

[Anti-Suffragists] ... believe that the bearing and rearing of the young is a function which makes it impossible for women to take any large part in general, industrial, and public affairs; that women are weaker than men; that women are adequately protected under man's suffrage; that no adequate results have appeared from woman suffrage and that office-holding by women is "risky."

All these arguments sound today ancient. If we turn to easily available statistics we find that ... the women ... are as a matter of fact engaged in and engaged successfully in practically every pursuit in which men are engaged. The actual work of the world today depends more largely upon women than upon men. Consequently this man-ruled world faces an astonishing dilemma: either Woman the Worker is doing the world's work successfully or not. If she is not doing it well why do we not take from her the necessity of working? If she is doing it well, why not treat her as a worker with a voice in the direction of work?

To say that woman is weaker than man is sheer rot: It is the same sort of thing that we hear about "darker races" and "lower classes." Difference, either physical or spiritual, does not argue weakness or inferiority. That the average woman is spiritually different from the average man is undoubtedly just as true as the fact that the average white man differs from the average Negro; but this is no reason for disfranchising the Negro or lynching him. It is inconceivable that any person looking upon the accomplishments of women today in every field of endeavor, realizing their humiliating handicap and the astonishing prejudices which they face and yet seeing despite this

that in government, in the professions, in sciences, the arts and the industries they are leading forces, growing in power as their emancipation grows. It is inconceivable that any fair-minded person could talk about a "weaker" sex. The sex of Judith, Candace, Queen Elizabeth, Sojourner Truth and Jane Addams was the merest incident of human function and not a mark of weakness and inferiority.

To say that men protect women with their votes is to overlook the flat testimony of the facts. In the first place there are millions of women who have no natural men protectors: the unmarried, the widowed, the deserted and those who have married failures. To put this whole army incontinently out of court and leave them unprotected and without voice in political life is more than unjust, it is a crime.

There was a day in the world when it was considered that by marriage a woman lost all her individuality as a human soul and simply became a machine for making men. We have outgrown that idea. A woman is

just as much a thinking, feeling, acting person after marriage as before. It is conceivable, of course, for a country to decide that its unit of representation should be the family and that one person in that family should express its will. But by what possible process of rational thought can it be decided that the person to express that will should always be the male, whether he be genius or drunkard, imbecile or captain of industry?

The meaning of the twentieth century is the freeing of the individual soul; the soul longest in slavery and still in the most disgusting and indefensible slavery is the soul of womanhood. God give her increased freedom!

Mr. Miller is right in saying that the results from woman suffrage have as yet been small but the answer is obvious: the experiment has been small.

To say that woman is weaker than man is sheer rot: It is the same sort of thing that we hear about "darker races" and "lower classes."

From *The Crisis*, September 1915

haben, ihre Stimme bei der ersten Wahl abgegeben. Stimmen Sie am 19. October „Ja“

Wie Sie es einstimmig machen können

(Dies ist eine Abbildung des Stimmzettels, mit welchem gekümmert werden soll bei der Special Wahl am Dienstag, den 19. October 1915.)

This Ballot shall not be voted. It is a sample ballot to be used for guidance of voters.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

Special Election, October 19, 1915

Thomas F. Martin
Secretary of State

Wartieren Sie ein

X
in dem Quadrat
gegenüber

YES



Proposed Amendments of the Constitution of the State of New Jersey.

First Amendment.
If you favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of New Jersey first printed below, make an X mark in the square opposite the word "Yes." If you are opposed thereto make an X mark in the square opposite the word "No." Black ink or black pencil may be used for each purpose.

Shall this amendment, extending the right to vote to women citizens, be adopted?	Yes	X
	No	

Strike out paragraph one (1) of Article IV and insert in lieu thereof the following:

1. Every male and every female citizen of the United States, who shall have been a resident of this State one year, and of the county in which he or she claims a vote five months, next before the election, shall be entitled to vote for all officers that now are, or hereafter, may be, elective by the people; provided, that no citizen by marriage shall enjoy the right of an elector unless she shall have been a resident of this State five years next before the election; and provided that no person in the military, naval or marine service of the United States shall be considered a resident in this State until being stationed in any garrison, barracks, or military or naval place or station within this State; and no person, idiot, insane person, or person convicted of a crime which under the laws of the State in force on the second day of September, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, would have excluded such person from being a voter, unless pardoned or restored by law to the right of suffrage, shall enjoy the right of an elector; and provided further, that in time of absence either in the actual military service of the State, or of the United States, in the army or navy thereof, shall be deemed a vote by reason of absence from such election district; and the Legislature shall have power to provide the manner in which, and the time and place at which, such absent electors may vote, and for the return and canvass of their votes in the election.

Second Amendment.
If you favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of New Jersey first printed below, make an X mark in the square opposite the word "Yes." If you are opposed thereto make an X mark in the square opposite the word "No." Black ink or black pencil may be used for each purpose.

Shall this amendment, authorizing raters commissions of land by the State or any political subdivision thereof, be adopted?	Yes	X
	No	

Strike out Article IX and in place thereof insert:

ARTICLE IX.
Amendments of the Constitution of the State shall be proposed by the Senate or General Assembly, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment shall be entered on their journals, with the year and day thereon, and referred to the Legislature then next to be chosen, and shall be published for three months previous to making such choice in at least one newspaper of each county, if any be published thereon, and if in the next Legislature not approved aforesaid, such proposed amendment shall be agreed to by a majority of all the members elected to such house, then it shall be the duty of the Legislature to submit such proposed amendment to the people at such ballot as the Legislature shall direct, at the election for members of the General Assembly, held next after three months, shall have elapsed after the amendment shall have been agreed to by both houses of the Legislature aforesaid; and if the people at such general election shall approve and ratify such amendment by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the Legislature voting thereon, such amendment so approved and ratified shall become part of the Constitution; provided, that if more than one amendment is submitted, they shall be submitted in such manner and form that the people may vote for or against each amendment separately and distinctly; provided

Third Amendment.
If you favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of New Jersey first printed below, make an X mark in the square opposite the word "Yes." If you are opposed thereto make an X mark in the square opposite the word "No." Black ink or black pencil may be used for each purpose.

Shall this amendment, authorizing raters commissions of land by the State or any political subdivision thereof, be adopted?	Yes	X
	No	

Amend Article IV by adding the following section, which shall be known as Section IX.

Section IX.
1. The Legislature may authorize the State, or counties, cities, towns, boroughs or other municipalities, or any board, governing body or commission of the same, to take more land and property than is needed for actual construction in the laying out, widening, extending or relocating the parks, public places, highways or streets; provided, however, that the additional land or property so authorized to be taken shall be no more than sufficient to form suitable building sites abutting on such park, public place, highway or street. After so much of the land or property taken has been appropriated for such park, public place, highway or street as is needed therefor, the remainder may be sold or leased and reasonable restrictions imposed.

Sie können nicht stimmen, wenn Sie dieses Jahr nicht von neuem registriert wurden

Dieses Jahr können Sie bei der Special Wahl am Dienstag, den 19. October, nicht stimmen, wenn Sie nicht neu registriert haben.

Wenn Sie noch nicht registriert sind
Registrieren und stimmen Sie heute, am 19. October
zwischen 1 und 7 Uhr Abends

A portion of an advertisement to educate German-speaking voters about the ballot. There were in fact three amendments on the ballot, of which the woman suffrage provision was the first.

Please send all Checks made out to the Women's Political Union.



Women's Political Union of New Jersey

HEADQUARTERS: 79 HALSEY STREET, NEWARK, N. J.
TELEPHONE 3150 MULBERRY

OFFICERS

President: MRS. MINA C. VAN WINKLE, Newark

Vice Presidents

MISS JULIA S. HURLBUT, Morristown
MRS. F. T. LUKENS, Oxford
MRS. H. R. REED, Leon
MRS. W. H. GARDNER, Hammoncton
MISS EDNA C. WYCKOFF, Hightstown
MRS. R. T. NEWTON, Nutley
MISS LOUISE ANTRIM, Merchantville
MRS. ROBERT IRVING, Haddonfield
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MISS LOUISE CONNOLLY, Summit
MISS LORA E. PALMER, Spring Lake

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MISS SARA CROWELL, Newark

Executive Secretary

MRS. M. J. REYNOLDS, Newark

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MRS. R. B. HALLEY, Rahway

Legislative Chairman

MRS. PHILIP MCKIM GARRISON, West Orange

Chairman House Committee

MISS ANNE SKINNER

Legislative Secretary

MRS. R. T. NEWTON, Nutley

Congressional Secretary

MISS JULIA S. HURLBUT, Morristown

Labor Union Executive Secretary

MRS. ELLA REEVE BLOOR, Ohio

Field Organizers

MISS ALYSE GREGORY

MISS EMILY PIERSON

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Mr. Fillmore Condit
Mr. George H. Goebel

Dear Fellow Suffragist:-

The symbolic Suffrage Torch that has completed its journey across New York, from Montauk Point to Buffalo, will be passed on to New Jersey on August the seventh.

We are planning to welcome it enthusiastically, and are inviting many notable suffragists to help us receive it as befits the importance of the event, and the value to our campaign of such a celebration. You can appreciate how vital to our success your assistance at this critical time will prove. We are depending upon the personal support of our friends and the valuable publicity resulting from a noteworthy demonstration.

On Saturday, August 7th, at 11:30 A. M., our tug will be moored at Pier B, Pennsylvania Railroad, Jersey City. We shall sail for mid stream, where, at high noon, we meet the New York tug, from which the Torch will be transferred to us. There will be an automobile division of decorated cars for the street meetings after this. At Atlantic Highlands the Torch will be passed on to a corp of Monmouth County campaigners. The Torch will remain in New Jersey until the climax of the celebration, with Dr. Shaw's meeting on August 26th, at Long Branch.

Will you let us know immediately that you will join us on the tug, so that admission tickets may be sent to you promptly.

Cordially,

Eanna Suppessie Weston
76.

The Truth About Woman's Suffrage and Labor Leaders in Colorado!

The advocates of Equal Suffrage have not found it necessary to resort to misrepresentation nor to the employment of discredited labor leaders to influence the electorate of the State of New Jersey.

The Women's Political Union find it necessary to refute the published statements of one William T. Hickey, a discredited former official of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, whose personal statement has been widely published, misrepresenting the working people of Colorado and deliberately attempting to make it appear that organized labor is antagonistic to woman's suffrage.

Hear the REAL Labor Leaders

Emphatically Endorse Woman's Suffrage and Repudiate W. T. Hickey

You Can Depend On Lawson

Denver, Colorado, October 16, 1915.

Women's Political Union:

W. T. Hickey, formerly secretary-treasurer Colorado State Federation of Labor, gave his personal views when he stated that labor in Colorado is opposed to equal suffrage. He was not authorized to speak for me or the State Federation as a body nor the miners' organization. I am now, as I have always been, unqualifiedly in favor of equal suffrage. I believe that it is one of the means of curing the ills with which the body politic is now afflicted and essential to genuine democracy.

JOHN R. LAWSON.

From a District President in Colorado

That the people of New Jersey may know the truth about W. T. Hickey, whose published statement makes it appear that the Colorado State Federation of Labor is opposed to Woman's Suffrage, I would say that Mr. Hickey has not for more than a year been associated in any capacity with organized labor and cannot therefore speak for it. Neither has he the right to use the letter-head of the Federation of Labor, by whom he has long since been discredited because of unfaithfulness to the cause of labor—his expulsion having been effected by a unanimous vote of representatives of all branches of the Colorado Federation of Labor.

The recently published Hickey letter has been in readiness for months and has been shown in various places for the same purposes as it was used here, and it was repudiated long since by the president of the Federation of Miners, Ludlow District, Colorado.

EUGENE C. MOORE,

President Miner's Federation of Labor, Ludlow District, Colorado.

Joe D. Cannon, organizer of the Western Federation of Miners, says:

"The anti lie when they speak of William T. Hickey as the secretary-treasurer of the Colorado Federation of Labor. He is not. He held that position for several years, and utilized it to strengthen his affiliations with the rottenest political machine from which Colorado has ever suffered. Hickey had no support from the women of Colorado. He never deserved any. I know enough of the Colorado situation to know that organized labor in that State absolutely repudiates Hickey's charge that woman suffrage has been a failure in Colorado."

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, of the Denver Woman's Trade Union League, telegraphs:

"Colorado has been absolutely loyal to woman suffrage. The best answer, to Hickey's statement lies in the fact that although anti have been combing Colorado for data since 1893, they have never found a single resolution passed by any labor organization criticising woman suffrage, and this in a State where the labor movement has never hesitated to denounce its opponents. This continued loyalty far outweighs private views and mixed motives of a single individual."

Gompers Strong for Suffrage

I CAN NOT CONCEIVE OF A PIECE OF LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HOME, FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CHILD, OR ANYTHING THAT SHALL GO TO ROUND OUT THE LIVES OF OUR YOUNG ONES TO WHICH OUR WOMEN WOULD BE OPPOSED.

I can only say to you, I ask you men of labor, you men of affairs, to see to it that you do your duty. If you do not you will miss your opportunity to do the wise, the just, the right thing. Is the A. F. of L. you will find those who will stand behind you in the cause of equal rights, which means equal suffrage.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Notes for by the Women's Political Union of New Jersey

WARNING!

William T. Hickey, for eight years Secretary-Treasurer of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, a fellow-worker with John Lawson, sends A Warning Message To New Jersey's Toiling Thousands.

JOHN McLENNAN, PRESIDENT

W. T. HICKEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. ANDERSON, TOROLES
 J. H. BARTON, COLORADO SPRINGS
 GEORGE BUTTS, GRAND JUNCTION
 HARRY ARNEY, DENVER

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

FRANK MINNIE, TROUTMAN
 JOHN TURNER, VERTON
 E. J. GILSON, DENVER
 JOHN P. CUMBY, LAPOYRE
 ROBT. UNLICE, TROUTMAN



Colorado State Federation of Labor

308-308 GERMAN AMERICAN TRUST BUILDING
 POST OFFICE BOX 1408

Denver, Colorado, Oct. 11th, 1915

Speaking from a Labor standpoint, Suffrage has been a failure in Colorado.

There has never been a measure enacted into law for the protection of women and children of this State that was not initiated, campaigned and paid for by organized labor.

The Women's Eight Hour Law was defeated at two sessions of the legislature through factional fights among the women representatives; the Child Labor Laws and the Woman's Minimum Wage Law would never have been enacted if left to the women to champion.

There are many reasons why suffrage has been a failure here and I fail to see one act on the part of the women that has been to their benefit during the 20 years of suffrage in Colorado.

I do not want my meaning in this to be misconstrued, as we have some of the finest women in the world in Colorado, many of whom have tried to bring about better conditions, but their efforts have been a failure.

It is with these issues constantly in view that I SAY SUFFRAGE HAS BEEN A FAILURE IN COLORADO.

My advice to the Laboring People is: Consider this question thoroughly before you lend your support to a measure that you may in after years have reasons to regret.

Assuring you of my assistance at any time, I beg to remain.

Very truly yours,

W. T. Hickey



Women's Political Union of New Jersey

HEADQUARTERS: 79 HALSEY STREET, NEWARK, N. J.
TELEPHONE 3150 MULBERRY

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SUFFRAGE BASE BALL GAME KANSAS CITY VS. NEWARK

Ladies' Day--Friday, June 25, 1915--2:30 P. M.

Dear Fellow Suffragist:--

Herewith inclosed are five tickets which we ask you to kindly distribute among men who are sure to use them. Free admission to women.

We make a profit of 10 cents and 25 cents on each ticket sold. Please help us earn money for our campaign!

An auto parade with decorated cars will proceed to the grounds from our headquarters. Notable suffrage speakers will address the men on the

bleachers and the grand stands. Our women will sell all kinds of supplies.

The attendance at a big game of this kind is usually ten thousand, and has been as high as thirty thousand. This is our biggest opportunity of the year. You are urged to help us make a creditable demonstration.

MRS. FRANK H. SOMMER, Chairman.

Suffragists Monitor the Campaign of 1915

The campaign in New Jersey included pressure on state legislators, publicity stunts, door-to-door canvassing and other forms of political persuasion.

Excerpts from *The Woman's Journal* during the month of October, 1915, offer the suffragists' views of the events. This newspaper of the NAWSA was edited first by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell and subsequently by their daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell.

Jersey Closes Big Campaign

The closing hours of the New Jersey campaign were characterized by the most intense activity, especially in the large and populous cities in the northern part of the state.

The orange, white and blue and purple, white and green banners of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association and the Women's Political Union were fluttering from hundreds of automobiles racing through the highways and byways of the northern counties, marrying women to the doors of the large manufacturing establishments.

Suffrage Amendment Vote in N.J.

Atlantic	2948	6603
Bergen	6889	7256
Burlington	3508	4862
Camden	9079	11544
Cape May	1438	1781
Cumberland	2928	3518
Essex	21233	34876
Gloucester	2590	3038
Hudson	24100	31476
Hunterdon	1747	2220
Mercer	6864	1011
Middlesex	3114	5284
Monmouth	2822	3298
Morris	1817	2857
Ocean	1131	921
Pasaaic	10766	12999
Salem	1236	1634
Somerset	1883	3259
Sussex	1099	2012
Union	7158	10480
Warren	1638	2236

Total	115,988	162,226
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Big Vote Cast in New Jersey

More than Four Times as Many Ballots As At Previous Special Election

The official canvass of the returns of the New Jersey election have not yet been announced, but the total vote is estimated at 314,134. The great interest in equal suffrage which this indicates can be estimated when it is remembered that... the total vote at the gubernatorial election of 1913 was 357,317. In other words, suffrage at a special election polled about 84 per cent of the vote for the governor at a regular election.

It is estimated that the vote in favor of equal suffrage was 131,911 and against 182,223. A change of about 25,000 votes would have meant a suffrage victory.

The woman suffrage amendment in New Jersey got as many supporting votes, the New York World points out, as the Republicans did in 1913, and about 50,000 more than Taft received in 1912.

Press Unanimous: Jersey Bosses Did It

Tribune says Bosses fear Women Voters — Sun states Liquor men solid with Antis — All hold political machines responsible.

Equal suffrage in New Jersey was defeated by the corrupt political machines. The authorities for this statement are not only the suffragists, but all of the New York press, which made it a point to cover thoroughly the New Jersey election.

The New York Herald the day after the election said that the suffragists "found nothing but discouragement in the reports from the populous centers where the political machines hold perpetual sway."

"In Essex and Hudson counties, with the political machines in perfect working order and the leaders determined to defeat the suffrage advocates, the vote was erroneous and the words 'Vote against it' passed along like wildfire, were obeyed."

The New York World published a cartoon showing the political henchmen standing around the saloon table and saying, "Well, boys, we saved the home!"

The New York Tribune said, "The story of the



amendment's defeat is the story of scattered effort against well-oiled political machines. Most of the hostile politicians frankly admitted the reason they opposed the granting of the franchise was not because women were incompetent to vote, but because they believed they could not control them as easily as men."

The New York Sun said, "The defeat resulted from the fact that many men who told the women they were going to cast their ballots for suffrage voted the other way when they got into the booths by themselves and to the fact that the politicians of both Democratic and Republican parties didn't want to have the women in politics. Therefore they instructed their lieutenants to vote No, and their orders were carried out. Another element that entered into the success of the opposition was the activity of the brewers and the saloon keepers. The liquor interests lined up solidly with the antis, fearing what might happen if the women of New Jersey had the vote."

The New York Morning Telegraph said: "When workers from headquarters arrived at the polls they found several heavy-jowled gentlemen hailing the voters, most of whom were workingmen, and presenting them with sample ballots carrying a big NO against suffrage. A woman newspaper reporter, armed with a camera, attempted to snap a picture as one of these men led a voter to the door of the polling place, slapped him on the back and bade him do his duty. She bemoaned the fact that the light was poor, but the ward worker was scared out of a week's growth when he looked up and found the kodak pointed at him."

