



Women at NJ Women's Party headquarters in Newark doing both suffrage and war work. When the United States entered World War I, suffragists and anti-suffragists worked with the Red Cross in relief work, organized women to sew, knit, and prepare surgical dressings for the military, and, like the women in this photo, raise money in Liberty Loan drives. Suffragists believed their active loyalty and support would make woman suffrage inevitable.

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Reclaiming Our Voice

*by Carol Simon Levin & Delight Wing Dodyk
with First-Person Poems by Susanna Rich*



An Overview of
New Jersey's Role
in the Fight for
Woman Suffrage

On March 31, 1776, Abigail Adams was minding farm, family, and finances in Massachusetts when she wrote a letter to her husband John, a delegate at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia:

I long to hear that you have declared independence—and by the way in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would remember the ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or representation . . .

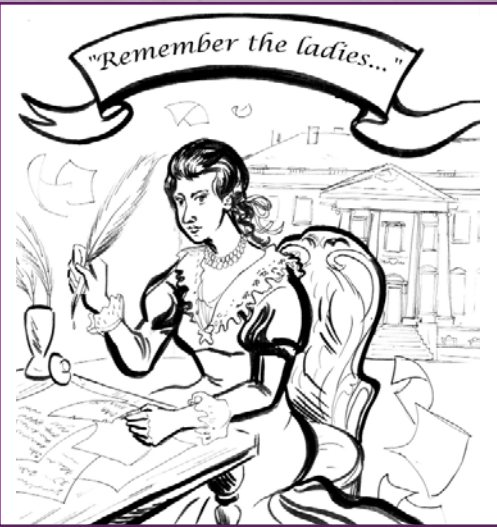
Two weeks later, on April 14, 1776, her husband replied that she was “so saucy” and he could not “but laugh” at her “extraordinary code of laws.” After commenting that freed northern slaves, apprentices, and the poor were demanding equal rights, he worried “Another tribe [women], more numerous and powerful than all the rest,” would also be arguing for equality. He reassured her that men would rule “fair and softly” because “you know we [men] are the subjects” and that men only appeared to be masters—women’s rights would “completely subject us to the despotism of the petticoat.” Though John and Abigail might not have been aware of it, a few women were already voting in colonial Massachusetts and New York—a right they would soon lose. And three months after Abigail’s letter, one state—New Jersey—included female franchise in its new state constitution enabling some single women and widows to vote. It was a right they would have for over three decades, and then lose for more than one hundred years.

On July 2, 1776, New Jersey’s Provincial Congress ratified a State Constitution which included the clause:

[A]ll inhabitants of this Colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly; and also for all other public officers, that shall be elected by the people of the county at large.¹

By not explicitly stating “white male,” New Jersey’s constitution enfranchised some women, blacks, and aliens. Not all women could vote, however. Married women were “feme covert” (covered in law by their husbands) so they couldn’t own property—they were property. But since the nation had recently fought a bloody war, there were quite a few unmarried women and widows who met the £50 requirement.

Because this constitution was so exceptional, historians for many years considered it an accident, the result of a hasty process as British troops were on New Jersey’s doorstep. But this was largely debunked by



Abigail Adams (1744-1818)
by Crina Magalio

Abigail Adams and the other drawings of women’s rights activists are the work of some of the talented artists featured in Carol Simon Levin’s book “Remembering the Ladies: From Patriots in Petticoats to Presidential Candidates.” We thank them for allowing us to reprint them here. We are delighted to have some of Susanna Rich’s poems from her book “Shout: Poetry for Women’s Rights” and thank her for creating additional ones specifically for this project. Carol also thanks Sarah Hull (Plainfield Public Library) and Nancy Piwowar (Drake House Historical Society) whose inquiries first led her to research the topic, Neale McGoldrick and Margaret Crocco, whose book “Reclaiming Lost Ground” introduced her to this lost history and provided many of the images included here, Delight Wing Dodyk whose 1997 dissertation “Education and Agitation: the Woman Suffrage Movement in NJ” provided much of the scholarly research material, and to Steven Tettamanti (New Jersey Historical Society), Patricia A. Martinelli (Vineland Historical Society), and Erin Sawadzki (Alice Paul Institute) for their help in supplying images from their archives.



the discovery of a first draft of the New Jersey 1776 Constitution in the New Jersey state archives. Historians Judith Apter Klinghoffer and Lois Elkis, in their article "The Petticoat Electors,"² argue that the substantial changes in the wording between the draft and final versions demonstrates a thoughtful, considered process at work.

XI. AND BE IT ENACTED, That all free inhabitants of this State, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds, proclamation money, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote, for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for all public officers, which shall be elected by virtue of this act; and no person shall be entitled to vote in any other township or precinct, than that in which he or she doth actually reside at the time of the election.

1790 NJ Election Statute.

Explicit references to gender in subsequent legislation reinforce this interpretation. In 1790 the New Jersey assembly passed (by a vote 33 to 4) an election statute explicitly stating that (emphasis added), "no person shall be entitled to vote in any Township or precinct, than that in which *he or she* does actually reside at the time of the election." A 1797 law stated voters should "openly and in full view deliver

his or her ballot . . ." And an 1800 letter from a legislator³ to a Trenton newspaper stated "Townships of this State shall not refuse the vote of any *widow or unmarried woman* of full age, nor any person of colour . . . Our Constitution gives this right to maids or widows black or white."

At first, it appears that New Jersey politicians enthusiastically courted women's votes. Federalist and Republican newspapers gushed with enthusiastic praise of the female voter:⁴

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."

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."

The Newark Republican-aligned newspaper, *Centinel of Freedom*, published a poem, "The Freedom of Election," on October 18, 1797 that included the stanzas⁵:

*What we read, in days of yore,
the woman's occupation,
Was to direct the wheel and loom
Not to direct the nation.
This narrow minded policy
by us hath met detection
While woman's bound, man can't be free,
nor have a fair election.
Now one and all, proclaim the fall
Of Tyrants! Open wide your throats
And welcome in the peaceful scene
Of Government in Petticoats!*



Carte de visite (c. 1866) by Frederick Coombs featuring a woman dressed as Columbia and a man dressed as a Revolutionary War general.

But, as Susan L. Ditmire chronicles in her article "Petticoat Electors" (reprinted in this issue), the rise of political parties and political power struggles led to a changed attitude toward female voters. The same *Centinel of Freedom* that welcomed a "Government in Petticoats" in 1797 warned the next year, "the petticoat faction's a dangerous thing."⁶

In 1799, the NJ Federalist party attempted to hold a state constitutional convention to disenfranchise women. William Griffith, a lawyer in favor of constitutional reform commented, "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 judgment on the subject."⁷ However, the idea got no traction.

Several years later, a self-titled "Friend to the Ladies" published a letter in *the Trenton True American* on October 18, 1802 expressing "alarm" at the rumor that as many as 25% of the voters in the election had been female and opined, ". . . female reserve and delicacy are incompatible with the duties of a free elector . . . a female politician is subject to ridicule . . ."⁸

As the decade progressed, there were further complaints (especially among losing candidates) charging "fraud"—saying married women, slaves, out-of-state residents or minors had voted or women had voted twice. The biggest complaint was women were not "independent" voters, being too easily swayed by their men.

Given the statistics (cited in Ditmire's article) there is no question that rampant and open fraud occurred in the 1807 Essex County Courthouse election. The losing side charged that men and women had voted multiple times and that men had voted in trousers, changed into dresses, and then, as "ladies," voted again. But instead of prosecuting the election-stealing cross-dressers, politicians decided to use this as an excuse to disenfranchise the women. When Assemblyman John Condict introduced a law that would "reinterpret" New Jersey's Constitution, he framed the bill as an anti-corruption measure.⁹

. . . 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 free, white male citizens of this state, of the age of twenty-one years, worth fifty pounds [emphasis added] . . .

By this act, women and blacks were disenfranchised. Lawmakers decided that since they hadn't explicitly been included in the 1776 constitution, it didn't take an amendment to remove them and no one challenged this action in court.



"New Jersey Women Voting in Colonial Times," from *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, February 1877.

The *Trenton True American* summed it up on Nov. 30, 1807:

*Election bill met better fate.
On every hand defended,
To check confusion through the State
The female's voting ended.*

Curiously, women appear to have shown little resistance, perhaps because they had no political organizations to assist them. There was virtually no discussion of woman suffrage in the newspapers—though there were reports that some widows voted in Barnsboro in 1824. A few black communities including Lawnside in Camden County and Gouldtown in Cumberland County vigorously opposed for decades but to no avail.¹⁰

No one knows how many women actually voted in New Jersey because most early records are lost. Some sources say up to 10,000 women voted in some years between 1790 and 1807¹¹ but historian Jan Ellen Lewis in her article “Rethinking Women Suffrage in NJ”¹² debunks that as a politician’s hysterical hyperbole.

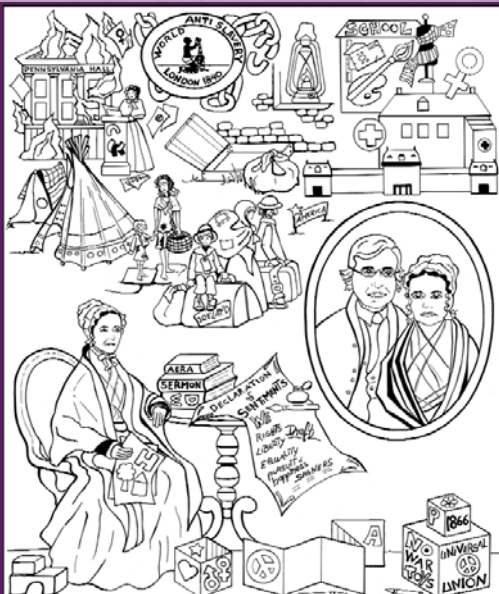
The final nail in the women’s electoral coffin was laid in 1844. That year several Burlington County men unsuccessfully petitioned to reinstate women’s right to vote. Instead, New Jersey passed a constitutional amendment explicitly adding the words “white male” and eliminating the property qualification.¹³ New Jersey revised 1844 constitution¹⁴: “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 . . . shall be entitled to vote . . .”

The Long Road to the 19th Amendment

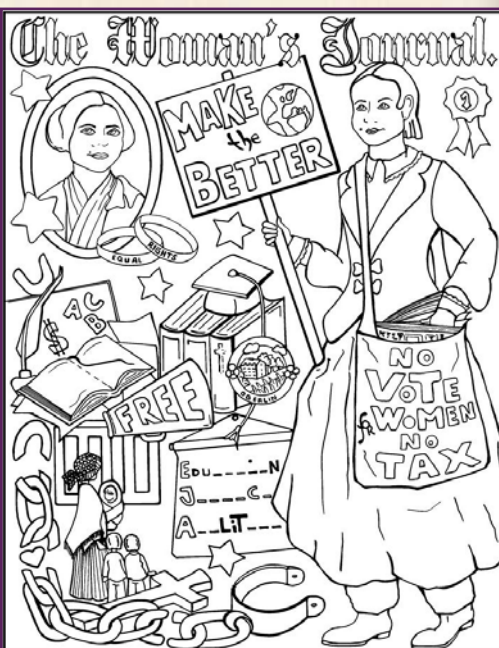
Women didn’t start speaking out for themselves at first, instead advocating on behalf of slaves for abolition.¹⁵ Women activists including Fanny Wright, Maria W. Stewart, and the Grimké Sisters started speaking out against slavery and, when ministers challenged their right to speak at all, they started to advocate for women’s rights as well.

In the 1830s, Quaker ministers Lucretia and James Mott moved to Philadelphia, where James helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Lucretia was the only woman to speak at the convention. Soon, seeking a greater role for women in the movement, Lucretia and a group of black and white women founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, which also attracted some southern New Jersey Quakers.¹⁶ In addition to speaking out against slavery, they denounced race prejudice and argued (white) women had a natural bond with female black slaves. These last two ideas were extreme even for radical abolitionists. Their integrated organization was greeted with such vitriol that an angry mob set fire to the hall where they were holding their 1838 convention.

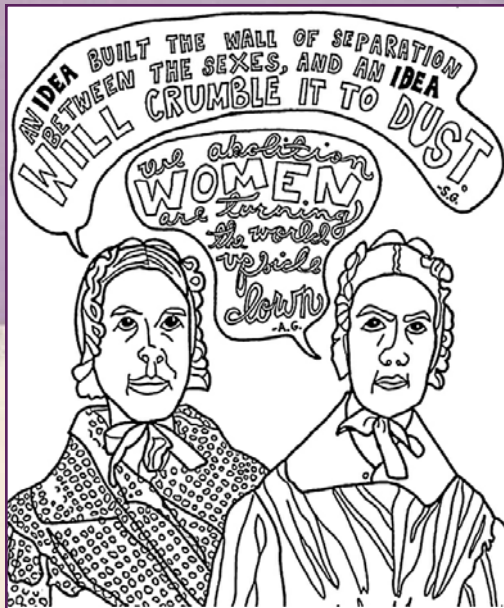
Among those attending that convention were Angelina and Sarah Grimké, two sisters from South Carolina who had been denouncing slavery in articles and speeches across the Northeast for several years.



Lucretia Mott (1793-1880)
by Barbara Schneider
“The world has never yet seen a great and virtuous nation, because in the degradation of women, the very fountains of life are poisoned at their source.”
Declaration of Sentiments, 1848



Lucy Stone (1818-1893)
by Barbara Schneider
“I expect to plead not for the slave only, but for suffering humanity everywhere. Especially do I mean to labor for the elevation of my sex.”
– Lucy Stone, 1847



Sarah (1792-1873) & Angelina Grimke (1805-1879) by Kat Schroeder

"I believe it is a woman's right to have a voice in all the laws and regulations by which she is governed."

– Sarah Grimke
"Letters on the Equality of the Sexes"
 1838

The year before the Philadelphia convention, Angelina (who, along with her sister, had strongly advocated for black women's inclusion) spoke out at the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women held in New York City—the first time women gave organized public speeches to protest inequality. In her "Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free states," Angelina stated "All moral beings have essentially the same rights and the same duties, whether they be male or female."¹⁷

Public speaking was so shocking that some commentators declared that these women should be "sent to insane asylums."¹⁸ When ministers decried them as "unnatural women" for speaking out, Sarah responded, "I believe it is a woman's right to have a voice in all the laws and regulations by which she is governed," which she published in her 1838 book, "Letters on the Equality of the Sexes."

Immediately after the convention, Sarah, Angelina, and Angelina's new husband, Theodore Weld, moved to Fort Lee NJ, then to a small farm in Belleville where they eventually would create a small coed interracial boarding school for their abolitionist friends. In the spring of 1840, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her new husband Henry (a school friend of Theodore) paid a visit. Elizabeth recorded in her diary of the "3 days of stimulating conversation . . . volumes of information . . . of lasting benefit to me, who then knew so little of reformes . . ."¹⁹

She would soon learn more. The Stantons were on their way to London for the World Anti-slavery Convention where he was a delegate, along with James and Lucretia Mott. When Elizabeth and Lucretia arrived however, they discovered that all women, delegates and visitors alike, had been relegated to a spectators' gallery. Elizabeth later recalled that as she walked home with Lucretia "arm in arm, commenting on the incidents of the day, we resolved to hold a convention as soon as we returned home, and form a society to advocate the rights of women."²⁰

"As soon" turned out to be eight years (primarily due to Elizabeth's multiple moves and the birth of three children). But in early July 1848,

while Lucretia was visiting family in Auburn NY, she reconnected with Elizabeth. Lucretia and her sister and fellow-activist Martha Coffin Wright were invited to tea with Elizabeth and two other Quaker women Mary Ann M'Clintock and Jane Hunt. There—at the second major "tea party" in American history!—they poured out tea and frustrations about the status of women. Encouraged by the recent passage of the New York State Women's Property Law in April after over a decade of organized petition-gathering by women (including Elizabeth Cady Stanton herself), and their experience with the nearby Haudenosaunee, a Seneca matriarchal tribe, they determined to hold a convention

in a chapel in neighboring Seneca Falls on July 19–20, 1848 to discuss the social, legal, and religious rights of women.

To everyone's surprise, approximately 260 women and 40 men attended. Elizabeth Cady Stanton penned the opening words in their "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" stating, "We hold these



Reading "The Declaration of Sentiments" at the Seneca Falls Convention.



Lucy Stone (1818-1893) wrote her own marriage vows, pledging to love and honor but not obey. She also kept her maiden name; women who followed her example were called "Lucy Stoners."



Antoinette Brown Blackwell's (1825-1921) seven children were all given the joint last name "Brown Blackwell." Her husband Samuel shared child-care responsibilities, enabling her to pursue her social advocacy and intellectual activities.

truths to be self-evident: that all men AND WOMEN are created equal." The convention detailed women's grievances including the lack of control of their wages, the property brought into marriage, and even custody of their own children in the case of an abusive or drunken husband. All were passed without controversy except one—the right to vote. Though Frederick Douglass (the sole black man in attendance) spoke out in support, even Lucretia Mott thought it was too revolutionary an idea, "Lizzie, Thee will make us ridiculous."²¹

The Seneca Falls convention was followed by similar events around the area and beyond.²² In October 1850, the first national women's rights convention was held in Worcester MA. Two women who would later be leaders in New Jersey women's suffrage movement were among the organizers and speakers: Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown. They had met at Oberlin where both had been studying Greek and Latin to see if the Bible actually forbid women from public speaking as ministers claimed.

After graduation, Lucy became a national speaker for the American Anti-Slavery Society, temperance, and women's rights while Antoinette worked on a theology degree (she would become the first ordained female minister in the country) and published an article arguing that the Bible, correctly translated, prohibited women from idle chatter in church—not serious public discussion.

Among those in the audience at the Worcester convention was Susan B. Anthony. In 1851, Amelia Bloomer, editor of the women's paper "The Lily" and promoter of the liberating outfit that would bear her name, would introduce her to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and a fifty year partnership would be born. Elizabeth wrote the speeches, Susan rented the halls and took them on the road—or as Elizabeth's husband Henry would quip: "Susan stirred the puddings, Elizabeth stirred up Susan, and then Susan stirs up the world!"²³

Though no major conventions were held in New Jersey during the decade, the state's activists attended conventions in neighboring Philadelphia and New York while they petitioned for reforms in Trenton.

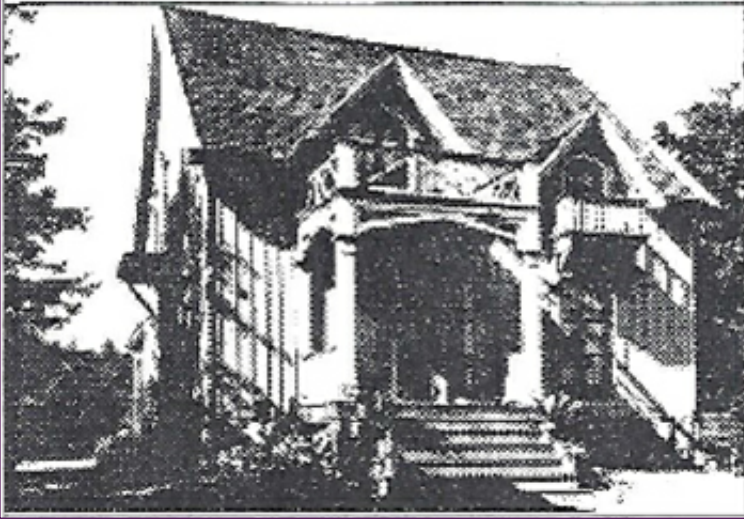
In 1852, Quaker women organized Pennsylvania's first woman's rights convention with many southern New Jersey Quaker women in attendance. That same year, New Jersey passed "An Act for the better securing the property of married women." It was narrow and limited but, theoretically, the premarital wealth in a woman's name could not be disposed of by a profligate husband or one who failed in business.

In 1853, at the Women's Rights Convention in Rochester, NY, the Rev. John Pierpont invoked the memory of New Jersey's woman suffrage and its unjust loss:

I can go back forty years [sic: it would have been 50] . . . through the neighboring state of New Jersey, and stopping for dinner at an inn . . . I saw at the bar . . . a list of voters of the town stuck up. My eye ran over it and I read to my astonishment the names of several women. "What! Do women vote here?"

"Certainly" was the answer, "when they have real estate."

No Taxation without Representation



Lucy Stone's protest letter, which was published in the January 18, 1858 edition of the Orange Journal, read:

Mr. Mandeville, Tax Collector, Sir:

Enclosed I return my tax bill, without paying it. My reason for 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 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

Then the question arose in my mind, why should not women vote? . . . the essence of all republicanism is, that they who feel the pressure of the law should have a voice in its enactment.²⁴

New Jersey's experience was held up as an icon for the reasonableness of their demand for the vote:

The assumption that "free white male citizens" could legislate for "aliens, women, and negroes" better than those classes could for themselves is to deny the fundamental principle of republicanism; Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

This inspired more attempts to expand women's rights in the state. In 1854, the NJ legislature received a petition presented by Monmouth Assemblyman Henry Lafetra, to revise state statutes to establish "legal equality of women and men." The committee noted the "refinement and intelligence of petitioners" but its response was that women should accept their subservient role (and they printed 1000 copies of their decision!) The following year "An Act securing Equality of Rights to Women and Men" (which included custody rights) was defeated.

Then in 1857, Harriet Lafetra (Henry's sister-in-law) led Monmouth county residents in petitioning the state legislature on behalf of women's rights and woman suffrage. The New Jersey Assembly responded with a Biblical argument as justification for the legal subordinate position of women, stating that the revision of the state statutes would not only be "a task in comparison of which the labors of Hercules sink into insignificance" but would be contrary to the subordinate position of women to men since the first woman, Eve, had "introduced sin into the world" and that "the task of ruling matters of state and in family relations had forever gone rightly to men, ever since that fateful day in the Garden of Eden."²⁵

In the spring of 1857, Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell moved to a small farm in Orange following the footsteps of her new sister-in-law Antoinette Brown Blackwell who had moved to New Jersey a few months before. Antoinette had sent a letter to the November 1856 Women's Convention in New York arguing that women needed to employ "healthful agitation" for the vote. Lucy decided to take a stand.²⁶

The farm had been purchased by Lucy using her lecture earnings. When her tax bill came in November 1857, she refused to pay her taxes on the grounds that it was "taxation without representation."²⁷ Her letter to the tax assessor,²⁸ signaling her refusal to pay property taxes was published in the press at the time and some of her belongings (including her daughter Alice's cradle) were sold at a tax sale. These were purchased by neighbors (fellow activists in the women's rights movement) and returned to the family. The story was widely circulated in women's rights circles.²⁹

I am Lucy Stone (1818-1893) and I am Antoinette Brown Blackwell (1825-1921)

Sisters-in-law!

