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THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

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TO THE DEGREE COMMITTEE:

This is certify that I have examined the attached  
thesis entitled WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Sugmitted by

Miss Mae D. Muir

as partial requirement for the Master of Arts degree at the College  
of William and Mary.

I approve  
I disapprove this thesiss with the following comment  
(no comments)

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
Professor

Date \_\_\_\_\_

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"

By Mae D. Muir.  
College of William and Mary.

Change is a law of life and changes in the suffrage of countries has been taking place from the beginning of time. If we trace the development of any civilized country we will discover that its struggles have been uphill fights for more control in the government. And to use our own United States, as an example, did the colonies not rebel because they were unrepresented in the Parliament which taxed them. That utterance "Taxation without representation" is known by every school child. How many millions of women in past generations could have uttered those same words, for they were kept far away from the polls and were, consequently, unable to express their views on matters of state and national importance. Women were considered the home-makers, and going to vote was below their dignity. Yet, these same home-makers had to live under the guidance of men whom they did not have any share in selecting and be under obligation to pay the taxes and obey the laws of the administration which they could not control in any way.

This condition existed without question until about the beginning of the nineteenth century. About this time women were entering professions, such as medicine. In 1849, due to a series of lectures given by the famous Dr. Gregory in Boston, a school of medicine for women, called "The American Female Medical Education Society", was founded and twelve young American women entered its course of study.<sup>1</sup> Women were also entering the literary profession, and other professions. In 1840 there had been only seven occupations open to women- teaching, doing needle work, keeping boarders, working in cotton mills, book binding, type setting, and household service. But after 1840 they entered such occupations as medicine, law, and literary pursuits.

And with the higher education of women and the broadening of woman's horizon of work, came the agitation for her poll rights. It was about 1834 that Judge Hurlbut, a leading member of the bar of New York, wrote a vigorous work on "Human Rights", in which he advocated political equality for women. This work attracted the attention of many legal minds throughout the state of New York, and in 1836 a bill was introduced into the New York legislature by Judge Hertell, to secure for married women their rights of property. This bill was approved ~~af~~ by very few women at that time and this shows the very great ignorance of women as to their own rights.<sup>2</sup>

During the winters of 1844-45-46 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, being in Albany, made the acquaintance of Judge Hurlbut, and a large number of lawyers and legislators and she became very interested in the pending bill for women's property rights, and she decided to call a convention for a full and free discussion of woman's rights. And consequently, on July 14, 1848 the Seneca County Courier, a semi-weekly journal, contained the following announcement- "Seneca Falls Convention: Woman's Rights Convention. A Convention to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of woman, will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, New York, on Wednesday and Thursday the nineteenth and twentieth of July; current convening at ten o'clock A.M.<sup>3</sup> During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia, and other leading ladies and gentlemen will address the convention."

This call without signature was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, and Mary Ann McClinceth, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but the

last name was really the originator, and the other women merely her supporters. And thus to the great movement of freeing women, Vergil's quotation, "Dux femina facta", a woman was the leader of the deed may aptly be applied. And Elizabeth Stanton may easily be compared to Dido, of whom the quotation was used by Vergil, because of her act of setting out from Tyre and founding the city which was later to be known as Carthage.

Elizabeth Stanton began the wonderful movement which was later to spread all over the country, and end in gaining for woman her equality with man.