"The suffragists found they couldn't stop the electioneering when it was conducted further than 100 feet from the polling place, but they persuaded a policeman to halt the dragging of voters to the booth's door."

Throughout the campaign the New York Evening Post has laid the opposition to woman suffrage at the door of the political bosses. Even the New York Times said that the women "found the great political machines arrayed against them in some of the most important centers of population."

The Newark Evening News said that: "It is true that both political machines with their old allies, the liquor interests, opposed the amendment to the top of their power."

From The Suffragist, the official weekly of the National Women's Party, October 22, 1915

New Jersey and Afterward

Not until after New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts shall have balloted on the question of inserting in their several constitutions provisions granting full political equality to women can anything like a proper estimate be placed on the result of Tuesday's vote on the suffrage amendment in New Jersey. Sometimes defeats turn out in the end to be victories; this is peculiarly, often strikingly, true of seeming defeats suffered by righteous causes all the way down through human history. When all the facts in the New Jersey case come to be understood, it may very well be that the loss of one State shall lead to the winning of many.

The manner in which New Jersey was lost to the suffrage cause, which made clear to the enlightened and fair-minded voters of the three states that are to pass upon the question one week from next Tuesday, should strengthen those already enlisted in the fight against political discrimination as between men and women and assist very materially in winning over those still halting between two opinions.

"We love him for the enemies he has made," shouted a delegate in a great national

convention in the United States some years ago, and that shout carried the convention and swept the country, for the leader whose exalted sense of responsibility of the officeholder to his master, the public, had earned for him bitter opposition in his own part as well as outside of it. The enemies equal suffrage has made, as shown in New Jersey during the recent campaign, unless we are greatly mistaken in our view of the matter, will commend it more forcibly than ever to the consideration of all good citizens. Manifestly it would not have had, as it had, the united opposition of partisan bossism, cemented by the manufacturing liquor and saloon interest if it were not itself essentially sound. What better proof of character can the cause of equal suffrage offer in its own behalf than that it is feared quite as intensely as it is disliked by the very worst elements of the social and political activities of the nation? What higher recommendation can it have to the consideration and respect and support of thinking people than the knowledge, open to all, that it is making enemies of those interests which are arrayed against the welfare of the country's manhood, womanhood and childhood.

Editorial from the *Christian Science Monitor*,
October 20, 1915



Well, boys, we saved the home.

The Defeat of the New Jersey Amendment

The defeat of woman suffrage in New Jersey was not unexpected. The suffrage organization, although it contains a number of usually able and energetic women, had not succeeded in organizing an effective effort throughout the state, and those counties which were organized suffered from inadequate resources. New Jersey, moreover, had never been a pioneer community. It has always been rather than anywhere near the front of the progressive [national] movement. Nevertheless, a radical amendment which can secure the support of forty percent of the voters has a standing in public opinion which cannot be denied. The lesson of the election is that in one of the less progressive states in the country the suffragists in order to win have to convert only 25,000 voters.

From *The New Republic*, October 23, 1915

MAN'S GOVERNMENT BY MAN

Every woman knows that the **INTERESTS OF WOMEN**—wives, mothers, sisters, daughters **ARE DEARER TO THE MEN THAN THEIR OWN.**

EVERY SUFFRAGIST, by demanding the vote, practically **DECLARES THAT THE HUSBANDS, FATHERS, SONS AND BROTHERS ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED BY THEIR WIVES, MOTHERS, SISTERS AND DAUGHTERS.**

Should strife and conflict come to our shores, as come they may, **TO WHOM BUT OUR MEN CAN WE TURN FOR PROTECTION?**

If men alone can protect and govern in times of storm and strife, shall we not **PLACE EQUAL RELIANCE UPON THEM WHEN WE ARE AT PEACE?**

The power of the **BALLOT RESTS ENTIRELY UPON THE POWER TO ENFORCE THE LAW.**

Man's government by women would be **A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE POWER TO ENFORCE ITS DECREES.**

Government without force behind it would be government merely in name, because unable to command obedience or respect.

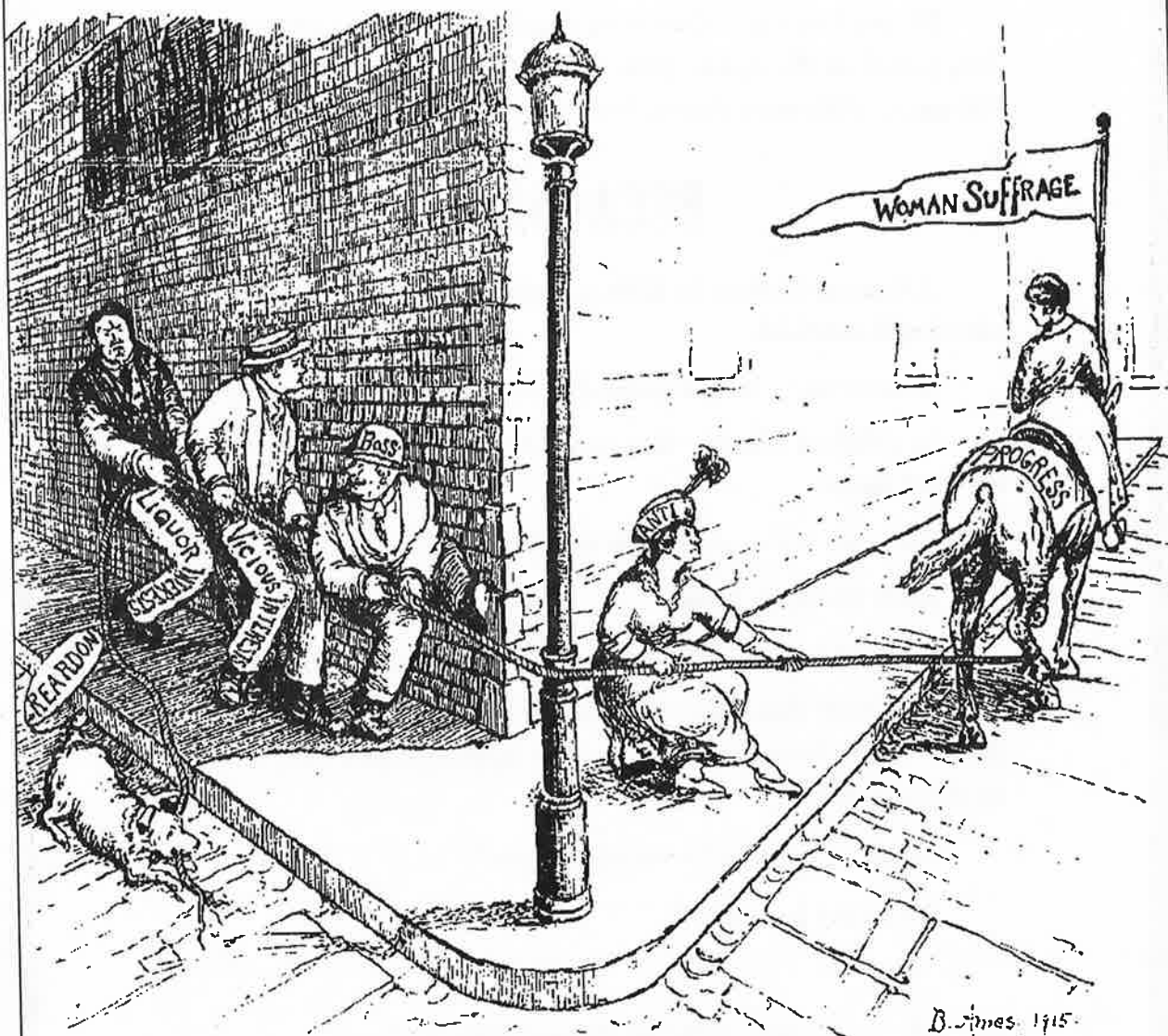
Unless there exists behind the ballot the power to enforce its mandate, **THE BALLOT DEGENERATES FROM POWER TO WEAKNESS AND WEAKNESS SPELLS ANARCHY AND RUIN IN GOVERNMENT.**

THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, THE PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY, DEPEND UPON THE EXERCISE OF PHYSICAL FORCE WHEN NECESSARY, AND BY MAN ALONE CAN IT BE EXERCISED.

Vote NO on Woman Suffrage, October 19th, 1915

New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
Headquarters
137 East State Street
Trenton, New Jersey

ANTI-ALLIES AND THE DOG



A suffragist's view of the Antis.

TO THE MEN OF NEW JERSEY

Do you know that the women of this State were granted Partial Franchise under the Constitution of 1776?

Do you know why they were deprived of that franchise by an Act, passed on November 16th, 1807, which confined the right of suffrage to white male citizens twenty-one years of age and over?

BECAUSE!

A General Election in 1806 was carried by fraud and was declared null and void.

Women voters were convicted of committing these frauds.

In different districts they were detected in repeating under assumed names.

The same women dressed in men's clothing and voted again.

Some voted six times!

Does this go to prove that women's votes will purify politics?

Remember that within the past three years over 13,000 New Jersey women have declared over their signatures that they do not want the franchise.

Should suffrage be forced upon them?

Would this be justice?

Vote "NO" on Woman Suffrage October 19th, 1915.



**Issued by New Jersey Association
Opposed to Woman Suffrage.**

The Final Push for a Federal Amendment



Let me help, Uncle.

*The Philadelphia North American,
reprinted in The Suffragist*

Picketing Sends Suffragists to Jail

The question of whether to address the suffrage question on a state-by-state basis or press for a federal amendment continued to divide suffrage groups until November, 1915. Clearly there were some states, particularly in the South, where no state campaign was likely to be effective. More significantly, even in progressive states like New York and Massachusetts, woman suffrage went down to defeat in 1915.

Looked at from another point of view, however, the movements in individual states did contribute to the cause. As more and more of the western states joined the suffrage ranks, the number of men in Congress who represented these suffrage states increased the support for a federal amendment.

Alice Paul's disagreement with the direction of the NAWSA led to the formation of a separate Congressional Committee within NAWSA to push for a federal amendment. Dissatisfied with NAWSA support for such a move, Paul eventually

split and formed the Congressional Union in 1914 which joined forces with the women in the western states to become the National Women's Party in 1916 and used more aggressive tactics in pushing for a federal amendment.

By the fall of 1917 suffragists were beginning to find the momentum they needed as a result of the "Winning Plan" of Carrie Chapman Catt (NAWSA President) and pressure from the National Women's Party (NWP). The tide seemed to be turning in favor of woman suffrage.

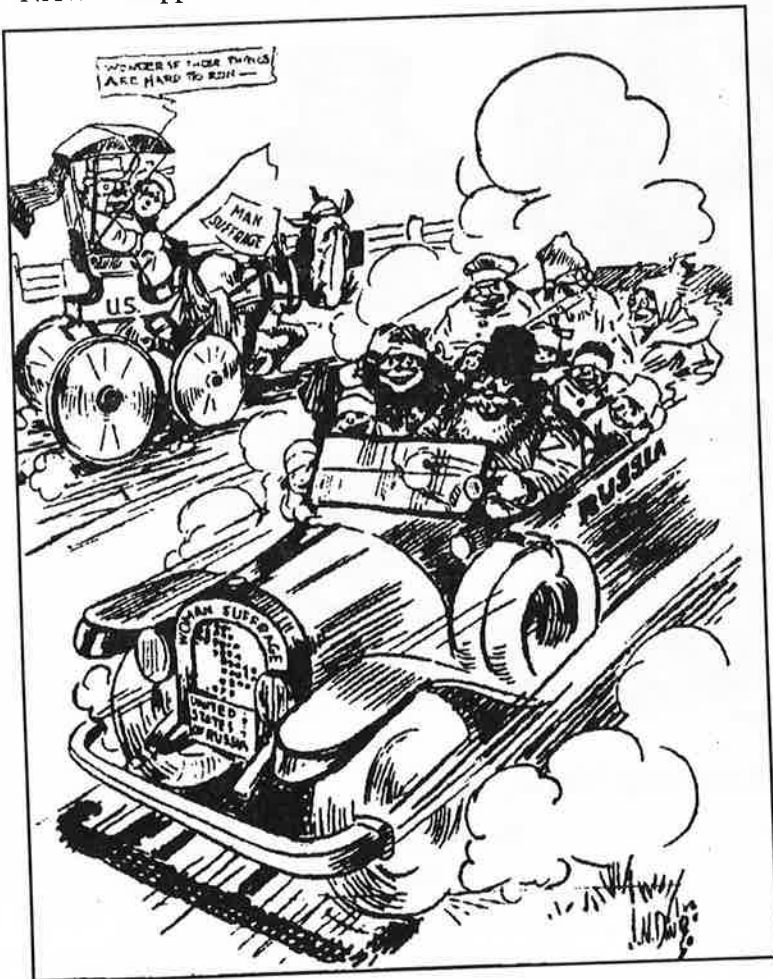
In 1917, New York women gained full suffrage. North Dakota granted presidential suffrage to women about the same time. Then, Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Nebraska and Michigan granted either presidential or full suffrage to women. These victories were followed by a significant step taken by the first Southern state, Arkansas, to allow its women a vote in the presidential primary. Obviously, the fact that women would be voting in the presidential election of 1920 had an influence on both political parties.

On January 10, 1918, the House of Representatives finally voted favorably on the Anthony Amendment. However, progress in the Senate was difficult and the amendment was defeated over the course of the following year.

The National Women's Party remained dissatisfied with President Wilson's efforts on behalf of the suffrage amendment. The lack of progress in the Senate was laid at his doorstep. In response, suffragists burned his speeches in front of the White House, resulting in arrests, jail sentences and new publicity for the cause.

Using her experience with the more radical suffragists in Britain, Alice Paul led the NWP toward an aggressive strategy of holding the Democratic Party, the party in power at the national level at this time, responsible for the failure to pass an amendment to the Constitution. Following the model she had acquired in England, Paul and the National Women's Party became actively involved in the effort to unseat those Democrats not identified publicly in favor of the suffrage amendment.

By 1917 World War I threatened to



engulf the United States. Wilson's administration struggled to preserve the peace at home. Wilson had won re-election in 1916 using the slogan "He kept us out of war," but pressure for war grew, particularly after the Russian Revolution in March, 1917. Once Russia had deposed the czar, the United States was able to join the allied cause "to make the world safe for democracy." When the Russian government then granted universal suffrage, Wilson came under increasing pressure at home.

As Wilson made public proclamations about the role of liberty and self-determination worldwide, Alice Paul's "silent sentinels" stood outside the White House gate in solemn rebuke of Wilson. The placards which they held high boldly demanded: *Mr. President, What Will You Do For Woman Suffrage?* and *How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?* Many onlookers and citizens across the country found these actions unpatriotic at a time when the United States was at war. Even some suffragists opposed the picketing as "unlady-like."

Ignoring the Constitutional protection of peaceful protest, Washington, D.C. police arrested the picketers. The plan backfired. The press photographed genteel, middle class "ladies" being arrested and taken off in wagons. The picketers were taken to the Occoquan workhouse in Virginia where they were sentenced to terms of as long as six months. Alison Turnbull Hopkins, Phoebe Persons Scott and Julia Hurlbut of Morristown, Mary Dobson Dubrow



Putting Democracy at Home Under Lock and Key

THE IRONY OF IT

MAKE WAR ON WAR!

ADVOCATE
World-Wide Disarmament
An International Court,
and International Police



Women lack balanced judgment — logic....

of Passaic, Beatrice Kinkead of Montclair and Minnie D. Abbott of Atlantic City, along with others, were sentenced to Occoquan Prison for picketing at the White House.

On the surface, Occoquan was viewed as a model facility, consisting of white buildings surrounded by fields and gardens. Inside, the rooms were filthy, infested with vermin and rats and lacking ventilation. Open toilets in the cells could only be flushed from the outside — by the guards. One inmate described the living conditions:

Each inmate is permitted to write but two letters a month ... and all of the mail received and sent is opened and read ... another rule which makes life in the Workhouse more difficult than life in jail is that we are not permitted to receive any food from the outside.

Many of the prisoners protested against their treatment, insisting that they were "political prisoners of conscience" and not ordinary criminals. Some refused to eat in protest and were force-fed. Because Alice Paul was viewed as the leader of the picketers, prison guards attempted to isolate her from the rest of the prisoners by claiming that she was insane and moving her to a "special" ward.

As publicity over the arrests grew and the public learned of the treatment of the prisoners, increasing pressure was placed on Wilson to "do something" about the situation. At one point he pardoned some of the women under pressure from the husband of Alison Hopkins of Morristown.

The Arrest of Alison Low Turnbull Hopkins



Alison Hopkins was born in Morristown, New Jersey, in 1880. Her family was socially prominent, and she became involved early with the civic life of the town. In 1914, Hopkins became active in the suffrage struggle which was focused on getting a suffrage amendment in the state of New Jersey. Hopkins believed that: *only through political power could women secure the reforms they wished for in our government and in our labor laws.* She

went on to join the Congressional Union, serving on the executive committee.

After New Jersey's state referendum failed in 1915, Hopkins helped to organize a New Jersey branch of the Congressional Union in 1916. The tactics of the national CU were to defeat Democratic candidates at every level including that of the president. However, the New Jersey chapter was not comfortable with that position. Wilson had endeared himself to New Jersey suffragists by supporting their 1915 campaign. Moreover, Hopkins' husband was head of Wilson's re-election campaign in New Jersey.

Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd

Washington, July 14 — Extreme courtesy marked every phase of a suffrage demonstration made before the White House today by sixteen members of the Women's Party as a feature for the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. In fact, there was so much politeness and so little disorder that the crowd gathered for the widely advertised show dwindled away before it was over and as a spectacle, the affair was a failure.

The suffragists, carrying banners, the most conspicuous of which carried the French Revolution motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," marched quietly to the two gates of the White House grounds, stopped politely, refused to move on, were arrested by the police with every show of consideration and later calmly deposited bail of \$25 each to guarantee their appearance in police court Monday to answer charges of unlawful assemblage.

Even the thousand or more spectators, unlike former crowds that have menaced the pickets, seemed imbued with the spirit of order. They applauded or jeered good-naturedly, made no attempt to seize the banners, and quietly moved away after the arrests were made.

Those arrested... [included] Miss Julia Hurlbut and Mrs. J.A. Hopkins, Morristown

N.J.; Miss Minnie Abbott, Atlantic City....

President Wilson returned to the White House from a wedding shortly before the demonstration started, but so far as is known, he did not witness any of the show.

The courtesy of the police, particularly Captain Slather, who directed the round-up left nothing to be desired. Approaching each woman separately, the Captain would remove his cap, bow, and quietly advise her of the law against such assemblage. When the women insisted that they were within their rights the Captain, again doffing his cap and bowing, would inform them they were under arrest. Private automobiles were quickly commandeered and the women were placed in them and removed to Police Headquarters.

Announcement was made at the Women's Party Headquarters after the arrests that similar demonstrations would be held henceforth on all holidays and once a week regularly. Cash bonds would be given, it was said, as long as the police agreed to return the money after court proceedings and there would be no hunger strikes. It was indignantly denied that the reports of rats in the House of Detention interfering with the sleep of the last pickets sent there had anything to do with the decision to furnish bonds.

From the *New York Times*, July 15, 1917

Men like J. A. Hopkins were supportive of the suffragist cause. Hopkins was also state campaign manager for Woodrow Wilson.



In 1917 Hopkins joined a group of women from around the country picketing at the White House. She was arrested and sentenced to sixty days in prison, but released after three days due to her husband's direct appeal to President Wilson. After being released, Hopkins wrote a letter to Wilson complaining that release had prevented her from getting justice from the courts and had been done only to save him embarrassment.