I do not take on my husband Henry's name.
We expunge "obey" from my vows.

All my seven daughters retain my "Brown" in their names.

As does my daughter, my "Stone,"
Alice Stone Blackwell

We are sister suffragists!

It is said that women do not want the vote.

Then let them exercise their option to decline.

*It is said that women would sometimes
want to hold office.*

As is their right as citizens in a democracy.

*We pray the Honorable Body
of the New Jersey Legislature*

to secure Women the right to vote.
We pray the Honorable body

to legislate woman fair wages,
to own their own property,
to inherit from husbands.

C. Christie, chairman, mocks me

as a "woman mingling in the angry strife of
politics, dragging your shining skirts in its polluting more."

They joke, *no person is qualified to vote
unless they are familiar with the
'appearance, sex & size of that noble
animal, the shad...'*

the fish that dies after spawning—as if to say to women,
breed and be dead.

We are heckled, our posters destroyed,
prayer books hurled at us.

They call you "hyena." They call you "hellcat."

Taxation without representation.

I will not submit. Assessors sell my goods
to cover the bill—my table, my chairs,
my books, my plates—Alice's cradle.

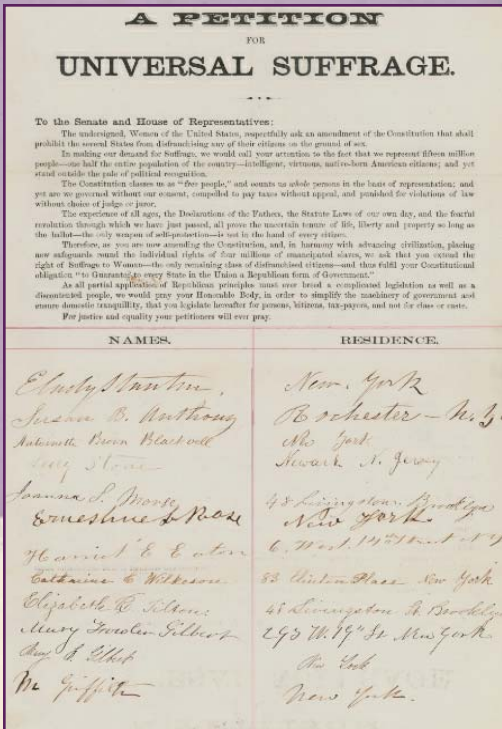
Your friends and neighbors buy and return them
all to you.

Nettie, I battle for women's rights
for sixty years, and you for seventy.

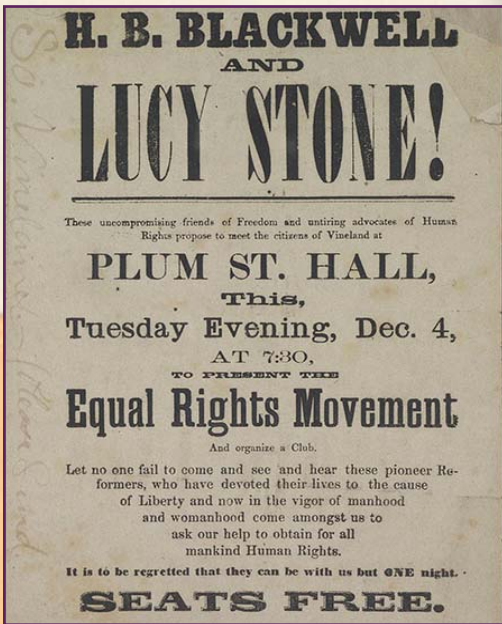
Of us all who were there at the beginning,
I am the only one to cast a ballot
as a fully enfranchised woman.

My last words to Alice are,
Make the World Better.

My hand is your hand, sister, slipping
the paper, finally, irrevocably, into the box.



Antoinette Brown Blackwell lists her residence as "New York" but that was temporary, she lived in New Jersey most of her adult life.



Advertisement for the organizing convention of the Vineland Equal Suffrage by a group of activists led by Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell of Orange in Essex County. Association, December 4, 1866. (Notice whose name is in larger letters.)

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, New Jersey women, like other women around the nation, set aside their own demands to support abolition and help the cause: sewing uniforms, filing and record keeping, nursing soldiers, and keeping homes, farms and businesses running. They expected that their patriotism, efforts, and agitation against slavery would be rewarded after the war. They would be bitterly disappointed.

Equal Suffrage Activism and the Role of Vineland, NJ

In January 1866, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and Lucy Stone headlined the signatures on a petition to Congress for "universal suffrage."

That May, the activists at the 11th Women's Rights Convention (which was held in New York City) voted to transform itself into a new organization called the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) to "secure Equal Rights to all American citizens, especially the right of suffrage, irrespective of race, color or sex." The new organization elected Lucretia Mott as president. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone served on the executive committee. The AERA launched lobbying and petition campaigns in several states including Kansas and New York, hoping to create a drive strong enough to convince the Anti-Slavery Society to accept its goal of universal suffrage rather than suffrage for black men only.

In 1866, AERA members were excited when there was a debate in the U.S. Congress to extend suffrage to African Americans in the District of Columbia without a restriction limiting the vote to males. However NJ Senator Frelinghuysen stated views that would become commonplace during the decades of debate to come "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 of and battle of public life. They have a higher and holier mission . . ."30 The amendment to the bill failed.

In December 1866, Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell spoke in Vineland at the organizing convention of the Vineland Equal Suffrage Association, urging full suffrage for women and African Americans. Vineland was to become the epicenter of New Jersey's suffrage activity. Founded in 1861 in Cumberland County, NJ in the fertile soil and centralized location between Atlantic City and Philadelphia, it was conceived as a community for the country's greatest thinkers, writers, spiritualists and entrepreneurs, as well as farmers and grape growers (hence the name) and it became a hotbed of social activism in the years following the Civil War. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Frederick Douglas, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (who would reside in Tenafly, NJ from 1868–1885) would all speak there in the next couple of years.

In November, 1867, Vineland would be the site of the founding of the first statewide woman suffrage association with Lucy Stone as its first president.

In early 1868 Lucy Stone published two pamphlets, "On behalf of



The first formal woman suffrage organization in New Jersey was organized in Vineland on November 29, 1867. The emphasis on woman suffrage came about after the disappointment over the failure of abolitionist allies in Kansas and New York to include women when they attempted to amend their state constitutions to include black male voters.



The 1868 Women's Voting Box which is on display at the Vineland Historical Society.

the NJ State Woman Suffrage Association, Vineland: To the Women of New Jersey. Why You Should Vote," and "Reasons Why the Women of New Jersey Should Vote As Shown from the Constitution and Statutes of New Jersey."

Her pamphlet, "Reasons Why The Women of New Jersey Should Vote," stated, in part:

... the one hundred and thirty-four thousand intelligent, educated, loyal women of New Jersey are degraded to the level of, and ranked politically with, the only classes of men who are esteemed too wicked, or too worthless to govern themselves.

... marriage, instead of being a noble and permanent partnership of equals ... is degraded into a mercenary and unequal bond between Superior and Dependent, injurious to both.

... women are paid only one-third to one-half of what voters receive for similar employments, and are often reduced to beggary and shame ... because women have no vote.³¹

These words inspired the women of Vineland to take action. On March 10th 1868, Mrs. Portia Gage offered her ballot at the polls—which was returned because she was not registered. On September 5th, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton gave a lecture there on women's rights. Then on October 15 at a large and enthusiastic meeting of the women of Vineland chaired by Portia's husband John, President of the Vineland Equal Suffrage Club, it was resolved almost unanimously to go to the polls on election day and offer their votes. On November 3, 172 Vineland women (including four "colored" women) brought along their own ballot box to vote in the 1868 presidential election. "Rejected with politeness" at the men's station, they then deposited their ballots at the women's box. (Ulysses Grant got the vast majority of ballots, but Elizabeth Cady Stanton got two.) Their attempt was chronicled in Stanton and Anthony's paper *The Revolution*.

At that same election, Lucy Stone and her mother-in-law attempted to cast their votes in Newark. When they were refused, Lucy told the election judges that legal counsel had advised them that women were legally entitled to vote in New Jersey and detailed the history of women's voting here.³²

In echoes of Lucy Stone's 1857 tax protest, Susan Pecker Fowler, a Vineland teacher, merchant, and blueberry farmer, single and financially independent all her life, wrote a letter that year to the *Vineland Evening News* protesting "taxation without representation is tyranny"—a practice she would continue for the next 40 years.³³

Meanwhile Lucy Stone was also attracting attention in Trenton. On March 6th 1867, Lucy delivered a lengthy and well-reasoned address to the NJ Legislature defending woman suffrage in New Jersey, stating:³⁴



Susan Pecker Fowler (1823-1911), left, in reform dress. Susan was also well-known as an advocate for dress reform. In 1851, she started wearing a suit that gave her "the sense of a bird uncaged." She called it the "American Costume" and testified its mobility enabled her strenuous vocations including her blueberry farming. She and her friend Mary Tillotson (1819-?) would organize an "Anti-Fashion Convention" in Vineland in 1874 and Mary Tillotson would later accompany Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Congress to testify for the Sixteenth Amendment in 1878.

... Gentlemen will see it is no new claim that women are making. They only ask for the practical application of admitted, self-evident truths. If "all political power is inherent in the people," why have women, who are more than half the entire population of this State, no political existence? Is it because they are not people? Only a madman would say of a congregation of negroes, or of women, that there were no people there . . . Women are even held to be citizens without the full rights of citizenship, but to bear the burden of "taxation with representation," which is "tyranny."

She went on to address common objections:

It is said that "women would vote as their husbands and brothers do." If so, why should men object?

It is said that "women do not want to vote." Then, let those who do not, stay away from the polls.

It is said that "women would sometimes want to hold office." Certainly. Those who bear the burdens of government should share the honors. . . . The names of Elizabeth of England, of Catherine of Russia, of Isabella of Spain—each of these proves woman's capacity to govern. And to-day, no sovereign in the world receives such love and loyalty as Queen Victoria . . ."

A year later, on March 24, 1868, Lucy Stone and her sister-in-law Antoinette Brown Blackwell delivered a petition to the New Jersey Legislature asking for woman suffrage and property rights for married women and widows.³⁵ The committee reported adversely on the matter and the Assembly responded to the women's petition with pastoral poetry and unsolicited advice:³⁶

Here woman reigns; the mother, daughter, wife, Strews with fresh flowers the narrow way of life;

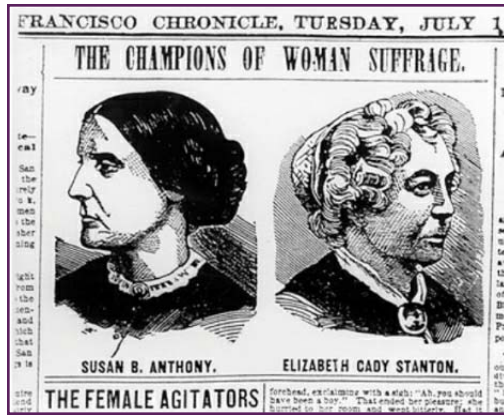
. . . Around her knees domestic duties meet, And fireside pleasures gamble at her feet . . .

But woman, mingling in the angry strife of politics, and dragging her shining skirts in its polluting mire, is not consistent with such a conception as this . . .

A lusty brace of twins may weed her of her folly. By the bearing and the training of a child is woman's wisdom. All of which is respectfully submitted.

—C. Christie, Chairman

In 1869, the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association petitioned the New Jersey Senate in favor of amending the state constitution, so that women might exercise the right of suffrage. The *Paterson Daily Press* called it a "respectful and able memorial." However, the Senate Judiciary Committee treated the whole thing with mockery, making ridiculous claims about voter qualifications, including amid clamorous laughter, "no person is qualified to vote



I am Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902)

I am Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906)

We create *The Revolution*—
a newspaper promoting woman's rights.

Our motto is *Principle, not policy*;

Justice, not favors. The True Republic—

Men,

their rights and nothing more; Women,

their rights and nothing less.

I am a philosopher and legal scholar.
I read wide and deeply.
I focus on writing and editing *The Revolution*.

I manage production, printing, promotion.

I raise a family of seven children

I never marry—I will not surrender
what few rights I have as a woman.
I inspire women across the nation
to join the cause for suffrage—
they call themselves my nieces.

I write the speeches—yours and mine.
I write letters. I write articles and books.
I agitate. I argue. I insist.

I persist.
*I am your eyes and ears on the ground.
I bring you news from the field.*

*I load the cannon against
the cult of true womanhood*

I fire the cannon.

We lobby,

we promote,

we protest,

we buttonhole.

*We noise-making twain
are two sticks of a drum.*



Poster advertising Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. E. Cady Stanton speaking on Women's Rights in Vineland, September 5, 1868.



Phebe Ann Coffin Hanaford (1829-1921), Universalist minister, suffrage and women's rights activist and author of 14 books, including one about her cousin Lucretia Mott. She would live long enough to cast her vote in the 1920 election.

unless they are familiar with the appearance, sex and size of that noble animal, the shad . . ."37

That same year, the U.S. Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment which gave suffrage to black men only. The Fourteenth Amendment had for the first time defined citizen as male. This split the women's rights movement.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, frustrated that women had been deliberately left out after their hard work supporting abolition and equal suffrage, formed a new all-woman association, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)³⁸ in May 1869.

Their official headquarters would be in New York City, but Elizabeth's dining room table in Tenafly would also be a center of activity as they pursued their goal of a federal amendment as well as divorce, custody, and property rights for women and, along with fellow activist Matilda Gage, began writing what would become the first three volumes of "The History of Woman Suffrage."³⁹

A side note: NWSA opposed the Fifteenth Amendment unless it gave votes to women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's angry writings on this subject have been rightly called racist, but they also reflected the prevailing attitudes of the period and the reality that any man was considered a valid voter—even if he was non-English-speaking or illiterate—and that these voters could be easily manipulated by party bosses with pre-marked ballots and promises of liquor (predictions which would be felt firsthand by NJ women in the disappointing outcomes of the 1897 and 1915 NJ suffrage elections.)

Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell (a major woman suffrage supporter), along with Antoinette Brown Blackwell and Frederick Douglass, formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in November 1869, with the goal of pursuing state and territorial suffrage efforts as a stepping stone to a federal amendment. Soon afterwards, Lucy and her family moved to Massachusetts where Lucy would edit the AWSA publication, *The Woman's Journal*. Antoinette remained in New Jersey, serving on the board of the New Jersey Woman's Suffrage Association.

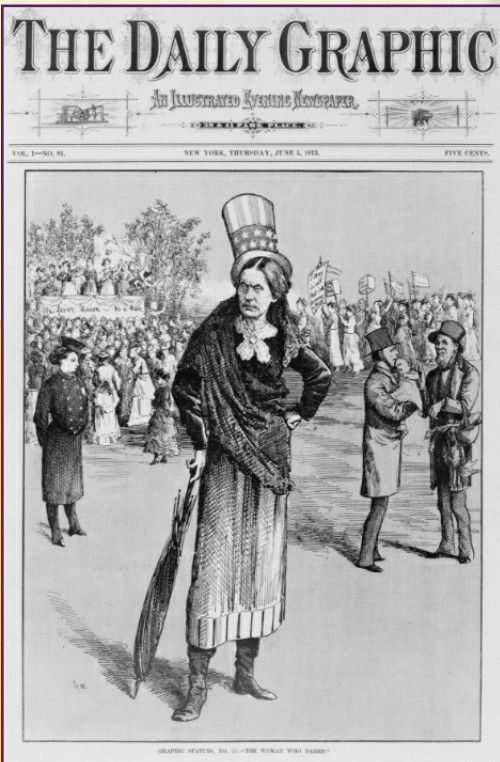
AWSA saw quick successes in the territories of Wyoming (motivated by the idea of attracting wives) and Utah (Mormon polygamists in a power grab) but states proved much harder.

With the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, suffragists around the country worked to change voting clauses in state constitutions to have the word "male" removed from voter qualifications at the same time that states removed the word "white." In New Jersey, suffrage advocates sent petitions to the convention planning commission asking that female suffrage be included but the committee recommended "no action in relation to woman suffrage" and none was taken. It held no hearings, allowed no public input and in its report to the legislature in January 1874, the Commission simply recommended dropping the word "white." The proposed amendments granting male suffrage only were voted in the 1874 and 1875 legislatures and affirmed by public vote on September 7, 1875.



Victoria Woodhull (1838-1927) addressing the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee arguing in favor of women's voting on the basis of the 14th and 15th amendments. Later that year, she would announce her candidacy for President on behalf of the Equal Rights Party.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper
1871-02-04



Caricature of Susan B. Anthony in the *Daily Graphic* just before her trial.

In response, Phebe Hanaford, a Jersey City Universalist minister, protested from her pulpit, "At the present time the Constitution of our State is in strict accordance with the statement, viz, that all persons may become voters except lunatics, criminals, idiots, and women."⁴⁰

Though they made no progress on suffrage, the decade of the 1870s brought a few other legal victories for women in New Jersey. 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 (they previously always favored father.) The next year, a NJ state law granted women the right to run for position of school trustee. In 1874, New Jersey revised laws enabling married women to hold property and inheritance in their own names.

Meanwhile the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) was trying different tactics. On January 11, 1871, Victoria Woodhull spoke before the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, the first woman ever to do so. Accompanied by other NWSA suffragists, she argued that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments implicitly granted women the right to vote and urged the committee to draft legislation granting women the vote. The committee overwhelmingly voted to table the request. A similar appeal the following year by Elizabeth Cady Stanton to a Senate committee received the same treatment.⁴¹

Turned Away At the Polls—Lobbying for a 16th Amendment

In 1872, some women in NWSA tried to vote in the presidential election to test the word "citizen" in the Fourteenth Amendment following the lead of the 1868 Vineland voters (who also tried again in 1872). Susan B. Anthony was arrested for voting in Rochester, NY, and was fined \$100 (which she refused to pay) after the Judge said this nationally known speaker was "incompetent to testify." Incidentally, she voted for the Republican candidate Ulysses S. Grant, not for the flamboyant and controversial Virginia Woodhull.⁴² A similar case of illegal voting involving Virginia Minor in Missouri made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court which ruled in *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) that women had no existing constitutional right to vote—they would need another amendment.⁴³

In 1876, the NWSA determined to use the centennial celebration⁴⁴ of American Independence in Philadelphia to point out the contradiction between the ideals of the Revolution and the reality of restricted suffrage. It also began lobbying for a Sixteenth Amendment for woman suffrage. Denied permission to read their Declaration of Rights of the Women of the United States⁴⁵ at Independence Hall on July 4th, they obtained tickets to the event, and distributed their document to the audience while Susan B. Anthony led a delegation onto the stage and handed it to the presiding officer. After hurrying from the building, she read their demands to the crowd outside.⁴⁶

AWSA, which had declined to sign the declaration, held its own meeting on July 3rd at Horticultural Hall to recognize the centennial of woman suffrage in New Jersey and protest its loss in 1807. Henry Blackwell declared the real day for celebrating the centennial should be



Sojourner Truth (1787?-1883) by Jill Obrig. Truth made her famous "Ain't I a Woman" speech at an 1851 Women's Rights convention and was an active campaigner for African American and women's rights throughout her life.

I am Sojourner Truth (1797-1883)

1872, Susan B. Anthony, I, too, like you,
try to vote in the Presidential election.
They put you on trial.

I, a black woman, am not important
enough to be arrested.

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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

Though mocked in the press, women's clubs were powerful contributors to municipal betterment at a time when women had no public voice in government.



(Copyright 1911 by Henrietta Briggs-Wall.)
AMERICAN WOMAN AND HER POLITICAL PEERS.
 In many states women are classed, politically, with idiots, convicts, the insane, and Indians—not allowed to vote. Women do not, however, escape taxation.
 "Taxation without representation is tyranny."
 "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

This painting by Henrietta Briggs-Wall, displayed at the 1893 Columbian Exposition, depicts Frances Willard (1838-1898), a highly-educated and wildly-popular speaker for the WCTU, surrounded by (very un-pc) stereotypes of other disenfranchised people.

July 2nd for "[on] this day the men of NJ for the first time in the world's history, organized a State upon the principles of absolute justice."⁴⁷

In 1878, the Sixteenth Amendment was introduced to Congress. "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." Elizabeth Cady Stanton was infuriated by the "studied inattention and contempt" of the chairman. It would be reintroduced every session for the next 40 years.

Two years later, on November 2, 1880, Elizabeth Cady Stanton would make her own attempt to vote to vote in Tenafly, NJ citing the state's 1776 constitution and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. She was, of course, denied. Her residence in New Jersey and attempt to vote are described in Kevin Wright's article reprinted in this issue.⁴⁸

With lack of progress on suffrage around the country, suffrage associations lost hope and membership—NJWSA even stopped meeting.⁴⁹ Reform-minded women turned their talents elsewhere. Women's Clubs started forming as literary, cultural, and civic associations and as outlets for community betterment. The first of these, the Sorosis Club, was founded in New York City in 1869 and it attracted interest from a number of northern NJ women. In 1872 the Women's Club of Orange became the first women's club in New Jersey. Three major NJ suffrage activists, Henrietta Johnson, Cornelia Hussey, and Katherine Browning, were among the fifteen founding members. Others soon joined, including Antoinette Brown Blackwell's sister-in-law, Charlotte Emerson Brown. Antoinette herself founded the El Mora Woman's Literary and Social Club in Elizabeth. Initially these were directed toward self-improvement, discussion meetings, and fundraising for community projects. Members presented and discussed papers which formed a kind of adult education—particularly important since NJ had no college that admitted women until 1899. Women's Clubs created public high schools and libraries, and educational opportunities for girls. Many members saw suffrage as a way to enact civic goals. At the same time, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) became an important ally of the suffrage movement. Frances Willard, Secretary-Treasurer (and future president) of the WCTU, first spoke publicly in favor of woman suffrage in 1876, saying the ballot was needed to change drinking laws and enact other reforms. However, New Jersey and other state conventions were slow to take up her challenge. The New Jersey WCTU established its Department of Franchise in 1884 with ardent suffragist Theresa Walling Seabrook from Keyport, as chair.⁵⁰ That year she joined suffragists Phebe Hanaford of Jersey City, and Henry Blackwell (Lucy's husband, down from Massachusetts) to meet with the New Jersey Assembly Judiciary Committee to press for the introduction of a women's suffrage resolution in the Assembly. It was introduced but no vote was taken.

