For seventy-two years, American women fought for the right to vote. The National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was the head suffrage organization leading the way for women to achieve the right to vote. Unfortunately, failure to achieve support in Congress for a constitutional amendment, and the slow, conservative tactics of the NAWSA, divided the women’s suffrage organization, when Alice Paul, a young woman with radical ideas about how to campaign for suffrage, introduced her militant tactics as a way to get the attention of the press and pressure Congress and the President.\(^1\)

Alice Paul’s radical ideas did catch the attention of the press, but at a high price. Her organization, the National Women’s Party’s (NWP), lead radical demonstrations not liked by the public or the Congress, which made it more difficult for the NAWSA to lobby Congress when a chance had risen for the issue of women’s suffrage to become an amendment to the Constitution. Despite the National Women’s Party’s radical controversies, the National American Women Suffrage Association personally secured women the right to vote by their effective and conservative lobbying tactics.

During the Civil War, women who were abolitionists developed a consciousness of their own oppression. They too wanted the same freedoms that they were fighting for slaves to have. When the Fifteenth Amendment left women out of having the right to vote, women went on a crusade of their own to fight for their suffrage. The struggle for American women’s suffrage began during a women’s rights convention held in, Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.\(^2\)

The product of this meeting was the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions which listed the primary goals of the nineteenth-century woman’s right movement.\(^3\) In the 1860s, the National American Women Suffrage Association


\(^3\) Howard and Kavenik, 402.
organization was formed to carry out the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions’ goals. The National American Women Suffrage Association was founded by some of the most famous women associated with the Women Suffrage Movement, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. From 1869 to the 1890, the NAWSA organization grew to create branches in every state, funded hundreds of local clubs, printed literature, and pressured politicians so support the suffrage cause. 

One of the most well-known presidents of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was Carrie Chapman Catt. Carrie Catt was president of the NAWSA organization twice, once from 1900 to 1904 and again from 1915 to 1920. Catt was born in 1859. She attended Iowa State University, even though attending college was against her parents’ wishes. When she finished schooling, Carrie married Leo Chapman. Together, they worked on his newspaper, The Mason City Republic. Unfortunately, Leo died of typhoid fever, leaving Carrie a widow at the age of twenty-six. In 1887, she pursued a career in public speaking on the subject of women’s suffrage. This was her start in the long hard fight of the Women’s Suffrage Movement.

In 1890, Carrie Chapman married for the second time to George Catt. Catt made a legal contract with her new husband that stated that she got two months in the fall and in the spring to work on her woman's suffrage campaign. That same year, Carrie was invited to a National American Woman Suffrage Association meeting to speak on women’s suffrage. It was soon thereafter that she was appointed to the National Organizer Committee for the NAWSA. By 1895, Carrie Catt had risen through the ranks of the NAWSA to the Chair of the National Organization Committee and then became president of the National American Women Suffrage Association in 1900.

Many of the National American Women Suffrage Association members had noticed Carrie’s leadership and organizational qualities, including ef-


7 Mani, 154.

8 Robert Booth Fowler and Spencer Jones, “Ch.8 Carrie Chapman Catt and the Last Years of the Struggle for Women Suffrage,” found in Jean Baker, 132.

9 Fowler and Jones, found in Baker Jean, 132.

10 Keyssar, 212.
ficiency, which the NAWSA needed because of the National American Women Suffrage Association’s growing size.\textsuperscript{11} During Carrie’s presidency, the NAWSA membership went from one hundred thousand to two million and expanded to every level of state and federal government.\textsuperscript{12} This was partially because the Washington and California state victories, in 1910, renewed interest in women suffrage and also because of Catt’s effectiveness in recruiting and training at all social levels of the National American Women Suffrage Association.\textsuperscript{13} Carrie Catt also rose up in the NAWSA hierarchy because she had the energy and time to devote since she had a supportive husband and did not have any children for which to care.\textsuperscript{14} Unfortunately, by 1904, family obligations took up more of her time; she needed to take care of her sick mother and her husband who was stressed over work, causing her to resign her presidency.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1905, George Catt died and Carrie Chapman Catt was a widow once again. From 1904 to 1915, Catt took the time to travel across Europe with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.\textsuperscript{16} During this time, Anna Howard Shaw had taken over the presidency of the NAWSA from 1905 to 1915. When Anna Shaw retired from her position as president, Carrie Chapman Catt became the National American Women Suffrage Association’s president for a second time.\textsuperscript{17}

Carrie Chapman Catt’s tactics for the National American Women Suffrage Association started off the same as previous strategies used by past NAWSA presidents. Their strategy was to go state by state winning women the right to vote. This method worked mostly in the West because Western states were not settled like the East, so by giving women the right to vote, they could attract more people to populate their state.\textsuperscript{18} On the other hand, this tactic did not work so well in the South because Southerners did not want to give the power of the vote to black women.\textsuperscript{19}

Carrie Chapman Catt did not allow other issues such as race to enter

\textsuperscript{12} Keyssar, 212.
\textsuperscript{14} Fowler and Jones, found in Jean Baker, 134.
\textsuperscript{15} Mani, 154.
\textsuperscript{16} Mani, 159.
\textsuperscript{17} Keyssar, 212.
\textsuperscript{19} Keyssar, 210.
in the NAWSA’s agenda because she was concerned that they would distract them from their primary goal of women’s suffrage. So to appeal to the Southern and Northern states, Catt “played the race card” to win over politicians, stating when talking to a Southerner that black women would be excluded from the vote, while stating the opposite if she was talking to a Northerner. Even though she was not afraid to use issues such as race to convert politicians to her cause, she never let her tactics become argumentative or militant.

