

# HER PRESSURE ON CONGRESS

## Suffrage Lobbyist's Card Index Keeps Tab on Members' Home Influences, Financial Backers, and Even Golf Partners

Many rumors have been afloat in Washington about the methods used by the suffrage lobby in bringing pressure to bear on members of Congress in an effort to put through the Federal amendment extending the franchise to women. This account of an elaborate card index throws light on the system, which, the suffragists say, includes no improper tactics.

NEITHER members of Congress who have swung from the anti-suffrage to the pro-suffrage column nor those who remain in the list of the antis are aware that at the headquarters of the National Woman's Party at Washington is a card index system so extensive in detail, political and personal, that twenty-two different cards are required for each Senator and Representative.

The use to which this card index has been put, in bringing "pressure" to bear on members of Congress to vote for the suffrage amendment, will be a revelation to them, as it will to people generally. Housed in a room not much larger than a good-sized pantry, it is the centre from which are launched the attacks to change votes opposed to woman suffrage. To the index, and the machinery it sets to work, chief credit is given for the gains in votes in favor of the amendment, and further operations are expected to produce victory for the amendment in the next Congress.

Suppose a Congressman says to a lobbyist under this system: "I don't think my district is much interested in woman suffrage. I get very few letters in favor of it from my constituents." Then through the card index an effort is at once made to start a flood of letters pro-suffrage from the member's district, so far as possible from persons known to him.

Suppose the Congressman has what is known as a "financial backer." The system seeks to find out who he is, to convert him to woman suffrage, and to induce him to bring his influence to bear on the member in question. In a word, whoever and whatever has the most influence on the Congressman the elaborate card index is designed to discover and to set to work to change the member over.

This centres interest, in the beginning, on what the cards of the index are about. They are as follows:

No. 1—Contains the member's name and his biography as contained in the Congressional Directory.  
No. 2—A key card, has these headings:



Miss Maud Younger, Chairman of the Labor Committee and Keeper of the Suffrage Card Index Through Which Pressure Is Brought to Bear on Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Ancestry, Nativity, Education, Religion, Offices Held, General Information.

No. 3—A sub-card under the foregoing, as are those yet to be given, contains these headings: Birth, Date, Place, Number of Children, Additional Information.

Nos. 4, 5, and 6—Are, respectively for Father, Mother, Brothers. They have headings to elicit full information on these subjects, as Nativity, Education, Occupation.

No. 7—Education: Preparatory School and College.

No. 8—Religion: Name of Church, Date

of Entrance, Position Held in Church, Church Work.

No. 9—Military Service: Dates, Offices, Battles, Additional Information.

No. 10—Occupation: Past, Present.

No. 11—Labor Record.

Nos. 12 and 13—Are set aside for Literary Work and Lecture Work.

No. 14—Newspapers: Meaning what newspapers the member reads and those that have the most influence over him.

Nos. 15 and 16—Are respectively for Recreations and Hobbies.

Nos. 17 and 18—Are devoted to Health and Habits.

No. 19—Political Life Prior to Congress: Offices Held, Whether Supported Prohibition Amendment, Offices Run For.

No. 20—Political life in Congress: Terms, Date, Party, Bills Introduced, Bills Supported, Committees.

No. 21—Suffrage Record: Outside of Congress, In Congress.

No. 22—Votes Cast in Election of Member.

Whatever lodges and clubs the member may belong to are entered on the cards; every fact that has any bearing on his personality, opinions, and mental make-up is minutely detailed. No detail—in the words of an authoritative statement—is overlooked that might give a lobbyist an insight into how best to approach the Congressman in question.

Miss Maud Younger is Chairman of the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party and directs the use of the card index. She is frankly enthusiastic over the methods employed and their results. When asked about the card index system in Washington the other day, she took the inquirer to the room where the records are kept, and drew from one of the cases a set of cards that concerned a Senator who was not in office long, so that the entries were few. It was from these that the above list was taken.

"I do not think I ought to show a set that has been filled out with information," Miss Younger said, "as that is confidential."

"Some of your opponents assert that you have gathered information about members of Congress which they do not wish to have known and that this has been employed, in some cases, in the attempt to change them in favor of the amendment," said the inquirer.

"There is not a word of truth in that," answered Miss Younger. "Such information has been offered, but we have refused to accept it. We have never for one moment considered employing such methods."

"How do you use the system?"

Miss Younger searched through several sets of the cards. "This will show," she said. "It is a lobby slip. After a Congressman, as a new member, is entered on a set of the cards in the index, a new addition is made to the set every time one of our lobbyists or a suffragist delegation visits him. The lobbyist, when she starts out, receives a lobby slip which has a list of entries to bring out fully all the information she obtains. Here, on this slip, under the heading, 'Exact Statement and Remarks,' are these words made by the Congressman to our lobbyist, 'Put me down on the mourner's bench. I am thinking about it.'