After sending the letter, she returned to the White House with a banner, and stood there for ten minutes. The banner said :

We ask not pardon for ourselves but justice for all American Women.

A large, curious crowd gathered, but nobody bothered her. While she stood there, the President passed through the gates and saluted. For many others the experience of prison was more painful, lasting as long as seven months. Hopkins remained a leader of the National Women's Party through the ratification struggle. After ratification she left politics but continued to participate in Heterodoxy, a feminist club which met in New York City.



Mrs. Hopkins (center) in prison garb with two other inmates.

Letter to President Wilson

July, 1917

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

The pardon issued to me by you is accompanied by no explanation. It can have but one of two meanings — either you have satisfied yourself, as you personally stated to Mr. Hopkins, that I violated no law of the country, and no ordinance of this city, in exercising my right of peaceful petition, and therefore you, as an act of justice, extended to me your pardon, or you pardoned me to save yourself the embarrassment of an acute and distressing political situation.

In this case, in thus saving yourself, you have deprived me of the right through appeal to prove by legal processes that the police powers of Washington despotically and falsely convicted me on a false charge, in order to save you personal or political embarrassment.

As you have not seen fit to tell the public the true reason, I am compelled to resume my peaceful petition for political liberty. If the police arrest me, I shall carry the case to the Supreme Court if necessary. If the police do not arrest me, I shall believe that you do not believe me guilty. This is the only method by which I can release myself from the intolerable and false position in which your unexplained pardon has placed me.

Mr. Hopkins and I repudiate absolutely the current report that I would accept a pardon which was the act of your good nature.

In this case, which involves my fundamental constitutional rights, Mr. Hopkins and myself do not desire your Presidential benevolence, but American justice.

Furthermore, we do not believe that you would insult us by extending to us your good nature under these circumstances.

This pardon without any explanation of your reasons for its issuance, in no way mitigates the injustice inflicted upon me by the violation of my constitutional civil right.

Respectfully yours,
Alison Turnbull Hopkins

Lucy Burns Describes Force-Feeding at Occoquan

As leaders of the national struggle for suffrage, Lucy Burns and Alice Paul suffered considerably during their time in jail. Burns' memoirs give an account of the most difficult part of their prison experience.

Wednesday, 1 P.M.

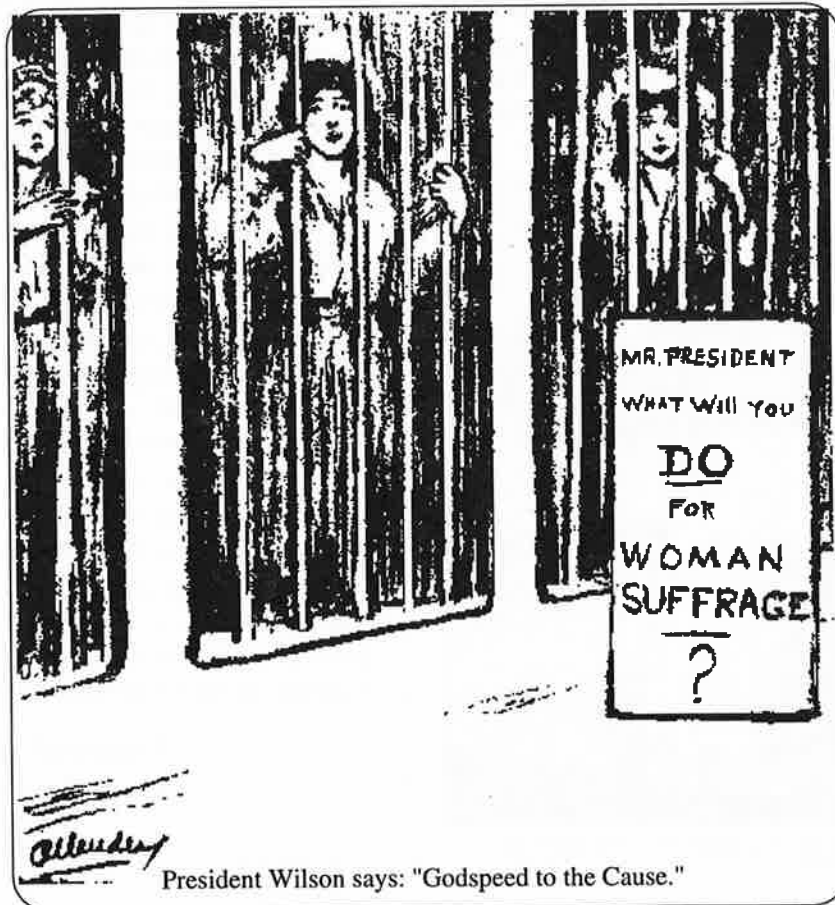
Yesterday afternoon at about four or five, Mrs. Lewis and I were asked to go to the operating room. Went there and found our clothes. Told we were to go to Washington. No reason, as usual. When we were dressed Dr. Gannon appeared, said he wished to examine us. Both refused. Were dragged through halls by force, our clothing partly removed by force, and we were examined, heart tested, blood pressure and pulse taken. Of course such data was of no value after such a struggle.

Dr. Gannon told me that I must be fed. [I] was stretched on bed, two doctors, matron, four

colored prisoners present, Whittaker in hall. I was held down by five people at legs, arms, and head. I refused to open mouth, Gannon pushed the tube up left nostril. I turned and twisted my head all I could, but he managed to push it up. It hurts nose and throat very much and makes nose bleed freely. Tube drawn out covered with blood. Operation leaves one very sick. Food dumped directly into stomach feels like a ball of lead. Left nostril, throat, and muscles of neck very sore all night.

After this I was brought into the hospital in an ambulance. Mrs. Lewis and I placed in same room. Slept hardly at all.

This morning Dr. Ladd appeared with his tube. ... I said we would not be forcibly fed. Said he would call in men guards and force us to submit. Went away and were not fed at all this morning. We hear them outside now cracking eggs.



The Reluctant Supporter: Woodrow Wilson on the Suffrage Question

Despite the “progressive” mantle that history has attached to the name “Woodrow Wilson,” on social issues Wilson’s views reflected his conservative Southern background. Born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856 to a Presbyterian minister, Joseph Ruggles Wilson and his solemn wife, Janet, Woodrow Wilson grew up in an atmosphere shaped as much by his attachment to his mother as by the demands of his stern, moralistic father. As a young man, Wilson shared the prejudices of many in the nineteenth century against those of different race, ethnicity or religion. His attitudes towards women also reflected this background. Although Wilson once confided to a colleague that “my best friends have all been women,” Wilson felt that the ideal woman should

be a homemaker and helper in the private sphere of life. He once commented about: *the scandalized feeling that comes over me when I see and hear women speak in public.*

From his days as a student at Princeton, home to many Southern students, Wilson nurtured the dream of becoming an informed and eloquent statesman. Later he studied law, but disliked the practice; so he went to graduate school in history and spent seventeen years as a professor, writing five books and lecturing on the issues of the day.

In 1902, Wilson was selected as the president of Princeton University. His tenure at Princeton has been regarded by historians as stormy, especially in the later years. The bold curricular innovations he

ushered in revitalized the university; nevertheless, his subsequent attempts to abolish the undergraduate eating clubs aroused the animosity of students, alumni and faculty. In the end, the trustees did not support Wilson and he considered resigning. In 1909 and 1910, further disagreements ensued over Wilson’s proposals concerning the control of the graduate school. No doubt, Wilson’s difficulties as president of Princeton helped propel him into the world of politics.

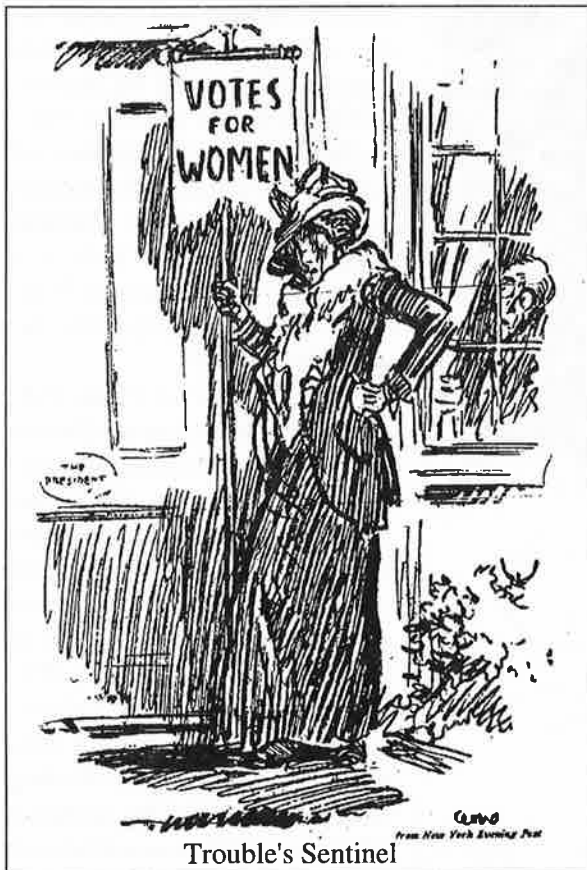
In September of 1910, Wilson was nominated by the Democrats for governor of New Jersey. He ran a campaign that recast his identity as that of a reformer. He won the election by a broad margin and helped the Democratic party win both houses of the legislature. As governor, Wilson tackled political reform, gaining a reputation as a progressive committed to cleaning state government of the influence of corrupt political machines and



powerful corporations. In May of 1911, Wilson took a somewhat evasive approach to the subject of woman suffrage, saying: *Suffrage is not a National issue, so far. It is a local issue for each state to settle for itself.*

Late in the summer of 1912, Wilson became the Democratic nominee for president. On his return from "retirement," Theodore Roosevelt did not receive the Republican Party nomination, so his supporters formed the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party. The Republican candidate Charles Evans Hughes and Roosevelt split the Republican vote; Wilson won the presidency.

During the campaign of 1912, two issues surfaced which reflected Wilson's conservative outlook: prohibition and woman suffrage. With regard to suffrage, Wilson indicated in 1912 that he was not sure, as a "voting citizen," of the wisdom of giving women the vote. When he won the election in November, suffrage leaders understood that they would need to exert tremendous pressure to get Wilson's support. Alice Paul chose the day before Wilson's inauguration

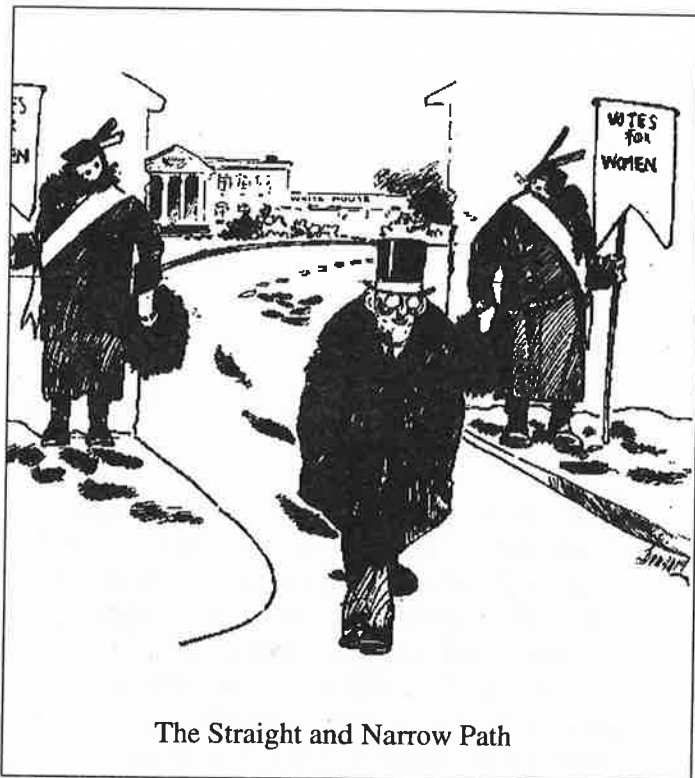


in March of 1913 for a parade of 5000 women up Pennsylvania Avenue. In fact, as Wilson arrived in the city expecting the welcome of enthusiastic crowds, he found empty streets! He was informed that everyone was over on Pennsylvania Avenue, gawking at the suffrage parade.

Shortly after Wilson's inauguration, delegations of woman suffragists began to visit him. His response to their requests for public support was negative. He insisted that he could not assist them because the Democratic platform of 1912 had not supported woman suffrage and reiterated his position that this was a matter for the states to decide.

In November of 1913, a delegation of seventy-three woman suffragists invaded the Executive Office. Wilson promised to give the subject his consideration but did nothing in response to the meeting. He did not even mention the issue of suffrage in his annual address to Congress a few days later. So, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw of the NAWSA led another group of one hundred women to see him. Her remarks were reported in the *New York Times*:

"Mr. President, since you cannot present our case to Congress, and since we have no committee in the House, who is to speak for us there?" He returned laughingly that he had found us well able to speak



The Straight and Narrow Path

for ourselves, whereupon I said: "But not authoritatively. Have we anyone, Mr. President, to present our case with authority to Congress?" He hesitated a moment, the muscles of his face twitched ... he answered squarely, "No."

On December 9, 1913, the *New York Times* reported that Wilson had explained his refusal to speak to Congress about suffrage:

I set myself this very strict rule when I was Governor of New Jersey, and have followed it as President ... that I am not at liberty to urge upon Congress in messages policies which have not had the organic consideration of those for whom I am spokesman.... When my private opinion is asked by those who are cooperating with me, I am most glad to give it, but I am not at liberty, until I speak for somebody besides myself, to urge legislation upon the Congress.

The Congressional Union, led by Alice Paul, became increasingly disenchanted with Wilson. Over the next two years, she encouraged woman suffragists and their supporters to hold the Democrats responsible for the failure of the enfranchisement movement. Beginning in 1914, the Union campaigned against Democratic candidates for Congress regardless of their attitude toward woman suffrage. In 1916, they went so far as to oppose Wilson's reelection. The NAWSA, on the other hand, felt that

such a policy would only alienate those in both parties who might be persuaded to support suffrage. The Union claimed credit for the defeat of twenty-three of the forty-three Democrats in the congressional elections of 1914 in the western states where women already had the right to vote.

During this period of time, the President never openly opposed the principle of woman suffrage. In fact, when a suffrage amendment came before the voters of New Jersey in the fall of 1915, he gave his public approval with a statement, reported on October 6, 1915, in the *New York Times*: *I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the state, but I shall vote, not as the leader of my party in the nation, but only upon my private conviction as a citizen of New Jersey.*

Despite this position, Wilson made it clear that he cast his vote as a "private citizen." However, Wilson's daughters, Jessie and Margaret, did support the woman suffrage cause publicly. Margaret gave the keynote address on woman suffrage at the annual convention



Wilson/Hamlet: "To follow or to lead, that is the question."



The Suffragist's Dream

President Wilson: Young Lady, You have saved my life. How can I thank you?

Columbia: Oh, thank you so much Uncle Sam. I never doubted your gentlemanly instincts.

of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, reflecting a new generation's different approach to women's role. She called on *women to take an active part in politics. Let them work from a social centre, when public questions are concerned and have their opinions heard. In this way... the real woman can have her influence felt.*

Carrie Chapman Catt rejected the NWP's picketing of the White House and other militant tactics. Nevertheless, the publicity generated by the suffrage parades made an impact since she eventually came to accept the parade as a valuable tool. In October 1915, Catt joined in a suffrage parade in New York that attracted 30,000 women, an indication of the growing popularity of the movement.

In 1916, the National Women's Party directed its election efforts against the Democratic Party once again, and in particular, the president. The Democrats debated the issue of woman suffrage hotly at their convention during the summer. Six thousand suffragists, wearing bright yellow sashes, ribbons and parasols,

the emblems of the radical suffrage movement, stood outside the convention hall in St. Louis, demanding a plank on woman suffrage. A tableau was presented with enfranchised states depicted by women in red, white and blue, partial suffrage states in gray, and no suffrage in black.

In response, Wilson prepared a statement which supported the idea of woman suffrage but reaffirmed the belief that suffrage was a matter for state action. The *New York Times* carried the entire text, which included this sentence:

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as men.

By contrast, the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, announced at the beginning of the campaign that he favored the submission and ratification of an amendment to the United States Constitution which would give women the right to vote. Nevertheless, the G.O.P. convention adopted a compromise resolution, after extended debate, that favored the extension of suffrage on a state-by-state basis.

Despite the efforts of the radical suffragists to discredit Wilson, he was re-elected by a nation impressed with his progressive legislative achievement and relieved that he had kept them out of war.



A new strategy was developed by the National Women's Party under Alice Paul. On January 10, 1917, the first suffrage pickets took up their posts. The president tipped his hat each time he and Edith Wilson drove out the driveway past these women.

When the United States entered World War I in April of 1917, the messages carried by the silent sentinels rebuked Wilson's claim to the world that the United States had joined the Allied cause "to make the world safe for democracy." The message of the banners accused Wilson of valuing democracy abroad, but not at home for taxpaying female citizens. Subsequent statements were even harsher, as the silent sentinels addressed their boldest banners to "Kaiser Wilson."

Late in 1916, Wilson agreed to address the NAWSA convention. In this speech, he reflected what seemed to be his new understanding of the

suffrage crusade. He reflected on suffrage in terms of the natural rights argument and filled his address with idealistic references to the culmination of a long struggle. This public endorsement of suffrage and the arguments which emerged in 1917 for suffrage as a war measure helped dissolve the opposition of the conservative wings of the Democrat and Republican parties. The 1917 suffrage referendum victory in New York and the achievement of presidential and primary suffrage in numerous other states around that time clearly indicated that the momentum had shifted toward the suffrage cause.

Late in 1917 Wilson gave his written approval for a House committee on suffrage. At the same time, Wilson expressed his continued distaste for the tactics of the radical suffragists in a letter to one of his daughters: *They certainly seem bent upon making their cause as obnoxious as possible.*



Cartoons as a Strategy for Molding Public Opinion



The cartoons on these four pages were all created by the same cartoonist, Nina E. Allander, and appeared as covers of the *Suffragist*, the weekly newspaper of the Congressional Union, which became the National Women's Party in 1916.

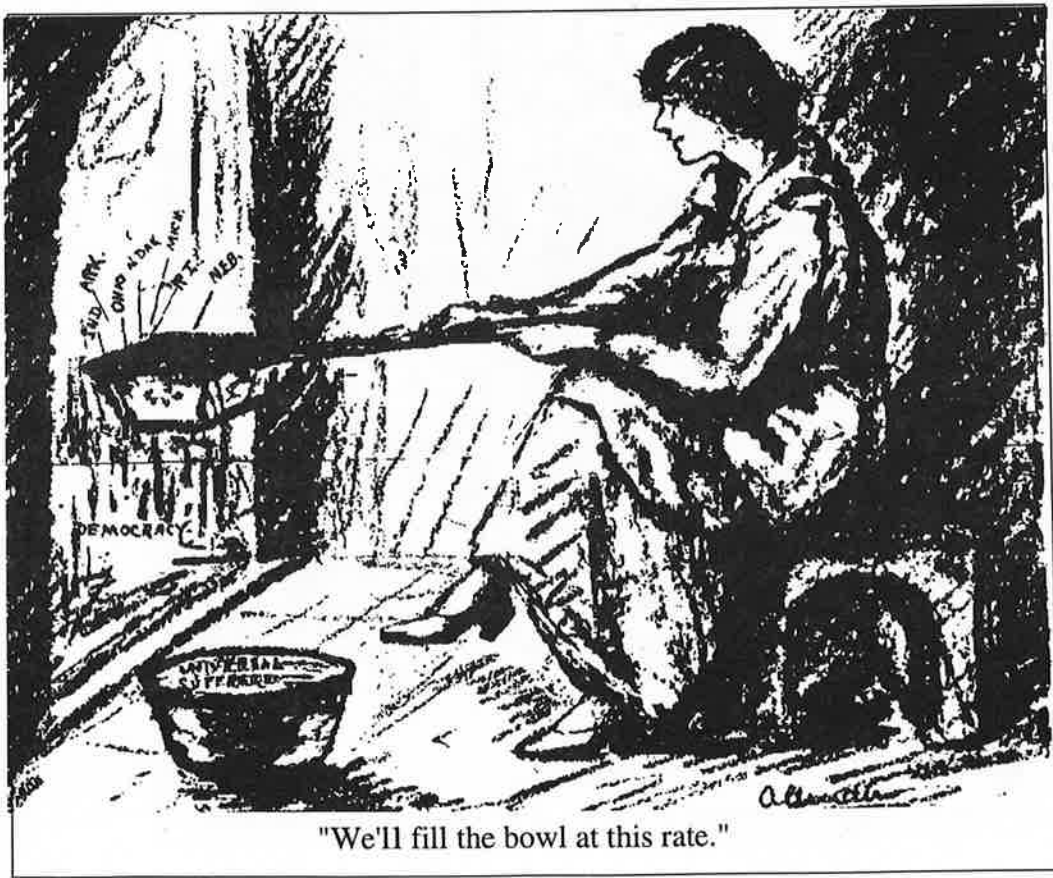
An equally talented artist was Lou Rogers, whose drawings appeared in the newsletters of the NAWSA. They reflect the changing concerns of the party from 1914 to 1918.