The convention itself at Seneca Falls really did not accomplish anything definite. It did, however, have its proceedings extensively published and its brave protests traveled widely, touching the hearts of women all over the country, and it led to the calling of conventions in other places.<sup>4</sup>

Those brave women who met at Seneca Falls were not satisfied with the results and they called another convention to meet at Rochester, New York on August second of the same year. At this convention a young bride appeared, who said that she was on her honey-moon ... had, upon stopping over at Rochester to wait for a train, decided to prolong her stay a few hours longer and address the convention. For twenty minutes this beautiful stranger held her audience spellbound in her plea for more liberty for women. Her husband, hat and cane in hand, remained leaning against a pillar near the altar, and seemed<sup>2</sup> most delighted and reverential listener.<sup>5</sup> It was a scene never to be forgot by those at the convention, and one of utmost cheer and encouragement for the pioneers in the movement for greater liberty for woman. At this Rochester convention the declaration of the Seneca Fall con-

vention was adopted again, and this time it was signed by a greater number of influential men and women, and the convention adjourned in the language of the President "With hearts overflowing with gratitude".<sup>6</sup>

Although this convention did not secure the vote of the women, of New York, it had a lasting effect upon the struggle for woman suffrage. It caused other states to take these actions and try to obtain the vote for women. Some of these states succeeded and others did not, but all made some attempts.

The various states attempted to secure the vote for women in different ways, but in all cases the struggle was hard and the victory gradual. Women first gained power by being granted permission to sit on school boards and vote in school elections. It is interesting to note the steps that were taken by the various states.

Arizona made its first step toward granting the ballot to women when in 1887 the legislature passed an act stating that every person, male or female, twenty one years of age, who was the parent or guardian of a child of school age residing in the district, who had paid the county school tax during the preceding year was eligible to vote for school trustees. This included all cities and towns in the territory. About the same time women were granted the privilege of sitting on any school board. From 1887 on Arizona granted more and more privileges to its women citizens until in November of 1913 women secured the ballot to vote in all state elections. It was the women who assisted greatly in securing state prohibition.

Arkansas held its first suffrage association meeting in 1885. But the meeting did not accomplish anything. Women were not allowed to hold any elective offices. Women suffrage in Arkansas never gained favor and the ballot was not given to its women until the

Federal suffrage act granting the ballot to women was passed.

In California the first suffrage meeting was held in San Francisco in May 1869. And in January of 1870 the State Woman's Suffrage Association was formed. This organization worked untiringly until in 1911 it secured its goal, the ballot for women. Since the women of California have had a vote they have been responsible for the passing of such laws as, the mother's pension Act, the joint guardianship act, the juvenile court act, the teacher's pension act, act for the protection of food, civil service law, prison reform act, white slave act, and the workman's compensation act. By the titles of these laws we can see that they are all of a very beneficial nature; laws which should have been passed long before they were.

Colorado in 1876, the year it became a state, granted school suffrage to women. In 1893 women were granted the privilege of voting on the same basis as men. This privilege was granted due to the efforts of a suffrage association. Women have voted in Colorado for twenty-four years and since 1893 Colorado has become more prosperous than ever before. The state arose from poverty to wealth, and the taxes have been lowered several times. The effects which women have had upon the legislation of Colorado have been great. The state now has clean, well-lighted polls, all women's clubs have legislative committees which scrutinize every bill and support or oppose it. Such acts as child labor, state houses for dependent children, state girl's industrial house, care of feeble-minded by the state, no cigarettes sold to children, and an eight-hour law for women, have been passed under their direction.

In Connecticut a suffrage association was organized in September

of 1869. In 1893 by the efforts of this association women were granted school suffrage. But state wide suffrage was not granted until federal suffrage was secured by the nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

In 1861 the Dakotas were created a territory. In 1889 this territory entered the union as two distinctive states, North and South Dakota. In 1872 the territorial legislature had lacked only one vote for conferring full suffrage on women. But after the Dakotas entered the union they both became more conservative and neither state had given its women suffrage when the nineteenth amendment passed Congress.

Idaho granted its women the ballot in 1896, by a vote of the state legislature of 12,136 in favor to 6,283 against. And since the women of Idaho have had a vote and been allowed to hold state offices, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction has been a woman. The education system of Idaho is nationally noted for excellence and progressiveness, and this seems to lead us to believe that women have aided the states in which they participate in the functions and policies of government.