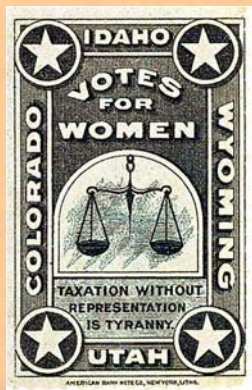
Then in 1887, the NJ Legislature, in a surprise move, unexpectedly and unanimously passed school suffrage (limited to rural schools where voting on school trusteeships and funds was done in open



Therese Walling Seabrook (1821-1899) of Keyport chaired the NJ WCTU Department of Franchise starting in 1884.



Florence Howe Hall (1845-1922) of Scotch Plains. In addition to her suffrage activities, she was a noted author and received the first Pulitzer Prize for a biography for her book "Julia Ward Howe" that profiled her mother, abolitionist, suffrage activist, and author famous for penning "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."



meeting). Historians surmise this might have been a deal to appease (the voting male) temperance activists and not rile urban bosses. What is known is that women ran for trustees—and won. In 1888 NJWCTU leader Sarah Downs from Ocean Grove nominated Mrs. A.C. Dunham for the Neptune Township School Board. About two dozen out of 107 ballots were cast by women and Mrs. Dunham won by one vote. The dismayed editor of *The Asbury Park Journal* called the women "crowing hens."⁵¹ That same year, Elizabeth Cady Stanton sold her Tenafly house⁵² and left New Jersey after the death of her husband.

Around the country, women in other states were successfully winning school suffrage (by 1890, 19 states would grant full school suffrage) but full suffrage was more elusive. Finally, in 1887, Kansas women gained municipal suffrage. The Kansas state flower, a yellow sunflower, would later be adopted as a symbol for the pro-suffrage movement.

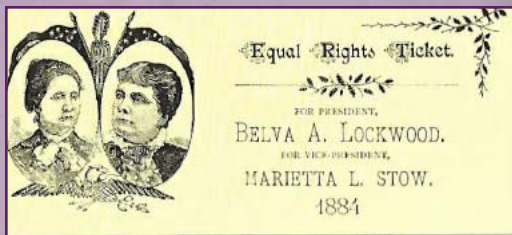
However, that same year, the U.S. Congress took up and then defeated the woman suffrage amendment. This blow led suffragists at the national level to again reassess strategy. Discouraged by lack of successes, and having to deal with the proliferation of women's clubs and WCTU chapters, the rival NWSA and AWSA consolidated in 1890 as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in a move engineered by Alice Stone Blackwell (daughter of Lucy Stone) and Harriot Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton).⁵³

The consolidation re-energized New Jersey's organization as well. Eleven suffragists, meeting in Orange, adopted a new constitution and elected Judge John Whitehead as president in 1890. He was followed the next year by the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell; Amelia Dickinson Pope in 1892; then Florence Howe Hall (daughter of Julia Ward Howe from Boston, AWSA leader and author of "Battle Hymn of the Republic") from 1893–1900. All were active suffragists who knew the national leaders well. Local NJWSA societies were established in Bayonne, Elizabeth, Plainfield, Westfield, Passaic, and Orange.

The years immediately after the merge brought a burst of activity. Women achieved full equal suffrage in four western states: Wyoming in 1890 (they insisted on woman suffrage when the territory became a state), Colorado in 1893 (which quickly elected the world's first women legislators), and Idaho and Utah in 1896. Then, despite many grueling campaigns, there would be no new victories for 14 years.

During the same period, women's clubs and temperance societies became more active in the suffrage fight. Frances Willard, the leader of the national WCTU urged the philosophy of "Do Everything" to attack the evils of society linked to alcohol.

In 1893, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) was incorporated in Newark and it elected as its first national president active NJ suffragist Charlotte Emerson Brown, sister-in-law of Antoinette Brown Blackwell. Women's clubs were becoming more political—organizing petition drives for the restriction of child labor, factory inspections, and other social and environmental projects. Club women sought to ameliorate tenement housing, poor sanitation, poverty, prostitution,



In 1884, the Equal Rights Party nominated Belva Lockwood, the first woman lawyer to argue a case before the Supreme Court and Marietta Stow, a suffrage activist from California. Their ticket received over 4100 (male) votes in six states but was received with mockery by a parade of men in Rahway, NJ who marched in Mother Hubbard outfits.



Mary Philbrook (1872-1958) of Newark was the first woman to be admitted to the bar in NJ. Initially, the NJ Supreme Court refused on the grounds that no other woman in the state had ever sought admission to the bar and said they couldn't respond until the legislature passed a law allowing women to apply. NJWSA women lobbied to change the law and Philbrook passed her bar examinations in 1895. She became legal counsel to the NJWSA and played a key role in getting women's rights legislation passed in New Jersey for over 50 years.

alcoholism, and disease. With no public relief agencies, women's clubs (white and black) organized to provide social services, gradually attracting more women into suffrage as "social housekeepers."

Women's clubs and temperance clubs led to shift from the old idea of female suffrage based on Enlightenment ideals of equality to the argument that women needed the vote to become effective moral caretakers of society—women's moral nature would help solve some of the problems in the cities caused by urbanization, alcohol, and massive immigration.⁵⁴

The major objective of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association (NJWSA) continued to be full suffrage, but it also worked to encourage NJ women to use the school suffrage vote they had. Then in 1894 the NJ Supreme Court (in the unrelated case of *Allison v. Blake* regarding the election of road commissioners) in effect declared the school suffrage law of 1887 unconstitutional. Women were still allowed to vote for school appropriations but not trustees, although, ironically, women could still be trustees and were. (From 1873–1895, 50 women served as school trustees.)⁵⁵

Initially this ruling led Florence Howe Hall, NJWSA president from 1893–1900, to suggest that this could be a catalyst to full suffrage. "The loss of school suffrage in our state should inspire the women of NJ with greater determination to gain full suffrage." But widespread opposition by state legislators forced NJWSA to settle for a proposal to restore school suffrage through a constitutional amendment.

NJWSA embarked on a campaign to place a referendum to amend the constitution on the ballot to grant women full school suffrage in cities, villages, and country districts, and the association began holding public meetings around the state.

At the same time, NJWSA also set up a Committee on Laws Relating to Women ("Marriage, Divorce, and the guardianship of children" and "official positions occupied by women in this State") in order to improve the legal status of women. The committee was chaired by Mary Philbrook, a young attorney from Jersey City who, with the aid of women from NJWSA and the president of the Jersey City Woman's Club, Cecilia Gaines, had lobbied the legislature to pass a law in 1895 allowing women to take the bar exam.⁵⁶ Over the next three years, the NJ Legislature passed laws allowing women to serve as notary and as masters of chancery court, gave married women in NJ the right to contract and sue, and to have their earnings and wages viewed as their own property.⁵⁷

NJWSA (and allies NJ State Federation of Women's Clubs, WCTU and Working Girls' Societies) had high hopes that efforts to regain school suffrage would be realized. They had shepherded the resolution through two successive votes in both chambers of the legislature (as required by law) but when it went to the male electorate in September 1897, the resolution was defeated despite endorsements by the Republican State Committee, the NJ Council of Jewish Women, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of Liberty, and many other groups. Ironically the defeat came from urban voters. The Socialist Party (which



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Mina Ginger Van Winkle (1875-1932) from Newark. Founder of the Equality League for Self-Supporting Women of NJ (which would change its name to the Women's Political Union of NJ in 1912) Though she herself was married to a wealthy man, she became sensitized to the needs of working women through her work with poor women and children in settlement houses.



Clara Schlee Laddey (1858-1832) of Newark re-invigorated the NJWSA with activist recruiting. A German-speaker herself, she was able to address appeals to the state's large German population directly in their language.

had previously been pro-suffrage) actively opposed the interference of "Liberal" schemers . . ."women of the plutocratic class . . . dictating what the children of the poor shall know or not know."⁵⁸

Defeated and discouraged, the NJWSA entered a quiet decade holding just a few board meetings a few times a year.⁵⁹ This was echoed on the national scene where after the 1896 victories in Utah and Idaho, women won no new states for fourteen years. The old guard died off— Lucy Stone in 1893; Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1902; Susan B. Anthony in 1906 (after declaring "Failure is Impossible"—a phrase that would be used on banners in the years to come).

New Energy and Tactics For a New Century

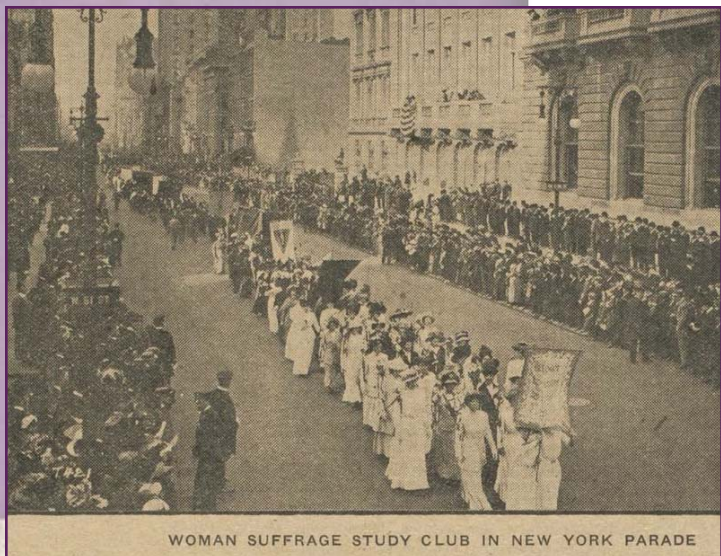
In 1908, both the state and national movements became re-invigorated by a new generation of younger women. Harriot Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton) began to draw New York's working women, both professionals and wage earners, into the suffrage movement there. Previously activists had been mostly middle- and upper-class women. In New Jersey, Harriot's friend, Mina C. Van Winkle, created a parallel organization in Newark, the Equality League for Self-Supporting Women of New Jersey (ELSSWNJ).⁶⁰ These new organizations encouraged a much more activist approach to suffrage work.

Also in 1908, the NJWSA elected as its president a strong and imaginative leader, Clara Schlee Laddey, a well-to-do German immigrant and progressive "new woman." She visited all the societies in the state and obtained the endorsement of the Suffrage Amendment from the NJ Federation of Labor.

Suffragists were also starting to speak out in public. On August 14, 1909, Sophia Loebinger, the New York City editor of *The Suffragette*, addressed enthusiastic yellow-bedecked suffrage supporters from New York and New Jersey along with an astonished crowd of fun-seekers at Palisades Amusement Park. Accompanied by three Iroquois, she recalled that tribe's powerful matriarchal tradition and went on to say:

*We are criticized and jeered because we go out on the street to preach for that which we think belongs to us. Some say our place is in the home and that we are losing our femininity. This is not so. We love our husbands as much as do the women who do not belong to our movement, and our girls love their sweethearts as fondly as other girls, and we all love to be fondled and petted, just as much as you all do. By denying us votes you have placed us in the same class with the lunatic, the criminal, and the minor from whom that privilege is withheld. But we are fast reaching the point where we shall receive at least the same opportunity as the men. There are 6,000,000 women wage earners in this country who are seeking protection and representation in Government.*⁶¹

In 1910, Harriot Stanton Blatch organized the first suffrage parade down the streets of New York City and at least 19 New Jersey women



WOMAN SUFFRAGE STUDY CLUB IN NEW YORK PARADE

1911 New York City parade in *The Woman's Journal* May 20, 1911.



Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) leader of the militant British suffrage movement.

participated. It was a modest affair, no bands or floats, just women marching side by side down the streets as curious onlookers watched, but it was nevertheless quite a daring thing to do, as NJ suffragist Florence F. Foster later recalled:

*Parading in the public streets! No Lady—but we felt we must do it for the cause, and our problem was whether to tell our husbands before we marched or after. Aside from our own palpitating emotions it was a pretty dull parade—no bands, no costumes, no color—just a long stream of earnest women two abreast.*⁶²

The 1911 New York City parade attracted 3,000 to 5,000 participants, among whom 80 to 100 were from New Jersey. Marching was empowering but also controversial and some women quit the movement over these tactics.⁶³

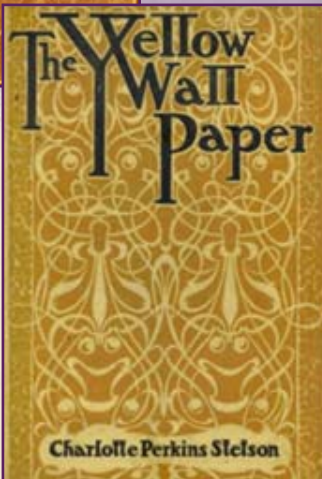
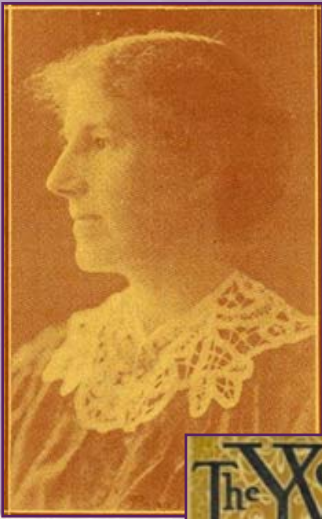
In 1910, Clara Laddey appointed Lillian Ford Feichert⁶⁴ as NJWSA enrollment chair. Under Lillian's activist leadership and door-to-door canvassing modeled after the methods used by the political parties, enrollment would grow dramatically from a few hundred women in 1910 to 28 leagues and membership of 1,200 in the next two years.

Two additional NJ Suffrage organizations would be founded in 1910: the Equal Franchise Society of NJ (wealthy and socially-prominent "public spirited" progressive men and women to raise funds and influence for state suffrage legislation) and the NJ Men's League for Equal Suffrage (a bipartisan group of businessmen, politicians, and religious leaders, part of a growing network of such state organizations around the country).

However, that same year, women's clubs pulled back from supporting suffrage. The NJ State Federation of Women's Clubs had endorsed suffrage from 1906 to 1909, but its membership became more divided—in part because of the more activist tactics—and it would not endorse again until 1917.

Several events in late 1910 and 1911 cemented the determination of NJ suffrage organizations to pursue a state woman suffrage amendment. Suffrage activists were energized by the success of the 1910 referendum in Washington State (the first state victory in 14 years) and the 1911 referendum in California. On December 4, 1911 the NJWSA, together with the other suffrage organizations, sponsored a meeting in Newark's Symphony Hall. Nearly 2000 people came to see Emmeline Pankhurst, the world-renowned (and controversial) militant British suffragist, who was on tour in the United States. "... When Mrs. Pankhurst came to speak in Newark we flocked to hear her. She was like a flame before which it was easy to catch fire. A lady, too—a great lady," reported activist Florence Foster.⁶⁵

Thus encouraged, the four NJ state suffrage organizations formed a joint legislative committee to bring a suffrage amendment referendum to NJ voters.



Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) Her book, "The Yellow Wallpaper," published in 1892, was a groundbreaking book exploring the repression of women in America.



Helen Frances "Fanny" Garrison Villard (1844-1928) was an American women's suffrage campaigner, pacifist and a co-founder (with her son) of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There was also a last ditch attempt for a judicial decision. In November 1911, Mary Philbrook accompanied Harriet Carpenter, a Newark teacher, as she attempted to register to vote on election day. When she was refused, Philbrook made a formal legal challenge to the exclusion of women from NJ suffrage. In their highly-publicized case *Carpenter v. Cornish*, Philbrook eloquently argued that women had been illegally deprived of their voting rights by the constitution of 1844. However, in April 1912, the NJ Supreme Court disagreed saying the vote for women was "nothing more than a privilege." Philbrook hadn't had much hope of success but had taken the case to bring the cause publicity and support.⁶⁶

In January 1912, the woman suffrage amendment resolution was introduced into the NJ Senate by Democratic Senator William C. Gebhardt of Hunterdon County, who had daughters active in NJWSA and WCTU. This was the beginning of a long process, since to amend the constitution in New Jersey, a resolution had to pass both houses in two successive legislatures and then be sent to the electorate for approval.

On March 13th, the NJ Joint Judiciary Committee conducted a public hearing on a resolution to amend the State Constitution to give women the ballot. Six hundred suffragists and anti-suffragists from all over the state crowded the chambers. Hours before the hearing was scheduled to begin, women who stayed overnight in Trenton quickly filled the gallery seats and more kept arriving, despite the wintry weather.⁶⁷

Mrs. Rhea Vickers, chair of the State Suffrage Association Joint Legislative Committee, and Mrs. Clara Laddey, president of NJWSA, opened the testimony by describing their movement and the social good that could come from women voting.

Miss Melinda Scott, representing the hat trimmers of Newark (one of the first women's trade unions in NJ) and an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, said working women needed the vote to improve their working conditions and for pure food laws.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, well-known author of the feminist short story "The Yellow Wallpaper" and a book of suffrage songs and poems,⁶⁸ brought greetings from the newest suffrage state of California and stated "We have not as yet a democracy" until equal suffrage was the law of the land. "Women need votes just as much as men would, if women had been making laws for men."

Fanny Garrison Villard, of Tarrytown, NY, daughter of publisher and abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, promised political and social reforms if women got the ballot.

Assistant Prosecutor George T. Vickers of Hudson County argued "No state had ever taken from women the right to vote once it had been given them, excepting New Jersey . . . Equal suffrage is inevitable because it stands for the highest civilization, including worldwide arbitration of great questions."

The "Antis" were led by Harriet Clark Fisher. Though she was known as the "Iron Woman" because she owned and managed an anvil factory



Mrs. Harriet Fisher (later Andrew) (1869-1939) was also the first woman to drive in an automobile around the world (in 1910). Despite her remarkable accomplishments, she told a reporter for *The New York Times*, "A Woman's place is in the home."



Minnie Bronson (1879-1955) was a self-described "working woman" who had earned an M.A. and taught mathematics, designed educational exhibits at world expositions and investigated child labor conditions for the Department of Labor. She was also the editor of *The Woman's Protest*, an anti-suffrage newspaper.



The NJAOWS joined a growing list of state organizations formally organized to oppose suffrage initiatives.

in Trenton (she was the first woman factory owner in the U.S.), she was an ardent Anti who recited an anti-suffrage poem and asserted "women are being deceived in the promises held out to them under the ballot."

She was followed by Minnie Bronson of Washington, D.C., a national anti-suffrage speaker and organizer, who asked "What was the discrimination against women in New Jersey, which was not overbalanced by rights in their favor?" and argued that suffrage would damage protections for working women who did not want or need the vote. (She would make many of the same arguments a year later in January 1913 before a U.S. Congressional committee asking whether "women would vote for only good-looking men [or] whether under some conditions women should have to support their husbands.")

Linton Satterthwait, a prominent Trenton attorney who represented the New Jersey Men's League for Woman Suffrage, concluded the testimony with the observation: "As the rearers of men, women, who were also legally capable of owning property, should be allowed to say who is to govern them."

Afterwards, *The Evening Record and Bergen County Herald* reported a mocking attitude: "The women were made the object of jokes by groups of men who gathered in the halls . . . A member suggested that their husbands would not get any dinner today."

The resolution was later released from committee, but despite extensive lobbying by suffragists, it was roundly defeated in both houses (Senate 18 to 3, Assembly 39 to 18). However trainloads of suffrage activists in Trenton witnessing legislative discussion would become a regular occurrence.⁶⁹

It also energized the opposition. On April 14, 1912, the NJ Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NJAOWS) was formally organized in Trenton as a state affiliate of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) headquartered in New York City. The founder Georgiana Breese proclaimed, "We women should strive by every means in our power to uphold the men of our country who have so well protected our best interests in state and nation, and not try to wrest from them their well-earned prerogative." Soon there were chapters in Montclair, South Orange, Plainfield, Newark, Princeton, and Trenton.⁷⁰

That year, the Equality League changed its name to the Women's Political Union of New Jersey (WPUNJ) and became an affiliate of the much larger NJWSA.

The WPUNJ opened a state headquarters down the street from NJWSA in downtown Newark and hired Minnie Reynolds (who had done suffrage organizing in Washington State to push through its successful 1910 constitutional referendum) as its official speaker and organizer. Mina Van Winkle continued to head the Union until it merged with the NJWSA in 1916. The WPUNJ began organizing Newark working women by ward and precinct and reached out to thousands of rural working women through picnics and agricultural fairs. It called the first suffrage meetings aimed specifically at teachers and with Catholic women. It engaged the support of the Women's Trade Union League and sought the support of trade unions.

SUFFRAGE PARADE

COME AND MARCH
FOR YOUR PRINCIPLES

DATE—Saturday, October 25, 3 P. M.

PLACE—Lincoln Park, Newark. Look for the Purple, White and Green.

CAR LINES—To Lincoln Park; Broad, Mt. Prospect, Main Line, Clinton, and Summer.

DRESS—Wear anything you like ONLY MARCH.

BEARING—Head up, Eyes front, NO LAUGHING OR TALKING, Obey the Marshals. Carry yourself with the dignity due a great cause.

FOR THE PARADE—Bannerets, 20 cents, Pennants 10 cents, Votes for Women Regalia 55 cents, Votes for Women Felt Bands 5 cents. For sale at Headquarters or Starting Point.

EVERY MAN and WOMAN WELCOME

Parade Mass Meeting at Proctor's
5 to 7 P. M.