The Spirit of '76: On to the Senate.



News from the Front.



"We'll fill the bowl at this rate."



Welcome Immigrants to Citizenship.
 "I wonder if they'll vote for me in November!"



Extra!



"If he doesn't stop talking and come in his dinner will be spoiled."

Ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment

The struggle for the federal amendment finally came to a head in 1918 during the last months of the war when Wilson increased his efforts in favor of woman suffrage. President Wilson had argued that he could not ask Congress to address the suffrage question while the war was going on, but he may have been motivated by the fact that some U.S. allies were passing suffrage laws around this time. England did so in 1918 while several other nations, Iceland, Finland, and Australia among them, passed suffrage laws even earlier.

In January, 1918, Wilson met with a group of Democratic Congressmen about suffrage. According to the report of one Congressman, the President ... *very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and the world.*

Wilson couched his argument in favor of suffrage in language closely linking the issue to women's involvement in the war effort:

We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and 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



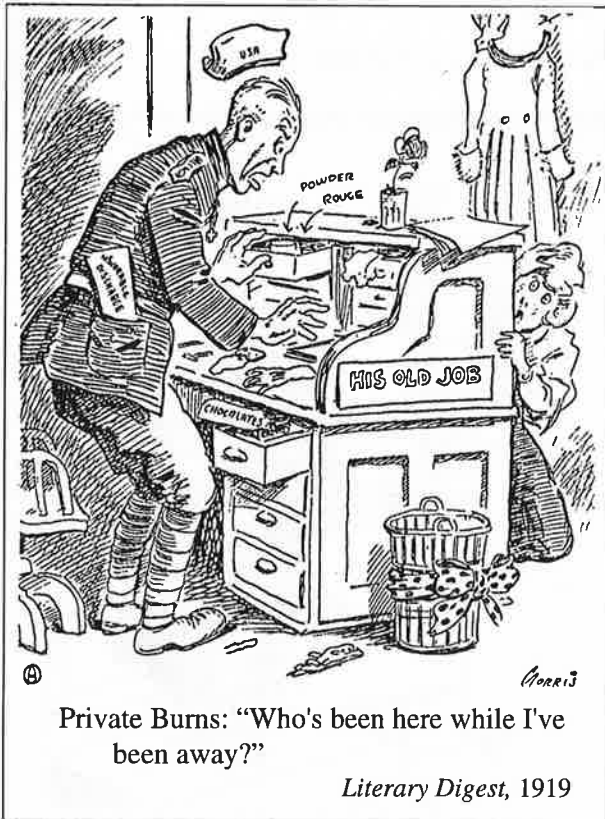
Trying to get into her good graces

As the struggle moved toward the Senate, the suffragists exerted increased pressure on Wilson to vote in favor of the bill. On September 27, Wilson telephoned six senators to ask them to vote for suffrage. Then, on September 30, the president gave a speech before the Senate, requesting that they consider the bill as a "war measure." Wilson also appealed to the senators to vote for woman suffrage on grounds that echoed the arguments which had surfaced in the suffrage movement around the turn of the century. The promise attached to woman suffrage was the promise of a better country:

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



312th Regiment Parade, Newark, April 26, 1918



Private Burns: "Who's been here while I've been away?"

Literary Digest, 1919

we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over.

Despite Wilson's personal appeal, the suffrage measure was defeated by a vote of 62 to 34 in the Senate. This was an election year, however, and the National Women's Party responded to this setback by working energetically for the defeat of those senators who had opposed the amendment and were up for re-election.

Another suffrage vote in the Senate on February 10, 1919 lost by a margin of only one. President Wilson called the Sixty-sixth Congress into special session on May 20, 1919. The House re-passed the amendment by more than the necessary two-thirds majority for an amendment to the Constitution with a vote of 304 to 89. In the Senate, many opposed to woman suffrage simply failed to attend Congress that day. Voting went quickly and without fanfare; the Senate finally carried the motion by the necessary two-thirds so that the issue could be put before the voters in every state.

The ratification process by the states did not proceed without difficulty. Ratification

by three-fourths of the states is needed for a bill to become an amendment to the Constitution. As anticipated, the greatest struggle occurred in those states which had not granted their women suffrage up to this point. Paradoxically, however, states which did have suffrage laws also posed some problems. For a variety of reasons, these state legislatures dragged their heels and exasperated suffragists who had counted on early action from these states for leadership in the process.

Illinois was the first state to ratify, followed closely by Wisconsin. Michigan was the first to call a special session of its legislature for the purpose of ratifying and ratified third. Over the next few months most of the other western and northeastern states joined the ranks. New Jersey was the twenty-ninth state to ratify in 1919. The Solid South, as was expected, refused to ratify. However, the thirty-third state to ratify was Oklahoma, and the thirty-fourth, West Virginia. Finally in August of 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth and last state necessary for the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. The struggle for suffrage was won.

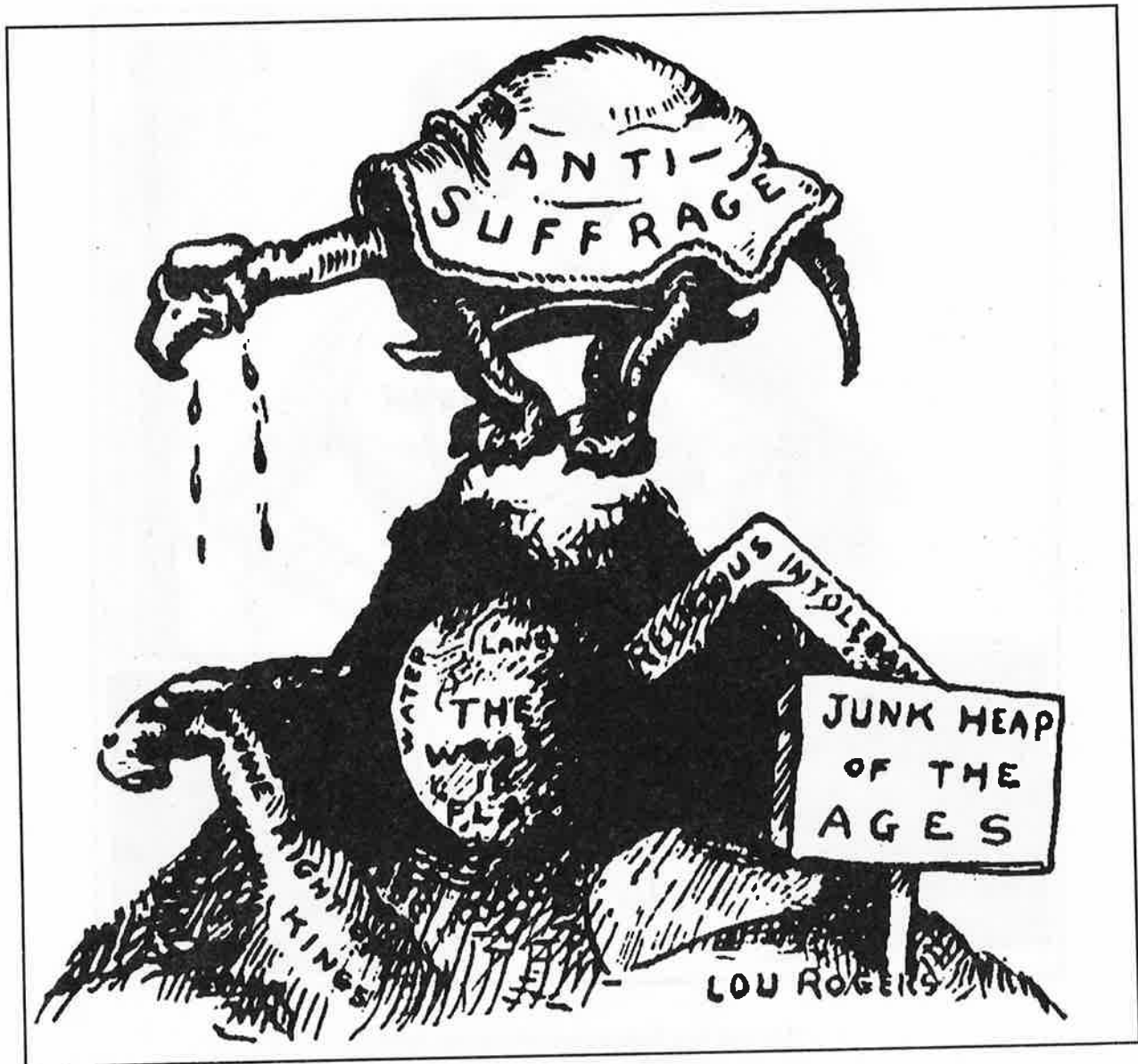


"Ah, give sister a smile, Ole Timer."

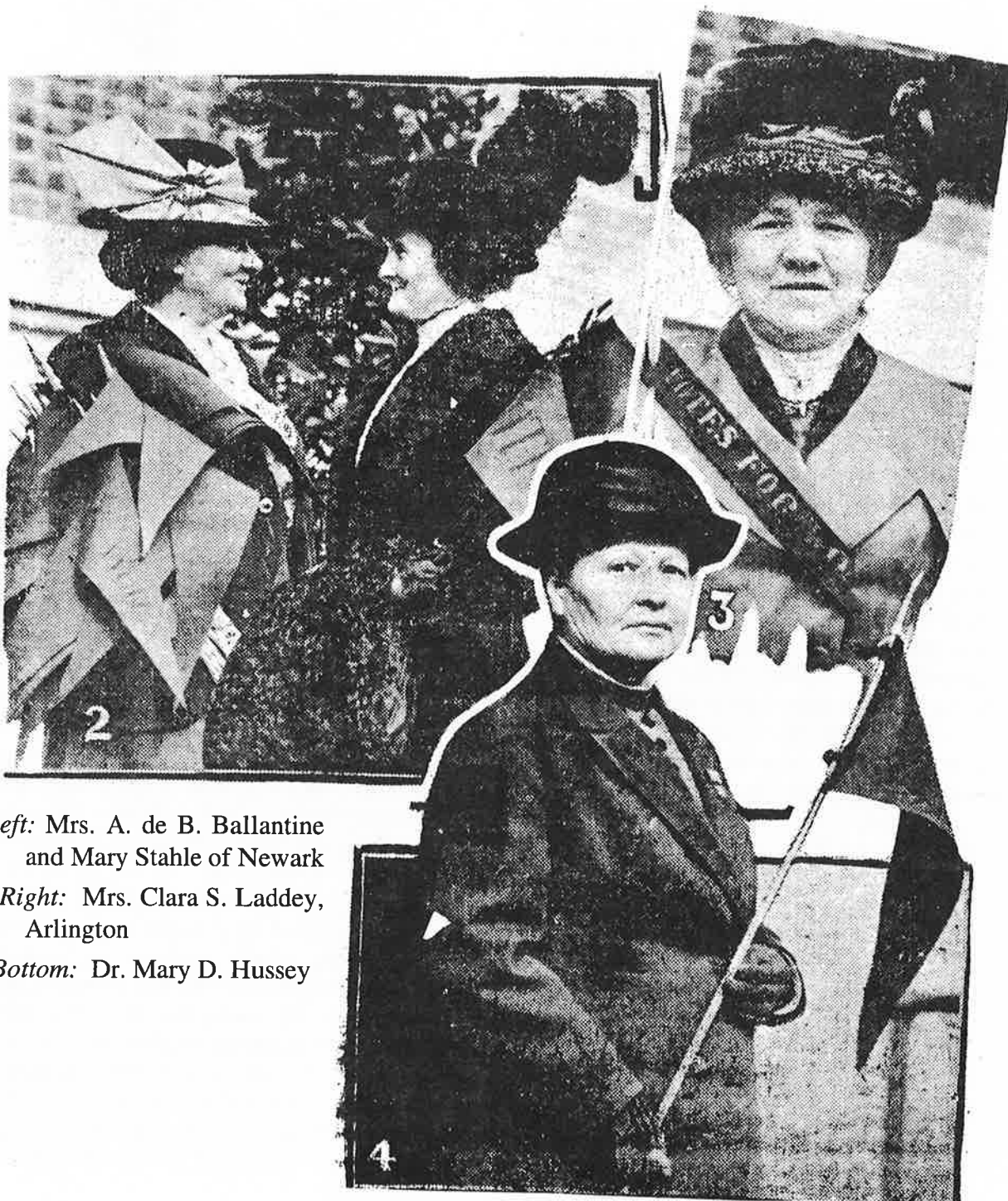


The last few buttons are always the hardest.

St. Louis Star, 1920



Profiles of New Jersey Suffragists



Left: Mrs. A. de B. Ballantine
and Mary Stahle of Newark

Right: Mrs. Clara S. Laddey,
Arlington

Bottom: Dr. Mary D. Hussey

Mary Philbrook

1872 - 1958

Mary Philbrook, the first woman to be admitted to the bar in New Jersey, was born in Washington, D.C. on August 6, 1872.

In 1878 the family moved to Jersey City, N.J., where Philbrook attended Public School No. 11 at Bergen Square and Jersey City High School. A course in stenography at Drake's Business School completed her formal schooling. Her first job was as secretary in the law office of Russ and Oppenheimer in Hoboken. Two years later she became secretary to Henry Gaede, who was a law partner with James Minturn, corporation counsel for Hoboken. Minturn (who later became a justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court) encouraged Philbrook's ambition to become a lawyer, and sponsored her petition to the court to be allowed to take the bar exam.

Philbrook's lack of college or law school degree was no obstacle to her admission to the bar. At that time, according to a New Jersey statute, any citizen (after "reading" the law in the office of an attorney) could apply for admission. A real obstacle was the fact that no woman in New Jersey had ever sought admission to the bar, and it was on this ground alone that the New Jersey Supreme Court refused Philbrook's petition. Although she had not previously seen herself as, in her words, a "crusader for women's rights," but simply an ambitious woman seeking a good way to make a living, this rejection by the court was a critical factor in determining Philbrook's future course. Supported by the membership of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, Philbrook lobbied in the New Jersey legislature for a law specifically enabling women to become lawyers. Finally, she was admitted to the bar in June 1895.

Philbrook began her practice in Jersey City and then opened an office of her own. While still a struggling young lawyer, she volunteered her services as the counsel for the Legal Aid Society at Whittier House, a social settlement founded in downtown Jersey City in 1894. Suffragists like Philbrook were often the activists in broad-based organizations such as the Jersey City Woman's Club. Through club activities they were able to draw the support of middle-class, reform-minded



women to their cause. Philbrook delivered many lectures about women's rights to club women around the state. She also campaigned for the establishment of a public college for women.

In 1902 Philbrook moved her law practice to Newark, where she organized the first statewide Legal Aid Association. Appointed the first female probation officer for Essex County in 1902, she organized the juvenile court system in Newark and served on the commission headed by Caroline Alexander Wittpenn which spearheaded the drive to establish the New Jersey Reformatory for Women. She was appointed undercover investigator for the United States Immigration Committee which conducted an inquiry into white slavery (importing immigrant women for the purpose of prostitution). Philbrook traveled across the country, gathering evidence and prepared the report that was submitted to Congress in 1910 and resulted in the passage of the Mann Act.

While Philbrook worked tirelessly for many of the reforms supported by the women's movement in the Progressive Era, she did not neglect her career. Because of the public attention brought by her legal aid and penal reform work, she drew many clients and built a prosperous practice in Newark. She was the first woman appointed to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1906 based on the constitutional claim of New Jersey women to vote.

In 1914 ill health forced Philbrook to retire from public life for three years. When she recovered, women were mobilizing themselves for World War I. Philbrook volunteered to serve as a Red Cross lawyer in France. Returning to Washington D.C., she participated in some of the militant demonstrations of the National Women's Party (NWP).

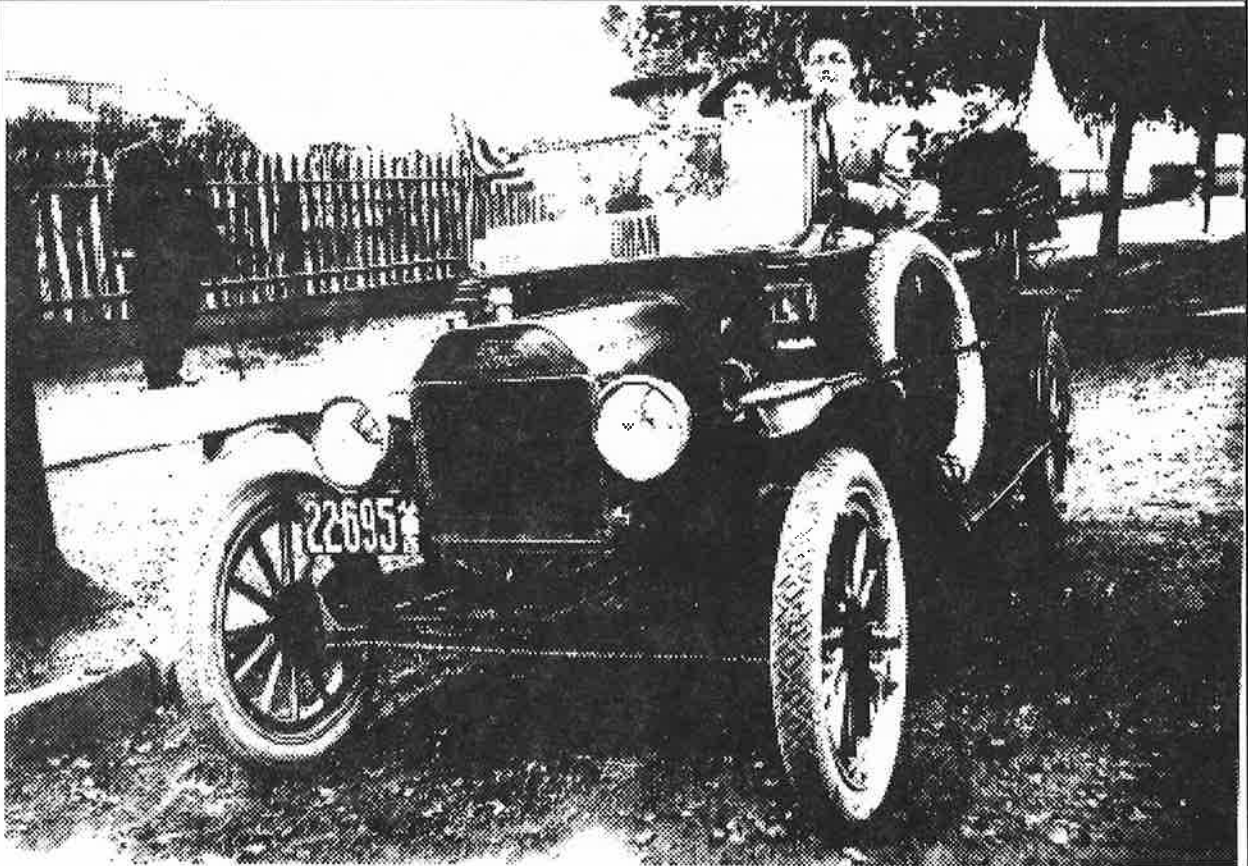
With suffrage won, Philbrook returned to New Jersey, where she organized support for the removal of discriminatory laws and for an equal rights amendment to the state constitution. Her position was too radical for her former allies in the suffrage movement, some of whom had worked hard in the Progressive Era for protective legislation for women, legislation that equality-minded women like Philbrook perceived as restrictive. In 1929 Philbrook's demand for equal working conditions cost her the position of counsel for the city of Newark.