In Illinois women were granted the ballot in 1913, and in the city of Chicago ten policewomen were appointed at once.

Kansas, in 1859 in framing its constitution granted the vote to all women over twenty-one years of age in school elections. In 1887 the legislature granted municipal suffrage to women, and in 1912 state wide suffrage was granted to the women of this state. The women have been wide awake in political matters and have had such laws passed as, movie censure, workman's compensation, notary's pensions, and an act creating an industrial welfare commission.

Massachusetts's original charter of 1691 did not exclude women from voting. But in 1780 the first constitution of Massachusetts prohibited women from voting except in a few minor elections, and finally the new constitution of 1820 limited the suffrage strictly to males. In 1819 women were allowed to vote for members of school boards, but the women of Massachusetts did not gain the vote in purely state matters, such as taxes and policies, until 1920 when the nineteenth amendment granted them the ballot in national as well as state elections.

In Mississippi, in 1880, the women who were freeholders or lease-holders were allowed to vote at a county election. But they never gained complete suffrage until 1920 by the nineteenth amendment.

Montana permitted its women citizens to vote for school trustees, but not for other school officers. However, in 1914 state wide suffrage was granted to women.

Nebraska in 1869 allowed women of the state to vote for school officials, but no other voting privilege was granted until the federal government stepped in in 1920.

Nevada granted state wide suffrage to women in 1914. Since then such laws as mother's and teacher's pension acts have been passed.

New Hampshire in 1878 granted school suffrage to women. This was the first New England state to allow women to vote for members of the school board. Massachusetts followed the next year.

New Jersey was the first state in which women ever cast a vote. The constitution of New Jersey of July 2, 1776 gave the franchise to her inhabitants worth \$250. In 1780 there was a revision of the election law and the words "he or she" were used, thus giving legis-

lative sanction to a construction of the constitution. But in 1884 the words "he or she" were dropped and the vote was restricted to white males.

New York gave women school suffrage and in 1901 she allowed all women who owned property and had been assessed upon the last preceding assessment roll to vote upon a proposition to raise money by tax or assessment.

North Carolina had no form of woman suffrage until 1920.

Ohio in 1894 allowed women to vote for boards of education.

Oklahoma also gave the ballot to women for the election of boards of education.

Oregon in 1873 allowed women to vote for members of school boards; also they could vote on lands and appropriations for school purposes if they had property of their own in the school district. In November of 1913 Oregon granted state wide suffrage to its women. The women in Oregon have since 1913 been responsible for an act designating equal pay for teachers, men or women.

Utah when it was a territory had full woman suffrage. But in 1887 the Congress of the United States deprived the state of woman suffrage. In 1896, however, Utah entered the union with full suffrage.

Vermont allowed woman the ballot in school affairs, but not in other affairs until 1920.

Wisconsin in 1895 granted school suffrage to women. No other advance was made in woman suffrage until 1920.

Wyoming in 1869 granted the full franchise to women.

Alaska in 1910 granted the franchise to women. The Alaskans were strongly in favor of woman suffrage which is shown by the vote. There was not one dissenting vote in either house.

The states of Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia did not allow women any share in their governments; in fact they did not grant the franchise to women even for minor offices, such as in school elections. These states had to wait until the nineteenth amendment was passed until women could share in the working of the government.

While these state attempts were going on the founders of the woman suffrage movement, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony were carrying on their endeavors to help franchise women. In May 1860 they founded the National Woman Suffrage Association in the city of New York. This Association had for its sole object the enfranchisement of women. From the year 1869, the year of the founding, the Association held a convention in Washington, D.C., every winter. Washington was chosen because here a more cosmopolitan audience could be secured than in any other city, including representatives from every state in the union, and from all nations in the world, and also because the Association could carry directly to the only tribunal which had power to act, its demands for a submission to the State Legislature of an amendment to the federal constitution which should forbid disfranchisement on account of sex.<sup>7</sup> During each of these conventions it was the custom for a committee of the Senate and House to grant hearings to the leading advocates of this proposition and thus it is evident that a real national interest was felt.