SPEAKERS—Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, United States Senator Poindexter, and Hon. Everett Colby.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL UNION

Phone Market 3150 79 Halsey Street, Newark



Lillian Feickert (1877-1945) moved from New York City to Plainfield, NJ after her marriage and became active in church, WCTU, DAR, anti-TB, women's clubs, philanthropic societies and the NJWSA - where, along with Clara Laddey, she re-energized the organization with house visits, indoor and outdoor meetings, and direct legislative lobbying. Her banker husband, Edward Foster Feickert, became an officer in the NJ Men's League for Woman Suffrage. She would spearhead efforts in New Jersey from 1912 to 1920.

The Union made special efforts to bridge the gap between working women and the suffrage movement, which had become deeply identified with middle-class and leisured women. The Union made no pretenses of being a social club. "The object is not to build up a large and successful suffrage organization, but to carry the State in 1915," wrote Laura Newton in the minutes of the Union in 1913.

In the fall of 1912, WPUNJ and NJWSA worked together to organize New Jersey's first suffrage parade.⁷¹ On October 26th, 800 to 1,000 women and men marched down the streets of Newark carrying banners stating "No country is free while a single class is without representation," "The legal subjection of women to men is wrong and should give way to perfect equality," and "In the progress of civilization woman's suffrage is sure to come." Accompanied by a brass band and a police escort, 22 organizations participated. Antoinette Brown Blackwell of Elizabeth, said to be the oldest suffragist in the United States, rode in an automobile and Mina Van Winkle opened the mass meeting. The press declared it to be "the most important event in the campaign for equal rights since the inception of the movement in New Jersey."⁷²

In November, Lillian Ford Feickert was elected NJWSA president after Clara Laddey stepped down. During the previous year, NJWSA had sponsored 75 public meetings, including 25 open air meetings. It had a headquarters in Newark with a paid secretary. It distributed free literature on the suffrage issue and sponsored public speakers and it had good working relationships with the other suffrage organizations in the state. The organization had evolved from parlor meetings and petitions to a political powerhouse, ready to take on the legislature and voters of New Jersey.⁷³

That same month, Woodrow Wilson was elected president. He would leave the NJ governor's office on March 1, 1913 and was about to meet his nemesis, New Jersey native Alice Paul.

In December 1912, Alice Paul and her friend Lucy Burns approached the National American Woman Suffrage Association's board. They proposed to revive their Congressional Committee to lobby for the Federal Amendment, which had been introduced and tabled every congress for over three decades.

Alice Paul was a Quaker from Moorestown who had gone to England to get a Masters in Social Work. While there, she and fellow American Lucy Burns had also had gotten a thorough education in militant suffrage agitation under the tutelage of Emmeline Pankhurst. Both had been arrested, jailed, and cruelly force-fed—all of which was reported in the New York and New Jersey newspapers. They argued that the American movement needed to return its focus to passing a federal amendment: "Unless women are prepared to fight politically, they must be content to be ignored politically."⁷⁴

The NAWSA Board agreed to their proposal but said they would have to raise all their own funds for the Congressional Committee activities. They set up headquarters in Washington D.C. and immediately began fundraising and planning a national campaign to



Alice Paul (1885-1977) spent her childhood and adolescent years at her family's home in Mt. Laurel, New Jersey. It was at home, and in the larger Quaker community in New Jersey, where she was first exposed to the ideas of equality and social reform that she would go on to champion on a national and global scale. Her home, Paulsdale, is now a historic landmark and the site of the Alice Paul Institute.



Lucy Burns (1879-1966), like Paul, was an American who'd gone to England to study at Oxford and been drawn into the Pankhursts' militant suffrage movement. Burns would be Paul's "right-hand woman" through years of parades, petitions, protests and brutal imprisonment.

convince Congress and Wilson to support a federal amendment—starting with a national parade on the eve of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration.

Meanwhile, in New Jersey, Senator Charles M. Egan of Jersey City (who would come to be known as the "father of the amendment" for his continued strong support over the years) reintroduced the NJ suffrage amendment resolution at the start of the 1913 session.

On February 12, 1913, a "suffrage army" consisting of fifteen middle-aged women from around the country set out from Newark, NJ to hike to Washington D.C. to join Alice Paul's upcoming suffrage parade in the capital city. On February 18, they, along with 2,000 pro- and anti-suffragists, descended on the NJ legislature to lobby for and against the amendment. Despite direct appeals from the suffragists, Governor Wilson refused to give a statement of support. Anti-suffragists asserted the country was threatened by three yellow perils—yellow journalism, the Chinese invasion, and woman suffrage. However, this time the amendment passed the NJ Senate by a vote of 14 to 5 and Assembly by 46 to 5—largely due to the suffragists' argument that the legislators weren't voting to support woman suffrage but to allow NJ voters (all male) to make that decision. Soon afterwards, suffrage supporters discovered a typo that required re-passage from both houses—the first of many "procedural errors" that would educate NJ women on the reality of NJ politics—but this was accomplished by the end of March.⁷⁵

On March 3, 1913, the eve of Wilson's inauguration, New Jersey suffragists and the suffrage hikers joined 5,000 to 8,000 women from across the U.S. and around the world in a colorful suffrage parade down Pennsylvania Avenue planned by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. Led by New York City labor lawyer Inez Milholland and carrying flags and banners with the message "Give Women the Vote!" New Jersey women marched in a section designated for states working for equal suffrage.

So as not to antagonize southern supporters, Alice Paul had asked black women to march in the back (a decision vehemently opposed by NAWSA's president Dr. Anna Shaw) but after black women organized petitions and editorials, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, and other African-American suffragist activists did march with their state delegations. Unruly bystanders heckled and harassed and even injured the marchers, uncurbed by District of Columbia police, but Alice Paul was very pleased with the ensuing publicity for the Congressional Committee and sympathy for the movement.

The next month, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns created the Congressional Union (CU) to bring state representatives into the work for a Federal Amendment. Lillian Feickert and Mina Van Winkle agreed to help Alice Paul and collect petition signatures. Mabel Vernon, one of the CU's most effective organizers, made a speaking tour across southern New Jersey near Paul's hometown on behalf of the petition drive. At the end of July, the NJ delegation joined delegations from around the country in an automobile procession to deliver petitions to their senators requesting immediate Senate action on the federal



“General” Rosalie Jones and her “Suffrage Pilgrims” hiked from Newark NJ to Washington D.C. covering 234 miles in 17 icy February days.

Marchers in the March 3rd Washington D.C. suffrage procession included Helen Keller, Jeannette Rankin (who would become the first woman elected to the House of Representatives four years later), journalist Nellie Bly and black activist Ida B. Wells, who marched with the Illinois delegation despite the complaints of some segregationist marchers.



Visit: <https://mashable.com/2017/01/08/woman-suffrage-procession/> for many more images of the suffrage hike and the Washington D.C. parade.



WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS

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SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1913

PARADE STRUGGLES TO VICTORY DESPITE DISGRACEFUL SCENES

Nation Aroused by Open Insults to Women—Cause Wins Popular Sympathy—Congress Orders Investigation—Striking Object Lesson

Washington has been disgraced. Equal suffrage has scored a great victory. Thousands of indifferent women have been aroused. Influential men are incensed and the United States Senate demands an investigation of the treatment given the suffragists at the National Capital on Monday.

Ten thousand women from all over the country had planned a magnificent parade and pageant to take place in Washington on March 3. Artists, pageant leaders, designers, women of influence and renown were ready to give a wonderful and beautiful piece of suffrage work to the public that



AMENDMENT WINS IN NEW JERSEY

Easy Victory in Assembly 46 to 5—Equal Suffrage Enthusiasm Runs High



The New Jersey Legislature passed the woman suffrage amendment in the Assembly last week by a vote of 46 to 5. The Senate had already voted favorably 14 to 5.

A large delegation of suffragists crowded the galleries, and when the overwhelming vote was announced there was a scene of great enthusiasm. Women stood in their seats and waved handkerchiefs and "votes for women" flags and cheered themselves hoarse.

Dr. Jekyll Becomes Mr. Hyde

I am Ida B. Wells (1862-1931)

Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, in full;
Iola for pen name as journalist;
nicknamed "Princess of the Press"
by black newspapers.

I am born a slave. Yellow fever
takes my parents and brother.
I leave my dear black college, Rust,
to support three sisters, two brothers.

I ride a white mule to the school
where I teach for \$25 a month.
Once, I sit in a first-class railway coach
meant for white ladies.

The conductor orders me to remove
to the smokers' and Jim Crow car.
I resist. He manhandles me—
tears my dress, throws me off the train—

the white passengers cheer.
Judge James Q. Pierce, once a Union soldier,
awards me \$500 against the railroad.
His ruling is reversed on appeal.

So, don't tell me, Alice Paul, if I,
a black woman march among the white
in your great Woman's Suffrage Procession,
that southern white women would abuse me;

that we are in danger of their withdrawing
their states' suffrage support. Don't tell me
I am to be segregated to the tail end,
where the black sisterhood walks.

And when Inez Milholland, astride her white mare,
canters grandly by, and 6,000 women march
past me like a mighty white ocean—
in this moment—for my father who voted

his conscience for Lincoln's Republicans
and lost his white employment;
for my black friend Tom Moss,
Sunday school teacher, sleeping in his bed,
shot in the head by a lynching mob
for protecting himself from white vandals;
for all the men of my race falsely accused
of raping white women; for all the women

of my race, called harlots and raped by white men;
for all the threats, intimidations, gerrymandering,
stonings, beatings, murders to suppress,
manipulate, silence us from exercising our vote;

for all my poor, starving, exiled people—reviled,
hung, burned at the stake, castrated, hands
and feet amputated if they tried to escape—
from these jostling sidelines,

I gather my race in my arms. I lift up
my right foot. I step forward—a drop of ink
on newsprint, a word on a blank page,
a black woman marching among the white.



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Ida Bell Wells-Barnette (1862-1931)
by Mary Delaney Connelly



New Jersey newspapers chimed in on the issue. This pro-suffrage cartoon "Who Has a Better Right to Vote" appeared in Jersey City's *Jersey Journal* on January 29, 1913, just after the Assembly hearings on the woman suffrage amendment bill. The central figure was a placid housewife, with babe in arms, stirring a pot on a stove while two small children, a girl clutching a doll, and a boy playing a drum, were nearby. Above the homemaker, a grim faced "Anti" claimed "Woman's Place is in the Home" while a haughty suffragist countered "We Demand Our Rights." The white homemaker in a modern kitchen of the day, with three healthy, happy children, seems divorced from the controversy going on above her. The depiction of the women campaigning, both pro and anti, is unflattering in different ways—a not so subtle comment on women publicly campaigning. Even for a pro-suffrage newspaper, there is little visible sympathy shown for women going public with their beliefs.

amendment—the first time New Jersey suffragists lobbied their federal representatives officially on behalf of suffrage. Lillian Feickert, Louise Riley, Mary Colvin, Helen Lippincott, and Edith Abbott presented their petitions of "several thousand names" to Senator James Martine on behalf of the various state suffrage organizations. He in turn presented the petitions to the Senate while making an anti-suffrage speech!

On the state front, suffragists spent the summer working building up support, particularly among sun-seekers at the Jersey Shore, since a resolution proposing the amendment had to pass a second time through both houses of the Legislature before it could be submitted to the voters in a special referendum.

In response to the growing strength of the anti-suffrage movement in the state, the NJ Men's League for Woman Suffrage held a convention at Ocean Grove to plan strategies for influencing state legislators.⁷⁶ Three WPUNJ women undertook a "Caravan hike" which toured the state and held meetings in 41 towns urging support for the 1914 referendum.

Then, at the end of August 1913, a Long Branch newspaper noticed that it had not received the text of the resolution in order to publish it three months before the fall elections as required by state law. Suffrage supporters met with Governor James Fielder who claimed it was an "oversight" by an inexperienced man in his office who had "misplaced" the legislation. After much legal discussion about possible solutions, suffragists were forced to accept that it was too late to do anything about it. The measure was declared "dead" and suffragists were informed the resolution would have to be reintroduced in 1914 from scratch.⁷⁷

The NJWSA members who met at the 23rd annual NJWSA convention on November 13-14 in Newark were not happy about the so-called "oversights." They were infuriated and suspected dirty tricks, but in the end had to accept that the matter was out of their hands and the constitutional process would be delayed another year. However they were cheered by their success in getting both state Democrats and Republicans to endorse the resolution at their political conventions that fall.⁷⁸ They were also buoyed by an address by Carrie Chapman Catt who reported on the recent NAWSA successes in Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska. Lucy Burns also spoke, saying that in May, for the first time in 23 years, the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage had voted favorably on the federal woman suffrage amendment and that Alice Paul was about to begin publication of a new magazine *The Suffragist*.⁷⁹ The meeting had been opened with a prayer by 88-year-old Dr. Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, who vowed she intended to live long enough to see New Jersey women get the vote.⁸⁰

Immediately following the convention, eager for a more activist role in the movement, a delegation of more than 70 New Jersey women representing the NJWSA, the Women's Political Union (WPUNJ), the Equal Franchise Society, along with the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) headed to Washington D.C. to meet with the President. They



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Members of the Congressional Union (CU) joined with the suffrage deputation from New Jersey, showing the cooperation between national and state suffrage groups in the CU's early history. The meeting was reported in the second issue of the Congressional Union's new publication "The Suffragist."

were welcomed at a mass meeting at Columbia Theatre sponsored by the Congressional Union and were energized by an inspiring address by Inez Milholland Boissevain. Alice Paul thought that a visit from women from his home state might influence President Wilson's support on the suffrage amendment pending before Congress. The delegation hoped that his endorsement would not only stimulate congressional action, but assist the NJ campaign since he was a voting resident of the Garden State. After giving them the royal run-around as they tried to get an

appointment, Wilson eventually met them during a regular public reception. Lillian Feickert, Mina Van Winkle, and Melinda Scott of the WTUL jointly addressed the president, urging his support of suffrage, but they received only a non-committal response—Wilson vaguely stated he would "give it his consideration." (There are differing versions of this meeting—Lillian Feickert recalled they were treated with courtesy, Alice Paul complained about the president's evasive tactics.)⁸¹

In December, the Congressional Union (CU) separated from NAWSA after Alice Paul was ousted from the leadership of NAWSA's Congressional Committee over disagreements on tactics and finances. This would complicate relationships for Lillian Feickert and Mina Van Winkle as they dealt with competing demands and personalities in both organizations as well as the difficulties of working on both state and national initiatives simultaneously. "We haven't one-tenth enough active workers to carry on the present work, as it should be carried on, and not one-fifth enough money," Lillian Feickert would say in February of 1914. "The Antis are very strong here and are fighting us tooth and nail."⁸²

On January 28, 1914, the suffrage resolution was again introduced in the NJ legislature. Large delegations of supporters and opponents showed up to put pressure on the politicians. Anti-suffrage organizations had been alarmed by the vote on the amendment in the 1913 Legislature and became more vocal with their opposition. They were particularly concerned about the connection they saw between woman suffrage and enlarging the "ignorant" immigrant vote. The members of the Joint Legislative Committee of the suffrage organizations reconsidered the wording of the proposed amendment and its implications for immigrants in the population in general and within the suffrage organizations. A suggestion was made to the Committee that perhaps an English literacy requirement should be added to the amendment to allay nativist fears. The change was rejected. Suffragists stood firm with the inclusive wording of the amendment.

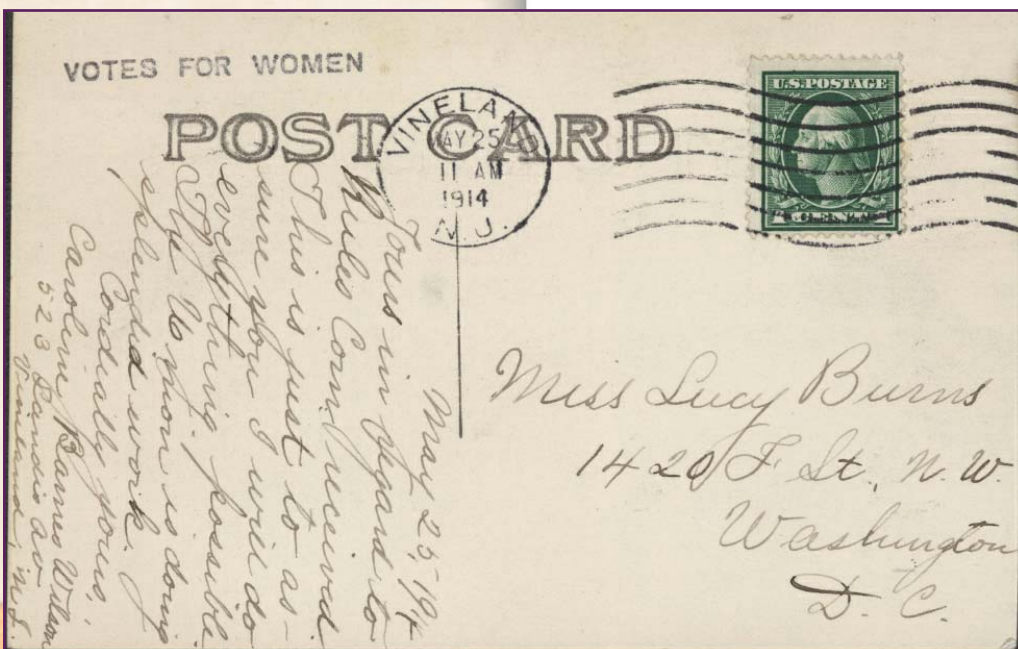
Since both political parties had pledged in their platforms to pass a suffrage referendum and let the voters decide, the measure easily



passed both chambers in February—though not without some legislative hiccups as anti-suffrage legislators yet again introduced “mistakes”—“accidentally” forgetting to forward the amendment to the Senate and the Secretary of the Senate failing to have the vote printed in the Senate Journal as required by law. Fortunately, now-savvy suffragists caught the error and had an erratum printed in time.⁸³ And this time it was properly publicized throughout the state as required.

Passage of the Amendment by the Legislature was a good political move, but it did not promise support in the special referendum, as suffragists would learn.

As passage of the state referendum appeared promising, two “Anti” groups were getting stronger: the NJ Association Opposed to Women Suffrage (female) had grown to 15 local leagues, and 15,000 members, and a far smaller but very powerful Men’s Anti-Suffrage League had been founded in January with members from Princeton University faculty, clergy, former judges and a state



senator, as well as the former NJ Governor Edward Stokes. Since many Anti women thought it unladylike to speak out in public, the male antis were a significant force in arguing the anti-suffrage cause in the press over the next two years.⁸⁴

In April, NJ suffragists participated in another petition drive for Alice Paul and on May 2nd, they joined in nationwide demonstrations held in support of the federal amendment. Caroline Barnes Wilson from Vineland sent Lucy Burns this postcard from the Vineland march.

On May 9th, envoys from these demonstrations brought petitions to Washington D.C. and carried them in procession to Congress from Lafayette Square. Five thousand women massed on the steps of the Capitol singing “The Woman’s March.” Congress, as usual, did nothing.

During the summer of 1914, NJ Suffrage activists publicized both

“Letter concerning May demonstration received. I am doing everything possible to make it a success in Vineland. Cannot send representative but will forward resolutions from Bridgeton, Millville, and V. Fine speaker engaged for all three plans. Am heartily in sympathy with the Union’s methods. Cordially, Caroline Barnes Wilson, 523 Landis Av., Vineland, N.J.”

I am Alice Paul (1885-1977)

I am a suffragist, fighting to be heard,
for all women to be heard.
The time has come for a New Direction.

I throw stones into the windows of power.
I have broken forty-eight.
I have broken thousands.

For this, I am locked up in an airless prison—
rank with the stench of sweat, vomit;
urine, feces, women's blood.

So, I pitch a bowl at a high window,
hit my mark, that we might breathe.
My sister suffs cheer my marksmanship.

My window, then, is blocked up—a solid
board
that covers the kindly face of an old man
who bemoans his horrid task.

But there is another light, another air,
another song. So, I toss stones. I break
windows open, when doors will not.

I break glass—that suspense of liquid sand.
I throw glass—electric bulbs and goblets.
I throw books. I throw the book of laws

at those who make unjust laws.
I break laws that choose me,
though I have not chosen them.

I break whatever needs shattering
to make the world as beautiful as I can.
I throw and throw until I may throw

my hat into the ring. Cast and cast
until it is a ballot that I cast.
There will never be a new world order

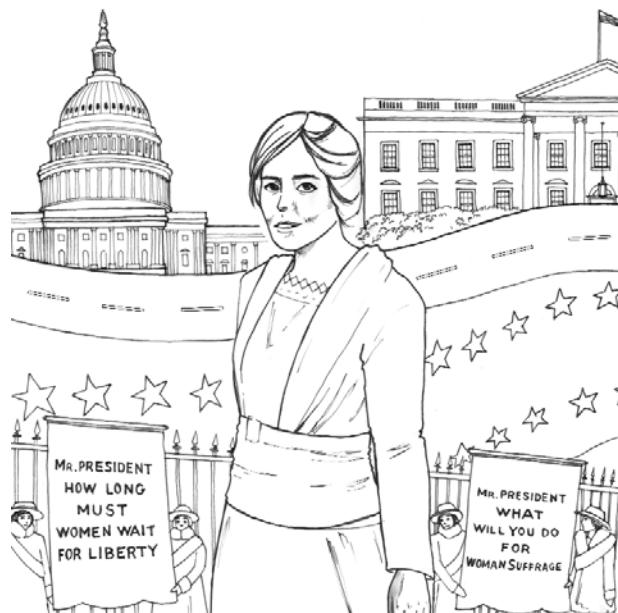
until women are a part of it...
and then you get a great mosaic—
like the vast floors of New York's
new 1905 Penn Station—forming

a foundation for the struts and girders
and beams lofting a glass ceiling
above us—there will come a time

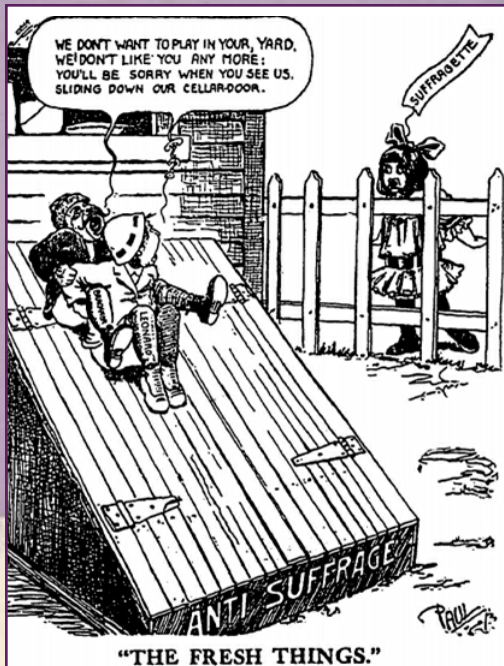
when they will say of a woman
who will carry a nation—she went
where most men and women

would not have gone—that she was
a Child of the Light. See our shards
gleam and glitter in the mud—

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Alice Paul (1885-1977)
by Laura Davidson



This political cartoon "Fresh Things" appeared in the February 3, 1914 issue of the *Jersey Journal* after the suffrage amendment passed the State Assembly. Two anti-suffrage Hudson County Assemblymen were criticized for voting against the measure, for not "playing along." The suffrage measure is a game between rough little boys and a scowling little girl with a big hair bow labeled "suffragette." (This political image of suffragists as little girls was common in the press.)



state and national amendments at the Jersey Shore resorts with the goal of electing pro-suffrage legislators. Though the NJ Democratic Party was officially neutral, many party bosses were hostile and wanted to block the measure in the legislature. In July 1914, Democratic Governor James Fielder had publicly announced his opposition to woman suffrage though suffragists close to his wife were attempting to change her (and hopefully his) mind.⁸⁵

The elections of 1914 brought Republicans to power in the New Jersey Legislature. Suffrage referenda were passed by voters in Montana and Nevada, but were defeated in North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Missouri.