During the 1930s, Philbrook and Alice Paul

worked at the Geneva conferences of the League of Nations to include an equal rights clause in the covenant. Mary Philbrook catalogued the papers of the NWP at its Blair House headquarters and helped to organize the N.J. chapter of the Women's Archives, established by historian Mary Beard.

In the 1940s, Philbrook renewed her campaign for an equal rights amendment to the state constitution. At the 1947 Constitutional Convention (when she was seventy-five) she organized a coalition of women's groups to lobby for an equal rights provision in the new constitution. Though opposed by many powerful organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, Philbrook's delegation was able to secure changes in the language of the constitution (i.e., *person* for *he*) that, though little noted at the time, were cited by the New Jersey Supreme Court in 1979 as grounds to rule that sex discrimination was constitutionally prohibited in New Jersey.

From *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*, selection by Barbara Burns Petrick.



Suffrage cars toured the state, particularly the summer tourist spots.

Lillian Ford Feickert

1877 - 1945

Lillian Ford Feickert was born on July 20, 1877, in Brooklyn, N.Y. Her parents were Episcopalians, of English, Irish, and Scottish descent. Her mother came from the West Indies. Her father, a lawyer, was born in New York State. Feickert could trace her direct ancestors back to 1622, when Martha Ford, a widow with two young children, ventured across the Atlantic to America on the ship *Fortune*. This plucky female ancestor was clearly an important role model. The Fords' home at South Elliott Place in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn had a view of lower Manhattan across the East River.

When Feickert was twenty-five she married Edward Foster Feickert, a banker from New York. The couple moved immediately to Plainfield, N.J., where Edward joined the newly organized Plainfield Trust Company as assistant secretary. Over the next eight years Feickert led a relatively quiet suburban life, tending her home and garden, as her husband moved up in the banking world. The Feickerts suffered a personal tragedy when their only child died in infancy, an event they never mentioned in later years. In 1910 he organized and assumed the vice-presidency of what was to become a much larger institution: the State Trust Company. In 1908 the Feickerts moved to a large property at the foothills of the Watchung Mountains in North Plainfield Township.

Even in this period Feickert exhibited some of the organizational talents and boundless energy that would fully emerge in the next decade. She organized and led local, and then statewide, mission study classes for Grace Episcopal Church of Plainfield. She also joined a number of women's organizations, among them the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association (NJWSA). When Clara Ladd, NJWSA president, appointed her enrollment chairman of the association in late 1910, Feickert became a public figure for the first time.

She proved to be an ideal choice for the post. Borrowing methods from the political parties, she supervised house-to-house visits, conducted in-



door and outdoor meetings, and oversaw mass distribution of suffrage literature. In just two years the association grew from a few hundred in 1910 to 1,200.

As president of the NJWSA from 1912 to 1920, Feickert became the leading figure of the New Jersey suffrage movement, and she was at the association's helm when the vote was finally won. By then the membership had grown to 120,000. She honed her political skills by presiding over the unsuccessful fight to win male voter approval in October, 1915. In July, 1919, Feickert was chosen to head the formal effort of several organizations to convince the state legislature to ratify the federal suffrage amendment.

With the winning of the vote Feickert had become supremely confident of women's abilities to achieve their post-suffrage objectives—either to elect candidates to office or to secure passage of favored legislation. Indeed, events in the early 1920s bore out her initial optimism. Early in 1920 the state Republican party, respecting Feickert's achievements as New Jersey's leading suffragist, named her vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee and assigned her the task of organizing the Republican women in the state. (The party also created a Woman's Division of the State Com-

mittee, to which it appointed a number of other suffragist leaders.) Simultaneously elected treasurer of the newly formed New Jersey League of Women Voters (NJLWV), Feickert parted ways with the NJLWV in mid-1921, rejecting the organization's nonpartisan direction. "Now that we have the vote," she wrote in a letter to the league's board, "we should become political workers. I, for my part, am through with creating sympathy in favor of industrial laws, etc. I want to see the women well organized in both parties, so that we can work for the measures we believe in by the direct method instead of the indirect method." By severing her ties to the league when her term ended that April, Feickert chose to focus her energies as president of the New Jersey Women's Republican Club. The club soon had a reported membership of 100,000, with some financial backing from the state Republican organization.

In later years Feickert asserted that her acceptance of the vice-chairmanship of the State Committee was part of a bargain she had struck with Edward C. Stokes, Republican chairman and former governor. By May 1921 this "bargain" resulted in the passage by the Republican-dominated legislature of several bills that advanced women's political and legal status.

"I was not willing to accept the vice chairmanship without making a bargain," she related. "I laid my terms before the men who offered it to

me. These were that all political committees should be composed of an equal number of men and women; that there be women on all juries; and that at least two members of the State Board of Education and the Department of Health should be women."

Feickert and organized Republican women had a few other successes. Most notable of these was a bill passed in March 1923, known as the Night Work Bill, which prohibited women from working at night, between 10:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., in manufacturing and mercantile establishments, laundries, and bakeries.

The supportive attitude of the Republican party organization toward the NJWRC gradually changed, however. By late 1923 Feickert's demands for strict party support of Prohibition and her insistence on legislative passage of women's bills had brought her (and the NJWRC) into disfavor with Republican party leaders. In 1925, with open party concurrence, she was defeated in her quest for reelection to the State Committee, thereby losing her position as vice-chairman.

Feickert moved briefly into the public limelight when she ran unsuccessfully as a pro-Prohibition candidate for the United States Senate in 1928. Her public role ended finally in the early 1930s with the defeat of Prohibition and the demise of the State Council, at which point Feickert returned to private life.

From *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*, selection by Felice D. Gordon.



New Jersey Suffragists: Lillian Feickert is on the far right.

Alice Stokes Paul

1885—1977

Alice Stokes Paul wrote the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and led the first nationwide nonviolent civil disobedience campaign for woman suffrage as well as an international movement for women's equality. She was born near Moorestown, N.J., on January 11, 1885, the oldest child of a Quaker family steeped in the tradition of activism in education and public service. Paul's maternal grandfather, Judge William Parry, president of Rutgers University, helped establish Swarthmore College, where Paul's mother was one of the first students. Paul was raised in Quaker schools where she learned the conflicting traditions of nonviolent civil disobedience and "Quietism," or withdrawal from the world in the interest of piety. She learned to live simply and use the words *thee* and *thou*, to attend long, silent services two or three times a week, "centering down" to her own conscience, the Inner Light. With the Quaker assumption of women's equality, Paul's mother took her to suffrage meetings at a neighbor's house.

When she was sixteen, Paul began Swarthmore College on a scholarship. Friendly but shy and inner-directed, she pursued sports, took a wide variety of courses, and became attracted to economics and political science. In 1905 she graduated Phi Beta Kappa and went on to train as a social worker in the College Settlement on New York's Lower East Side, earning a certificate from the New York School of Philanthropy (Columbia University). A year later, in 1907, Paul received a masters degree in economics and sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

Although convinced that social work "was not doing much good in the world," Paul remained a social worker during the two years of graduate work in England that would change her life. While studying at the London School of Economics, she joined the militant suffragettes of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), led by Emmeline Pankhurst. She became one of Pankhurst's trusted organizers, and was imprisoned three times, during which she undertook hunger strikes and was force-fed. When she sailed for home in December 1909, she feared that the Moorestown Quakers would disown her. However, at a meeting of 500 towns-



people at the Moorestown Town Hall, Paul defended the WSPU's strategies and her own involvement to the applause of most of the audience.

Working on her doctorate in Philadelphia, Paul introduced the city to street corner speeches and suffrage parades. After she received her degree in 1912 from the University of Pennsylvania, Paul became co-chair of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). They were to lobby for a woman suffrage constitutional amendment.

On March 3, 1913, the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, they staged a parade of 7,000 suffragists, including men and blacks, in Washington D.C. Crowds taunted and attacked them and federal troops were called. Publicity and the subsequent investigation brought suffrage into the limelight and made Paul a national figure. Paul was an unusual national leader: she remained shy and quiet, but her intensely blue eyes and intellectual clarity were what people noticed.

In 1914 Paul's fast-moving and independent style led to her separation from NAWSA. The Congressional Union later became the National Women's Party (NWP), an organization to educate congressmen's home districts about suffrage and keep the suffrage issue on the conscience of the nation.

When, in 1917, the possibility of war threatened to dwarf the suffrage issue, Paul sent "silent senti-

nels” to the White House carrying purple, gold, and white banners insisting that the democracy of Wilson’s war rhetoric did not apply to women. Hundreds of women, including Paul, were imprisoned, began hunger strikes, and were force-fed. Paul herself was placed in a psychiatric ward, where a doctor released her saying she had “a spirit . . . like Joan of Arc’s, and it is useless to try to change it.”

After the suffrage amendment finally passed in 1920, the NWP reorganized to use women’s vote to pursue full equal rights. Abandoning her militant strategy, Paul proceeded toward educating women and building a network among their organizations to support full equality. In 1922 she began the study of law, earning a doctor of law degree in 1928 from American University in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, under Paul’s direction, the NWP drafted equal rights laws for the states. Paul wrote an amendment for the federal constitution, which was submitted to Congress in 1923. It stated simply: “Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and the territories under its jurisdiction.”

But the amendment was opposed by the League of Women Voters and other groups. These groups were afraid that the Supreme Court would use the ERA to strike down special industrial protections for women which had been considered important gains of the Progressive Era. Paul did not accept that women as a class were biologically fragile and argued that if the Supreme Court wanted to strike down such laws, she thought, it was already empowered to do so through the suffrage amendment. Furthermore, she reasoned, women’s protections could be extended equally to men.

Paul led her fight for equal rights on three fronts. She formed alliances for the ERA with national women’s organizations such as business and professional women’s clubs. Large councils of government employees, industrial workers, and other occupational groups formed within the NWP. The strength of these coalitions steadily increased and they defeated many of the discriminatory New Deal National Recovery Administration codes. In the process, more women became ERA supporters.

Paul’s second front for equal rights was on the state level. She and an NWP research committee of

twelve attorneys identified discriminatory laws in each state and recommended reform legislation. By 1929 NWP had introduced nearly 600 bills to state legislatures; almost half passed.

Paul also worked for international women’s rights. In 1929 she led the NWP in founding the Inter-American Commission for Women in the Pan American Union. In 1933 their Equal Nationality Treaty was signed by all member nations, and Paul’s sweeping Equal Rights Treaty was signed by three. Throughout the thirties at the League of Nations in Geneva her association of women’s groups from many countries achieved official League of Nations status for their Study Committee on the Status of Women. Next she headed a League Committee of Experts that produced multi-volume surveys of legal codes pertaining to women in each member nation—a tremendous undertaking for which she is little known.

In 1938 Paul, opposed by U.S. labor interests, founded the World Women’s Party (WWP). From its Geneva headquarters, she and the WWP opposed the discriminatory codes that the International Labor Office submitted.

When World War II began, the WWP villa in Geneva became a refugee center for prominent liberal and feminist leaders stranded there. Paul wrote hundreds of letters to resettle them, but when the war intensified, she returned to Washington.

Between 1941 and the “new wave” of feminism in the 1960s, Paul continued to work for women’s equality. In 1943 she rewrote the ERA to read: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” In 1946 the ERA lost its first Senate floor vote by only three votes.

Paul haunted United Nations meetings. She led the WWP in the successful struggle to include the wording of sex equality in the UN Preamble and several sections of the charter and later in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which would be a model for the constitutions of many emerging nations.

In 1972 Congress passed the ERA to the states, but Paul foresaw that the seven-year time limit for ratification, plus the section giving Congress, rather than the states, the right to enforce it, would spell defeat. Nevertheless, from her Connecticut cottage, Paul, then 87, lobbied by telephone.

From *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*,
selection by Amelia Fry and Sheila Cowing.

Florence Spearing Randolph 1866-1951

Florence Spearing Randolph, African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) minister and social activist, was born in Charlestown, S.C., on August 9, 1866. Her father was a prosperous cabinet-maker, and both parents were members of old free African-American Charleston families.

Randolph attended local public schools and graduated from Charleston's Avery Normal Institute. At that time, employment options for black women were restricted to domestic work, teaching, music, or dressmaking. Many educated African-Americans, seeking to shield their daughters from the drudgery and physical dangers of domestic work, encouraged the other three options. Randolph chose dressmaking, and after two years as an apprentice became an instructor in a dressmaking school. In 1885, while visiting her older sisters in New York City and Jersey City, she realized that her dressmaking skills could command at least \$1.50 per day (as opposed to the 50 cents per day she was then earning) and she decided to move to Jersey City.

On May 5, 1886, she married Hugh Randolph, who was employed as a cook in the dining car service of the Pulman Company. They purchased a home in downtown Jersey City and converted an upper story to a workroom for Randolph's profitable business, which then employed two dressmakers and five girl assistants. The Randolph's one child, Leah Viola, was born on February 7, 1887.

Randolph was an ardent and life-long Christian activist. As an eight-year-old accompanying a blind grandmother on prayer and scripture reading visits to the sick, she was greatly impressed with the teaching of Christianity. Upon conversion at age thirteen, she became engaged in active service in the Charleston Methodist Episcopal Church. In Jersey City she affiliated with the Monmouth Street AMEZ Church and was appointed a Sunday school teacher and youth class leader. Her avocation led to private study of the Bible with a tutor who was a Yale graduate and a Greek and Hebrew scholar. She later completed a course with the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, Illinois, as well as special work at Drew Theo-

logical Seminary.

Randolph's early interest in Christianity coincided with the launching of an active public service career. In 1892 she accepted an invitation to join the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) of Jersey City, where her lecturing and organizing against the liquor traffic continued for decades. Her WCTU work inspired the organization of a "Kings Daughters Society," which engaged in city missionary work.

Randolph's religious and community service and her oratorical endeavors fused in 1897 when she sought a license to preach. Although her gender instigated opposition among older AMEZ bishops and ministers, the license was granted. With support from Bishop Alexander Walters (one of the founders of the NAACP), Randolph progressed through the subsequent stages toward ordination. At the May 1900 Atlantic City AMEZ Church Conference she was ordained a deacon. She was ordained an elder (with the right to consecrate the sacraments and serve communion) in 1903.

Randolph was selected as a delegate to the Third Methodist Ecumenical Conference in London in 1901. While there, Randolph was invited to preach at the Primitive Methodist Church of Mattison Road. After the conference she toured England, Scotland, Belgium, and France.

Upon her return to the United States, Randolph was chosen pastor of Newark's Pennington Street (later Clinton) AMEZ Church. During her ministry she pastored five churches in New Jersey and New York, working without salary for the first twelve years. The churches to which she was assigned were small, poor, and struggling, with few members and many debts. Invariably, when through her leadership a little church became solvent, a "nice young man" would be assigned and Randolph would move on to the next problem area.

Randolph is most often associated with the Summit church that she organized and built. In 1925 she was appointed by AMEZ Bishop P. A. Wallace as temporary supply pastor in charge of a Summit mission known as Wallace Chapel. Fund raising began in the fall of 1926, and by

1928 Randolph and the trustees had purchased a modern duplex house on three lots at the corner of Broad and Orchard streets in Summit. Alterations to the first floor provided a one hundred seat chapel; the second floor was used as a parsonage. In 1946, after serving Wallace Chapel for twenty-one years, Randolph retired from the active ministry.

Throughout her ministry, Randolph participated in state and national AMEZ connectional activities. Among her highest priorities were foreign missions, particularly those in Africa. Having identified problem areas during her first ten years as president of the New Jersey Women's Foreign Missionary Society, in 1911 she recommended to the national convention of the AMEZ Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society (WHFMS) the creation of a Bureau of Supplies to coordinate the collection and distribution of all donations to foreign mission fields. The 1912 AMEZ General Conference adopted her recommendation and named her secretary of the bureau. Her 1916-20 term as the fourth president of the missionary society was followed by many years of foreign work primarily inspired by her ongoing travels.

Between 1922 and 1924 Randolph traveled throughout the interior of Liberia and the Gold Coast, journeying by truck, oxcart, canoe, and on the shoulders of native carriers to gain firsthand knowledge of the AMEZ foreign mission field. In addition to preaching, she assessed the educational, health care, and other service needs with which the WHFMS was concerned. When she returned to the United States, she brought with her a young African girl, Charity Zumala, whom she educated at Summit High School and Hampton Institute. After returning to her Gold Coast (now Ghana) home, Zumala taught school until her death in 1946.

Randolph organized the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (NJFCWC) in 1915. That October, black women representing thirty New Jersey WCTU societies had met to consider plans for arousing greater African-American interest in the temperance movement. By 1917, eighty-five clubs, with a combined membership of 2,616, were affiliated. Randolph served the



federation as president for twelve years. Her interest and participation continued throughout her life.

Randolph's work in interracial organizations other than the WCTU dated back to her two years as superintendent of the Negro Work for the Christian Endeavor Society of New Jersey. Her continued Christian Endeavor and temperance work led to active participation in the equal rights movement. She served on the Executive Board of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, and in 1920, shortly after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, she was invited by former Governor Edward C. Stokes, then chair of the New Jersey Republican party, to assist Lillian Feickert, head of the Republican women's division, in Harding's presidential campaign.

Randolph's work with African-American, interracial, and church organizations was lauded on June 7, 1933, when Livingstone College (Salisbury, NC), the largest college supported by the AMEZ Church, awarded her an honorary doctor of divinity degree.

After her 1946 retirement from the pulpit, Randolph made her home in Montclair. As pastor emeritus of Wallace Chapel, she continued to attend state and national church meetings.

Fom Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women,
selection by Gloria H. Dickinson and J. Maurice Hicks.

Cordelia Thomas Greene Johnson

1887 - 1957

Cordelia Thomas Greene Johnson, founder and president of the Modern Beautician Association and president of the Jersey City chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was born in Elkton, Md., on May 23, 1887, to ex-slaves, John and Margaret Craig Thomas. She was the eleventh of fifteen children, all of whom were girls except the last. Johnson's father, a laborer, was a quiet, introspective man and her mother, a laundress, was a positive person who believed in the power of education. Neither could read or write.

Johnson received her early education in Maryland, completed high school, and may also have taken courses at several colleges, including New York University and Columbia University.

As a youth Johnson was active in her church and Sunday school in Elkton. When President Theodore Roosevelt visited her church, Johnson was so impressed that she resolved to become active in civic and political affairs. She took an interest in the founding of a chapter of the Young Women's Christian Association by the people in her town.

Johnson came to Jersey City about 1915. To support herself she took in washing, as her mother had before her. Her first husband died on October 24, 1917, from double pneumonia. It was about this time that Johnson submerged herself in the life of the community.