The matter of adopting a nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution of the United States which should prohibit disfranchisement on account of sex, was never really brought to a discussion and vote.

in the senate until 1887. Urged by the members of the National Association and of his own strong convictions, Senator Henry S. Blair, of New Hampshire, on December 8, 1886 called up the following: "Joint resolution- proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women."<sup>9</sup> Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in a congress assembled; ~~the~~ thirds of each House concurring therein, that the following article be proposed to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three fourths of the said legislature, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely Section 1. 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. Section 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation to enforce the provision of the article. <sup>10</sup>

Senator Blair suggested this resolution in a long and comprehensive speech that will be recorded in history as one of the ablest ever made on this subject. He quoted statistics showing the slow but sure progress of the enfranchisement of women. But Senator Brown, from Georgia, was absent, and Senator Cockrell objected to a consideration of the resolution, and it was therefore postponed. On January 25, 1887 Senator Blair again called up his resolution and a spirited debate followed. Senators Joseph E. Brown, from Georgia, and George Vest, from Missouri, represented the negative; Henry S. Blair from New Hampshire and Joseph N. Dolphe, from Oregon, represented the affirmative. The chief objections to woman suffrage were:

1. Natural endowment of women is not for politics; women are meant purely for family life. Politics would interfere with the duties of women to their families. Women would be out of their sphere in politics.

This was the old idea which Ruskin had of women. He says, "Woman's place is within her own gates". 2. It was believed that only the ignorant and baser class of females would vote. We today know that this is not true. <sup>11</sup>

Senator Blair presented a petition for the suffrage from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of 200,000 members, signed by Frances F. Williard, president of the entire official staff. This was accompanied by a stirring personal appeal from a number of distinguished women. The Senator Blair received permission to have printed in the Congressional Record the arguments made by the representatives of the suffrage movement before the senate committee in 1839 and 1884. When the vote was taken, however, the result was sixteen yeas, to thirty-four nays. Twenty-six were absent. Thus on January 25, 1883 occurred the first and only discussion and vote in the United States Senate on an amendment to the federal constitution, granting freedom to women to vote. <sup>12.</sup>

The year 1888 is noteworthy in the history of woman suffrage due to the meeting of the International Council of Women. The origin of such a body was conceived of by Mrs. Stanton in 1802 when she visited France and England. She discussed such a council with the leading woman suffrage reformer in France and England and it was decided that such a body was needed. And thus, on March 25, 1888 a meeting of the International Council of Women was held in Washington, D.C. This was the first attempt to convene an international body of women, and it shows how far reaching the clamour had become. Nothing remarkable was done by the Council, but it was a step forward in the movement for an international spirit is naturally stronger than just a

national one, and the young fire and enthusiasm kept the suffrage movement steadily advancing.

The National American Convention of 1900 was one of outstanding importance for at this convention the beloved leader of the suffrage movement, Miss Anthony, resigned the presidency of the Association. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York was elected the new president. As Miss Anthony conducted Mrs. Catt to the platform, these were her words, "Suffrage is no longer a theory, but an actual condition, new occasions bring new doubts. These new duties, these changed conditions demand strong hands, younger heads and fresher hearts. In Mrs. Catt you have my ideal leader. I present to you, My successor".<sup>13</sup> It was thus that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt became the president of the National Association.