The National American Women Suffrage Association remained committed to using conservative tactics to campaign for suffrage. One line of thought was that arguments that are framed by dominant cultural practices of the time, communicate more effectively to the groups’ political goals. In the early nineteen hundreds, the culture of the time was for women not to enter into the public sphere, which was male dominated. The NAWSA was aware of this and took the argument through a gentler approach so they did not upend the dominant cultural values of the society. The National American Woman Suffrage Association argued that women should have the right to vote because it would make society a more humane place because women were looked to as the voice of justice in society. They stated that if women got the vote, then women would represent the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule when women were voting at the polls. Some of the examples NAWSA gave for how women could make changes for humanity if they could vote were, that women could vote to improve children’s education, provide safety in the work place, and enforce sanitation laws for growing cities. They could also stamp out liquor and abolish child labor. They also pointed out that they could use the votes of women to balance out any negative votes from Catholics, German-Americans, blacks, and drunken males who, many assumed did share values of

21 Fowler and Jones, found in Jean Baker, 139.
24 Kraditor, 220.
25 Lyndi, McCammon, and Smith, 532.
26 Kraditor, 73.
white Protestant humanity. Carrie Chapman Catt argued why were women being kept from the polls, when, “ignorant men without understanding, foreign men who could not speak English, drunken men with minds blurred, half-witted men, degenerate men and every other type which makes up the underworld, [are] marshaled to the polls.” By communicating the importance of women’s suffrage in a way that resonated with the culture of the day, Catt’s suffragists convinced legislators to vote for women and starved off criticisms of being disruptive radicals.

Another non-radical tactic the National Women Suffrage Association used was employing the press to persuade the public through pamphlets, leaflets, balloons, and buttons proclaiming the necessity of women’s suffrage. They also wrote articles for magazines, including Woman’s Journal, to get their message out.

Additionally, the NAWSA used peaceful lobbying as another conservative tactic. The NAWSA ran suffrage schools to make a well-trained and effective net-work of women at every level of society, including state, district, town, city, and villages. Their presences in various levels of government generated attention and demonstrated strength as they pressured political leaders in Washington and the states. When these women went to lobby the politicians, they were trained to never argue but to simply ask for the ballot. By 1917, NAWSA had fought for and won women the right to vote in eleven states.

Even though eleven states had been won over to the suffragists’ cause, members started to get weary of the process because it was slow and some of their campaigns in the bigger states were not being productive. By 1915, none

29 Cornwall, Dahlin and King, 1217.
30 Fowler and Jones, found in, Jean Baker, 138.
31 The Winning Plan, found in, Barbra Stuchler, For the Public Record: A Documentary History of the League of Women Voters (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000) 15.
32 Keyssar, 203.
33 Directions for Lobbyist, found in, Barbra Stuchler, For the Public Record: A Documentary History of the League of Women Voters (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000) 19.
of the heavily populated states in the Northeast or the Midwest had granted women the right to vote. Catt herself was moved when her immediate efforts to get New York’s state referendum on woman suffrage was defeated in 1915. This failure, in what was then the most important state in the Union, underscored the frustrating slow pace of progress for the nationwide suffrage cause. In the same year, Iowa, South Dakota, and West Virginia declined women the right to vote. Carrie Chapman Catt knew that the old methods of winning suffrage were not working anymore, so during her second term as president she was determined to initiate some new reforms. From September 4th through September 10th, 1916, the National American Women Suffrage Association called an emergency convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey to discuss this crisis at hand. Catt stated at the meeting that it was better to imagine a crisis where none exist than to fail to recognize one when it comes, for a crisis is a culmination of events which calls for new consideration and new decisions. A failure to answer the call may mean an opportunity lost, a possible victory postponed.

At this emergency convention Catt proposed her new strategy to the NAWSA board members, The Winning Plan. The Winning Plan called to diplomatic lobbying in Washington at the federal level for a constitutional amendment. This new plan avoided case by case state efforts, popular sentiment, and referendums and turned to federal action by Congress and the President to pass a suffrage amendment. The key political strategy to achieve the Winning Plan’s goals was to increase the amount of suffrage supporters in Congress so that they could win a two-thirds majority for the amendment to get passed. The National American Women Suffrage Association would do this by building support in the thirty six states which would most likely ratify a women’s suffrage amendment. The Winning

35 Keyssar, 211.
38 Jaycox, 467.
39 Fowler and Jones, found in Jean Baker,134.
41 Keyssar, 212.
Plan depended on winning campaigns in at least one southern state along with some Midwestern states.\textsuperscript{42} Heavy non-partisan lobbying at the federal level was one of the main tactics used to gain support for the amendment, but the NAWSA also called on women in states that had already granted them the right to vote to pressure their Congressional representatives into getting a federal amendment passed.\textsuperscript{43} Carrie Catt did stick to the NAWSA’s traditional conservative lobbying tactics because she did not want her suffragists to get sidetracked with other irrelevant arguments.\textsuperscript{44} The Winning Plan strategy harnessed the power of the massive National American Women Suffrage Association and initiated a final, victorious suffrage drive.\textsuperscript{45}

Lobbying was the main strategy to carry out the Winning Plan. Suffragists studied Congressmen to seek the right words and arguments to persuade them to support the federal amendment.\textsuperscript{46} The National American Women Suffrage Association made rules for suffragists to follow when they were lobbying so they stayed true to their non-militant policies and promoted lady-like behavior. For example, some of the rules that were in the NAWSA’s Directions for Lobbyist, stated that campaigners should not stay long, not nag or threaten, not draw arguments against the amendment, and not do anything to close the door on the next advocate for suffrage.\textsuperscript{47} To insure that the suffragists were representing the NAWSA according to their conservative principles, or maybe staying true to the conservative principles of the NAWSA, the suffragist interviews were recorded. Catt herself was a frequent lobbyist working in the White House and on Capitol Hill, in a style that combined determination and dignity, to carry out the Winning Plan.\textsuperscript{48}