In February 1915, the NJ Legislature passed the suffrage referendum overwhelmingly—the Senate had only 4 negative votes, the Assembly voted unanimously in favor.⁸⁶

The text of the Amendment read:

Every male and every female 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 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.

That same month Hon. James E. Martine, Senator from the state of New Jersey, introduced into the U.S. Senate an article from the D.C. Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage with "facts" on the negative impact of women voters in states where women were granted the right to vote. It discussed the impact of woman suffrage on taxation, prohibition, schools, working women, war, rural communities, the failure of women to vote when given the ballot, and the idea that woman suffrage was undemocratic.⁸⁷

The legislatures in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania (birthplaces of woman suffrage) had also passed referenda. The question of woman suffrage would finally be going to the voters in all four states in 1915. NAWSA was ready to embark on an all out national and local effort with the goal of winning at least one as leverage to a federal amendment. They knew it was a big hurdle—only one other industrial state, Illinois, had granted women the vote—and that was only partial, limited to presidential elections.

The 1915 State Referendum Campaign

New Jersey's election would be on October 19th, two weeks before New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, therefore it would be a test of current voter opinion. In the spring of 1915, the major NJ suffrage organizations formed the Cooperative Committee to coordinate innumerable details and the Committee of One Hundred to raise the funds for the necessary publicity. Suffragists knew male voters had to be convinced with targeted publicity and propaganda. NJWSA (now headquartered in Plainfield) had 22,000 members and WPUNJ (operating out of Newark) had 4,000. Both were issuing a



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Mina Van Winkle's use of the telephone in this photo highlights the growing availability of local phone service in New Jersey that was a tremendous asset to the suffrage campaign. Direct and immediate phone conversations made planning and publicity more efficient.

constant stream of broadsides and pamphlets and scheduling events and publicity stunts as well as appeals to out-of-state supporters for money and volunteers. The campaign was extensively covered in national magazines and newspapers. Help was provided by professional organizers and campaigners from other states who aided local suffragists with public speaking, strategy and insight into the broader suffrage movement.

Mina Van Winkle laid out her view of the political situation in New Jersey when she requested help from suffragists in other states.

We have twenty-one counties—some of them sparsely settled. In two of them (Essex and Hudson) live one-half of the inhabitants of the entire State. There are only four hundred thousand voters in the State. Our problem is a small one, when it is considered in the aggregate, but we have working against us all forces of the anti-suffrage organizations, Every paid worker from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is working to defeat us. The breweries are already busy, and the Democratic party has promised to work against us.

She added that the reform factions of both parties would support them, as would the Socialist Party.

That summer, suffrage supporters staged mass meetings, parades, press releases, posters, banners, ribbon-bedecked touring automobiles, baseball games, a suffrage camel, and WPUNJ's suffrage torch (see the article in this issue)—anything to capture the attention (and hopefully the endorsement) of male voters.

A special effort was made at the New Jersey shore resorts to reach New Jersey vacationers as well as visitors from Pennsylvania. When NAWSA president Dr. Anna Howard Shaw visited the state in the summer, she was featured at a major event in Long Branch and headlined other events all across the state, including one for more than 1200 people in Ocean Grove and another for 3000 people in Passaic.

On August 13th, NJWSA staged a special observance in honor of the anniversary of Lucy Stone's birth—placing a bronze plaque on the house at 16 Hurlbut Street in Orange where she had made her famous tax protest in 1857. Her daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, whose cradle had been sold at that famous tax sale, came down from Boston to speak along with Dr. Shaw and former governor John Franklin Fort. Suffrage leaders and suffragists from the four referendum states made a pilgrimage to the event which was followed by a parade of decorated automobiles—always popular with the male electorate! Dr. Shaw rode in her car "Eastern Victory."⁸⁸ The NJWSA organized auto tours in twelve counties during





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An unidentified suffragist seeking a petition signature from a canal worker. Automobiles were also an asset in reaching men at the workplace, and in reaching potential suffrage petition signers. This suffragist with a well-decorated automobile is getting a petition signature from a canal worker somewhere in New Jersey in 1915. Fortunately the WPUNJ embraced the camera and photographed many of their campaign activities in 1915, leaving an enduring visual record for posterity.



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An unidentified suffragist speaking from the back of an automobile at a streetcar stop during the 1915 suffrage referendum campaign.

the campaign and local suffragists staged their own parades closer to home.

Open air speaking was a popular way for suffragists to get their message out to the man on the street or at a streetcar stop. Suffragists like Phebe Persons Scott of Montclair were exhilarated by this kind of campaigning. Speaking and handing out literature from the movable podium of an automobile was always an eye catcher for the men intrigued by the new-fangled machine. She wrote to her Smith classmates,

My college training certainly has been a help in suffrage work. Agitation and education are the chief methods used to carry a campaign . . . When speaking to my outdoor audiences (for I much prefer a street corner to a lecture Hall) I always like to remind them that if my grandmother had gone to college she would not have been considered respectable, and that my granddaughters will like to have me tell them about the time when wasn't considered proper for women to vote.⁸⁹

The WPUNJ reported holding over 1,000 outdoor meetings and distributing over 20,000 pieces of literature each day. Vineland held a civic parade with a Goddess of Liberty and 12 girls representing states where women could vote followed by New Jersey dressed in black with hands in chains.

The Equal Franchise Society, under the leadership of Elizabeth Colby of Llewellyn Park, raised money to fund the publicity work of the New Jersey Suffrage Press Committee that sent regular publicity releases to weekly and daily newspapers, produced weekly columns in newspapers, sent news bulletins and telegrams to journalists, placed placards in trolleys, put street banners and illuminated signs in major cities, and bought paid advertising.

African-American support for the amendment was particularly strong. The September issue of *The Crisis* included W.E.B. DuBois's article urging a vote for suffrage—pointing out that 200,000 Negro voters would be called upon to vote on the question of woman suffrage in four states. "To say the woman is weaker than man is sheer rot: It is the same sort of thing that we hear about 'darker races' and 'lower classes' . . ."⁹⁰ In October, Mary Church Terrill, a prominent African-American suffragist, educator, and first president of the National Association of Colored Women, visited the state and encouraged black men to support woman suffrage out of a sense of justice. Rev. Florence Randolph⁹¹ had just brought together many African-American women from WCTU branches, missionary societies, civic, literary, business, and political clubs into the NJ State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (NJFCWC) and their support was strong.⁹²

White women in the state were not as supportive. It was a major



Mina Van Winkle with the suffrage torch.

I am Mina Van Winkle (1875-1933)

Harriet Stanton Blatch nicknames me "Cleopatra." Like my namesake, 1913, I lead a suffrage delegation to descend on our Rome, The White House, to demand equal rule of the government.

We are denied audience with Wilson.
Very well! I say, despite, *We expect to be received.*
 We go. We enter. We make our suffrage demands.
 Back in New Jersey, we demonstrate with a suffrage camel—
 Cleopatra, indeed! "Humping it," stumping it,
 for votes for women.

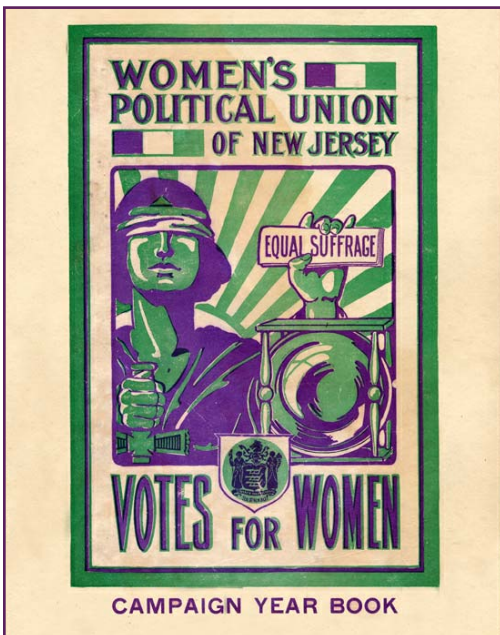
1915, Harriet masterminds
 "Handing On the Torch of Victory"—
 August 7th, two tugboats meet
 in the middle of the Hudson River—
 Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer representing New York,
 I representing New Jersey—
 the tall bronze and wooden torch we pass—
 woman to woman—to each other
 and across the country!

We pass the torch in our own ways—
 I, as director of the Women's Bureau
 of the Washington, DC police force—
 overseeing the work of copettes—
 policing dance halls, movie theaters,
 and public spaces to prevent crime Susa
 by and against women.

Harriet says I shook New Jersey wide awake!
 I organize the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women—
 later The Women's Political Union of New Jersey.
 Our logo is blindfolded Justice, to signify judicial fairness;
 but also to remind us that women have been kept
 ignorant of their rights. The rays of sun behind Justice
 stand for Hope. *Any woman who took part
 in the anti-suffrage campaign
 should be ashamed to come into the sunlight.*

Pass the torch. Pass the torch.

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The WPUNJ logo featured a blindfolded figure of Justice holding an Equal Suffrage sign in her left hand and the traditional sword of power in her right. The rays of the rising sun behind her symbolized hope for the future. The colors green, white, and violet symbolized the phrase "Give Women the Vote."



Born in South Carolina, Florence Sparing Randolph moved to Jersey City at age 19, married, created a successful dressmaking business, became a member of AME Zion Church, decided to pursue career in ministry and was ordained as a deacon in 1900. She joined WCTU in 1892. On behalf of the NJ Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (NJFCWC), Rev. Randolph, the pre-eminent suffrage leader among the black women of NJ, spoke in front of the NJ legislature in support of woman suffrage and urged President Wilson to address race rioting, lynching and the rape of black women.

blow when the 17,000 member NJ State Federation of Women's Clubs (NJSFWC) refused to endorse the amendment. The organization had enough anti-suffrage members to block endorsement at their state conventions. In this, the NJSFWC was out of step with their national group. The General Federation of Women's Clubs had endorsed suffrage in 1914, and the state federations in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania had done so by 1915. NJSFWC would not endorse suffrage until 1917.⁹³

In addition to the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, many other prominent men publicly supported the cause including U.S. Senator William Hughes, Thomas A. Edison, John Cotton Dana (Head of the Newark Public Library), former Governor J. Franklin Fort, several congressmen, state legislators, judges, county officials, mayors, professors, industrialists, and editors. Former President Theodore Roosevelt, wrote, "I ask every decent, self-respecting citizen who has the right to vote to join the movement to secure for women the suffrage now denied them. We have woman suffrage in the Western States. I don't think that the East will permanently lag behind. Civilization is spreading."⁹⁴

But the male-dominated State Federation of Labor, which had endorsed Clara Laddey's appeals a few years earlier, refused to support the amendment. This infuriated Melinda Scott, head of the (female) Hat Trimmers Union of Newark, and led to her refusal to affiliate her union with the organization. The influential German Alliance (which had also previously been courted by Laddey) actively opposed the amendment.⁹⁵

The 25,000 member NJ Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage flooded the state with flyers which equated suffragism with radicalism, socialism, and anti-Christianism and claimed this feminism would "[help] to lay the axe at the tap-root of Christian civilization." Female Antis, concerned about propriety, distributed enormous numbers of flyers and buttons but left door-to-door canvas and public meetings, parades, and other methods of agitation, strictly to their male allies.

The Men's Anti-Suffrage League vocally proclaimed men were experienced in business affairs and women suffrage would bring inexperience and weakness into government life and that political bosses would increase their power with more "well-meaning but misinformed" voters. They said women had a special sphere of responsibility where they excelled: church, school, home, and hospital and that they would lose that special moral role if granted suffrage. (An interesting parallel to the pro-suffrage argument which stated women would bring that same morality to government affairs!) They argued that a mere 20% of NJ women wanted the vote, as evidenced by enrolled suffragists.

The Antis were well-funded by liquor and manufacturing interests and had the support of leading politicians—Democratic Governor James Fielder, David Baird, a Republican leader in southern NJ politics, and James Nugent, chair of Essex County Democrats, were all very vocal opponents. *The New York Times* asserted anti-suffragists included "Some of the most prominent women in New Jersey . . . including the widow of President Grover Cleveland . . . and Mrs. Garrett



I am Mary Church Terrell, Silent Sentinel (1863-1953)

When a child, in a first-class railway coach,
my father off in the Jim Crow and smoker car,
the conductor glares at me and asks,
"Whose little nigger girl is this?"

I stand here by The White House,
a Silent Sentinel with my white suffragist sisters,
blocked by this black wrought iron gate.
The fate of one woman is the fate of all women.

A classics degree from Oberlin College;
my father the first black millionaire;
my black mother a wealthy hair dresser;
my black husband a D.C. Justice of the Peace—

yet, this capital of the United States is not
"The Colored Man's Paradise." I am,
like Harriet Tubman, a *stranger in a strange land*,
walking miles without finding a place

to lay my head...ravenously hungry
and abundantly supplied with money
...without a single restaurant
who will serve me a morsel of food.

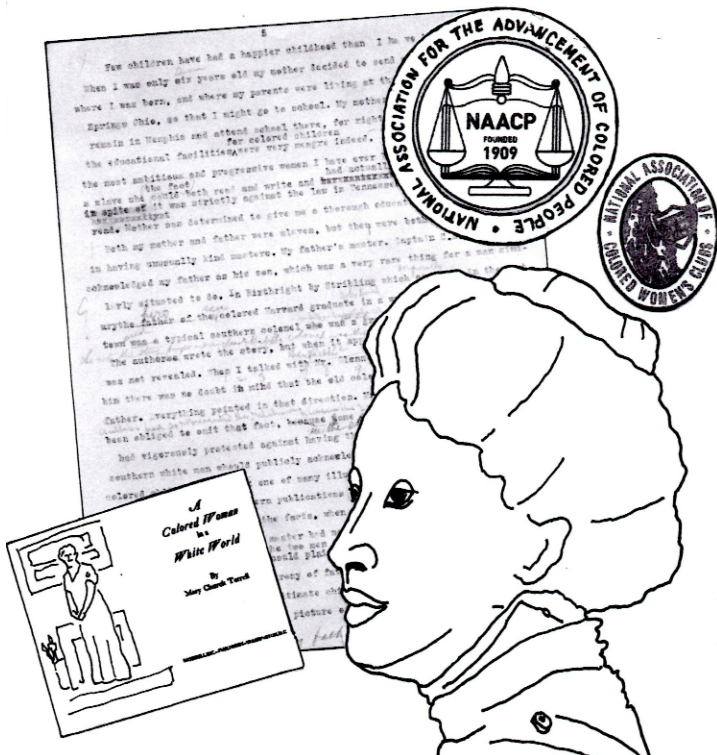
The door is shut in my face
for any but the most menial vocations.
Even in colored schools, a black woman
cannot be a teacher, especially if married.

And so, Alice Paul, I know you fear for me,
a black woman, standing by this gate,
but *onward and upward we go*—
Seeking no favors because of our color

or sex, no patronage because of our needs,
we knock at the bar of justice,
asking an equal chance. May we not bequeath
to our daughters in time, *all incentive to effort*

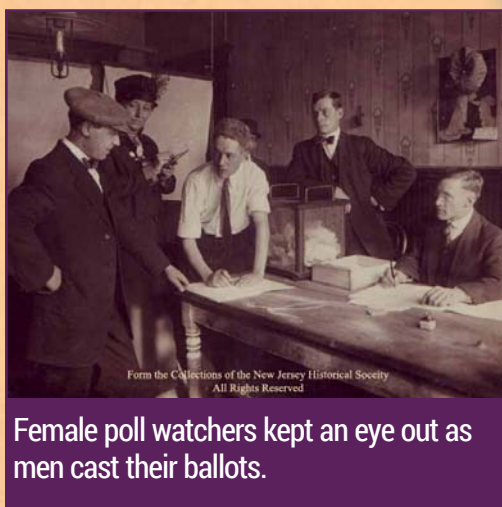
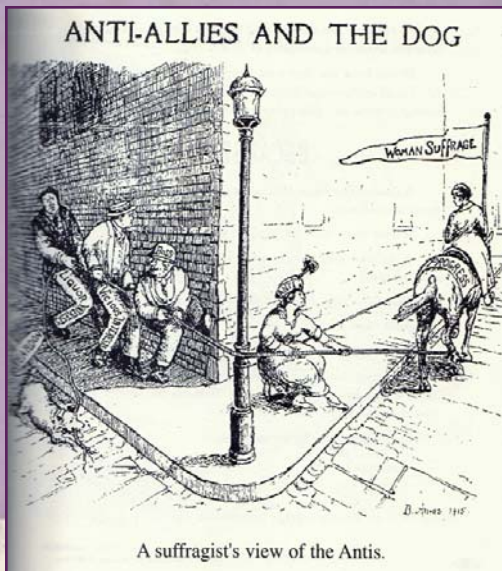
snatched away, the question, *What might we have
become had we not been circumscribed
and handicapped on account of race or sex?*
We are *lifting as we climb. Lifting.*

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Mary Church Terrell (1863-1953)
by Mary Delaney Connelly

"I cannot help wondering sometimes what I might have become and might have done if I had lived in a country which had not circumscribed and handicapped me on account of my race, that had allowed me to reach any height I was able to attain."



Female poll watchers kept an eye out as men cast their ballots.

A. Hobart, of Paterson, the wealthy widow of a former vice-president of the United States." Politicians feared women were less corruptible than men and might force the enactment of prohibition and labor legislation. New Jersey's U.S. senators were divided. Sen. William Hughes had come out pro-suffrage; Sen. James Martine was very vocally against. Suffrage supporters accused Sen. Martine of abusing his franking privileges by sending out anti-suffrage mailings to constituents.⁹⁶ In Massachusetts, some saloons handed out tickets printed with "Good for Two Drinks if Woman Suffrage is Defeated." It is likely the same thing happened in New Jersey.

The suffrage organizations finally got President Wilson's endorsement two weeks before the election.⁹⁷ Even though he had not endorsed woman suffrage at the national level, President Wilson announced his position on New Jersey state suffrage, "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 not vote as the leader of my party in the nation, but only upon my private conviction as a citizen of New Jersey . . ." he stated in the October 7, 1915 *Morristown Daily Record*.

Cynical journalists observed that, given the forthcoming election where women in 12 states would be voting, the president was loathe to antagonize women in suffrage states. And his endorsement came too late to be very useful. Newspapers came out on both sides of the issue, but most of the coverage was on the continuing war in Europe.⁹⁸

The final day was a flurry of activity. Hundreds of automobiles flying the yellow, white, and blue banners of the NJWSA and the purple, white, and green colors of the WPU rushed through the state delivering 100,000 leaflets to factory workers. They were attempting to counter a last minute deluge of flyers by a Colorado legislator stating that state's woman suffrage had been a failure from labor's point of view. Newark also held a 24-hour-long open air mass meeting with continuous speakers from six A.M. Monday morning till the polls opened at 6 A.M. Tuesday.⁹⁹

Suffragists were well aware of the range of political tricks that could be used against them. They were wary of the potential for voter fraud implicit in an election held simultaneously with voter registration. They secured legislation allowing women the privilege of being poll watchers and set up 29 training schools. They were so successful that 1,657 of the state's 1,891 polling places were covered.

When election day arrived, October 19, 1915, voter turnout was heavy. Nearly 318,000 men voted, or 70% of the number who turned out for the Presidential election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912. This was a much heavier turnout than normal for a special election.

But four years' work was for naught. The October 19th election ended in a crushing defeat—the NJ amendment lost by 51,109 votes out of total of 317,672. The amendment lost in every county except Ocean County. It was defeated in every city over 25,000 except East Orange. It lost in Newark by a 2 to 1 margin.

To put a positive face on their defeat, suffragists noted at least 42%

of New Jersey voters supported woman suffrage. "This will not end the fight in New Jersey. We feel much encouraged by the great number of votes received, and this will impel us to continue the battle in this state." stated Lillian Feickert. Mina Van Winkle noted, "We have waked up tens of thousands of women. We have waked the social and civic conscience and the fact that there was such a heavy vote proves that we have given men confidence in the cause."