Under her leadership the efforts were continued, and propaganda was circulated concerning an amendment to the federal constitution. One strong argument the advocates for woman suffrage had was the fact that when the United States had determined to give the negro the right of suffrage they adopted the fifteenth amendment to the constitution in the following language: Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.<sup>14</sup> The claim was made and enforced by specious argument that if the United States could grant the freedmen suffrage by preventing the states from denying that right on account of race, color, etc., it would be equally appropriate to grant freedom to women who are in some states, they claim, in a state

of practical slavery by the denial of the rights of suffrage.<sup>15</sup>

But it was unfortunate for the cause of woman's suffrage that its advocates found an argument for their cause in the adoption of the fifteenth amendment. Two reasons stand out prominently against the validity of such an argument; in the first place, it is by no means accepted as true that the fifteenth amendment in prohibiting the states from denying the right of suffrage to the negro because of his race was an act of wisdom. It is known by the history of the times that the amendment would not have received the popular approval of the people of the United States could a vote have been taken.

The second reason why the fifteenth amendment furnished no valid argument for the proposed woman's suffrage amendment is that the amendment has shown in its practical operation, more strongly than any language can depict, the utter futility of attempting to enforce a policy believed to be hostile to the best interest of any considerable portion of the country. It is a well known historic fact that this amendment which was intended to give the negro, just emerging from slavery, the high and responsible right of suffrage for which he was totally unfitted, was powerless to effect its object in every state of the union where the negro population was sufficiently large to threaten Anglo-Saxon supremacy.<sup>16</sup>

It cannot be regarded other than unfortunate, therefore, that the proposed woman's suffrage amendment advocated with such zeal by so many honest and intelligent women of the land should rest for its acceptance upon a precedent fraught with such unhappy consequences to the country as the fifteenth amendment. The proposed woman suffrage

amendment followed the language of the fifteenth amendment, substituting the word, "sex", for the words, "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude". If the proposition we have vaunted, that the States alone possess the right of suffrage in the constitution, the question is pertinent whether the United States are prohibited from denying the right of suffrage on account of sex. What power has the United States to deny a right which it does not possess? If suffrage rests alone with the States, for what reason are the United States prohibited from denying these rights? Thus, the argument based on the fifteenth amendment was very weak.

The adoption of a nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution brought up again the question of state rights. And the old arguments pro and con were renewed. The attitude of the framers of the constitution was discussed and the old arguments gone over one by one.

An eminent New England writer, speaking of the fear of the members of the federal convention in the adoption of the constitution, said, "To the familiar state governments which had so long possessed their love and allegiance, it was forming a new and untried government, which it was feared would swallow up the states and everywhere extinguish local independence. Nor can it be said that such fears were unreasonable. Our federal government has indeed shown a strong tendency to encroach upon the province of the state governments, especially since the Civil War. Too much centralization is our danger today, as the weakness of the federal tie was our danger a century ago. If the day should ever arrive- which God forbid- when the people of the different

parts of our country shall allow their local affairs to be administered by prefects sent from Washington and when the self-government of the States shall have been so far lost as that of the departments of France or even so far as that of the countries of England,- on that day, the progressive political career of the American people will have come to an end, and the hopes that have been built upon it for the future happiness and prosperity of mankind will be wrecked forever."<sup>17</sup>

Justice Hughe's views are very similar to those just given above. He says, "It is not by the consolidation or concentration of power, but by their distribution, that good government is effected. Were not this country already divided into states, that division must be made that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly; and what it can do much better than a distant authority. Every state is again divided into counties, each of these can do what lies within its local bounds; each county again into townships or wards, to manage minute details; and every ward into farms, to be governed each by its individual proprietors. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap we should soon want bread. It is by this partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs may be best managed for the good and prosperity of all."<sup>18</sup>

From these statements we can see that there was a great deal of opposition against an amendment to the federal constitution. The states were still clinging to their old conception of state sovereignty, and were for the most part unwilling to yield their power to the federal government, and they felt that an amendment

granting woman suffrage would take away some of their power.