She became a member of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage League and spoke to groups all over the state. She developed such a reputation as a speaker that the state Republican black political leader asked her to join him in supporting Calvin Coolidge for president. They toured the county together for Coolidge and the following presidential campaign she went around the county speaking in support of Herbert Hoover. During these trips she visited various beauty shops and saw the unsanitary and unsafe conditions in them.

In the 1920s Johnson attended the beauty school of Madam C. J. Walker, who became one of the first black millionaires in the country. The school gave her an appreciation for the proper methods and conditions of this trade. Although she received her training from the Walker school, she allied

herself with the Apex system, a rival method. She opened her own beauty shop at 49A Kearney Avenue in Jersey City, and in 1929 she became president of the New Jersey Apex League. In 1934 she opened her own school at 57 Belmont Avenue.

During the early 1930s there was a clamor to license beauty shops, because of the health and safety problems in the business. It was not unusual to find women whose heads were scarred or injured by inexperienced hairdressers. Johnson joined with others, both black and white, in lobbying for standards in training, safer products, and better sanitary conditions in beauty shops. She spoke before the state legislature on a bill to regulate beauty shops and their operators. As a result, the word *straightening*, a method of using a hot steel comb to take curls out of hair, was written into the law. This was most important to black women, since it was a standard method used by them in styling their hair.

Johnson's lobbying efforts resulted in a strategy to ensure that blacks be considered in the writing of legislation on the profession and in the selection of a black for the five-member State Beauty Control Board.

Johnson led the Modern Beautician Association to affiliate itself with the national Beauty Culturist League, and in 1938 she became its president (until her death in 1957). The essential ingredient in building the state and national organization was "continuing education" in the skill and art of beauty culture and in the professional management of its shops.

In 1955 Johnson was elected president of the Jersey City branch of the NAACP. The branch was at its low point organizationally. Among other things, Johnson instituted a cotillion for the young people and a newsletter for its membership. These steps did much to invigorate the organization financially and structurally and they remained a tradition with the branch through the civil rights period of the 1960s.

Johnson ended her career working as an active member of the Church of Incarnation, a youth worker at Grace Episcopal Church, a Red Cross instructor, an observer with the United Nations, and a member of the President's Advisory Board for the Small Business Administration.

From *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*, selection by Theodore Brunson.

Helena Neilson Simmons

1876-1942

Like many of her fellow suffragists, Helena Neilson Simmons discovered, through activity in the suffrage movement, the satisfaction of working for the public welfare. From 1914, the year of her initial involvement as a suffragist at the age of thirty-eight, until her death in 1942, Simmons was involved as a leader in a variety of church, social reform, and political activities that easily could have kept two or three persons busy. Her hopes for the New Jersey League of Women Voters expressed this personal philosophy. "All that is needed is faith, a vision and work," she observed in 1927, when she was its president. "We all work at something. It is whether we are productively employed which is our real question."

Simmons was born in New Brunswick in 1876 and was educated by private tutors. In 1898 she married Harriman N. Simmons and moved to Elizabeth, where she raised two daughters and a son. In 1915 she became president of the Elizabeth Equal Suffrage League, retaining that position until 1920. When the league reorganized as the Elizabeth League of Women Voters, she was elected its first president. During these same years she was beginning to expand her horizons. In addition to her suffrage activities, she assumed the chairmanship of the Elizabethtown Red Cross and became president of the Elizabeth Consumers League.

Unlike most who devoted themselves exclusively to nonpartisan social reform, Simmons believed that women should make their voting privilege effective by becoming active political workers. In addition to serving as president of the NJLWV through most of the 1920s and serving on the state board of the CLNJ, she entered the world of politics. In 1920 Simmons was appointed chair of the Democratic Woman's Executive Committee, a temporary body set up until women became fully incorporated into the party structure. Simmons saw no conflict between nonpartisan affiliation in the NJLWV and political involvement. Indeed, in 1928, at a time when the league was starting to soft-pedal its

calls for party activity, Simmons exhorted the membership to join the parties. "The usefulness of the league," she noted, "would be greatly hampered if the women trained in its methods and point of view failed to practice what they preach and abstained in practical work for great issues."

Simmons became chair of the Democratic Women's Luncheon Club but remained distrustful of partisan politics. She held that politicians were more interested in furthering their own interests than in dealing honestly with the issues. The average citizen, she believed, suffered in the long run. That was where the LWV served its essential purpose. "If the League of Women Voters, can help in any way to clear the air of political propaganda and partisan 'bunk,'" she observed in 1928, "and train a generation of voters to demand honest platforms and speeches; ...it will have justified its existence."

Whatever Simmons did, she believed in deeply — which included working for world peace and enforcement of the prohibition laws — but she seemed to experience greatest fulfillment as president and executive secretary of the Consumers League. She was committed to the elimination of poverty, not through temporary philanthropy, but through governmental programs. As Simmons saw it, New Deal administration goals and the CL's meshed perfectly. Both groups were working for "health protection, a living wage and social security." Every citizen, she believed, was entitled to these basic rights. CL efforts on behalf of working women and children were vital, she maintained, as they helped to improve the lot of the most underprivileged and unrepresented segment of the labor force.

Simmons never retired from her double-time work regimen. At the time of her death she was still CL executive secretary and she had just entered a new field, consumer protection. As chair of the Consumer Interests Committee of the Council of National Defense, to which she was appointed in 1940, she fought hoarding and artificially pegged prices and monitored labor standards in the state.

From *After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1920-1947*
by Felice D. Gordon.

Lena Anthony Robbins 1879-1945

What motivated Lena Anthony Robbins to assume leadership positions in numerous women's organizations was her conviction that women, as wives and mothers, had an obligation to be informed about the issues of the day and to contribute to the formation of public opinion. "Women are beginning to want to know," she declared in 1939 when she was president of the NJLWV. "It is not so fashionable nowadays as it used to be for women to boast ignorance of public matters that vitally affect them and their homes and children."

Robbins origins were in the American West. Born in a covered wagon in the late 1870s in Colorado, she grew up in Lincoln, Nebraska. In an era when few women went to college, she attended the University of Nebraska and graduated in 1901. She was married that year to Leonard Robbins, a fellow Nebraskan, a writer and newspaperman. The couple moved to Newark, where Leonard went to work for a city newspaper.

Within a short time Robbins became active in the women's club movement and suffrage movements. By the late teens she had become president of the Irving Club of Irvington and the Contemporary Club of Newark. As a member of the executive board of the Newark Women's Political Union, she lobbied on behalf of suffrage in the state legislature, and in the spring of 1920 she helped organize its citizenship schools.

Robbins believed that the vote had given women tremendous political power but that its potential was barely realized. New Jersey's needs were not being met, she held, because politicians paid more attention to national issues with vote-getting headlines, than to state matters. The citizenry, moreover, was often better informed about the problems of its larger urban neighbors — New York and Philadelphia — than its own. She contended women could most effectively address these neglected concerns if they were unencumbered by political ties. Robbins chose to devote most of her time and talent in the 1920's to the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, be-

coming state chair of the department on legislation in 1925, making it one of the federation's most important. She alerted clubwomen about every bill of interest being considered by the legislature. She wrote columns in the *New Jersey Club Woman* and the *Civic Pilot*, giving legislative news and explaining the basis for federation support of or opposition to state and national bills.

Robbins urged women's clubs to do more than study the issues and propose legislative solutions. They also had to make certain that their solutions worked, and that meant looking at finances. "The time has come when women must think of legislation as men do—in terms of money," she counseled members of the College Club of the Oranges at a tea held in the spring of 1928. Robbins' own familiarity with tax matters as well as her close connection as an active club member with the founding of the New Jersey College for Women had made her Governor A. Harry Moore's logical choice as the sole woman to serve on the commission to study the future role of Rutgers, which was not yet the State University.

There were other causes—particularly temperance and peace—that claimed her efforts. By 1935, however, her greatest commitment was to the LWV, having served on its state board since its inception, becoming vice president in 1930 and president in 1935. She steered the league in its drive against patronage, its lobbying for voting machines, and its leadership in the movement to revise the state constitution.

After her retirement from the LWV presidency in 1942, Robbins began to shift her attention to the position of women themselves. In a new role as chair of the Committee on the Economic and Legal Status of Women for the state branch of the American Association of University Women, Robbins opposed the ERA but championed women's right to equal opportunity in employment regardless of marital status. She also looked ahead to the role women would play in the postwar world, a time she did not live to see, "forming a better world order."

From *After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1920-1947*
by Felice D. Gordon.

Miriam Early Lippincott 1877-1947

When Miriam Lee Early Lippincott, chair of the New Jersey Committee of the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement, stepped up to the stand of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1926 in its hearings on Prohibition and unfurled a huge petition bearing sixteen thousand signatures in support of the Eighteenth Amendment, her dramatic flair came easily. A graduate of Northwestern University, she had been chair of the drama department of Swarthmore College from 1906 to 1915 and in subsequent years had been involved in little theater groups as both coach and participant.

Lippincott's performance before a packed house in the Senate hearing room went beyond mere histrionics, of course. She believed, as did others, that Prohibition was "the greatest reform of modern times" and that constant vigilance was required to prevent its undoing. More than this, she held, Prohibition's defense was a test for women as new citizens. Would women be content merely to go to club meetings and bridge parties and not speak out, as politicians, business men, lawyers, and judges made a mockery of the Constitution? If so, she asserted, they did not deserve the ballot.

The vote was something Lippincott did not take lightly, for she had been committed to it since her youth. Growing up in her native Hightstown, she later recalled, she was converted to the suffrage cause while a student at Pennington Seminary. Her active suffrage career, however, began years later when, in 1913, she married A. Haines Lippincott, a prominent Camden surgeon, and moved to that city situated across the river from Philadelphia. After 1915, when the suffragists began to devote all their energies to passage of a federal suffrage amendment, she became congressional district chair of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, and she played a leading role in the final drive in 1920 for ratification of the amendment by the state legislature.

Her talents were quickly recognized. In the spring of 1920, in anticipation of full ratification of the amendment, Lillian Feickert appointed her to represent Camden County as member-at-large

of the Republican State Committee, with the charge of organizing the county's Republican women. Lippincott heralded the final suffrage victory in August in her typical dramatic fashion: "It means a great day in the history of our country. It rivals the Magna Carta of England in removing the last vestige of political bigotry."

Although she remained on the State Committee for eight years (soon earning the enmity of the Republican leadership for her unyielding dry views), she saw her political connections as but one of several avenues she as a woman and other women could and must use to serve their communities, educate the public, and move the parties in the right direction. She ran for the Camden Board of Education, was elected, and became the board's first woman vice-president in 1924, a position she held for three years. She was probably the most devoted to the Camden Woman's Club, which she joined as a young bride and served as president from 1927 to 1930. Through the club she worked to establish the New Jersey College for Women. In 1935 she was a trustee of the college and of Rutgers University. In 1951, three years after her death, the Woman's Club named a scholarship in her honor to the New Jersey College for Women for a deserving freshman.

In retrospect, like so many other suffragists in the forefront of reform, Lippincott seemed to be enlisted in a series of crusades, always battling against insuperable odds. The first was in behalf of suffrage. The second was for peace. The third was in support of strict adherence to the Prohibition laws.

Finally, there was the crusade against cancer; after her husband's death in 1937 Lippincott gave of herself in the same way she had to her other endeavors, becoming a state organizer for the American Cancer Society. Her portrait in uniform as state commander of the society, accompanying her obituary in the *New Jersey Club Woman*, clearly revealed the woman she was and had always been: erect and alert, always ready to take on an important assignment on behalf of a better world.

From *After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1920-1947*
by Felice D. Gordon.

Caroline Bayard Stevens Wittpenn

1859-1932

Caroline Bayard Stevens Wittpenn was probably one of the best known suffragists in the state of New Jersey. At the time of her death in 1932 at the age of seventy-three, she was serving on the State Board of Institutions and Agencies; had been recently appointed to the International Prison Commission by President Hoover; was president of the state branch of the League of Nations Association, director of the Hoboken Unemployment Relief Commission, and a member of the board of trustees of Stevens Institute of Technology. In many ways Wittpenn's life and career paralleled that of another prominent suffragist, her good friend Geraldine Livingston Thompson. Both lived on large estates; both were friends of presidents (Thompson of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Wittpenn of Woodrow Wilson); both served on national party committees; both gave generously of their time to charitable and prison reform activities; and both were instrumental in organizing the State Board of Charities and Corrections, the first two women to serve on a state board.

Wittpenn's grandfather, Colonel John Stevens, had served as "treasurer of the revolutionary government of New Jersey." Her father, Edwin Augustus Stevens, and his brother Robert, both engineers, had organized one of the first railroads in the United States. The founding of the Stevens Institute of Technology in 1847 on the site of the family estate was the result of Edwin Stevens' beneficence and foresight.

Like many other well-to-do women of her day, Wittpenn was trained to devote a substantial portion of her time to philanthropic work. She was encouraged by her mother to become involved in the Industrial Society for Manual Training, an organization of working girls.

In 1879 Caroline Bayard Stevens was married to Archibald Alexander of Princeton, a Columbia University professor. They had one son. When the marriage ended in separation sixteen years later, she threw herself into public service. The list of her activities from that date forward on several state boards reflected her conviction that the wayward, the needy, and the sick had been dealt an unfair card and should be helped by those in happier circumstances. Women, she believed, were

especially suited to this task. Their unique natures helped them relate as human beings to those who were less fortunate. This was what counted in social service work, she held, far more than the efficiency and expertise of the professional social worker.

A devout woman, Caroline Alexander only remarried after learning that her husband had died. Her new husband, H. Otto Wittpenn, shared her interest in government affairs and brought her closer to the world of state politics. Otto Wittpenn, a businessman and real estate developer, was mayor of Jersey City at the time of their marriage. He also shared her commitment to woman suffrage. A lifelong interest in the public welfare undoubtedly contributed to Caroline Wittpenn's suffragist beliefs, but her lengthy efforts to convince the legislature to establish a separate reformatory for women demonstrated to her the need for suffrage as women sought needed reforms.

In 1910 she helped to found the Equal Franchise Society at a meeting held in her home at Castle Point, and in mid-decade she joined the board of the NJWSA.

When the vote was won, Wittpenn immediately became a vic-president of the state's League of Women Voters, a position she held until her death. Although she had memberships on other state boards such as the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Consumer's League, she was particularly committed to the League of Women Voters. A supporter of Woodrow Wilson, she believed in his vision of a world united in a league of nations. In 1921 she became chair of the League's Committee on Limitation of Armaments, and in that capacity she spoke before various women's groups.

Wittpenn received many tributes including one from President Herbert Hoover. Perhaps the most moving and appropriate came from the editors of the *State*, the student paper of Stevens Institute: "*No other woman in America, no man, no human being on this earth — can have given his life so unselfishly and unselfishly toward bettering the condition of humanity.... Her every day was spent working... to do good in some way to someone.*"

From After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1920-1947
by Felice D. Gordon.

Resources for Further Research



Timeline

National

- 1648 Margaret Brent of Maryland argued for woman suffrage.
- 1776 Abigail Adams argued for women's rights.
- 1777 Sister of Richard Henry Lee argued for suffrage.



Abigail Adams

- 1838 Kansas and Kentucky granted school suffrage to widows with children of school age.
- 1848 Seneca Falls Convention held.
- 1850 First National Women's Rights Convention in Worcester, Mass; one thousand people attended.
- 1861 Kansas granted women the school vote.
- 1865 Fourteenth Amendment introduced.
- 1866 First Women's Rights Convention since the Civil War held on May 1.
Congress debated suffrage for the first time, before inserting "male" into the law that granted suffrage to black residents of the District of Columbia.
- 1867 Fifteenth Amendment - Split emerged between women who supported amendment giving black males the vote and those who did not.
- 1868 Fourteenth Amendment ratified.
Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony established *The Revolution*, a national women's rights publication.

New Jersey

- 1776 First N.J. Constitution allowed property owners to vote without mention of sex restrictions.
- 1790 Law passed that referred to "he or she" when describing voters.
- 1797 Voting law revised, term "he or she" is retained.
- 1800 Women active in voting for presidential electors (Jefferson won).
- 1807 N.J. law limited voting to male property owners.
- 1824 Report of a widow voting for John Quincy Adams using her husband's tax receipts.
- 1844 Second New Jersey Constitution specified male voters only.
- 1855 Lucy Stone married Henry Blackwell.



Cornelia Hussey of Orange

- 1867 New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association founded by Lucy Stone.
New Jersey established a statewide system of public education.
- 1868 Lucy Stone published pamphlet, *Reasons Why the Women of New Jersey Should Vote*.
Women of Vineland participated in a mock election. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony attended meeting there.
New Jersey women petitioned state legislature for the right to vote.

- 1869 Fifteenth Amendment ratified, protecting suffrage for all except women.
Equal Rights Association (former abolitionists) broke up over strategy and tactics.
NWSA and AWSA formed.
Territory of Wyoming passed woman suffrage.
- 1870 Territory of Utah passed woman suffrage.
Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell established *The Woman's Journal*.
- 1871 Anti-Suffrage Society formed with prominent men.
Victoria Woodhull appeared in favor of suffrage before House Judiciary Committee.
- 1875 *Minor v. Happersett*: Supreme Court ruled against a woman's right to vote based on the Fourteenth Amendment. Decision ended hopes for using the courts to avoid the lengthy amendment process.
Michigan and Minnesota granted women the school vote — nineteen states had done so by 1890. Three states granted tax and bond suffrage.
- 1878 Anthony Amendment introduced in Senate.
- 1879 Massachusetts granted school suffrage to women.
- 1880 New York and Vermont granted school suffrage to women.
- 1887 First vote on suffrage taken in Congress — defeated 2:1.
Kansas granted women "municipal" suffrage.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and family settled in Tenafly.

- 1869 Memorial to New Jersey Legislature by NJWSA on women's rights.
- 1870 Stone and Blackwell moved to Massachusetts, period of inactivity.
- 1873 Women eligible to serve as school trustees.



Victoria Woodhull

- 1876 New Jersey Woman's Christian Temperance Union organized in Trenton.
- 1880 Stanton tried to vote in Tenafly.
- 1881 New Jersey outlawed segregation in public schools.
- 1884 Suffrage delegation petitioned New Jersey Assembly for full suffrage for women.
- 1887 Limited school suffrage granted to women by New Jersey Legislature.



Harper's Weekly, 1907

Council on Women — first others in 1893, 1903.
 entered statehood having already given women the vote.

and National organizations merged to form a ballot, becoming the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Elizabeth Cady Stanton, first president.

General Federation of Women's Clubs founded in New York City; Charlotte Emerson Brown of New Jersey elected president.
 Susan B. Anthony, president of NAWSA until 1900.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) endorsed woman suffrage.

Colorado granted suffrage to women.
 NAWSA focused on state-by-state strategy. Congressional suffrage committees failed to give a favorable report again until 1913.



Jane Addams

1895 Suffrage referendum in Massachusetts defeated.
 1896 Idaho granted suffrage.

1897 Utah admitted as a state with woman suffrage.

1900 Carrie Chapman Catt, president of NAWSA until 1904.

1904 Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA until 1915.

1906 The National Grange endorsed woman suffrage.

1890 NJWSA elected Judge John Whitehead as president of revitalized organization.

1891 Antoinette Brown Blackwell became president of NJWSA.

1892 Amelia Dickinson Pope, president of NJWSA.

1893 Florence Howe Hall, president of NJWSA to 1900.
 General Federation of Women's Clubs founded in Newark. Charlotte Emerson Brown of N.J., president until 1896.

1894 N.J. Supreme Court declared women's right to vote in school elections unconstitutional. Women could still vote on school taxes.

NJWSA set up Committee on Laws Relating to Women, chaired by Mary Philbrook, which dealt with issues of divorce, custody and other issues.