NAWSA president Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, looked forward to the other state campaigns, "We have not lost New Jersey because it has never been ours. We cannot lose. We can only win. . . . The sun will rise tomorrow on a reorganized army, undaunted and hopeful, whose flag will never be furled until women are politically free."¹⁰⁰

Carrie Chapman Catt, spearheading the campaign in New York, still hoped that results would be better in that state, "We did not expect to win in New Jersey, for all the forces of wickedness were against the women. The whole campaign of the men was one of intimidation. I believe that the men of the political parties of New York have told the truth when they say they would not interfere with the vote in this State and I think we shall win." However, on November 2nd, the amendments in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were also defeated.¹⁰¹

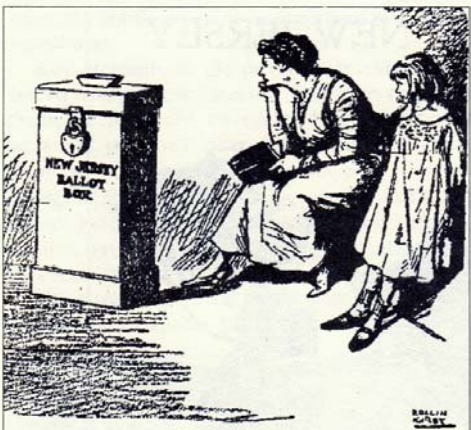
New Jersey law precluded another attempt for five years. Lillian Feickert tried to put a good face on the situation promising they would continue to work in Trenton for passage of a bill granting women the right to vote for Presidential Electors as some women in other states were achieving—since they wouldn't be voting directly for President, it didn't require a constitutional amendment and a popular vote—however this idea got no traction.¹⁰² They would also send deputations to Washington D.C. to work for a federal amendment, interviewing Senators and Congressmen and delivering petitions. At home, they would continue to try to educate the women of New Jersey with the goal of converting more to the suffrage cause.

After the NJ state referendum loss, there was a consolidation of major suffrage organizations. In December, the Equal Franchise Society voted to disband and merge with NJWSA; eight months later WPUNJ voted to do the same, though individual branches who wished could remain intact and several did—including the Newark WPU which had a substantial membership until 1920.

In 1915, Alice Paul's Congressional Union (CU) had reluctantly participated with other suffragists in the NJ referendum campaign. In her eyes, it was tedious and undemocratic:

There is no reason whatsoever why the women of New Jersey should be subjected to this laborious and costly process of converting the male population of the entire state.

For more than sixty years women have been trying to win suffrage by the State referendum method, advocated by President Wilson. This has meant the expenditure of an enormous amount of energy, of time, and of money. Women are now beginning to feel that the State referendum campaigns in which the question of



"Watchful Waiting. Will justice win now?"
The New York World, 1915





Suffrage envoys from San Francisco greeted in New Jersey on their way to Washington to present a petition to Congress containing more than 500,000 signatures.

women's political freedom is left in the hands of the most ignorant men voters in the State are too wasteful and indirect to be much longer continued.

They are turning to the national Government, asking enfranchisement by action of the United States Congress. We approach the next session of Congress full of hope that the leverage which the suffrage movement possesses in Congress as a result of the fact that one-fourth of the Senate, one-sixth of the House and one-fifth of the electoral vote for President now comes from suffrage States will mean the passage of the

national suffrage amendment, thus doing away with costly and laborious State campaigns such as has just been unsuccessfully waged in New Jersey.¹⁰³

The Campaign for a Federal Amendment

The defeat of all four referenda cemented Alice Paul's belief that state-by-state action was hopeless. She felt that all suffragists should focus all their energies on a federal amendment and she thought they were making progress. In March of 1914, the Senate had voted on the Amendment for the first time since 1887; in January 1915, the House of Representatives had voted on the measure. Though it had been defeated in both chambers, she thought with agitation and work to elect pro-suffrage legislators, they could get it passed. In September, her Congressional Union (CU)

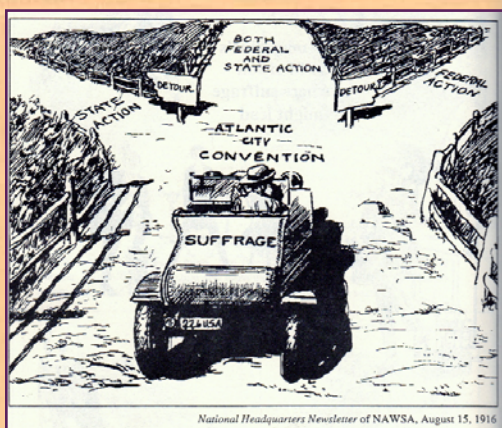
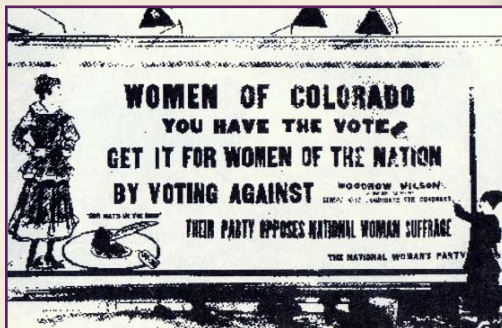
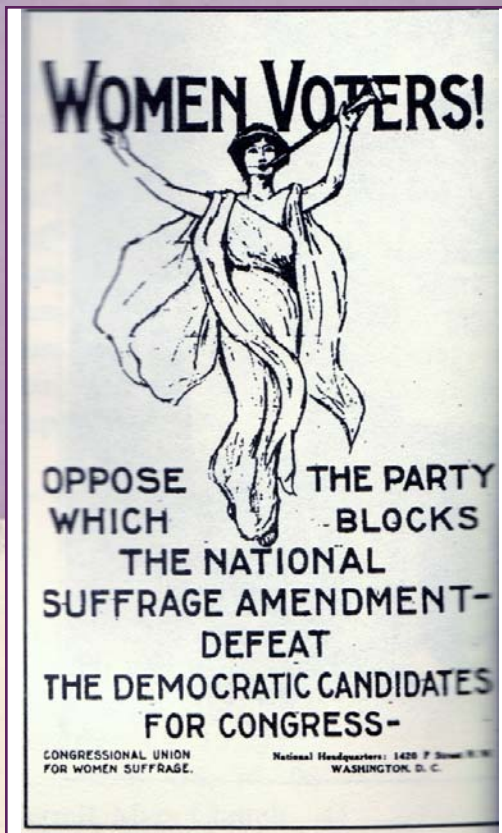


Alison Hopkins, state chairman of the New Jersey branch of the Congressional Union, and Agnes F. Campbell campaigned for suffrage in the 3d Congressional District in Hopkins' roadster, which was decorated in CU colors of white, purple, and gold and used to attract attention along roads and in cities where speeches were made.

organized the first Woman Voters Convention with delegates from suffrage states. At the Panama Pacific International Exposition held from February 20th to December 4th 1915 in San Francisco, 500,000 signatures were collected on suffrage petitions. Suffrage envoys Sara Bard Field and Frances Joliffe drove across the country by way of New Jersey to deliver the petitions to Congress and President Wilson.

They arrived in D.C. for the first national convention of CU which was scheduled to coincide with the opening of the 64th Congress. On December 6th, a procession of 2,000 women escorted western women voters to the U.S. Capitol for a congressional reception. That same day, President Wilson met with a smaller delegation and the amendment was introduced in the House of Representatives. The following day it was introduced in the Senate.¹⁰⁴

In January 1916, the CU's membership and financial resources were greatly increased when the executive board of the Women's



Political Union of New York, under the leadership of Harriot Stanton Blatch, voted to discontinue operations and formally merge with CU.¹⁰⁵

That same month a branch of Alice Paul's Congressional Union opened in Newark. The organization was helmed by Alison Turnbull Hopkins (whose husband was a prominent state leader of Progressive Party) and Julia Hurlbut, both Morristown women who had been active in WPUNJ. Though the membership was small, it became very active traveling around the state and to Washington to demand action on the Amendment.

In June 1916, Alice Paul's Congressional Union organized a new political party—the National Woman's Party (NWP)—with membership open to voting women in 12 states with full or presidential suffrage (which meant that Alice Paul, a NJ resident, wasn't technically eligible to be a member of her own party!) It would focus on lobbying for the federal amendment and urge women in suffrage states to vote against their Democratic candidates to punish the party in power which had not moved on the amendment (a tactic that was being used in Britain) using posters, billboards, banners, and electric signs.

Carrie Chapman Catt, the new head of NAWSA, feared this approach would alienate Democrats leaning toward the suffrage cause. She resolved not to give up their multi-pronged "Winning Plan" which she described at their national convention in Atlantic City on August 15th. She urged NAWSA members to throw their energies into another try for New York in 1917, and to keep trying to build up leverage for the federal amendment by funding and working for campaigns in promising suffrage states, lobbying, and working with the parties to persuade them to include suffrage in their 1916 platforms.

Two weeks later, the Eastern Campaign of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage held their own mass meeting in Atlantic City where 2,100 attendees (a quarter of whom were men) vowed to work to defeat Wilson and the Democratic Party members of Congress unless they stopped blocking the Amendment.

This approach was problematic for NJWSA which had friends and foes in both political parties and whose two biggest legislative advocates, Senators William C. Gebhardt and Charles M. Egan, were Democrats.

Pickets and Persistence

Despite the actions of the NWP, Wilson was re-elected in November, largely because he campaigned on the slogan "He kept us out of war."

On January 9, 1917, President Wilson, after two weeks of stonewalling, met a deputation of 300 NWP women, who presented him with resolutions and asked him to use his influence to promote the federal woman suffrage amendment. Wilson angrily refused and walked out on the delegation.

Furious, Alice Paul initiated a new tactic the next day—bringing pickets directly to the President's front door. Every day, in all weather, six to twelve "Silent Sentinels" would stand silently outside the White House carrying tricolor purple, white, and gold banners, as well as



Members of the Congressional Union and National Women's Party picketing the White House



Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, speaking from the balcony of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Monday, April 2, 1917.

banners with messages urging the president to act. Alice Paul soon asked women across the country to volunteer for "state days" and other special days for college women, women voters, wage-earners (Sunday, their only day off), and representatives from various professional affiliations.

Picketing the White House was a brand new and very controversial tactic. Initially the pickets were tolerated although many people thought they were misguided and the leadership of NAWSA thought they were harmful to the cause. Some bystanders brought warm bricks for the women to stand on and on one occasion the White House even sent out hot cocoa, but soon Wilson's patience waned.

At the beginning of March, the CU and NWP held a joint convention in Washington D.C. where they merged into one organization—the NWP. On March 4th, the last day of the convention and the eve of Wilson's second inauguration, Alice Paul staged a "Grand Picket." More than 1,000 NWP women marched around the White House for several hours in icy, driving rain waiting to present a series of convention resolutions to Wilson. The marchers were furious when the President and his wife left the White House and drove through the picket line without accepting the delegation's petitions or even acknowledging the pickets.

On April 2nd, Congress was called back into special session. A series of events, including German U-boat attacks on American ships and the revelation of the secret Zimmerman Telegram, had enraged Americans and changed Wilson's mind toward American intervention in the war.

That morning a special breakfast was held in Washington D.C. to celebrate the election of the first female member of Congress. Republican Representative Jeannette Rankin from Montana (which had won woman suffrage in 1914) sat between Alice Paul and Carrie Chapman Catt, separating the leaders of two organizations who were deeply divided over tactics, money, and the belief in the wisdom of the war.

After the breakfast, a 25-car cavalcade escorted Representative Rankin to the Capitol past thousands of cheering women on Pennsylvania Ave. Women filled the gallery to witness her being applauded and sworn in by her colleagues in the 65th Congress and the first order of business, re-introduction of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, which was promptly sent to committee. (Two days later, the suffrage amendment would be reintroduced in the Senate.)

That night, however, the mood turned serious as President Wilson urged Congress to pass a Declaration of War against Germany, concluding that we would fight "for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments . . . and [to make the world] safe for democracy."



Members of the Congressional Union and National Women's Party picketing the White House.



Julia Hurlbut (1882-1962) vice-chair of the NJWP, in uniform. She was imprisoned for picketing, managed canteens in France, then continued her suffrage activism after the war.

After this declaration, Carrie Chapman Catt and the leadership of NAWSA vowed their women would support the war effort every way they could, believing that this proof of patriotism was critical to advance their suffrage efforts, but stated they would not be giving up their work on suffrage campaigns. "If . . . our nation is drawn into the [war] we stand ready to serve our country," she told *The Women's Journal* on March 3, 1917, "with no intention of laying aside our constructive, forward work to secure the vote for the womanhood of this country."

Alice Paul took no stance on war work, leaving that up to individual suffragists, but she vowed that the NWP would not discontinue picketing the White House. Pickets held banners pointing out the hypocrisy of President Wilson's own words—that the U.S. was going to war for democracy abroad while denying it to women at home. This decision was controversial even within the NWP. Harriet Stanton Blatch (who had coined the term "Silent Sentinels") felt the international crisis required an end to the pickets and resigned from the NWP. Politicians and many members of the public believed the picketers were unpatriotic. Soon the Espionage and Sedition Acts would make speaking out against the war illegal, punishable by fines or imprisonment.

After the U.S. entered the war on April 6th, an overwhelming majority of NJWSA found the NWP decision to continue picketing totally unsupportable and accused the NJWP (like the NWP) of being unpatriotic. Lillian Feickert wrote, "their total membership in the state is very small, and chiefly made up of disgruntled women who left this Association because they did not approve of our doing war work."¹⁰⁶

On June 20th, Lucy Burns and Dora Lewis picketed with "Russian" banner, accusing President Wilson of deceiving Russia by claiming United States was a democracy. An angry crowd destroyed the banner.

On July 14, 1917, NJWP officers Julia Hurlbut and Alison Trumbull Hopkins were leading a Bastille Day parade in Washington D.C. proclaiming *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* when police ordered them to



Julia Hurlbut & Alison Trumbull Hopkins leading Bastille Day pickets.



AS A WAR MEASURE	
The Country is Asking of Women Service	Women Are Asking of The Country
AS	
FARMERS MECHANICS NURSES and DOCTORS MUNITION WORKERS MINE WORKERS YEOMEN GAS MAKERS BELL BOYS MESSENGERS CONDUCTORS MOTORMEN ARMY COOKS TELEGRAPHERS AMBULANCE DRIVERS ADVISORS TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE	ENFRANCHISEMENT
AND	
The Country is Getting It!	Are the Women Going to Get It?
<small>National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc. 171 Madison Ave., New York City</small>	

“clear the line.” When they refused, they were arrested and sentenced to 60 days in Occoquan Workhouse. They were pardoned by President Wilson after three days (possibly because Hopkins’ husband was Wilson’s NJ campaign manager). Although many charged NWP members with being unpatriotic, Julia would shortly head to France to do war work.

As the year proceeded, the banner rhetoric escalated—a banner addressed the President as “Kaiser Wilson” for his “sympathy with the Germans who were not self-governed when 20,000,000 American women were also not self-governed” and urging him to “Take the Beam Out of Your Own Eye.” Bystanders started physically attacking the picketers, but instead of arresting the attackers, police arrested picketers and charged them with “disrupting sidewalk traffic.” When they refused to pay the fines, asserting they were really being punished for their political beliefs, they were imprisoned under appalling conditions on bedbug-infested mattresses and fed moldy and worm-infested food.

On Sept 14th, Representative Jeannette Rankin took the chair of the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee on a visit to Occoquan Workhouse to investigate the treatment of suffrage prisoners. The following day the committee sent the suffrage bill to the full Senate. Ten days later she maneuvered the House bill out of the dead-end House Judiciary Committee into a newly-created House Woman Suffrage Committee which soon also moved on it. For the first time in 40 years, the amendment would be coming up for consideration on the floor of both houses of Congress when they returned in January 1918.

Meanwhile NAWSA was working hard on its “winning plan.” They had achieved the right to vote for presidential electors in seven states in the Midwest and were trying to win the “big one”—full woman suffrage in New York State. Harriot Stanton Blatch used war phrases: “American women have begun to go over the top . . . When men go a-warring, women go to work.” Posters pointed out that women were answering the country’s call to work as farmers, mechanics, nurses and doctors, munitions workers, ambulance drivers, yeoman, and more. All they asked in return was enfranchisement. Billboards proclaimed “We are ready to Work beside You, Fight beside You and Die beside You. Let Us Vote beside You. Vote for WOMAN SUFFRAGE November 6th.”

NJWSA members crossed the Hudson to join their New York sisters in door-to-door canvassing and other efforts including an enormous suffrage parade in October showcasing one million petition signatures, the patriotism of women in the war effort, and Wilson’s endorsement of state suffrage drives. Their efforts were successful. On November 6th, New York became the first eastern state to obtain equal suffrage for women.

While this was going on, things were getting even worse for the NWP prisoners. Alice Paul was given solitary confinement in a mental ward in an effort to intimidate and discredit her. After their appeal to be treated as political prisoners was denied, Alice and others went on a hunger strike. Officials responded by feeding them through a tube by force, a practice now considered a form of torture.

I am Alison Low Turnbull Hopkins, Silent Sentinel (1880-1951)

The United States is fighting World War I.
I stand by The White House gate—
on the side marking states, like my New Jersey,
without suffrage—those from states with suffrage
stand across the divide through which Woodrow Wilson rides
to his golf games, vacation home, Congress, balls.

2,000 of us take turns in all weathers for Votes for Women—
starting on a bitter, chill January 9th morning—
our feet bitten with frost, our fingers numb.
A policeman with mercy brings us hot bricks—
not to throw, but to stand on. Sister suffs build
wooden platforms to raise us from the frozen ground.

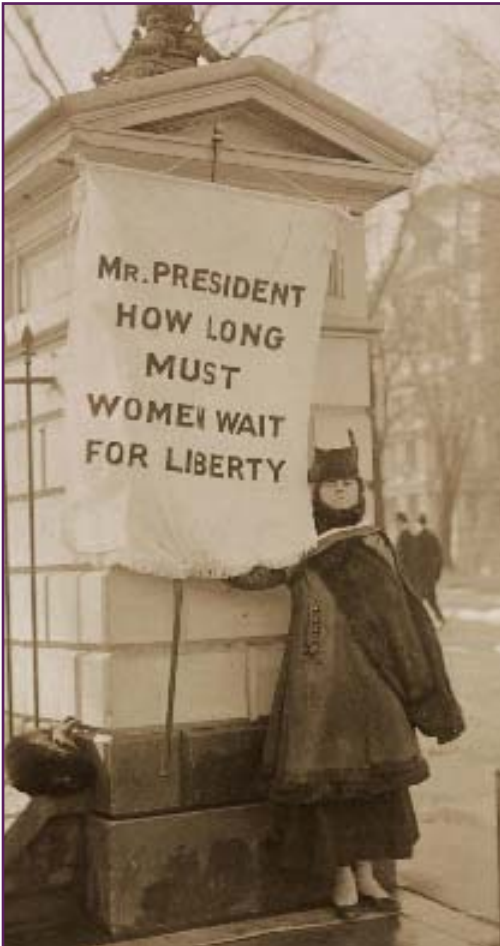
On our political platform—Liberty for Woman—
we stand. I refuse to sit on proffered benches.
I am silent—although the air is troubled
by angry bystanders who laugh at, mock,
jeer us with their words and mimickings.
Like the Queen's beefeaters, I don't meet their eyes.

I do not acknowledge those who doff their hats,
or those who tell children we are making history.
I stand with my back to Woodrow Wilson's
mansion, as his back is turned to us.
I stand by the jail bars that are this gate.
I hold my lodge-pine pole to loft banners.

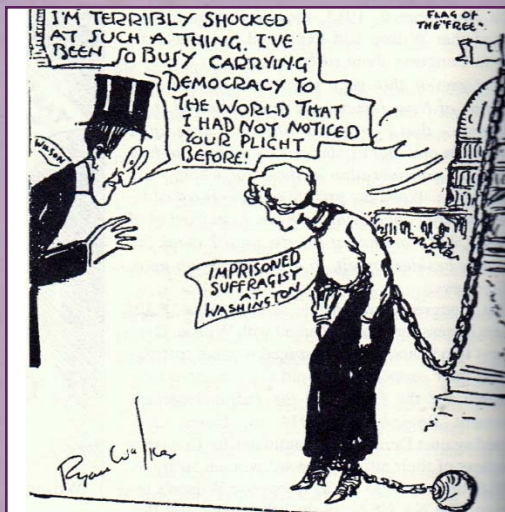
Senator Joe Walsh of Massachusetts,
staunch opponent of woman's suffrage,
calls us the nagging iron-jawed angels.
He says we are bewildered, deluded
creatures with short skirts and short hair.
If we are the silent ones, law has silenced us.

If we are bewildered and deluded;
if we have short skirts and short hair;
if we are the iron-jawed angels,
then who are the stubborn, blind,
short-sighted president and Congress
who will not stand up for us?

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"Silent sentinel" Alison Turnbull Hopkins (1880-1951) of Morristown at the White House on New Jersey Day.



This is an image of force-feeding in Britain. There are no images of American suffragists being force-fed, but the technique was the same.



On November 10th, a large group of NWP picketers protested this treatment. Thirty-one were arrested and also sent to Occoquan Workhouse where, on November 14th, they were subjected to horrific abuse—some were even chained to their cell doors or physically thrown against their cell walls.

Newspaper accounts of this “Night of Terror” and the potential public relations nightmare of some of the hunger strikers starving to death forced President Wilson to instruct government authorities to release Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and 20 others at the end of November. In March 1918, the U.S. federal appeals court would overturn the convictions of White House pickets for “obstructing traffic” saying “the mere act of assembling was not unlawful, unless it was for an unlawful purpose.” This decision has enabled free speech protests ever since.¹⁰⁷

However, the idea of picketing in wartime remained controversial. Even though many of the prisoners were Jeannette Rankin’s personal friends, she expressed the view held by many, “The public . . . does not confuse the pickets with the whole suffrage organization and they do not blame the mass of women . . . for the mistaken policies of a few.”¹⁰⁸

Building Support for the Federal Amendment in the Garden State

Meanwhile in New Jersey, more women were backing the idea of women’s suffrage. In the spring of 1917, the NJ State Federation of Women’s Clubs (SFWC) had finally joined their sister clubwomen in 35 other states who had endorsed women’s suffrage and they elected staunch suffragist Agnes Ann Schermerhorn as their president. NJWSA was now the primary NJ suffrage association with over 50,000 members.