The efforts for woman suffrage were conscientiously pursued however, and after the two dominate political parties declared in favor of it in 1916 its success was well on the way. The suffrage amendment had always been in the platforms of the minor parties and in 1912 the Progressive party made it a leading issue. Although there had been several defeats in the various states for woman suffrage during the years 1912-16, nevertheless the trend of the situation was so evident and the number of women voters had become so large that by 1916 the leaders of the old parties saw the absolute necessity of endorsing equal suffrage.<sup>19</sup> President Wilson who with most of his cabinet had now declared for woman suffrage wrote the plank in the Democratic platform, "We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of this country, state by state, on the same terms as the men."<sup>20</sup> The Republican platform ran as follows, "We favor the extension of suffrage to women, but recognize the right of each state to settle this question for itself." This plank was put into the platform by Senators Lodge, Wadsworth and Dorah, members of the Resolutions Committee, against the protest of other members. This plank in the Republican platform was very unfortunate and President Wilson was reelected by the equal suffrage states, and naturally the women were held responsible, but with a secret ballot this could not be proved. The only state where the women's ballots were kept separate from the men's was Illinois, where they could vote only for Presidential Electors, and these showed a Republican majority of 70,000. After the election of 1916 there was a notable increase of forcible sentiment for woman suffrage, among the Democrats, and especially in the South where

there had been very little. It was evident to the Republican party that it must be accepted. Thus, in 1916 woman suffrage passed from the status of an academic reform to that of a political issue. In the new Congress of 1913 there had been a Senate Committee on woman suffrage which was friendly instead of hostile, and this was the first time in two decades, and after twenty years, without any action on a federal suffrage amendment it was favorably reported, debated and brought to a vote on March 3, 1914, receiving a majority of one. In January 1915 for the first time in history it came before the House of Representatives and the vote was 174 ayes, 304 nays.<sup>21</sup>

Agitation for woman suffrage continued regardless of the defeat in the House. President Wilson declared in favor of a federal amendment, and on January 10, 1918 it again came to a vote in the Senate. On October 1, 1918 after the President had appeared personally with a strong appeal for the amendment, it lacked two votes of the necessary two-thirds. Voted on again, February 10, 1919 it lacked one vote.<sup>22</sup> A new Congress after March 3, necessitated another vote in the lower house which on May 21, gave 42 more than the necessary two-thirds. On June 4, after a two days debate it passed the Senate with two more than the two-thirds of the full membership voting.

Now the suffragists were faced with the colossal task of obtaining special sessions of the legislatures in almost thirty-six states. But for the first time they had powerful allies. Now that the women of thirty states, who had previously advocated woman suffrage, would be able to vote at the next Presidential election, both political parties desired that those of all the

states should have this privilege by November 1920; and the Republican and Democratic National Committees with other party leaders spared no effort to secure these ratifications.

By March 23, 1920 less than sixteen months after the amendment had been submitted it had been ratified by 35 legislatures, 27 of them called in special session. There followed a deadlock which lasted over four months. Finally the Governor of Tennessee, R. H. Roberts, called a special session of the legislature of his state and after one of the bitterest fights ever made in a legislature the senate ratified<sup>1</sup> on August 13 by a vote of 35 to 4, and the house on the 10th by a vote of 49 to 41. Speaker Seth Walker moved a reconsideration, and there were various delays, but on August 25, 1920, the Governor sent the certificate to Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, in Washington, where on the 27th the amendment was proclaimed a part of the Federal Constitution.<sup>23</sup> "The right to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."<sup>24</sup>

When women were granted the franchise the one question which was in the minds of every one was, what will they do with it? The last seven years have proved that women knew what to do with their new-found opportunity. In order that we might know just what women are doing today in the field of politics I am going to quote and discuss efforts of just a few of the actual women in politics. To show that women are really participating in the affairs of our government I am going to quote the statistics of state legislatures to prove that women are not just sitting back and letting the men control politics. A total of 122 women were elected on November 2, 1926 to sit in the 1927 state legislatures. This

number is slightly less than that recorded in 1925 and 1936 when approximately 130 women answered the roll calls in state legislatures.<sup>25</sup>