New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs founded.

1895 N.J. women gained admittance to the bar as a result of a legislative act.

1897 School suffrage amendment defeated by 10,000 out of 140,000 votes.

1900 Minola Graham Chandler Sexton elected president of NJWSA.

1901 Josephine Silow Yates of Mattick, N.J. became president of the National Association of Colored Women.

1905 NJWSA remained without a leader until 1908.

1908 Clara Laddey, president NJWSA.
 Equality League of Self-Supporting Women (later renamed the Women's Political Union) formed. Focused on

1910 Washington state granted woman suffrage.

1911 California granted woman suffrage.

1912 Oregon, Arizona and Kansas granted woman suffrage.

TR's Progressive Bull Moose Party included suffrage plank.



Inez Milholland died from exhaustion fighting for suffrage in western states.

1913 Illinois was first state to grant presidential suffrage to women.

Alice Paul headed the Congressional Committee of the NAWSA to focus on a federal amendment for woman suffrage.

Parade of 8,000 women on day preceding Wilson's inauguration.

Territory of Alaska granted woman suffrage.

1914 Congressional Committee separated from the NAWSA due to a conflict between the federal and the state-by-state approach, calling itself the Congressional Union.

Montana and Nevada passed suffrage amendments.

General Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed woman suffrage.

1915 In addition to New Jersey's referendum, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts suffrage referenda were defeated.

Carrie Chapman Catt returned to presidency of NAWSA.

Democratic and Republican support for suffrage.

1910 Equal Franchise Society founded in Hoboken and allied itself with New York's Equal Franchise League.

New Jersey Men's League for Equal Suffrage established in Newark. Businessmen and clergy, many married to suffragists, included members from all counties and one member of Congress.

1912 January: resolution in favor of woman suffrage first introduced in Senate. Three years later it finally passed both houses of two successive legislatures.

Lillian Ford Feickert became president of NJWSA. Organization grew to twenty-eight leagues; membership of 1200.

Mary Philbrook took case *Carpenter v. Cornish* to court of appeals. Philbrook appealed on the grounds that the 1844 Constitution was illegal in taking away rights granted in the 1776 Constitution. The court disagreed. She did not appeal, thinking suffrage was on the horizon.

1913 Both Democratic and Republican parties endorsed suffrage.

N.J. delegation from all four major suffrage groups met with Wilson. He offered a vague response.

1914 Men's Anti-Suffrage League of New Jersey founded.

New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage founded with female membership.

NJWSA with a membership of 22,000 opened an office in Plainfield. Women's Political Union with a membership of 4,000 opened an office in Newark.

Grace Baxter Fenderson of N.J. contributed to the founding of the NAACP which supported woman suffrage.

1915 Two weeks before election, Woodrow Wilson came out in support "as a citizen of New Jersey."

New Jersey Referendum on Amendment defeated in public election by 51,108 out of 317,672 votes cast — lost in every county except Ocean.



Jeanette Rankin

- 1916 Catt developed "Winning Plan." NAWSA and NWP marched on Republican Convention. Republicans adopted suffrage in platform. CU and NAWSA working for same cause, federal referendum, but used different tactics. CU was re-named The National Women's Party (NWP) and aligned itself with western women voters. The goal was to defeat Democratic candidates in 1916, including Wilson.
Jeanette Rankin elected to Congress from Montana.
- 1917 NWP began to picket White House in January. April: US entry into World War I caused debate among suffragists.
Nebraska, Rhode Island and New York granted presidential suffrage to women.
Women picketers at the White House were arrested.
- 1918 Michigan, Texas, South Dakota, Oklahoma granted suffrage to women by amendment or legislation.
Wilson declared support for a federal amendment on woman suffrage.
Wilson released women from prison. Washington D.C. judge ruled they were illegally arrested and imprisoned.
- 1919 May 20: Nineteenth Amendment passed both houses of Congress by the necessary two-thirds majority.
- 1920 Nineteenth Amendment adopted as Tennessee, the thirty-sixth state to do so, ratified.

Florence Spearing Randolph organized the N.J. State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Congressional Union organized a branch in New Jersey with Alison Turnbull Hopkins as president.

N.J. State Federation of Women's Clubs defeated a suffrage resolution; the New Jersey branch of the American Federation of Labor made no endorsement, (though they had in 1913).

Other suffrage groups merged with NJWSA — membership up to 50,000.

- 1916 N.J. chapter of the National Women's Party formed with Alison Hopkins as president.



Julia Hurlbut of Morristown was arrested picketing in front of the White House.

- 1917 New Jersey women and others arrested in front of the White House.
Equal Franchise Society voted to disband and merge with NAWSA; eight months later WPU did the same thing.
New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs allies with NJWSA, adding 6,000 members.
- 1918 New Jersey's Republican Governor Walter E. Edge was pro-suffrage; both Senators William Frelinghuysen, a Republican, and William Hughes, a Democrat, also favored suffrage.
NJWSA membership reached 120,000.
- 1919 New Jersey was the twenty-ninth state to ratify the suffrage amendment.
- 1920 Agnes Schermerhorn elected first president of the New Jersey League of Women Voters.
- 1921 The first woman, Jennie C. Van Ness, elected to New Jersey Assembly.
- 1947 New state constitution reaffirmed women's right to vote and included an equal rights clause.

The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1916

VICTORY NUMBER



Woman Suffrage Around the World

1881	Isle of Man	1953	China, Jamaica, Mexico
1893	New Zealand	1954	Colombia
1902	Australia	1955	Ethiopia, Ghana, Nicaragua, Peru
1906	Finland	1956	Cameron, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Laos, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Pakistan, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia, Upper Volta
1907	Norway (1913)	1957	Haiti, Honduras, Lebanon, Malaysia
1915	Denmark, Iceland (1919)	1958	Albania, Algeria, Iraq, Somalia
1917	U.S.S.R.	1959	Cyprus, Mauritius, Morocco
1918	Austria, England, Germany (1928),	1960	Nigeria, Zaire
1919	Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Hungary (1945), Ireland (1922), Luxembourg, Azerbaijan (Moslem) Republic, British East Africa (Kenya), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	1961	Burundi, Gambia, Paraguay, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Tanzania
1920	United States , Canada	1962	Uganda
1924	Mongolia	1963	Iran, Kenya, Libya
1929	Ecuador	1964	Afganistan, Malawi, Zambia
1930	South Africa	1965	Botswana, Singapore
1931	Spain, Sri Lanka	1966	Guyana, Lesotho
1932	Brazil, Thailand	1967	Yemen People's Democratic Republic
1934	Cuba, Turkey, Uruguay	1968	Swaziland
1935	Burma	1970	Fiji
1938	Bulgaria, Philippines	1971	Switzerland
1942	Dominican Republic	1972	Bangladesh
1945	France, Guatemala, Indonesia, Japan, Panama, Trinidad and Tobago	1974	Jordan
1946	Benin, Italy, Liberia, Romania, Yugoslavia	1976	Portugal
1947	Argentina, Malta, Togo, Venezuela, Vietnam	1984	Lichtenstein
1948	Belgium, Israel, North and South Korea		
1949	Chile, Costa Rica, India, Syria		
1950	Barbados, El Salvador		
1951	Nepal		
1952	Bolivia, Greece		

Just as some American women could vote prior to 1920, some other countries extended suffrage in more than one step. Dates in parentheses indicate that the original suffrage had restrictions of some sort which were removed at the later date. Not all countries had universal male suffrage on these dates, and woman suffrage remained equally restricted.

New Jersey Suffragists

Names in boldface can be found in *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women*.
The following list, although incomplete, is provided to encourage further research in the field.

Organizations

Anti-Saloon League
Association for the Advancement of Women
Atlantic City Equal Suffrage League
Baptist church (both conferences)
Central Building Trades Union
Elizabeth Equal Suffrage League
Equal Rights Society
Equal Suffrage League of the Oranges
Equity League of Self-Supporting Women
Essex County Woman Suffrage Society
Jersey City Equal Suffrage League
Men's League for Woman Suffrage
Methodist Church (both conferences)

Metuchen Equal Suffrage League
Montclair Equal Suffrage League
N.J. Woman Suffrage Association
N.J. Congressional Union
N.J. Education Association
N.J. Grange
N.J. WCTU
N.J. Suffrage League
Newark Labor Union Suffrage League
North Plainfield Equal Suffrage League
Plainfield Equal Suffrage League
Rutherford Equal Suffrage League
Society of Friends
Trenton Civics and Suffrage Association
West Jersey Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church
Woman Suffrage Association of Vineland
Women's Political Union of New Jersey

Suffragists:

Abbot, Minnie D. of Atlantic City
Ackerman, Hon. Ernest R. of Plainfield
Adams, Judge Frederick
Adams, Mrs. Charles F. of Trenton
Albright, Mrs. Edwin A. of Roselle
Allen, Elizabeth Almira of Trenton
Anderson, Sophronia
Antrim, Louise of Merchantville
Armstrong, Mrs. William of Trenton
Bailey, Herbert M.
Bailey, Mrs. F.A., of Camden County
Baker, Congressman J. Thompson of Wildwood
Baker, Mrs. J. Thompson
Baldwin, Williamson
Ballantine, Mrs. A. de B. of Newark
Ballard, Mrs. William R. of Morristown
Barrett, Helen
Barus, Jane Garey of Montclair
Bathgate, Charlotte
Bedle, Mayor of Matawan



Beecher, Mrs. Henry C.
 Beeken, Mrs. A.V.A.
 Beers, Mrs. Ralph
 Belcher, Mrs. Zachariah
 Berg, Marjory
 Berry, Mrs. William Martin
 Betts, Mrs. A.W. of Woodbury
 Biddison, Stella
 Billet, Dr. Mary I.
 Billington, Rose Anne
Blackwell, Antoinette Brown
 Blackwell, Henry
 Blake, Lillian Deveraux
 Bleakley, E.G.C. of Camden
 Bloor, Ella Reve
 Bodler, Anna
 Bolton, Mrs. William B.
 Boni, Mrs. Charles
 Bortone, Margaret
 Bowne, Annie P.
Bradford, Cornelia Foster of Chester and Jersey City
 Bradshaw, Mrs. John Hammond

Branford, Mrs. C.S. of Trenton
 Brearley, Anna D.
 Broadnax, Dr. Mary E.
 Brown, Mrs. A. Swan
 Bush, Mrs. E.L.
 Campbell, Agnes
 Campton, Mrs. Harry of Newark
 Carey, Judge Robert of Jersey City
 Carpenter, Harriet Francis
 Carter, Ella
 Carter, Mary Louise
 Carter, Mary Margaret
 Child, Marguerite of Ridgefield Park
 Christie, Mrs. Alex, of Bayonne
 Churchman, Mrs. H.
 Clafin, Fanny
 Clark, Mrs. Samuel
 Coale, Edith of Riverton
 Cobb, George T.
 Coeyman, Madeleine
 Coeyman, Mrs. Walter A.
 Coghill, Mrs. Howard of Morristown



Cohen, Mrs. E. Yancey
 Colby, Hon. Everett of Orange
 Colby, Howard A.
 Colby, Mrs. Everett
 Collins, Stacey
 Colvin, Mary Kendall Loring of Orange
 Condit, Filmore
Connelly, Ann Hora of Rahway
 Connelly, Mrs. Arthur of Newark
 Connolly, Judge James C.
 Connolly, Louise of Summit
 Contrell, Jr., Mrs. John
 Covington, Pauline
 Craven, Mrs. S. Norris of Trenton
 Cromwell, Agnes
 Cromwell, Mrs. Seymour
 Crowell, Agnes of Mendham
 Cullen, Mary of Newark
 Cullen, May
 Cummings, Dr. Mary G.
 Cummings, Mrs. L.H. Sectreary
Cushing, Juliet Clannon of East Orange
 Dana, John Cotton
 David, Judge Abe J.
 Davis, A.J.
 Davis, Judge Thomas A.
Davis, Mary Fenn Robinson of Orange
 Davis, Thomas A.
 Dean, Ida
 Delaney, Alice G.
 Delaney, Maude M.
 Denney, George M.
 Denny, George M
 Dezanne, Reverend C.H.
 Dickeson, Aldona of Woodstown
 Doaud, Mrs. David Douglas of Ridgefield Park
 Dobson, Mary of Passaic
 Dolan, Patrick, of Jersey City
 Dowd, William
Downs, Sarah Jane Corson of Ocean Grove
 Dragonetti, Dr. Lucy
 DuBois, A.E.
 Dubrow, Mary of Passaic
 Duffy, Grace
 DuPont, Mrs. Alexis

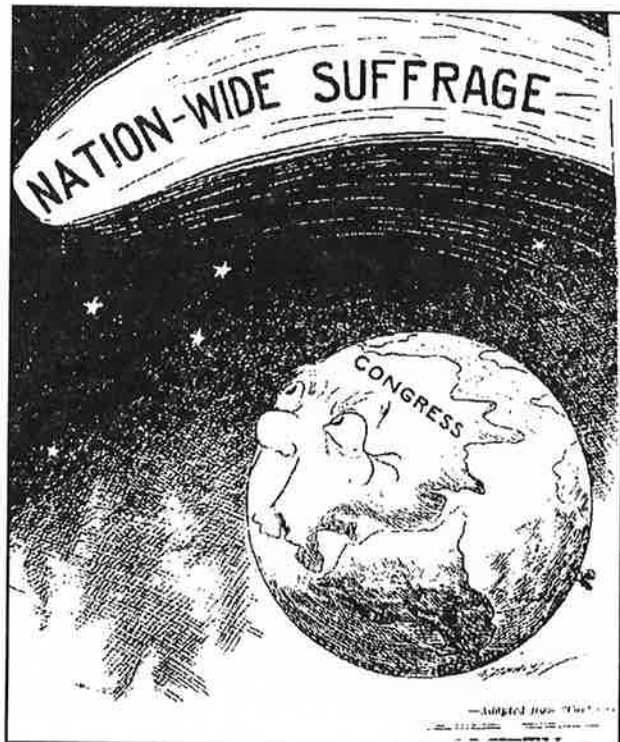


Durand, Prudence
 Dyer, E. Tiffany
Eagleton, Florence Peshine of Newark
 Eaton, Mrs. C.P. of Jersey City
 Edison, Mrs. William L. of Morristwon
 Edison, Thomas
 Egan, Charles M., State Senator
 Ellis, A.H., East Orange
 Enders, Clara of Ridgefield Park
 Fagan, Mark, Mayor of Jersey City
 Farraday, Mrs. J. H. of Arlington
Feickert, Lillian Ford of Plainfield
Fenderson, Grace Baxter
 Fetridge, Frank of the Essex County Trades Council
 Finley, Helen P.
 Finley, Mrs. Robert P of Merchantville
 Fisbeck, Eva of Ridgefield Park
 Fisbeck, Frances of Ridgefield Park
 Flannigan, Catherine
 Flavelle, Mrs. O. Watson
 Ford, Cornelius

Ford, Honorable Cornelius J.
 Fort, John Franklin (former governor)
 Fowler, Mrs. Harry B.
Fowler, Susan Pecker of Vineland
 Franklin, Mrs. Emlen P. of Morristown
 Furber, Mayor of Rahway
 Gage, John of Vineland
 Gage, Portia
 Gallagher, Margaret C.
 Gantz, Dr. E.
 Gardner, Mrs. W.H. of Hammonton
 Garris, Mrs. Howard
 Garrison, Lindley M., Secretary of War
Garrison, Lucy McKim
 Garrison, Mrs. Philip McKim of West Orange
 Gaston, Mrs. William
 Gaston, William H.
 Gebhardt, Hon. William O.
 Gifford, Mrs. E. Garfield
 Gilder, Jeanette S.
 Gillen, Charles P. of Newark
 Gilmour, Adelaide
 Ginger, Hilda
 Goebel, George G.
 Goebel, George H.
 Goldberg, Mrs. Samuel



Goodwin, Eleanor H.
 Goodwin, Mrs. Frank
 Gowdy, Laura
 Gram, Betty
 Graves, Mrs. Joseph C.
 Greenwalt, Constance
 Gregory, Alyse
 Gribbin, Mrs. Francis F.
Grimké, Angelina
Grimké, Sarah of Fort Lee, Belleville, Perth Amboy
 Gugenheim, Mrs. David
 Guilford, Ella O. of Atlantic City
 Hack, Mrs. Harold Wright of Short Hills
Haines, Florence Lillian of Newark
 Hall, Florence Howe of Plainfield
 Halley, Mrs. R.B. of of Rahway
 Halsey, Florence
 Hamill, Congressman
 Hammitt, Mrs. Charles K. of Trenton
 Hammond, Mrs. Ogden
Hanaford, Phebe Ann Coffin of Jersey City
 Harrey, Colonel George
 Harris, Emerson P.
 Harris, Genevieve
 Harris, Josephine



Hart, Archibald C.
Hartshorn, Cora Louise
 Hartshorn, Joanna, of Short Hills
 Harvey, Colonel George
 Haskell, Mrs. E. Kirk of Morristown
 Haulings, Dr. H. Trenton
 Haulings, Gertrude of Trenton
 Havermayer, Henry O.
 Haworth, Helen McCulloch
 Hayward, Mary T.
 Heilner, Samuel
 Hellman, Mary
 Hemphill, Alexander J.
 Hennessey, Charles O'Connor of Bergen County
 Hibben, Rev. John Greer, President of Princeton
 University
 Higgins, Michael N.
 Holmes, Mrs. Marion

Hopkins, Alison Low of Morristown
 Hughes, Senator William
 Hunt, Florence Mulford
 Hunt, Martha of Metuchen
 Hunter, May
 Hunter, Mrs. Arthur of Montclair
 Hurlbut, Julia of Morristown
 Huse, Mrs. Robert S. of Elizabeth
 Hussey, Cornelia
Hussey, Dr. Mary D. of East Orange
 Hutchinson, Aimee
 Hyde, Frances L.
 Irving, Bertha Shippen
 Irving, Mrs. Robert Archibald of Haddonfield
 Jackson, Mrs. of Jersey City
 Jackson, Mrs. Oliver
 Jamieson, Mary S.
 Jeffery, Anna B., South Orange
 Jerolaman, Louise
Johnson, Cordelia Thomas Greene of Jersey City
 Jones, Arthur, of Bayonne
 Karr, Minnie S.
 Katchen, Mrs. J.
 Kaufman, Viola F. Hoboken
 Keaney, Margaret V.
 Kelley, Minnie
 Kellogg, Mrs. Frederick
 Kerlin, Mrs. Ward D. of Camden
 King, Mrs. Clinton Pierson
 Kingsbury, Elizabeth A. of Vineland
 Kinkaid, Beatrice of Montclair
 Kinkead, Eugene F., Sheriff of Hudson Co.
 Kirkpatrick, Mrs. William D.
 Klatschken, Martha, of Orange
 Knapp, Edgar of Elizabeth
 Kraft, Mrs. George of Trenton
 Kussy, Sarah
 La Monte, George M., State Commissioner of Bank-
 ing and Finance
 Lacey, Mrs. E.G. of Morristown
 Laddey, Clara S.
 Lafetra, Harriet of Monmouth
 Laird, Margaret of Newark
 Laird, Mrs. of Belmar
 LaKocque, Jr., Mrs. Joseph
 LaMonte, Mrs. George



The Minimum Wage
 Has she carried it?