Carrie Chapman Catt addressed Congress frequently. In 1917, one of Catt’s addresses to Congress, entitled “The Last Hard Fight”, she reminded Congressmen that the American Revolution was started because the King taxed the colonists without representation and that the United States government was spending billions of vote-less women’s tax dollars.\textsuperscript{49} At the end of her speech, she called on Congressmen to use their influence to secure verification in their own state so women would be given their political freedom before the

\textsuperscript{42} Fowler and Jones, found in Jean Baker, 134
\textsuperscript{43} Mani, 162.
\textsuperscript{44} Fowler and Jones, found in Jean Baker, 136.
\textsuperscript{45} Wheeler, 17.
\textsuperscript{46} Wheeler, 17.
\textsuperscript{47} Directions for Lobbyist, found in Barbra Stuchler, 19.
\textsuperscript{48} Fowler and Jones, found in Jean Baker, 137.
Throughout the campaign, Catt and the NAWSA remained committed to these effective but peaceful lobbying practices, as in the speech above. Unlike the National American Women Suffrage Association, the National Women’s Party, another suffrage group at this time, did not campaign for suffrage using these same peaceful tactics but instead relied upon militant radical tactics.

The turn to a more radical tactic was instigated by Alice Paul. Paul was from New Jersey and was raised as a Quaker. Quakers believed that men and women are equal to one another. This allowed Alice’s mother to talk at suffrage meetings and allowed Alice to attend these meetings with her mother. This fundamental Quaker belief, also allowed Alice to receive a higher education. She graduated in 1907 with her masters and in 1912 received a Ph. D from the University of Pennsylvania.

Alice Paul’s start to political activism began when she studied social work abroad in Woodbridge, England. During this time, England was experiencing their woman’s suffrage movement. Paul participated in English protest practices and gained experiences in protest, marches, and demonstrations, as well as jail, hunger strikes, and forced feedings publicized actions to persuade public opinion. Alice’s upbringing in the Quaker traditions impacted her viewpoints and made her suffrage tactics unique compared to British suffrage tactics, by keeping to the Quaker tradition of practicing non-violence and applying it to militant tactics. When Alice Paul came back to America in 1912, she brought back her English militant ideas and practices to help American women win the right to vote.

Alice’s first step to reform the American woman’s suffrage campaign was to make a proposal to the biggest influential suffrage group in America, the National American Women Suffrage Association, and get them to adopt her tactics. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, a co-worker and friend Alice met while campaigning in England for women’s suffrage, presented to the NAWSA their militant strategy of holding the political party in power responsible, which were the Democrats but Paul and Burn’s aggressive lobbying tactics were too different compared to the NAWSA group that evolved from Elizabeth Cady Stanton

50 Carrie Catt Found in Josh Gottheimer, 150.
52 Mani, 171.
53 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 175.
54 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 176.
55 Keyssar, 203.
56 Mani, 172.
and Susan B. Anthony’s conservative tactics and were therefore declined.\textsuperscript{57} Even though Alice and Lucy’s tactics were shut down by the NAWSA, they still joined the National American Women Suffrage Association in 1912 and agreed to follow NAWSA’s rules of the state by state and softer approaches.\textsuperscript{58}

When the two became members of the National American Women Suffrage Association, they were put in charge of the Congressional Union (CU). The Congressional Union was based out of Washington D.C., which was exactly where Alice wanted to be, at the heart of the political world. Alice Paul received a budget of ten dollars a year from NAWSA to run the CU.\textsuperscript{59} This was not enough money for Alice’s plans to promote women’s suffrage, so she started to fund-raise herself.

By 1913, Alice had gathered enough supporters and funds to put on a parade in Washington D.C. This parade was planned for March 3, 1913, the same day as Wilson’s inauguration. The demonstration was more than a parade; it was a pageant used as a political tool for facilitating social reforms.\textsuperscript{60} Five thousand women marched in the parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. A spectator of the parade, Mr. Bancroft, described the parade in a letter to his daughter, Elizabeth, as “an impressive spectacle, [with] women walking four and sometimes eight abreast with bands and banners and flags and mottoes in a procession that took an hour and a half to pass.”\textsuperscript{61} On one of the floats was displayed the five virtues of women: justice, charity, liberty, peace, and hope.\textsuperscript{62} Unfortunately, the parade was interrupted by a hundred thousand anti-suffrage demonstrators who tried to block the route. When the parade got out of hand, Alice Paul led the parade to the finish line by using a safer rout.\textsuperscript{63} This parade was used as a tool to draw attention to the women’s suffrage campaign. It received attention from the press because Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration was partially eclipsed by the suffrage parade of five thousand women and because of the anti-suffrage that attacked the parade participants, which was exactly

\ \ \ \textsuperscript{57} Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 177.
\textsuperscript{58} Mani, 172.
\textsuperscript{60} Mani, 173.
\textsuperscript{62} Mani, 173.
what Alice had hoped for.\textsuperscript{64}

In 1913, Alice Paul went to the Fall National American Woman Suffrage Association Convention to represent the Congressional Union and give their annual report. At the annual conference, Alice gave a successful fund raising report that showed how much progress the Congressional Union had made.\textsuperscript{65} Alice thought that President Catt would be pleased with the progress she made with the CU, but Catt instead charged the CU with insubordination and financial irregularities.\textsuperscript{66} Carrie Chapman Catt said that she was going to deny support to the Congressional Union because they were taking funds away from NAWSA. Her concern was that donors could not distinguish between the NAWSA and CU when Alice was fundraising.\textsuperscript{67} In reality, Catt knew and grown tired of the fact that the CU was an almost separate organization which used NAWSA name to raise money and recruit members, all while not accepting direction from the NAWSA board.\textsuperscript{68}