Women are also holding offices in the courts. Florence Allen is now Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio. She was graduated from Western Reserve University with honor in 1904. From 1906-09 she was on the editorial staff of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. In 1909 she received her A.M. degree from Western Reserve University in Political Science and Constitutional Law. Between the years 1909-10 she studied law at Chicago University Law School. In 1910 she became the legal investigator, under the New York League for protection of immigrants in New York City. From 1911-13 she studied law at New York University Law School and graduated with honor in 1913. In 1914 she was admitted to the Ohio Bar. She practiced actively until 1919. In 1919 she appeared for women street car conductors before the National Labor Board. William Marium Black, chairman of the Board, stated that this was the best presentation of a case ever given before the Board. Miss Allen was the first woman attorney to appear before the National Labor Board. In 1920 Miss Allen was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas by the greatest vote ever given any judicial candidate for that court. In 1923 she was elected to the Supreme Court of Ohio. This was indeed a great honor. Miss Allen was the first woman in the world elected to sit in a court of last resort.<sup>26</sup>

Another active woman leader in politics is Ruth Hanna McCormick, daughter of Mark Hanna. Mrs. McCormick made her first political speech at the age of sixteen. As a child she studied, talked and campaigned with her father and thus had from

youth a training in politics. She was connected at one time or another with nearly all of the important organizations for advance of women. Mrs. McCormick possesses superb business ability which was recently demonstrated by Seven million Dollars organization made under her leadership for the erection of the first great women's Club building.<sup>27</sup>

C. G. Reinhart in the Country Gentleman summarizes the career of seven of the twelve women recently named as most prominent in America by the National League of Women Voters.

Jane Adams, a very great settlement worker and sociologist.

Julia Lathrop, a leader in Child Welfare.

Carrie Chapman Catt, a staunch suffragist and active worker in all movements for the advancement of women.

Florence Sabin, a great anatomist.

Anna Comstock, a naturalist and artist.

Martha Van Rensselaer, a home economist.

Anne Cannon, an astronomer.

All these women besides their work in their own particular field, have been active political figures. The most prominent of the seven is very probably Jane Addams who was the founder and leader of the extraordinarily successful social settlement, Hull House, in Chicago. The Survey-Graphic of New York speaks of Miss Addams thus, "Miss Addams has exemplified, as few in this country or any other country have, what tolerant, broadminded, broadvisioned, courageous citizenship may be."

Since women have participated in politics they have become active on juries. Judge Thornton Sargent of Kansas says; "I have had considerable experience with juries composed of men and

women. The women follow the instructions of the court with strict fidelity. They have a high sense of justice, and are very solicitous that right should prevail in their verdict. They respect the law because it is the law, and are not moved to return verdicts by sentiment.<sup>28</sup>

To show further that women are not mere figure-heads in politics but are leaders and active participants, let me quote from the Survey of Women's Bureau for 1925. Out of eighty-two persons selected as commissioners of executive establishments or as bureau heads, appointed by the President, five were women. For such a brief space of time since women were allowed to participate in the workings of the national government, five out of eighty-two is a very excellent showing. This shows that the national government is not afraid, but is willing and ready to trust its functions to women.

Just how rapidly the participation of women in government affairs will advance we shall have to wait to see, but from past experience it seems that women will help rather than hinder the efficiency of our government.

## Notes:

## 1. History of Woman Suffrage.

Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony, Metilda A. Gage. Vol. I.

## 2. History of Woman Suffrage.

Ida Husted Harper. Vol VI.

## 3. History of Woman Suffrage.

Ida Harper. Vol. VI.

## 4. History of Woman Suffrage.

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## 7. History, Arguments, Results of Woman Suffrage. Blue Book.

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## 10. History of Woman Suffrage.

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## 11. History of Woman Suffrage.

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## 12. History of Woman Suffrage.

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15. Woman's Suffrage- By Constitutional Amendment. Tucker.
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19. Review of Reviews. 62' Oct. 1920.

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