Lillian Feickert, re-elected annually to the NJWSA presidency, was the most prominent figure in the NJ suffrage movement—tirelessly criss-crossing the state addressing suffrage groups and gaining press coverage, attention, and respect for the cause. “She came here last night and those of us who heard her went away with the impression that Mrs. Feickert was aggressive, a campaigner, a politician, a fighter and an extremely practical woman, all rolled into one,” described *The Paterson Morning Call*.¹⁰⁹

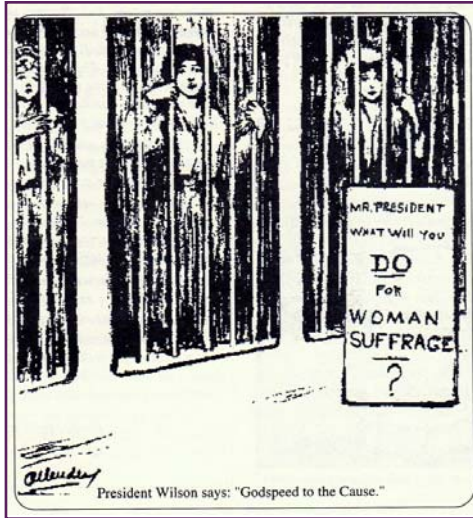
At their November convention, the NJWSA voted to accept the NJ State Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs as an affiliate, and Rev. Florence Randolph and another NJSFCWC officer became members of the NJWSA board. The affiliation of black clubwomen and the SFWC endorsement swelled the number of NJ women committed to suffrage to 100,000+ in NJWSA plus several hundred in NJWP and discredited the Antis claim that an overwhelming majority of NJ women opposed suffrage.

I am Alice Paul (1875-1977)

I am Lucy Burns (1879-1966)

Our jailers feed us on maggots.
The government treats us like criminals.
We are on hunger strike

I have lost my sense of taste.
I have lost my sense of smell.
Only freedom will stop our strike.



Alice, they think to have severed
the heart from the head—
you in one prison, I in the other.

They do not know that we
who have marched together,
have been behind bars together,

have stood in snow together—
step for step, breath for breath,
bleeding as one—could stop.

Where there is love, absence
bonds us the more...

What they call a hunger strike
I know as fasting.

As dark brings sun,
abstinence brings clarity.

As I slough off poisons,
these doctors seem more and more
fraught and insane.

Each day I leave behind
my initial weakness.
Each day I strengthen my will.

I am hunger

woman does not live by bread, alone.
I will not come until it is time
for the feast.

© Susanna Rich, 2019



Lucy Burns in prison.

By the start of 1918, NJ political figures were also coming around to idea of woman suffrage following the lead of other urban industrial states. The urban Democratic political machines, traditional opponents, no longer saw voting women as a threat since the voting record of women in suffrage states had shown that women voted like their husbands and not as a bloc. Republican Governor Walter Edge had voiced his approval of the federal amendment, as did both U.S. Senators Joseph Frelinghuysen, a Republican, and William Hughes, a Democrat.¹¹⁰

The Final Push for a Federal Amendment

On January 9, 1918, President Wilson invited Congressional Democratic leaders to the White House and told them he would be supporting the federal woman suffrage amendment when Congress convened the next day. On January 10, a year to the day from the date that Alice Paul's picketing had begun and forty years after the amendment was first introduced into Congress, the amendment would be introduced into the House.

Long before dawn, women started lining up for gallery seats. As was customary, they carried knitting bags (many were knitting socks for the troops). In echoes of modern airport security, they were told that the knitting needles would have to be left outside and a mound of bags piled up in the hallway.

President Wilson addressed the House:

*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 . . . if it had not been for the services of the women . . .*¹¹¹

Representative Jeannette Rankin, appointed acting floor leader for the

Republicans, held a bouquet of yellow rosebuds as she rose to a wave of applause and used the war as a touchstone for justice.

The boys at the front know something of the democracy for which they are fighting. These courageous lads who are paying with their lives testified to their sincerity when they sent home their ballots in the New York election and voted two to one in favor of woman suffrage and democracy at home.

How shall we answer the challenge, gentlemen? How shall we explain to them the meaning of democracy if the same Congress that voted to make the world safe for democracy refuses to give this small measure of democracy to the women of our country?

Richard Wilson Austin, a Tennessee Congressman used Ms.



Jeannette Rankin holding the NWP paper "The Suffragist" with other women in a Washington D.C. doorway.



Jeannette Rankin introducing the woman suffrage amendment in the House of Representatives, January 10, 1918.

VOL. 3

SUFFRAGISTS

WOMEN REJOICING OVER VICTORY WON IN HOUSE

IN SPECTACULAR SCENE WOMEN WIN FIRST GREAT BATTLE FOR FEDERAL SUFFRAGE—VOTE IN HOUSE WAS 274 IN FAVOR AND 136 AGAINST—CONGRESSWOMAN JEANNETTE RANKIN HELPS PILOT RESOLUTION TO VICTORY—WOMEN'S WORK IN THE WAR WIN THEM FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION—PROSPECTS IN THE SENATE ARE NOT SO ROSY—OUTLOOK FOR RATIFICATION NOT CONSIDERED ENCOURAGING.

Rankin's work in Congress as a justification for woman suffrage, stating,

*The highest, best, and strongest evidence that woman's suffrage is a success has been established in this House by the enviable record made by our colleague from Montana [Jeannette Rankin], who has won the respect, confidence, and admiration of the members and officials of this House . . .*¹¹²

Two amendments intended to strangle the amendment were defeated, then the roll call began. Several NJ representatives cast nays. The trend in New Jersey was worrying. Powerful state Democratic leaders in Essex and Hudson Counties were strongly anti-suffrage.

The vote looked very tight. The Amendment required 2/3rds majority to pass. Then two Congressmen left their hospital beds to vote yes, one refused to get his broken shoulder set until the vote, another left his suffragist wife's deathbed in New York to vote, and Fiorello LaGuardia cabled "yes" from his army outpost in Italy.

The Amendment, which had come to be known informally as "the Susan B. Anthony Amendment" passed the House 274 to 136 without a vote to spare!

Women shouted Hallelujah, waved handkerchiefs and sang hymns—but the work was not over. The amendment needed to pass in the Senate as well.¹¹³

NWP and NAWSA lobbyists worked furiously, visiting senators, sending telegrams, and writing newspaper editorials.

In May the NJ State Federation of Women's Clubs passed a resolution for the president to "use his influence as leader of his party" to pressure Democratic senators to vote for the federal amendment and "[urge] upon the Senate the immediate passage of this amendment as a war measure."

Passage in the Senate was an uphill battle. There was constant transition as ten senators died during the session (seven of whom were supporters including NJ Senator Hughes who was replaced by Republican David Baird, an avowed Anti). Alice Paul was furious when the president sent a note stating that "nothing they could say could increase his interest in the matter, and that he had done everything he could with honor and propriety do in behalf of the passage of the amendment" and refused to meet with a delegation of munitions workers.¹¹⁴ The NWP, frustrated that the President was not doing enough to persuade the recalcitrant Senators in his party, decided to burn his words—lighting "watchfires" and accusing him of "deceiving the world when he appears as the prophet of democracy." They were arrested and charged with "lighting fires after sundown."

Finally the Senate scheduled a vote for September 30, 1918.



In April, woman suffrage activists participated in a parade in Newark emphasizing the war work they were doing.



Suffrage protestors burn speech by President Wilson at Lafayette Statue in Washington, D.C.



From February 16 to March 10, 1919, 26 former NWP prisoners toured the country on their special chartered train, "The Democracy Limited," recounting their experiences and building support for the federal amendment.



"Prison Special" participants Doris Stevens, Mrs. J.A.H. (Alison Turnbull) Hopkins and Mrs. John (Eunice Dana) Brannan.

Seven New Jersey women served time in Washington D.C. jails for peacefully demonstrating on behalf of woman suffrage: Minnie Abbott of Atlantic City (January 1919); Mary Dubrow of Passaic, (1917); AllisonTurnbull Hopkins of Morristown (July 1917); Julia Hurlbut of Morristown (July 1917); Beatrice Reynolds Kinkead of Montclair (July 1917); Phoebe Persons Scott of Montclair (November 1917) and, of course, Alice Paul originally from Moorestown (October-November 1917).

President Wilson gave a speech asking that they consider the bill as a "war measure" but his pleas changed not a single vote . . . the Senate defeated suffrage amendment 62 to 34—two votes shy of the required two-thirds majority.

That November NAWSA and NWP waged vigorous campaigns for pro-suffrage candidates and won many—especially in the twelve states where women now had the vote. In New Jersey, both NJWSA and NJWP worked to defeat the interim appointee David Baird with a pro-suffrage Democrat for his remaining term (through March 1919) but were unsuccessful. They did, however, succeed in electing former Governor Walter Edge (a "pro") for the full term. On the state front, NJWSA also organized the Essex County Political Campaign Committee to defeat 12 known Democratic anti-suffragist assembly candidates and support Republican candidates who favored the federal amendment.¹¹⁵

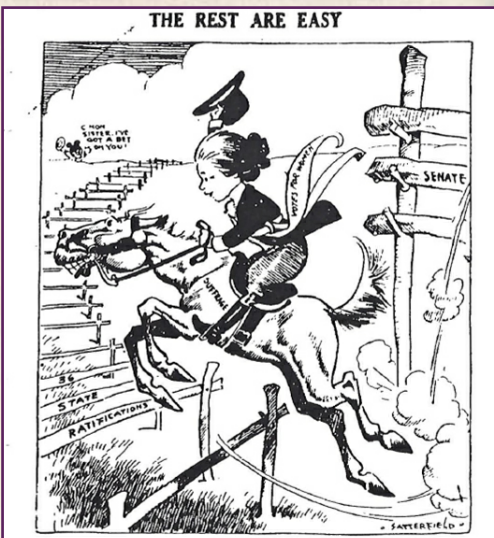
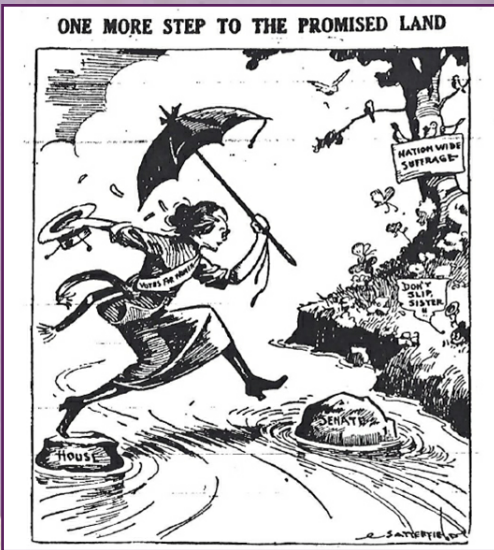
The NJ Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage continued to claim that anti-suffrage women were in the majority and equated suffragism with pacifism stating, "Don't forget that every dollar given to defeat woman suffrage is a dollar toward winning the war." This argument was soon moot. On November 11, 1918, an armistice was declared and the war was over.

In the lame duck session, both NWP and NAWSA lobbyists tried to find one more pro-suffrage Senator to vote for the amendment. But all the lobbying and protests didn't prevail. On February 10, 1919, the amendment lost in the Senate by one vote—New Jersey Senator Baird's.

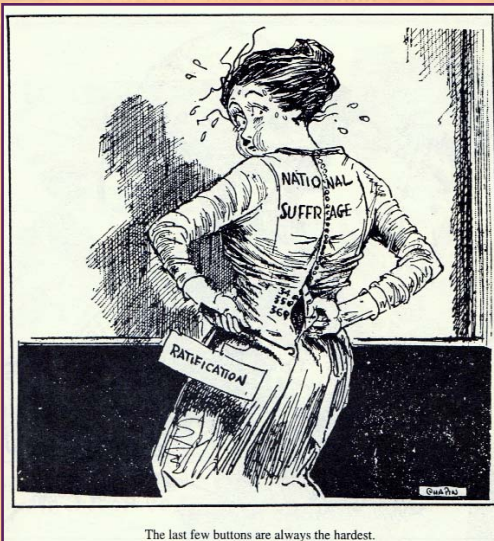
Later that week, formerly imprisoned NWP suffragists set out on a "Prison Special" train tour from Washington, D.C. across the country. The women, often dressed in prison costumes, spoke about their incarceration and sought sympathy and support for the federal amendment.¹¹⁶ On February 24th, NWP members were arrested in Boston while demonstrating against President Wilson and sentenced to eight days in jail—they would be the last women imprisoned for suffrage. Ten days later, NWP suffrage demonstrators were attacked by police, soldiers, and onlookers outside the New York Metropolitan Opera House, where President Woodrow Wilson was speaking, but no arrests were made.

When the 66th congress convened, the suffrage vote in the previous elections had made enough of a difference that the Nineteenth Amendment easily passed the House when Congress convened in special session on May 21st. Both NWP and NAWSA lobbyists crowded the Senate halls urging that that chamber act without delay—delay meant that ratification before the 1920 elections would be more difficult because state legislatures would have to be called into special sessions. Finally on June 4th, as suffragists waited nervously in the galleries, the vote was called and the Senate finally passed the Nineteenth Amendment.

But the suffrage battle wasn't over since 36 state legislatures (three-fourths of the 48 states then in the union) needed to be



Two cartoons printed in *The Daily Home News*, 1919.



The last few buttons are always the hardest.

convinced to ratify the new Amendment. On June 10th, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin became the first states to approve ratification. Six days later, Kansas and Ohio did as well. Before the end of the month, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts (New Jersey's partner states in the 1915 state referendum attempts) also ratified the amendment.

The NJ Suffrage Ratification Committee (NJSRC) was formed in July with Lillian Feickert as Chair. It was a coalition of women's organizations including NJWSA, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the WCTU, State Organization for Public Health Nursing, and other groups of business and professional women. It initially focused on convincing the legislature as a group to ratify. The WPNJ devised a more detailed strategy—its leadership analyzed the probable voting position of each legislator and concluded that the outcome was not bright.

In September, the NWP sent a national organizer to work with NJ state leaders (a tactic used in other states as well) and together the NWP and WPNJ successfully sought out legislators in each chamber who would agree to organize support for the amendment. The NJSRC was non-partisan, supporting pro-suffrage legislative candidates in both parties. "We shall support Republicans as well as Democrats in this campaign," Feickert said on October 1, 1919, "and shall continue to be non-partisan, while enthusiastic in support of those in both parties who have and are aiding the cause of woman suffrage."¹¹⁷

The NJSRC opposed the anti-suffrage candidate in the Democratic primary for Governor and supported Edward Edwards, who promised if elected he would work to have NJ ratify the federal woman suffrage amendment. Edwards' influence led to a suffrage plank in the Democrat's platform, while the Republican platform had none. When the Republican candidate for Governor said he preferred a voter referendum to a ratification vote by the state legislature, Lillian Feickert announced, "We shall do all we can to insure the election of Mr. Edwards in conformity to stand by our friends." Edwards won.¹¹⁸

In January, 1920, the newly elected NJ legislature began formal consideration of the amendment. The Senate passed it on February 2nd by a vote of 18 to 2. Antis in the Assembly tried last minute attempts to have it ratified by referendum rather than by the legislature and to filibuster the vote. On February 9th, suffragists packed the Assembly chamber listening to the debate, then waited breathlessly as they took a roll call vote. At around 1 A.M. on February 10th, the resolution passed 34 to 24. Cheers of women reverberated through the halls.

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. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Antis didn't give up—letters were sent to the Governor urging him to veto the bill. But Governor Edwards noted that it wasn't a bill but a concurrent resolution, which required only the approval of each



Edward Edwards (1863-1931), who pledged to support ratification if he became governor. Ironically (given that so many woman suffrage supporters were also WCTU members) he also ran as a "wet" candidate vowing that New Jersey would not ratify the 18th amendment. Indeed, the legislature of the Garden State would not ratify that amendment until March 1922, becoming the 46th and last state to ratify prohibition. Politics makes strange bedfellows.



house. He sent a telegram to the president of the Kansas League of Women Voters stating "Endorsement of Women Suffrage was one of my platform promises. Have had the pleasure of approving . . . the Resolution by our Legislature. Am sending the official copy to Washington."

National and state leaders sent enthusiastic thanks for his assistance to the governor. Alice Paul wrote, "The women of the whole country are indebted to you for your aid at this time when it was so greatly needed." Alison Turnbull Hopkins added, "Your cordial assistance was a great factor in our victory . . . We are not unmindful of the many sacrifices you made . . . and the fact that we could always depend on you gave us great courage to carry on the fight."

Carrie Chapman Catt's letter concluded:

*Woman Suffrage will soon be a closed chapter in the history of our country, and we are confident that the pride and satisfaction of every governor and legislator who has sided with the ratification will increase as time goes on. We want you to know that the women of the nation are truly grateful to you for your part in their enfranchisement.*¹¹⁹

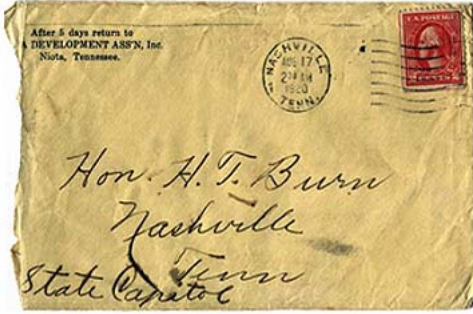
On April 23rd, a grand victory convention was held by suffragists in Newark and the NJWSA became the non-partisan League of Women Voters of New Jersey. Carrie Chapman Catt became the national League president; Lillian Feickert was named treasurer of the NJ branch.

Finding One Last State to Ratify the Amendment

However, the fight for suffrage was still not finished. Delaware went down to defeat, the Connecticut governor refused to call a special session, Vermont's governor insisted only voters and not legislators could ratify (a stance not supported by the Constitution!) and most of the South would not consider because of the issue of race. Tennessee looked to be the suffragists only hope.

In August, 56 different groups of suffragists and anti-suffragists came to Tennessee to lobby the legislators. On August 13th, the Tennessee Senate easily ratified it (25 to 4). But in the Assembly, prospects were less certain. Day after day the vote was delayed. It was a dirty campaign. Carrie Chapman Catt later recalled "Never in the history of politics has there been such a nefarious lobby as labored to block the ratification in Nashville." Suffragists despaired as more and more members of the assembly—including the Speaker of the House—renounced their pledges to vote for the amendment. They heard that their opponents were buying votes. One lawmaker reported to another he had been paid \$300 by the Antis to change his vote.

On August 18th, 96 legislators were in the assembly room. The Antis wore red roses, their symbol, while supporters wore yellow roses. The Speaker moved to have the amendment tabled. When the first vote was a 48–48 tie—a tie that would mean defeat—a second count was called



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

Your mother

and Assemblyman Banks Turner changed his vote to "aye" enabling the amendment vote to proceed. Suffragists watched with baited breath, hoping against hope that the actual amendment would pass. Then Harry Burns, a 24-year-old first-term member who had voted "nay" in the first round and represented a solid anti-suffrage district, voted "aye"—he had received a letter from his suffragist mother urging him to "be a good boy" and help Mrs. Catt put the "rat" in ratification—and he'd followed her advice!¹²⁰

Tennessee ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, providing the necessary 36th state. Women screamed, threw yellow flowers, waved banners and wept while Burn rushed out of the chamber and hid in the attic to escape opponents who called him "a traitor to manhood's honor."

In Washington DC, Alice Paul stitched the 36th star on the ratification banner and draped it over the balcony at NWP Headquarters.¹²¹

On Aug. 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was officially certified. It had been 72 years since Seneca Falls and 144 since Abigail Adams wrote her famous letter. There had been 480 campaigns in state legislatures, 56 state referendums, 47 attempts to add suffrage to state constitutions, and 19 attempts to introduce the federal amendment into the U.S. Congress.¹²² Women across the country finally had the right to vote—or we should say "white women" could vote. Though not specifically excluded in the language of the amendment, Native Americans weren't considered citizens and couldn't begin to vote until 1924, Chinese-Americans were denied suffrage until 1943, Japanese-Americans until 1952, and

Southern States used literacy tests, poll taxes, intimidation, and other barriers to effectively prevent many African-Americans from voting until the 1965 Voting Rights Act (which was significantly weakened by the Supreme Court's 2013 invalidation of key sections).¹²³

On November 2, 1920, women across the United States voted for the first time. Only one pioneer suffragist lived long enough to cast a ballot. Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was a 95-year-old great grandmother living in Elizabeth, NJ, when she cast her first vote. The retired Unitarian minister was the only surviving participant of the first national Women's Rights Convention in 1850, co-founder (with her close friend and sister-in-law Lucy Stone) of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association in 1867 and its president in the early 1890s. She had been an activist for nearly 70 years.¹²⁴ The *Elizabeth Daily Journal* reported the event:

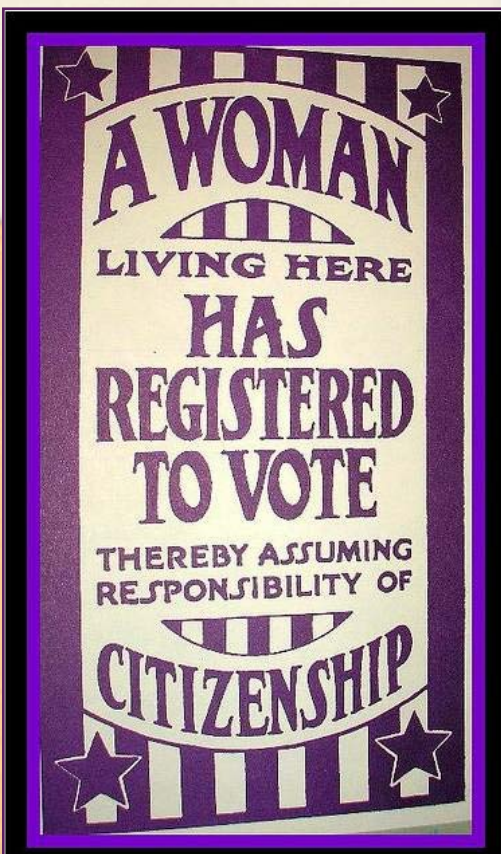
Among the votes cast by Elizabeth women yesterday none was more significant than that deposited by Rev. Antoinette Brown



Alice Paul displaying the ratification banner with 36 stars at NWP headquarters. The banner was subsequently lost and its whereabouts remain a mystery.