Catt also claimed that when the CU were campaigning for suffrage, Alice was using tactics that went against their agreement to uses conservative methods and that the CU could not be accepted as an affiliated society since it defied the policy held since the NAWSA’s foundation in 1869.\textsuperscript{69} Miss. Zona Gale, a NAWSA board member, tried to help defend the Congressional Union by making a motion stating that each organization had a common cause at heart and that a difference of methods was to be expected, so instead of getting rid of the Congressional Union, the NAWSA could send in five members to help regulate it.\textsuperscript{70} This motion was not accepted by the NAWSA nor the Congressional Union because the CU did not want to be constantly watched by the NAWSA and the NAWSA did not want to be burdened with duty of making sure the CU did not go against their policies again. The National Association of Women Suffrage Association ejected the Congressional Union and Paul resigned her NAWSA position in order to work independently.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{64} Keyssar, 207.
\textsuperscript{65} Mani, 174.
\textsuperscript{66} Maud, 165.
\textsuperscript{67} Mani, 174.
\textsuperscript{68} Fowler, 146.
\textsuperscript{70} Jo424
\textsuperscript{71} Maud, 165.
In the meantime, interest in women’s suffrage had been renewed when the Washington and California state victories were won in 1910. This attracted younger, educated, working, single women whom became the new generation of suffragists. Younger women identified themselves with the new ideas about winning. When the NAWSA failed to produce immediate results, the suffrage movement lapsed and the new generation of suffragists started looking for a new outlet.

When Alice broke away from the National American Women Suffrage Association in 1913, the Congressional Union drew women looking for a more radical and hands-on approach of securing the vote, a more radical path than the NAWSA seemed to provide. The Congressional Union pursued bold new tactics designed to force Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party to support a federal amendments ensuring women the right to vote.

From 1914-1916, Alice took her campaign to the West to organized women in the western states, who had the right to cast their ballots, to vote against the democrat party. Alice Paul believed that the national government and the President would only be moved by the force of strong public opinion, persuasion through lobbying, and women in states who already had the vote to block against President Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats. During the campaigns in the west, Inez Boissevain, a NWP leader, became ill, and collapsed during speech, and ultimately died. Wilson was unaffected when he heard the news of her death and the Congressional Union had enough.

In 1916, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns transformed the Congressional Union into the National Women’s Party (NWP). Alice was president of the National Women’s Party from 1916 to 1920. The NWP chose a more modern militant tactic for their campaign strategies, giving the younger generation a new more exciting way to fight for women’s suffrage. At its height, the National Women’s Party had up to fifty thousand members and was made up of mostly

72 Maud, 155.
74 Lyndi, 5.
75 Maud, 151.
77 Wheeler, 16.
78 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 174.
79 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 178.
80 Howard, 386.
upper and middle class women. Alice did not allow social or ethical barriers, such as race, religion, and religion, within the NWP’s so that all women could unite under a common cause, and her organization would have more supporters. The Advisory Board for the National Women's Party included Phoebe Hearst, Charlotte Gilman, Florence Kelley, Herriot Stanton Blatch, and Helen Keller.

Alice believed that it was Americans’ right to rebuke a representative who denies justice. This is why Alice targeted the President because she held the party in power responsible. Paul stated that they needed to make a more constant, direct, and public appeal for justice to the President, as head of the government. She believed that the National Women’s Party had to do something drastic or the administration, who were beginning to feel the uneasy criticism of their treatment of American women, would go back ignoring them again. The NWP planned to show themselves as victims of violent government suppression by their militant but non violent actions through picketing the White House. This would increase supporters by creating public sympathy and keep the attention of the press. These demonstrations would also keep suffrage in the forefront as a burning issue and keep the attention of the Congressmen.

On January 10, 1917, the National Women’s Party started picketing the White House. This was radical for this time period because it was the first time that anyone had ever picketed the White House for a political cause. When the women went to the White House to picket, they were instructed to be demure, unsmiling, and silent, speaking only when asked a question. The picketers’ banners stated Wilson’s own writings on democracy to show that the President was contradicting himself when he spoke on democracy while women did not

81 Adams, 16. And Jaycox, 467.
82 Giele, 150.
83 Maud, 170.
84 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 178.
85 Lunardin, 656.
86 Why we Picket
87 Adams, 32.
88 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 175.
89 Wheeler, 16.
90 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 231.
92 Wheeler, 16.
93 Adams, 20.
get the right to vote.\textsuperscript{94} When Woodrow Wilson exited the gates of the White House, he would tip his hat to the women picketers.\textsuperscript{95} Even though Woodrow Wilson seemed unaffected by the picketers, the public reaction to the picketers was quite the opposite.

In April of 1917, the United States entered into World War I. The war brought talk of democracy, liberty, and justice.\textsuperscript{96} Alice used the United States entering into World War I to argue for women’s suffrage by through the theme of democracy. A flier that the National Women’s Party created to help the public understand why they were picketing the President for suffrage stated that the,

\begin{quote}
Politicians are asking the people to sacrifice everything and everybody “for democracy”; and many men and women are ready to sacrifice everything for democracy; but they are willing to permit the government to spend the life-blood of the nation for democracy somewhere in Europe while that same Government refused to assist the peaceful and orderly establishment of democracy in our own country.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

Alice also argued that “it was difficult for America to wage a war for democracy abroad while democracy was being denied at home.”\textsuperscript{98} Not everyone agreed with Alice’s thinking because many people said that the NWP was unpatriotic to picket a war time President and took offence to the picketers.\textsuperscript{99}

The picketers and their banners drew large crowds in front of the White House. If the public did not like what they had written on their banners, they would act out against the picketers and make cause for the police to come to arrest the picketers. For example, in October 1917, The New York Times proclaimed that on that day, the picketers went to the White House at the hour when Government clerks were leaving work. A big crowd had gathered in front of the White House to see what the picketers were stating this time on their banner. Although, the article did not state what was said on the banners, it did explain that the mob grew violent over what the banners had said. Eventually, the police had to arrest four of the picketers, including Alice Paul, before the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{94} Jaycox, 467. \\
\textsuperscript{95} Jaycox, 468. \\
\textsuperscript{96} Jaycox, 467. \\
\textsuperscript{97} Why We Picket \\
\textsuperscript{98} Ellen Skinner, “Alice Paul, Why Suffrage Struggle Must Continue (1917),” Women and the National Experience: Primary Sources in American History ( Boston: Addison- Wesley Educational Publisher Inc, 1996) 169. \\
\textsuperscript{99} Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 180.
\end{flushleft}
crowds to settle down. This was unfortunately not their first arrests. In July of 1917, the picketers told the press that they were within their legal rights, and that they would continue picketing despite the arrests and the growing crowds which could turn into dangerous mobs. During this whole process, five hundred picketers were arrested. The most memorable arrest was made on August 12, 1917.