Life 1913

LaRoque, Mrs. Joseph
 Lathrop, Frances
 Leary, Mrs. Elwood
 Leech, Florence
 Lehibach, Elizabeth A.
 Lesser, Mrs. Arthur
 Levine, Dr. William of Trenton
 Levy, Clara
 Lewis, Rose of Ridgefield Park
 Lindabury, Richard V., Prudential Insurance
Lippincott, Miriam Lee Early of Camden
 Loomis, Mrs. Edward N.
 Lovatt, Mrs. Frederick
 Lowry, Mrs. Alfred of Camden
 Lukens, Mrs. E.T. of Oxford
 Lynn, Alice
 Macdonald, Mrs. G.L.
 MacIlroy, Mrs. S.H.
 Malloney, F. Ella
 Mann, Corinne of Trenton
 Marsh, Mrs. H.C.
 Matthews, John A
 Maxfield, Mrs. D.E. of Florence
 Maxwell, Helen of Atlantic City
 McCarthy, Louise B.
 McClave, Mahor Steven Wood
 McCormick, Mrs. Stanley
 McDermitt, Agnes
 McKeever, Rev. J.J.
 McMurphy, Reverend Robert
 Mead, Mrs. Morris B.
 Merritt, Mrs. J.L.
 Merz, Elsie
 Metzger, Mrs. Samuel of Monmouth Country
 Miles, Ellen of Jersey City
Miller, Alice Duer of Weekawken
 Mockridge, Ella
 Molineus, Leslie E.
 Monteith, Caroline
 Moore, Helen
 Moore, Regan
Moorfield, Amelia Berndt of Newark
 Morgan, William Fellows
 Moy, Mayor of Plainfield
 Mravlag, Hon. Victor

COURTED BY ALL



Mrs. Gutelius of Trenton
 Mulford, Mary
 Murtaugh, A.C.
 Newton, Mrs. Richard T. of Nutley
 Nixon, James H.
 Norris, Harriet of Morristown
 O'Connor, Helen
 O'Connor, Mary
 O'Shaughnessy, Mrs. M.J. of Fort Lee
 O'Shaughnessy, Mrs. Michael J. of Short Hills
 Ogden, Esther G.
 Olmstead, Mrs. C.L. of Elizabeth
 Oppenheim, Elizabeth C.
 Ortiz, Mrs. Julian
 Osgood, Grace
 Palmer, Lora E. of Spring Lake
 Parnell, Delia Stewart
 Parsonet, Mrs. Victor
 Parsonnet, Augusta B. of Newark
 Parsons, Alice S.
 Pattison, Frank Ambler of Colonia
Pattison, Mary of Colonia
Paul, Alice Stokes of Moorestown
 Paul, Helen of Moorestown
 Peddie, Thomas B.
 Peddles, J.M.
 Peer, Mrs. Alfred Lewis
 Perkins, George W.
 Person, Phoebe
Philbrook, Mary of Jersey City

Phillips, Mrs. Franklin
 Phipps, Mrs. Henry
 Pierce, Mrs. E.F.
 Pierce, Olive
 Pierson, Emily
 Pierson, Sarah
 Poole, Hester
 Poole, Katherine
 Pope, Amelia Dickinson
 Pope, Elizabeth (Bessie) of Jersey City
 Pope, James E.
 Potter, Frances Squire
 Prickett, Helen Norris of Metuchen
Randolph, Florence Spearing of Summit
 Raymond, Thomas L. Mayor of Newark
 Reed, Mrs. H.R. of Leonia
 Reilley, Mrs. William of Newark
 Reilly, Julia
 Reynolds, Minnie J. of Newark
 Richards, Gertrude of Bergen County
 Riley, Champlain L.
 Riley, Mrs. C. L. of Plainfield
 Robbins, Lena Anthony of Newark
 Robbins, Mrs. Leonard H.



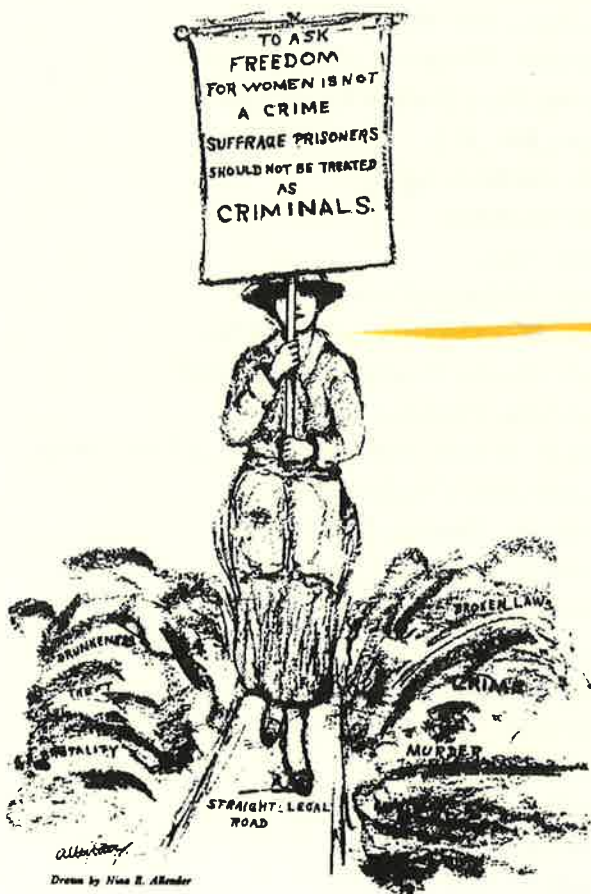
Robertson, Beatrice Forbes
 Rogers, Henry Welsh
 Ropes, Jesse Nandain Alexander
 Rothschild, Mrs. Edward
 Ryerson, Marle F. of Newark
 Satherwaite, Linton of Trenton
 Saunders, Mrs. William L.
 Saunders, William L. of Plainfield
Sayles, Mary Buell of Jersey City
 Sayre, Mrs. H.N.
 Schermerhorn, Agnes
 Schloss, Helen
 Scott, Alice
 Scott, Melinda of Irvington
 Scott, Mrs. George G. of Montclair
 Scott, Phoebe Persons of Morristown
 Seabrook, Theresa A. of Keyport
 Sexton, Minola Graham Chandler of East Orange
 Shaffer, Mrs. Charles Grant
 Simmons, Harriman N.
 Simmons, Helena of Elizabeth
 Sinnott, Mrs. John F.
 Skinner, Anne
 Slayback, Mrs. J.W.
 Slayback, Nellie Husk, of Montclair
 Smith, Nixola Greely
 Smither, Oberlin of Bridgeton
 Sommer, Frank H.
 Sommer, Mrs. Frank H.



Pauline Revere

Stahle, Mary of Newark
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady of Tenafly
Steele, Mary Mercer of Somerville
 Stern, Beatrice
 Stevens, Mrs. C.W. of New Brunswick
 Stevens, Richard
 Stevens, Richard, of Hoboken
 Stillman, James A.
Stone, Lucy of Orange
Strickland, Sarah E., of Vineland
 Stringer, Elizabeth M.
 Sulz, Perry, President of the Labor Union Suffrage League
 Sutherland, Jr., Mrs. Wm. P.
 Sutherland, Mrs. William Platt
 Swartz, George O. of Wenonah
 Sylvester, Ida Pond
 Tanney, Sarah
 Teller, Mrs. Louis P.
 Thompson, Dr. Maud
 Thompson, Geraldine Livingston of Lincroft
 Thompson, Mrs. Lewis of Redbank

Tillotson, Mary E. of Vineland
 Tittsenor, Mrs. Thomas of Trenton
 Titus, Mrs. C. of E. Orange
 Troop, Esther V. Newark
 Tumulty, Joseph P. of Jersey City, Secretary to the President
 Ungaro, Terestia
 Upjohn, Mrs. Charles E. of Trenton
 Vail, Mrs. Carl of Ridgewood
 Van Maler, Mayor of Atlantic Highlands
Van Ness, Jennie Carolyn, of E. Orange
 Van Sant, K. Roxana
 Van Wagenen, Christine
 Van Winkle, Mina C.
 VanWinkle, Mrs. Abram of Short Hills
 Vickers, Gussie L.
 Voorhees, Martin E. of Trenton
 Walker, Dr. Mary Edwards
 Walker, Edith
 Waller, Miss A.T.
 Walling, Mayor of Keyport
 Ward, Mrs. Thomas
 Webb, Josephine Manick
 Webb, Sarah
 Weirs, Reverend Edgar
 Welshman, Mrs. George
 Westcott, John W., Attorney General
 Westwood, Louise
 Wheelock, Mrs. William E. of Morristown
 White, Mrs. John J. of Atlantic City
 Whitehead, Celia of Bloomfield
 Wiggin, Lillian
 Wilbour, Charlotte Beebe of Metuchen
 William, Elizabeth of Riverton
 Williams, Katherine A.
 Wilson, Jane Lynch of Princeton
Winsler, Beatrice
Wittpenn, Caroline of Hoboken
 Wittpenn, H. Otto of Jersey City
 Wood, Albert N., USN ret.
 Wright, Julia of Ridgefield Park
 Wyckoff, Edna C. of Hightstown
 Yates, Josephine Silone



Women are listed by their husbands' names when no other information is available.

Anti-Suffragists

Adams, Thomas B.
 Bard, David
 Brease, Edward Yarde
 Brease, Mrs. E. Yarde
 Bugbee, Newton A.K., Chair of Republican Committee
 Campbell, Mary
 Canfield, Mrs. Henry
 Cleveland, Frances Folsom
 Colt, Stockton,
 Copsill, James W.
 Craven, Mrs. Thomas J.
 Darcey, Mr. & Mrs. Henry M.
 Dixon, Judge Houston
 Douglas, Anna
 Ehlers, Edward of Rockaway, Chairman of the Morris County Republican Committee
 Eisele, John C.
 Ellis, Walter E.
 Emery, Mrs. John R.
 Fiedler, Governor James
 Fox, Hugh
 Frand, Wilson, principal of Newark Academy
 Furber, James B.
 Gilder, Jennifer I.
 Hail, Walter P. dean at Princeton University
 Handley, Edward J.
 Harding, Ruth Guthrie of Paterson
Hobart, Jennie Tuttle, of Paterson
 Joost, Sherman R.
 Joost, Mrs. Sherman R.
 Kean, Mrs. Hamilton Fish
 Keasbey, E.Q.
 Keasbey, Mrs. Edward Q.
 Kisam, E.
 Libbey, Colonel
 Libbey, Mrs.
 Loomis, Mrs. Edward N.
 Lum, Charles M.
 MacIlvaine, Mrs. Anna V.
 Magie, Dean W.S. of Princeton
 Magie, William J., former state chancellor
 Magie, Mrs. H.O.
 McQuoid, Charles W.
 McCran, Thomas F.

McKean, Mary of Moorestown
 Mollvaine, Anna
 Nixon, Grace F.
 Nugent, James B.
 Nulheron, James H., Mercer Republican Co. Chairman
 Oliphant, Mrs. Oliver D. of Trenton
 Powers, T.H.
 Preston, Frances Folsom Cleveland of Princeton
 Preston, Mrs. Thomas A.
 Price, Lucy
 Roebling, Mrs. Carl C.
 Selegman, Mrs. Henry
 Slayback, Nellie Husk
 Stockton, Richard
 Stokes, Governor Edward
 Stryker, Mrs. William S.
 Umy, Ralph B.
 Underhill, Charles L. of Somerville
 Van Wagenen, Mrs. Henry W.
 Vezin, Miss Clara
 Vezin, William K.
 Watson, Dr. William Perry
 West, Andrew F.
 Woodbury, Mrs. Theodore C.



Marooned.

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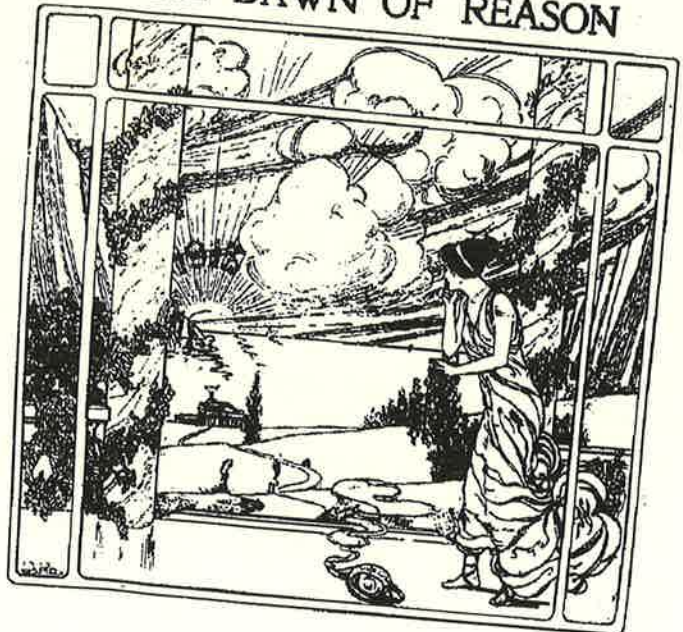
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"But madam, you can't bear arms."

"Sir, you can't bear armies."

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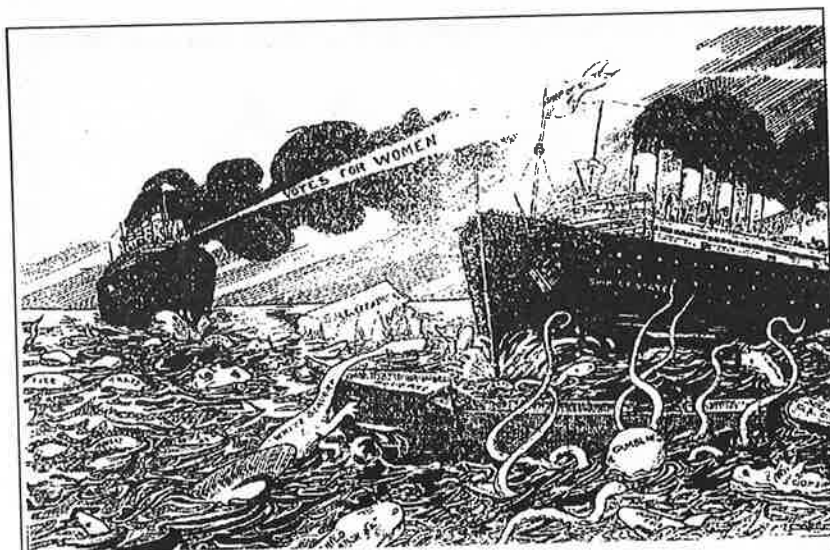
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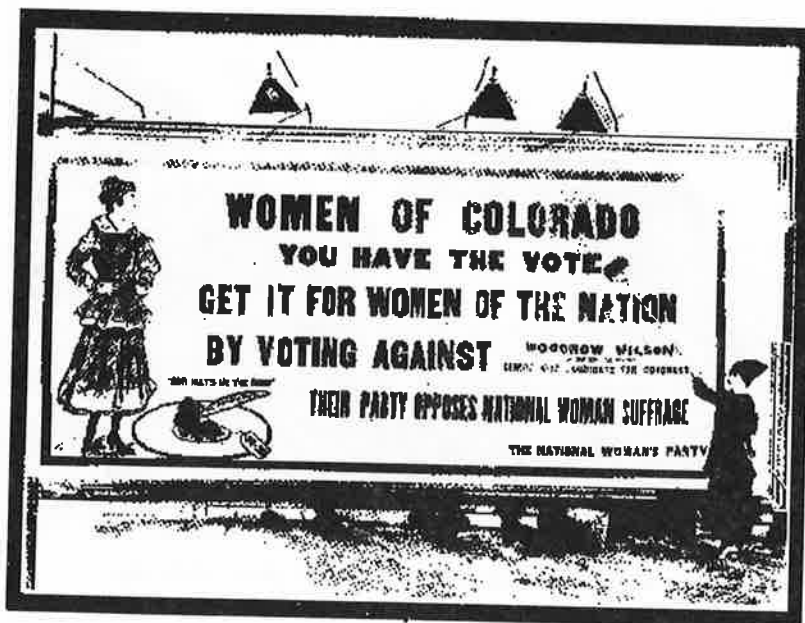
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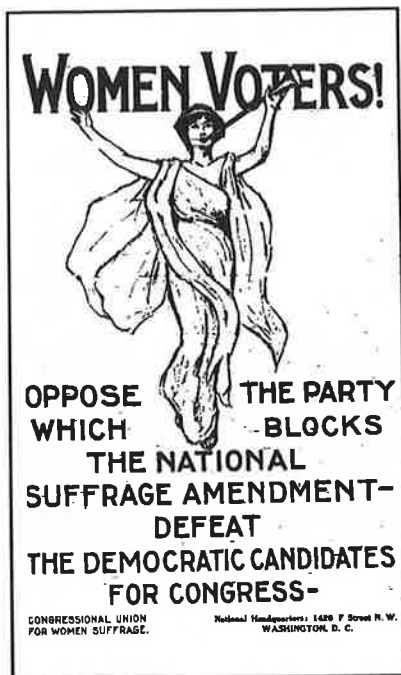
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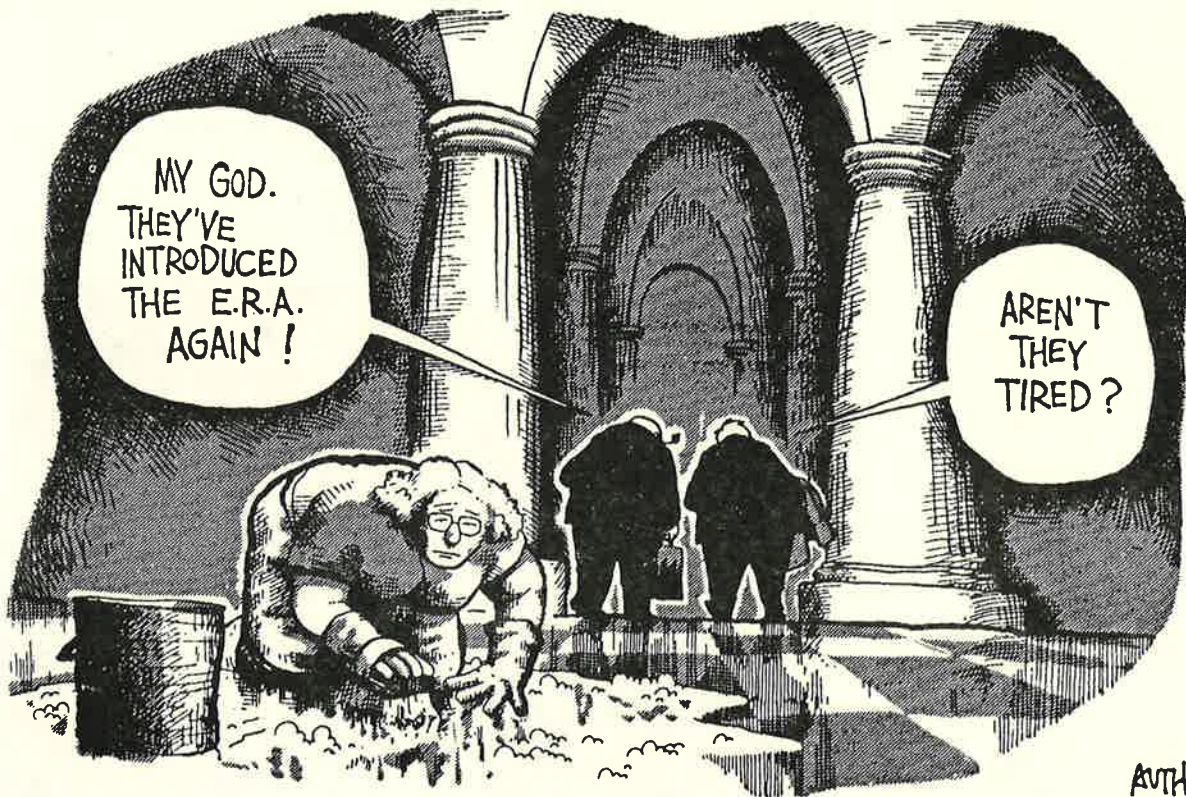
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