Antoinette Brown Blackwell (1825-1921)
In addition to her seventy years of suffrage activism and work as a mother of seven and minister in multiple congregations, Antoinette Brown Blackwell was also an active scientist, publishing works on women in evolution citing and challenging Darwin. In 1881, she was elected to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. She served as vice-president of the Association for the Advancement of Women and worked with astronomer Maria Mitchell to encourage women to pursue scientific studies.



Blackwell, D.D., co-worker with Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the other pioneers of the woman suffrage movement.

Her hearing and sight are impaired, but there is no impairment of mind or spirit and Dr. Blackwell took keen interest in the opportunity afforded her after so many years of work and waiting . . .

*The fulfillment of her long-deferred hope that all American women would be enfranchised brought to her a great sense of satisfaction, and the fact that she could personally exercise the right of franchise yesterday made the day a particularly happy one for the aged minister . . .*¹²⁵

Carrie Chapman Catt and Jeannette Rankin spent the next decade working for women's rights legislation and then spent the rest of their lives working for peace. Lillian Feickert became Vice-Chair of the Republican State Committee with responsibility for organizing women in New Jersey, and worked on legislation to improve women's political and legal status including requiring political committees to have equal numbers of men and women, women on all juries, at least two women on the State Board of Education and the Department of Health, and a Night Work Bill which disallowed women working the "graveyard shift."

Alice Paul became a lawyer, a lifetime advocate for the Equal Rights Amendment (which she introduced in 1923), a lobbyist for women's rights legislation and an international peace activist, eventually rescuing a number of feminists and others at the beginning of World War II. Mary Philbrook (who had supported Alice Paul and the NWP) also helped Mabel Smith Douglass and the College Club of Jersey City promote the founding of the New Jersey College for Women (now Douglass College). After the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, Philbrook worked with Alice Paul for the passage of an equal rights amendment. In 1947, at age 75, she led a successful effort to change the wording of the New Jersey Constitution to insure equal rights for women. The word "he" was changed to "persons" and this was cited in 1979 by the NJ Supreme Court as grounds to rule that sexual discrimination was unconstitutional in the state of New Jersey. The federal Equal Rights Amendment has still not been ratified.

Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands gave constant interest and such aid as they could . . .

Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended.

It is doubtful if any man, even among suffrage men, ever realized what the suffrage struggle came to mean to women before the end was allowed in America.

—Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler
(Women Suffrage and Politics, 1923)¹²⁶



I am Carrie Clinton Chapman Catt (1859-1947)

The purple 1948 100th Years of Suffrage United States 3¢ postal stamp has the faces of three women on it: Stanton to the left, Mott to the right, yours truly in the middle.

President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, after Susan B. Anthony stepped down; Founder of the League of Women Voters; member of the Council for National Defense,

founder, with Jane Addams, Crystal Eastman, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman of The Women's Peace Party; and first president of the International Alliance of Women;

one of Susan B. Anthony's suffrage nieces— who knew her in her lifetime, spoke with her, marched with her, received her direct blessing—

I lead an army of voteless women in 1919 to pressure Congress to pass the constitutional amendment, and convince state legislatures to ratify it in 1920.

It is my *Winning Plan*, that turns the tide— to work tirelessly, state by state; to negotiate, respectfully, with President Woodrow Wilson.

Jubilee Day. Glory Day. To get the word 'male' in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of this country 52 years of pauseless campaign...

Alice Paul and her National Woman's Party, spurred on by British suffragettes, almost destroy our efforts with their hunger strikes, their brazen attacks on the President.

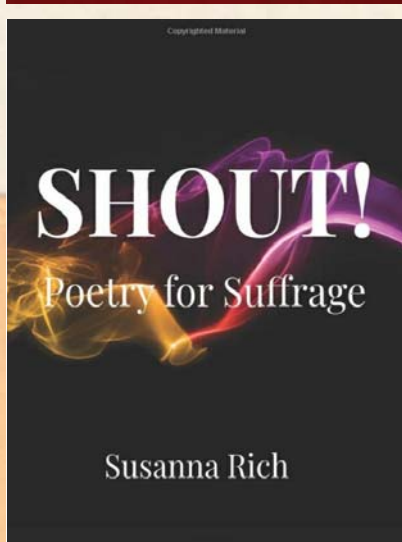
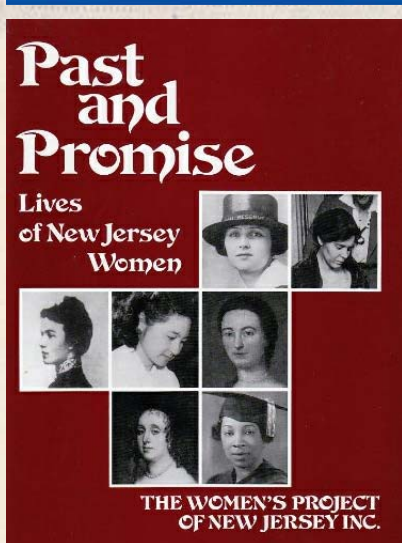
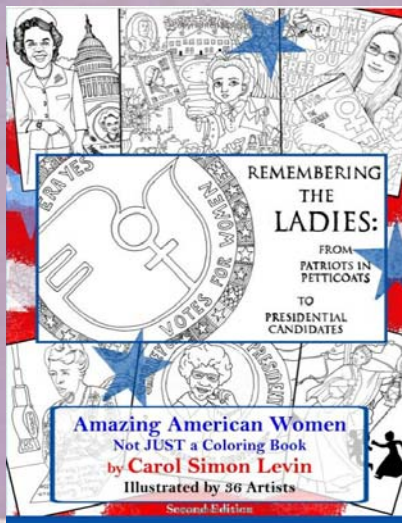
But at this juncture in our victory, I wonder, if without their militancy, our respectful voices would have had sufficient resonance for success.



I am Alice Paul

*I always feel...the movement is a sort of mosaic. Each of us puts in one little stone, and then you get a great **mosaic** at the end.*

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Carol Simon Levin is a professional storyteller and independent historian who specializes in telling the stories of “fascinating women history forgot” through first person portrayals. She is a New Jersey Council for the Humanities Public Scholar and performs “Reclaiming Our Voice: New Jersey’s Role in the Fight for Woman Suffrage” as well as her other programs at venues across the Garden State. Her book “Remembering the Ladies: From Patriots in Petticoats to Presidential Candidates” profiles 69 courageous and tenacious women (1/3 of whom are women of color)—founding mothers, abolitionists, suffragists, feminists, labor leaders, civil rights pioneers, and female politicians who fought for women’s rights and women’s lives. Carol holds a B.A. focusing on women’s history and the history of technology from Cornell University and a Masters in Library Science from the University of Arizona. For more information, please visit www.tellingherstories.com.

Delight Wing Dodyk is a graduate of Smith College and holds an MA in American Women’s History from Sarah Lawrence College and a PhD in history from Rutgers University. She taught courses on American women’s history at Drew University from 1980 to 2002. She was an assistant editor and contributor to The Women’s Project of New Jersey publication “Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women, 1990,1997 and served as president of the Women’s Project Board of Trustees from 1990 to the Project’s closure in 2006. She also contributed to and served on the advisory board of “The Encyclopedia of New Jersey,” 2004. Her 1997 dissertation “Education and Agitation: the Women’s Suffrage Movement in New Jersey” is freely available online at

<https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/304363653.html?FMT=ABS>.

Susanna Rich is an Emmy-Award nominee for poetry, a Fulbright Fellow in Creative Writing, and recipient of the Presidential Excellence Award for Distinguished Teaching at Kean University. She is founding producer, writer, and principal performer at Wild Nights Productions, LLC, including her musical, “Shakespeare’s *itches: The Women v. Will”; “ashes, ashes: A Poet Responds to the Shoah”; and “Shout! Poetry for Suffrage.” With almost 1,000 publication and performance credits, Susanna is the author of five poetry collections: “Shout! Poetry for Suffrage,” “Beware the House,” “Surfing for Jesus,” “Television Daddy,” and “The Drive Home.” Visit her at Wild Nights Productions, LLC and Because I Can Teach.

Sources for Further Reading and Research (abbreviations relate to the endnotes below)

Reclaiming Lost Ground: The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in New Jersey (RLG) by Neale McGoldrick and Margaret Crocco, Women's Project of New Jersey 1994. A readable history, replete with photographs and political cartoons. It is not footnoted or searchable but has a good index and pages 110–113 contain an excellent bibliography for further research, pages 101–109 contain extensive lists of NJ suffragists and anti-suffragists. PDF available online at

https://njcss.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/0/2/13026706/reclaiming_lost_ground.pdf

Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in NJ (Dodyk) by Delight Dodyk, Phd Thesis, 1997. The definitive scholarly work on the subject. Freely available online and keyword searchable using CTRL F at

<https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/304363653.html?FMT=ABS>

Casting Their Vote: Woman Suffrage in New Jersey (CTV) by Dr. Margaret Crocco and Neale McGoldrick Middlesex County Cultural and Heritage Commission, 1997.

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Votes for Women: American Suffragists and the Battle for the Ballot (VFW) by Winifred Conkling. New York, Algonquin, 2017.

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Alice Paul: Claiming Power by J.D. Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Votes for Women: A Portrait of Persistence by Kate Clarke Lemay et al., Princeton University Press, 2019. Related article on the National Portrait Gallery "Votes for Women" Exhibit www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonianinstitution/how-women-got-vote-far-more-complex-story-history-textbooks-reveal-180971869/

Shall Not Be Denied: Women Fight for the Vote Official Companion to the Library of Congress Exhibition. Rutgers University Press, 2019.

The Woman's Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote by Elaine Weiss, Penguin, 2018.

Online Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States <https://documents.alexanderstreet.com/VOTESforWOMEN> a valuable volunteer-compiled source which is adding more entries all the time. However, some of the entries are more complete than others and many of the entries were created before the Dodyk dissertation became freely-searchable online so many of the researchers did not find this valuable source. The entry for Lillian Feickert (who I portray in my "Reclaiming Our Voice: New Jersey's Role in the Fight for Woman Suffrage" program) has almost nothing on her eight years spearheading NJWSA suffrage activities, though a keyword search for "Feickert" in the Dodyk dissertation "Education and Agitation" has 171 hits for Feickert's name.

NJ Suffrage Timeline compiled by the NJ State Library

<https://libguides.njstatelib.org/votesforwomen/timeline>

Annotated NJ Suffrage Timeline

<https://njwomensuffrage.wordpress.com/annotated-timeline-of-nj-woman-suffrage/>

Votes for Women by Jon Blackwell: an overview of the history of woman suffrage in NJ from *The Trentonian* <http://www.capitalcentury.com/1919.html>

NJ Voters and the Law

<https://libguides.njstatelib.org/votesforwomen/law>

Browsing New Jersey Law and Women's Suffrage by Issue Date

<https://dspace.njstatelib.org/xmlui/handle/10929/50454/browse?type=dateissued>

NJWomenVote2020—list of resources

<https://discovernjhistory.org/njwomenvote2020/njwomenvotersources/>

Votes For Women! The Fight For Women's Suffrage in New Jersey Newspapers In *Chronicling America* has lots of contemporary newspaper clippings organized by subject. <https://libguides.njstatelib.org/votesforwomen>

Chronicling America

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/> This Library of Congress national newspaper database will be adding several more NJ newspapers in 2020 including *The Newark Evening Star*. In the meantime, check out *The Newark Evening Star* Oct. 29, 1912 Special Suffrage Edition

https://drive.google.com/open?id=0B8hujPsZ_pHjUllabE5ZVV9vZVZpLUN5QnBnbHISWkVQXcw

NJ Digital Highway Women's Suffrage Lesson Plans

https://njdigitalhighway.org/lesson/womans_suffrage

New Jersey Women's Heritage Trail (clickable locations for sites in NJ)

<http://www.njwomenshistory.org/nj-womens-heritage-trail/>

New Jersey Women's Heritage Trail (Online link to full text of the printed publication)

https://www.state.nj.us/dep/hpo/WHTrail_Book.pdf

Historical Collections:

New Jersey Historical Society Archives

Amelia Berndt Moorfield, Papers, MG 1051

New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, Minute Book, MG 770

Mary Phibrook, Papers, MG 572

Elizabeth Pope, Papers, MG 825

Women's Club of Orange, NJ, MG 1028

Vineland Historical Society

Gage Family Papers, VS1B Box 25A

Women's Rights and Suffrage File, VS1B, Box 45

Rutgers University, Special Collections, Alexander Library

Equal Franchise Society of New Jersey, Papers.

League of Women Voters of New Jersey, Papers

Collections of the Montclair Historical Society

N. L. Foster, Recollections of the Montclair Equal Suffrage League by an Old Timer, June 1950. Typescript. 7 pages.

Online Sites for Images, Memorabilia, & Miscellany:

Smithsonian: www.si.edu/spotlight/votes-for-women (The Smithsonian now offers copyright-free open access to millions of its holdings here:

<https://www.si.edu/openaccess>)

Library of Congress:

<https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/women-protest/index.html>

Lewis Suffrage Collection: <https://lewissuffragecollection.omeka.net>

Florey Suffrage Collection: <http://womensuffragememorabilia.com/>

Google Suffrage Exhibit: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/wRm3wFhH>

Bryn Mawr Suffrage Collection:

<http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/suffragists>

NY Suffrage <https://nyheritage.org/exhibits/recognizing-womens-right-vote-new-yorkstate> (excellent online exhibit with relevance to NJ suffrage as well)

Maps: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/04/opinion/the-crooked-path-to-womens-suffrage.html>

Suffrage quiz: www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/04/opinion/women-suffrage-19th-amendment.html

Suffrage Wagon News Channel <https://vimeo.com/64975478> (videos containing period footage):

National Women's History Alliance: <https://nationalwomenshistoryalliance.org>

Endnotes

1. New Jersey State Constitution, 1776, paragraph IV. Links to this and all other legislation mentioned in this article can be found at: <https://libguides.njstatelib.org/votesforwomen/law>
2. "The Petticoat Electors": Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1807 Judith Apter Klinghoffer and Lois Elkis *Journal of the Early Republic* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Summer, 1992), pp. 159-193 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3124150>
3. <https://nj.gov/state/historical/it-happened-here/lhnhj-er-petticoat-politicians.pdf>
4. RLG p.4 https://njdigitalhighway.org/lesson/womans_suffrage/introductory_activity
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6. quoted in "Petticoat Electors" by Susan L. Ditmire in this issue
7. RLG p. 4
8. RLG p. 5
9. https://njdigitalhighway.org/lesson/womans_suffrage/introductory_activity, RLG p.4-6
10. RLG p.5
11. https://njdigitalhighway.org/lesson/womans_suffrage/introductory_activity
12. The estimate of up to 10,000 women voting in some years between 1790 and 1807 (RLG p. 2 and https://njdigitalhighway.org/lesson/womans_suffrage/introductory_activity) is disputed in "Rethinking Women Suffrage in NJ" by Jan Ellen Lewis, *Rutgers Law Review*, 2011 <http://www.rutgerslawreview.com/wp-content/uploads/archive/vol63/Issue3/Lewis.pdf> footnote 82. Read more: "On the Trail of America's First Women to Vote" by Jennifer Schuessler *The New York Times* February 24, 2020 <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/24/arts/first-women-voters-new-jersey.html> "For a Few Decades in the 18th Century, Women and African-Americans Could Vote in New Jersey - Then Some Politicians Got Angry" by Kat Eschner, November 16, 2017. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/why-black-people-and-women-lost-vote-new-jersey-180967186/>, "How America's First Women Voters Lost the Franchise" by David Litt. *The Atlantic*, November 17, 2018 <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/11/long-history-ridiculous-voter-fraud-claims/576106/>
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18. quote from a placard in the National Portrait Gallery Votes for Women exhibit
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20. "Eighty Years and More: Memoirs of Elizabeth Cady Stanton" by Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Google books online has no pagination but is searchable)
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30. CTW p. 11
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33. "Why in Vineland?" by Susan Ditmire <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/nj/county/cumberland/VineVote/Why.html>, RLG p. 9,18, P&P 138-139
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37. <http://www.njwomenshistory.org/discover/topics/anti-suffrage/paterson-daily-press/>
38. <http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/pafm/doc/constitution-national-woman-suffrage-association-and-note-susan-b-anthony-may-17-1874>
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41. LOC exhibit, Shall Not Be Denied p. 20-21.
42. RLG p. 18
43. RLG p. 16, Great discussion here (Ann Gordon article) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/27/opinion/how-to-celebrate-a-complicated-win-for-women.html>, <https://lithub.com/on-the-role-of-black-women-in-the-struggle-for-suffrage/>
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50. RLG p.18
51. Ocean Grove women tended to be advocates of both temperance and suffrage. Sarah Jane Corson Downs of Ocean Grove became the head of the NJWCTU in 1881. Other Monmouth women involved in the temperance campaign, and to some extent suffrage, included Mary Peck Crane and the "Seabrook Women." The latter are covered in the New Jersey Women's Heritage Trail at <https://www.state.nj.us/dep/hpo/1sidentify/whtrail2.htm> More information about them in the "Four Centuries of Monmouth County Women" exhibit catalog: <https://www.monmouthcountyclerk.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/2019-Women-exhibit-Catalog.pdf>, in *Elsalyn Palmisano Women's History Collection* <https://www.monmouthcountyclerk.com/archives/record-groups/special-collections/elsalyn-palmisano-womens-history/>, and in "Remarkable Women of the New Jersey Shore: Clam Shuckers, Social Reformers and Summer Sojourners" by Karen L. Schnitzspahn, 2015.
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54. RLG p.16-17, CTW p.22-23
55. AW p.19, Dodyk p. 246-248
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57. CTW p.20, RLG p.18, WSNJ p.20
58. Dodyk p. 263
59. AW p.22
60. <http://www.njwomenshistory.org/discover/topics/activists/suffragist-mina-c-van-winkle/>
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63. [https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53675989\\$159i](https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53675989$159i) Dodyk p. 317
64. <http://www.njwomenshistory.org/?s=feickert&submit=Search> profile in RLG pp.82-83, Dodyk has 171 references.
65. Dodyk p. 320
66. AW p.22, CTW p.29
67. Dodyk p.322-324, Kevin Wright in his article "Centennial of the Orange Pennant" <https://patch.com/new-jersey/riverdell/bp-centennial-of-the-orange-pennant> describes the proceedings and the colorful cast of characters who testified for and against the resolution. The article erroneously states that the resolution passed but that would not happen for another year.
68. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/56931/56931-h/56931-h.htm>
69. Dodyk p. 326
70. Dodyk p. 329, "Votes for Women" by Jon Blackwell <http://www.capitalcentury.com/1919.htm>
71. Dodyk p.334-341 has much more about the WPUNJ and the NJWSA and their sometimes testy relationship.
72. "Suffragists in Ballot Parade," *Newark Evening News*. Oct. 28, 1912 <https://www.kean.edu/~NJHPP/proRef/womanSuff/pdf/womanSuffDoc3.pdf>
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74. <http://www.njwomenshistory.org/?s=alice+paull&submit=Search> RLG pp.84-85
75. [https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53708534\\$53i](https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53708534$53i), [https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53708534\\$71i](https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53708534$71i), <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1913/02/15/100254596.html>, <http://mashable.com/2017/01/08/woman-suffrage-procession/#o2r9sAiwS05Z> "African American women marching with their state delegations" based on conversation with Prof. Alison Parker, based on her research for her book on Mary Church Terrell forthcoming 2021.
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81. Dodyk p. 360-362. WJ Nov. 22, 1913 p. 369 [https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53708534\\$377i](https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53708534$377i) Much more from NWP - Alice Paul chronology here: <https://www.loc.gov/collections/static/women-of-protest/images/detchron.pdf>
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RLG pp. 86-87, P&P pp.185-186
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 112. "Jeannette Rankin, America's Conscience" by Norma Smith Montana Historical Society Press, 2002. p.201
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 114. ibid p. 219
 115. AW p. 28, Dodyk p. 492-495
 116. <https://feminist.org/blog/index.php/2015/03/05/today-in-herstory-the-suffragist-prison-special-comes-to-chicago/>
 117. AW p. 29-30
 118. Ironically, Edwards also ran as a "wet" candidate-promising New Jersey wouldn't ratify the federal prohibition amendment. Indeed, NJ didn't ratify the amendment until late in his term on March 9, 1922-it was the 46th and last state to do so (CT & RI never ratified the 18th amendment.) Most women very much wanted prohibition-politics makes strange bedfellows!
<https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/politics/elections/2019/11/03/nj-governors-applejack-campaign-century-ago/2501082001/>,
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 119. Images of all these letters are at
<https://www.nj.gov/state/archives/doc19thamendment.html>
 120. VFW p.264-267, WTV p. 425. The nail-biting story of Tennessee's ratification is excellently told in "The Woman's Hour" by Elaine Weiss, Viking, 2018.
 121. The banner has since disappeared and there is a big hunt afoot to locate it for the Centennial but, so far, no luck.
 122. VFW p.269
 123. VFW p.271
 124. <http://www.njwomenshistory.org/discover/biographies/antoinette-brown-blackwell/> P&P p. 54-56
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 126. Quoted in "Jailed for Freedom" by Doris Stevens, edited by Carol O'Hare, New Sage Press, 1995 (Reprint edition) p. 12

Picture Credits

- 1: NJ Women's Party war work: by permission [New Jersey Historical Society](#) (hereafter NJHS), all rights reserved; Vote NJ button: <http://womansuffragememorabilia.com/woman-suffrage-memorabilia/suffrage-buttons/>
- 2: Abigail Adams: "Remembering the Ladies" (hereafter RTL) by Carol Simon Levin, Createspace, 2016. p.11; Founding Fathers: "Reclaiming Lost Ground: The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in New Jersey" (hereafter RLG) by Neale McGoldrick and Margaret Crocco, Women's Project of New Jersey 1994.
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<https://dspace.njstatelib.org/handle/10929/50466>; Carte de Visite: Beinecke Library - Beautiful goddess of liberty, Star Spangled Banner, etc.
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