On that day, picketers from the National Women’s Party, including Lucy Burns, held banners that stated “Kaiser Wilson, have you forgotten how you sympathized with the poor Germans because they were not self governed? Twenty million American women are not self-governed. Take the beam out of your own eye” and “Kaiser Wilson, We the Women of America Tell you that America is not a Democracy.” Another banner stated, “Tell our Government it must Liberate its people Before it can claim free Russia as an Ally.” The picketers also burned Wilson’s speeches on democracy to show that words are nothing without action. This drew a crowd that did not appreciate what the protesters were saying about and doing to their war time president. The crowd tore the two banners down and destroyed them. The article from the New York Times described Mrs. Burns shielding the banners by stretching out her arms in front of them, but it did little to save them. When the banners were snatched down and torn into pieces, policemen were at hand, but they did nothing to help the picketers. The picketers’ had predicted that this would happen, so they had a duplicate banner ready. When the crowd got too out of hand, tearing down banners again and dragging the picketers across the street trying to remove their sashes, the police finally stepped in to arrest the picketers. The picketers were charged with blocking traffic, found guilty, and sentenced to sixty days in the Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia. The picketers were not embraced by the public, but by doing these stunts, they gained the attention of the press and made suffrage a popular subject.

Many looked down on the picketers as women who were just causing trouble, especially other suffrage groups. “We put it up to them,” said Mrs. 

100 “Arrest Four More Pickets.” The New York Times (October 21, 1917)
102 Mani, 176.
103 Jaycox, 468.
105 Adams, 29.
107 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 183.
Laildaw, a member of the NAWSA, “that they were doing something in the nature of joyriding, rocking the suffrage boat in a way which might handicap our work, and to leave nothing undone in pushing our work in New York State”

Picketers were not only disapproved by the public and other suffrage parties, but the picketers’ families as well. Most picketers were not supported by their families because they did not believe in the cause or having their radical, unladylike behaviors on display for the public to see. The picketers suffered the hardship of being socially unaccepted, but they also endured imprisonment as well.

From 1916-1920, five hundred picketers from the National Women’s Party were arrested, with 168 serving time in prison. Suffragists claimed to be “political prisoners,” and demanded that they be given the status of such so that they could be entitled to counseling, decent food, and books and writing materials. Instead, they were treated under the conditions of every other criminal prisoner, which included staying in a rat-infested, small, dark, and dirty cell and eating food that had meal worms in it. On top of the horrible living conditions, fourteen women were assaulted by guards. Alice herself even said that, she was also abused and mistreated during her time in the wards, when she was interviewed for a New York Times article.

When Alice was imprisoned, she went on a hunger strike to protest the suffragists’ unfair imprisonment and also to draw attention from the press. She also worked to gain public sympathy by writing secret notes from her jail cell which revealed her daily situation. A New York Times news article, from November 19, 1917, described her experience in prison. Alice stated that, “Dr. Gannon said that if I persisted in hunger-striking he would write a prescription to have me taken to the psychopathic ward and fed forcibly.” Later that day, Alice was moved to the psychopathic ward of the hospital of the prison, carried on a stretcher because she was too weak from the hunger strike to walk. In the psychopathic ward, Alice endured forced feedings where three doctors and two nurses held her down to do the procedure. When she was not being forced fed, Alice was put in a cell with three windows, all nailed shut so she could not escape. Paul recalled that the other inmates in the psychopathic ward would

109 Adams, 29.
110 Mani, 176.
111 Linda Ford, found in Baker Jean, 183.
112 Mani, 176.
113 “Miss Paul Removed To Prison Hospital: Transferred from Psychopathic Ward on a Stretcher, She Writes in Smuggled Note.” The New York Times (November 19, 1917)
all join in shrieking when one started to and it would continue for an hour or two. In all, Alice Paul was in the psychopathic ward for a week. The sacrifice and mental pain Paul endured was viewed as heroic by the other picketers, but her arrests took her away from the National Women's Party, and this left the NWP suffragists to run the party without their president.  

On November 10th, 1917, more than 150 suffragists who picketed the White House were assaulted, brutally beaten, and jailed for protesting Paul’s confinement in the mental ward. The picketers tried to tell jail wardens to give them the status of political prisoners and would not give them their names. Enraged guards clubbed and beat the women for not cooperating. This became known as the night of terror. In 1918, the National Women's Party started focusing less on picketing and more on lobbying after the federal suffrage amendment was defeated by two votes in congress.  

Not everyone was supportive of having the suffrage amendment to the Constitution so that women could have the right to vote. Some men thought that women were too weak, hysterical, uneducated, and dependent on men to have the right to vote. The increasing anti suffrage movement linked the suffrage women who were fighting for the right to vote with feminism, radicalism, socialism, and anti-patriotism. These associate were counterproductive to the women suffrage organizations’ cause and hindered their attempts to convince the public and politicians to grant them the right to vote.  