"Then," said Miss Younger, with heightened animation, "we would get

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# Her Pressure on Congress---Suffragist's Card Index

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busy with the index. We would go through the records to find out just where to bring influence to bear on him. Suppose we saw he was a strong labor man. Labor organizations, we have found, are usually sympathetic with us. We would get after those labor organizations that had the most influence over him to pass resolutions and to appeal to him individually to vote for suffrage.

"Suppose, say, our information was that he was controlled by another who was his financial backer. We would get the financial backer if possible, and then the conversion would be complete. Only the other day we won over the financial backer of a Senator who had been opposed to the amendment. He has become convinced that the future of the Senator depends on his becoming a supporter of suffrage. He has promised to write to the Senator and we expect a change in the Senator's vote the next time the amendment comes up. Twenty-two Senators have changed their position in favor of suffrage since I came to Washington." (Miss Younger took charge of the card index system three years ago.)

Miss Younger was asked whether detectives were employed in getting some of the information for the cards of the index.

"No," she answered, "not one. We are organized all over the country, and thus can reach out into the district in which the member lives and ask our own members to find out what we want. Then here in Washington we get information about one Congressman from another Congressman."

Miss Younger drew three more illustrations from among the Lobby Slips and read them off:

"Member stated he would not vote for it if every voter in his district asked him. A Congressman like that is difficult to deal with," was the comment. But sending lobbyists from his district to see him pays; it works in another way. We sent a woman to see a Congressman of this kind. She was from his district. He

spoke rude'y to her and made her angry. She came back here and subscribed \$100 to our fund, and went home determined to do all she could to defeat him when he ran for re-election.

"'Women in my State don't want it,'" Miss Younger read from the second slip. "A case like that is encouraging," she said. "We see that he begins to get letters and telegrams in large number

## CHANGING SENATE VOTES

**H**OW nine votes have been won in the Senate since the amendment passed the House."—From the records of the National Woman's Party.

*SENATOR McCUMBER of North Dakota, who had voted against the amendment in 1914, declared his unwillingness to change his position, but said that if he believed his State desired him to vote for the amendment, he would. Suffragists appealed to the State Legislature to make known its desire. He was then instructed by the State Legislature to vote favorably, and he announced his support.*

*SENATOR CULBERSON of Texas, an opponent of the amendment, was approached through his State Legislature and constituency. Suffragists made the rounds of the members, and procured the signatures of more than two-thirds to a petition asking Senator Culberson to vote yea. He then agreed to change his position.*

*SENATOR GERRY of Rhode Island was also in part converted to the justice of voting for the Federal amendment by a resolution from his State Legislature asking for his support of it.*

*SENATOR KING of Utah was regarded as one of the determined opponents. Nevertheless, the suffragists believed that he would ultimately see the justice of their arguments. They went into his State and campaigned up and down it, persuading the people to express their desires through resolutions and petitions. These, along with letters, poured in upon Senator King by the thousand, until his opposition was overcome.*

*SENATOR PHELAN of California was the first to announce his conversion after the vote in the House. He stated that the President's declaration for the Federal amendment had convinced him that there was no reason to oppose it on the grounds of policy or principle, and that he would cordially vote for it.*

*Republican leaders of the country were interviewed by the suffragists and urged to procure votes on their side of the Senate, in order to live up to the good Republican record made in the House vote. SENATORS HARDING, KELLOGG, PAGE, and SUTHERLAND were finally persuaded that it was the part of justice and party wisdom to support the amendment.*

from his State. One Congressman on whom we started a campaign received so many letters and telegrams that he said: 'If you will only stop I will vote for the amendment. It keeps my office force busy all day answering letters about suffrage alone.'

"Why do you want to know the number of lodges and clubs the member belongs to?"

"In them we often find the men who have the most influence over the Congressman. There is a definite purpose in every card. To know the hobbies of a member may seem inconsequential, but that often paves the way for a favorable introduction better than anything else, and, for instance, a man who plays golf with a member may find just the right opportunity to talk suffrage. That is why we collect all we can about the Congressman's family life. The entry calling for his ancestry may seem unnecessary at first glance, but that may supply the clue. Some races are more disposed to suffrage than others.

"It is important to know all about the mother, and that explains why a whole card is devoted to her. Mothers continue to have strong influence over their sons. Some married men listen to their mothers more than to their wives. You will hear a man telling his wife how his mother used to do it, and then we know from his frequent reference to his mother that if we can make of her a strong advocate for suffrage we have the best of chances of winning the son, or if it is the wife who has the strong influence and she is an anti, we know that our first work must be to convert the wife to our cause. Why do we devote a card to the brothers? One of them may have the necessary influence.

"We especially want the character of the member—his standing in his community."

"Why do you want to know the habits of the Congressman?"

"For several reasons. For example, some Congressmen get to their offices early; one that I know at 7:30, and this is often the best time during the day to see them. Then if a member is a drinking man we want to know that. One of our lobbyists may go to him and not know what is the matter with him.

"In 1913 the money we allotted for lobbying was \$10. Since then we have raised more than \$425,000. Our expenses in Washington this year will be \$100,000."