The suffragists were not the only ones that had trouble convincing the public that women should have the right to vote, but also the President was well. President Woodrow Wilson at first did not believe that the subject of women’s suffrage was important enough for the federal government and said it was the states who should decide if they would let women vote or not. An example of this can be found in an interview between President Wilson and two suffragists when one suffragist challenged President Wilson’s state by state methods, “Granted if is a state matter, would it not give the great movement a mighty impetus if the resolution now pending before congress were passed? … The state would have to pass upon it before it became an amendment. Would it not be a state matter then?” Wilson did not like where the conversa-
tion was going in the interview and quickly ended it. However, Wilson would soon change his position on the subject of women's suffrage as his reelection neared.

At the Atlantic City NAWSA Convention on September 8th, 1916, Wilson announced that he had not come to fight anyone, but with someone, meaning he was going to help women campaign for the right to vote. In his speech at the convention, he did not make any reference to state by state campaigning which he had originally supported, but instead alluded to a federal amendment. After the speech, Shaw exclaimed, "We have waited so long Mr. President! We have dared to hope that our release might come in your administration and that yours would be the voice to pronounce the words to bring us our freedom." With the President now for the suffragists, Alice's campaign against Wilson in the West and her anti-party-in-power theory became counterproductive since Wilson and the Democrats were now suffragist allies.

President Woodrow Wilson announced his support of a federal suffrage amendment as a war measure. He stated in his speech “A Moral Partnership Legitimized,” that “We have made partners of women in this war, shall we adimit them only to a partnership of privilege and right?” It was not until World War I had ended that he actively supported the suffragist by sending messages to states telling them that they should vote for the Women's Suffrage Amendment. Woodrow Wilson also wrote hand letters to all representatives in the southern states because he knew that the southern states would be harder to win over. With the president aiding the Women's Suffrage Movement, the Nineteenth Amendment was well under way to being added to the Constitution.

The historiography of women's suffrage has undergone several distinct changes over the years. After American women won the right to vote in 1920, historians focused on the suffrage group, the National American Women Suffrage Association, because their group was the oldest, established since the 1860s, and had the most members and sponsors. Their information was more available because they had been around for so long and had many historical figures in their group. Historians began to look at other smaller groups when those materials and sources became available, and the historiography

122 Lunardin, 662.
123 Lunardin, 662.
124 Lunardin, 662.
125 Keyssar, 216.
127 Lunardin, 670.
128 Lyndi McCammon, and Sandy Smith, 530.
began to transform. One of these smaller groups was the National Women's Party.

In 1917, the National American Woman Suffrage Party had two million members in it, while the National Women's Party only had fifty thousand members.\(^{129}\) The NAWSA group was so large that it had many subdivisions around the country at the local level, state level, and national level. By the end of the 1890s, NAWSA had created branches in every state, funded hundreds of local clubs, printed and published numerous amounts of literature, and lobbied many politicians. The National American Women Suffrage Association also had historically famous women suffragists as their founders of NAWSA, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Historian Aileen Keyssar states that the NAWSA organization was tightly run and better funded than other organizations.\(^{130}\) Because of their large established group, the National American Women Suffrage Association was one of the key groups early to get women the right to vote, thus being the group historians studied most.

This historiography will begin to change after the death of Alice Paul, the National Women's Party president, in 1977, and during the American Feminist Movement of the late twentieth century. The death of Alice Paul and peak of the new women's movement led historians to revisit her work. When they found that she used different and radical tactics than the National American Women Suffrage Association's more conservative tactics, many people became interested in them. This put the National Women's Party, a smaller radical group, more evenly on par with the distinguished NAWSA organization.

Alice Paul's National Women's Party started off as a group just mentioned in writings because they broke away from the more established NAWSA organization. The NWP was not the only group being forgotten about by historians. Many other smaller organizations, like the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, another small radical woman suffrage group, was not being recognized and studied in great lengths like the National American Woman Suffrage Association was.\(^{131}\) The National Women's Party began to be a popular subject for historians to study in the 1960s and 1970s during the American Feminists Movement. This radical movement led to the study of other past radical feminists, such as Alice Paul. Her rebellious actions of picketing to get public attention and rebellious hunger strikes while she was in jail, motivated and inspired the new radical feminists, thus changing the subject historians

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129 Jaycox, 467.
130 Keyssar, 197.
Historians’ opinions of the National Women’s Party’s actions have changed from their arguing that they jeopardized the woman suffrage movement achievements to crediting their heroic actions with getting women the right to vote. Historian Keyssar, writing in the 1960s, felt that the rebellious actions of the NWP were unpatriotic. Additionally, he argued that the radical movement helped the anti-suffragist argument against allowing these radical women to vote by reminding people that the unruly women could not be controlled, even when they did not have the right to vote, and that suffrage would only exacerbate the problem. In addition, the radical actions like picketing showed the danger of women in politics and the foolishness of granting the women the right to vote. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the NAWSA, reassured men that the radicals’ actions did not represent the thoughts and views of the National American Women Suffrage Association.

When historians reexamined the National Women’s Party in the 1970s, new interpretations of their actions began to form. Historian Linda Ford found that their militant tactics were successful because it pushed President Woodrow Wilson into addressing the issue of women suffrage. She states that their sacrifice and the pain that the members of the NWP endured were heroic. The radical tactics of the National Women’s Party kept the attention of the press and increased public support. Historians began to look at their actions to see the positive impacts they had on the movement and disregarded the criticism historians once levied against the National Women’s Party.

Historians have placed emphasis on that the various arguments the different suffrage groups gave over the years as to why they should have the right to vote. In earlier years, the National American Women Suffrage Association used the reform method to demand the right to vote. Historian Aileen S. Kraditor, in 1965, states that that suffragists’ main argument for gaining the right to vote is that they would benefit society. Women were considered the moral voice in society and had the virtues of justice, moderation, and courage to guide their actions at the voting polls. They were considered Godly and would represent the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule in their vote. Women needed to have the right to vote so that they could stamp out liquor.

132 Wheeler, 16.
133 Keyssar, 215.
134 Robert Fowler, 151.
136 Wheeler, 16.
137 Kraditor, 534.
138 Kraditor, 220.
help pass pure food laws, and abolish child labor. This is considered to be the argument that the NAWSA used for many years because it kept the stereotype of the modest and moral women with which men wanted to characterize women but still argued that women should have an influence in the government.

When historians began to study the National Women’s Party, the argument for women having a right to vote changed to the justice theory. The justice theory states that women should have the right to vote because women are equal to men under the law so therefore, they should have the right to vote just like men do. Alice Paul argued that women should have the right to vote because they were taxed and held to the same laws that men were under the United States Constitution. When WWI came, she protested against President Woodrow Wilson for fighting for democracy when there was no democracy here for women at home. She even went as far as burning President Wilson’s speeches on democracy in front of the White House. When historians started to study the more radical groups of the women’s suffrage movement, the reform theory of the National American Women Suffrage Association changed to the justice theory of the National Women’s Party.

When the National Women’s Party and the National American Women Suffrage Association are compared today, many historians look at the different tactics of the two groups and evaluate which organization really succeeded in attaining women’s right to vote. The National Women Suffrage Association was the main organization that won the women the right to vote. The National Women’s Party did speed up the vote by drawing attention to the suffrage subject matter, but the National Women Suffrage Association was the organization that did all the real work to get the suffrage amendment to pass.

The first difference in tactics a historian might notices when comparing the National Women’s Party and the National American Women Suffrage Association is that the NWP used more militant tactics while the NAWSA used a more conservative tactic. Alice believed that militant tactics were successful because it pushed the intractable Democratic government and President Wilson into action with nonviolent radical actions. Alice’s reasoning for here militant tactics was that, “if women were sitting in congress, they would not have to use the humiliating method of printing their appeals on banners, the

139 Kraditor, 72.
140 Cornwall, 1217
141 Lyndi MvCammon, and Sandy Smith, 529.
142 Linda Ford, 174.
143 Jaycox, 469.
144 Ford, Iron-Jawed Angels 225
only recourse left to them.\textsuperscript{145} She believed that her demonstrations and sacrifices were heroic and would draw good attention from the media and force the government into action.\textsuperscript{146} Paul believed wholeheartedly that dramatic publicity of their radical protests helped win woman's suffrage and kept suffrage a burning issue.\textsuperscript{147} 

Alternatively, the National American Suffrage Party did not believe in picketing because the NAWSA considers that suffrage had long since passed the agitation stage.\textsuperscript{148} Carrie Carr stated that picketing women made the psychological mistake of injecting into this stage of the suffrage campaign tactics which are out of accord with it. Every reform, every change of idea in the world passes through three stages—agitation, argument, and surrender. We have passed through the first two stages and entered into the third. The mistake of the pickets is that they have no comprehensive ideas of the movement, and are trying to work the first stage in third. We stand on the threshold of final victory, and the only contribution these women make to it is to confuse the public mind.\textsuperscript{149}

Instead of picketing and bullying the president and other law makers into voting for women to have the right to vote, the NAWSA believed that the real basis for any change of front must be the educating of minds through the appeal to reason. The NAWSA were certain that the positive process of the education method could be relied on to bring the federal suffrage amendment to a favorable conclusion. By educating the politician, the National American Women Suffrage Association did not pressure politicians by prying them forcibly apart from his traditions, leaving him with a sense of shock and deficiency, but instead used a softer approach by slowly making them realize the importance of women voting. The NAWSA had already won suffrage for women in twelve states using the education method.\textsuperscript{150} Even though it was a slower route, it was effective in getting politicians to realize the injustice of women shut out of politics.

\textsuperscript{145} Kraditor, 241  
\textsuperscript{146} Ford, Iron-Jawed Angels, 225 and 231  
\textsuperscript{147} Ford Linda, 175  
\textsuperscript{148} Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket  
\textsuperscript{149} Ellen Skinner, “Carrie Chapman, Mrs. Catt Assails Pickets (1917),“ Women and the National Experience: Primary Sources in American History (Boston: Addison-Wesley Educational Publisher Inc, 1996) 168  
\textsuperscript{150} Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
The second difference in tactics a historian might notice is that the National Women's Party holds the president and the political party in power responsible for women's right to vote, while the National American Women Suffrage Association does not. Alice explained, in a flier entitled “Why We Picket”, her reasoning for picketing the president by saying that she believed that,

Congress could easily pass the suffrage amendment if the President gave his support. More than half the Senators and nearly half the House are already pledged to our amendment. Many Senators and Representatives oppose suffrage only because the President opposes it. If the President should declare for national suffrage he could undoubtedly influence enough votes to secure the passage of the amendment through Congress; and this victory for democracy could be accomplished without struggle or grief, without the loss of a single life, or any waste of national wealth.  

Alice also knew that President Wilson had a reputation as an executive being capable of writing into law progressive legislation in which he believed. The NWP also pressured the party in power, the Democratic Party, so that they could put the pressure on the President for not giving suffrage for women.

Unfortunately, during the National Women's Party's Anti-Democratic campaign in the West in 1914-1916, Woodrow Wilson attended the NAWSA's Atlantic City convention on September 8, 1916 and stated that he had, “not come to fight anyone, but with someone” and that he was changing his political views for women's suffrage. The support of President Wilson helped the NAWSA but killed the NWP's campaign in the West because now that the president was willing to help the women suffrage campaign, Paul was campaigning against a supporter.

Both the National Women's Party and the National American Women Suffrage Association knew the importance of having the president on board, but the NAWSA did not go against the president or the Democratic Party, to get the right to vote. NAWSA had worked for the federal amendment with and through the political leaders of all parties. The NAWSA chose a longer route by not taking a particular party's side. Carrie Chapman Catt admitted that this

151 Alice Paul, Why We Picket
153 Christine A. Lunardini and Thomas J. Knock, 560 and 571.
154 Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
method “may have delayed the coming of women suffrage.” But, she added, “when it comes, women will be absolutely free to chose parties, candidates, and causes without obligation to any.” Under the NWP anti-party in power policy, the Democrats only were to be held responsible. The NAWSA pointed out that this was a flaw because given a full House vote, without Republican help, the federal suffrage amendment could not possible be passed even if every Democrat in the house should vote for it. Another flaw in the anti-party—in-power policy was that even those Democrats who were pro-amendment would be campaigned against while anti-amendment Republicans would be exempt.

Carrie Catt also explains that the NAWSA lobbied the Capitol, not the White House, unlike the NWP members because the NWP members believed that the president was responsible for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. She reminded everyone that the occupant of the White House is the chief executive of the United States; but he is not its law making body. That body is Congress. To hold the president responsible for federal legislation is to attribute to him dictatorship over the Congress. The National American Women Suffrage Association also did not go against the president or a particular party because it would give the Anti-Suffragists a reason to turn people against the idea that women should vote.

The National Women’s Party’s militant tactics gave the Anti-Suffragists valid arguments on why women should not vote. Paul’s militancy hurt the cause, making it easier for opponents to label woman suffragists as radicals and raising fears about what would happen if women got the vote. The Anti-Suffragists also voiced fears that female participation in electoral politics would undermine family life and tarnish women themselves. Anti-Suffragists labeled suffragists as unpatriotic for their picketing against a war time President. Anti-Suffragists stated that, “every reason against picketing in time of peace is stressed a thousand fold in war time.” All of the radical and rebellious things that the National Women’s Party did was turned against the fight for suffrage and used against them.

Even the other suffrage organizations, like the NAWSA, saw how the NWP was hurting their campaign. Carrie Catt stated that the NWP “have gone

155 Kraditor, 247.
156 Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
157 Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
158 Robert Fowler, 140.
159 Keyssar, 173.
160 Fowler, 151.
161 Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
out of their way to seek noisy and irritating methods by which to voice their grievances.”

She feared that the work of two million women might be lost in the actions of the National Women’s Party that never was larger than 50,000 members. Carrie Catt was worried that the NWP militant tactics were going to cause suffragists to lose all of the credibility and progress they had made so far, and was also concerned that their militant actions would create fear and would keep men from voting for women suffrage. She even stated that “it is difficult to get men who have been antagonized by suffragists to vote for suffrage.”

The women suffrage campaign needed male support, not civil disobedience and unflattering news coverage. A letter to Elizabeth Bancroft from her father, gives insight on how males viewed the National Women’s Party as he describes a woman suffrage parade, “What a shame it was to expend such an immense amount of energy on a cause that just pricks the surface of the great social question. I hope equality comes quickly so that people may devote their attention to the real issues.”

The Women Suffrage did bring the attention of the press to the women’s suffrage subject, but did so in a way that made males fear and question women having the right to vote. For example, in the New York Times 1917, the NAWSA New York suffragists commented that “Government and the organized suffragists, equally outraged by inconsiderate treatment, should join hands. Our grievances against the little group of outlaws and those of the Government are identical.”

This type of publicity hurt the campaign by giving the anti-suffragists reasons to lobby for women not to have the right to vote during the consideration of the Nineteenth Amendment.

After World War I, Woodrow Wilson wrote the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, which was named in honor of Susan B. Anthony. The Suffrage vote failed to pass in 1918 but Wilson did not abandon his fight for women’s voting rights. In June of 1919, the senate reevaluated the Nineteenth Amendment due to the National American Women Suffrage Association’s heavy legislative lobbying and public attention and passed the amendment. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt spent these days before the second vote

162 Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
163 Fowler, 152.
164 Carrie Catt, Why We Did Not Picket
165 Fowler, 150.
166 Schlesinger, 13.
169 Mani, 177.
campaigning for women’s suffrage in Tennessee, because it was not yet decided which way it was going to vote. The National Women’s Party argues that the amendment passed because their “demonstrations brought sympathetic press coverage and resulting public pressure, Wilson finally secured the last senator needed to pass the amendment.” The NWP took full credit for the victory, claiming that the Wilson administration had “yielded under the gunfire” of the NWP. Later, Wilson stated that, “the votes of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all, for fear (that) anyone misinterprets his motives for addressing the Congress”.

On August 1920, the day of the Nineteenth Amendment voting, the Tennessee legislature became the 36th and last state to ratify the amendment. That day, the New York Times headline was titled, “Women Are Jubilant; Antis Promise Appeal: Legal Fight Threatened Over Successful Outcome of Half-Century Suffrage Fight.” In this article, Carrie Catt stated that “Tennessee has thus closed sixteen years of woman’s struggle for the right to have their prayers counted on Election Day.” News articles were hailing the suffrage victory as bringing added opportunity and responsibility to American Women.

During the years of the women’s suffrage movement, the National American Women Suffrage Association provided effective lobbying tactics for women to campaign for the right to vote. The NAWSA organization was so large and effective in their lobbying that the Nineteenth Amendment was voted on successfully and passed. The National Women’s Party was, unfortunately, not as successful in their radical and militant tactics to persuade the government to pass the Nineteenth Amendment because of their aggressive campaigns, flawed anti-party-in-power theory, and unflattering news coverage. The NWP did, however, bring the general public’s attention to the suffrage issue, which enabled the National American Women’s Suffrage Association, to campaign for a federal law and lobby congress for the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Without the actions of the NAWSA, women today would still be denied the right to vote.

170 Keyssar, 208.
171 Ford, 185.
172 Wheeler, 293.
173 Lyndi McCammon, and Sandy Smith, 145.
174 Mani, 177.
176 The New York Times (August 19, 1920)
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