

Suffrage Index of God and Bad Governors: How the Card System Which ...

Harris & Ewing. Harris & Ewing.

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Suffrage Index of Good and Bad Governors

How the Card System Which Forced Congress Into Line Is Being Used to Expedite Ratification by States

IN many parts of the country members of State Legislatures are wondering what suddenly happened to them.

The farmer legislator—to take an illustration from the most disturbed class—found, before the storm which, arising apparently from nowhere, had descended upon him with a gale-like sweep, that all was quiet as a Summer's day in his district. He was perhaps cutting hay, politics free, having by that time completely forgotten that only a short time before he had answered a letter declining to call upon the Governor of his State to assemble the Legislature in special session to vote on the ratification of the Federal women's suffrage amendment. He couldn't (he wrote) discover any sentiment among his people in favor of incurring the expense of an extra session for the purpose named. Then came the first signs of the political storm. Letters, telephone messages, telegrams began to arrive in large numbers, begging, demanding that he ask the Governor to call the extra session of the Legislature. Delegations next descended upon him. Thereafter, night or day, he scarcely has had any rest. It is a deepening mystery to him where all the clamor and pressure come from.

The trouble with the legislator is that he has been card-indexed.

From the national headquarters of the National Woman's Party at Washington the card-index machinery which, to get enough votes to pass the suffrage amendment, pushed so many members of Congress over the line and made them come out in favor of it, this card-index machine has been quietly extended to exert the same kind of many-sided pressure on the members of State Legislatures. All State legislators and all Governors of States are now being indexed by the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party. In each case there is the same searching inquiry as to what kind of pressure a particular legislator or Governor is most susceptible to that was employed in rounding up Senators and Representatives at Washington. Later other State officials and the Mayors of cities are also to be card-indexed. Irony is added to the extraordinary situation by the fact that card-indexed Senators and Representatives are being used to swing the coils of card-indexing around Governors and members of the State Legislatures.

When the system is completed it will go beyond what men politicians have ever dreamed of. As conceived it will be a double machine. There will be two sets of levers. One set will connect with

members of Congress who can be put into action for pressure in the States. The other set of levers will connect with Governors and members of State Legislatures who can be put into action for pressure on Congress. By means of this machine the leaders of the National Woman's Party are confident that the suffrage amendment will be ratified by the States before the end of this year and certainly in time for the next Presidential election. Fourteen States have ratified. Thirty-six are necessary. Twenty-four other States have been polled, the suffrage leaders assert, and will ratify as soon as their Legislatures can be assembled. In all but three of these special sessions are necessary. Here is where they expect card-index

pressure to do the work, and in support of this assertion they point to the fact that out of the fourteen ratifications up to this time half were by special session. More remarkable than the general statement of card-index pressure is the detail of how it has been and is being used to achieve ratification. Miss Maud Younger, Chairman of the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party, who is an enthusiast on card-indexing for political purposes, went into the details freely in Washington the other day, illustrating her revelations by actual telegrams, letters, and memoranda on the cards of the index system which had played a part in the operations of the scheme. Names were sometimes withheld. Miss Younger said:

"Miss Paul, our Chairman, went to Governor J. A. A. Burnquist of Minnesota soon after the amendment was passed and got him to send this telegram:

June 9, 1919.

To all Governors:
I believe Minnesota Legislature will ratify suffrage amendment at this time if sufficient number of States will do so. Will you call special session of your Legislature this year to consider ratification of suffrage amendment if Legislature of thirty-five other States will be in session or called into session this year? I desire to call such session in Minnesota if sufficient number of Governors of other States will call sessions within their States.
J. A. A. BURNQUIST.

"Of those Governors who answered 'No' at the time, two have already been changed to 'Yes.' These are the Governors of Wyoming and North Dakota. Here is a copy of the original answer of Governor Carey of Wyoming:

For the reason that Wyoming women enjoy the rights of suffrage and that special session of the Legislature to ratify the national amendment would be of no advantage to the people of the State, I do not expect to call an extra session.
ROBERT D. CAREY.

"You see, 'no' does not discourage us. We first card-index the Governors, then we start to bring pressure to bear. We called on the Senators and Congressmen to write to the Governors. We got Will Hays, the Republican Chairman, and members of the National Democratic Committee to write. We use all political organizations. Our method is not to play one off against the other, but, through the pressure system, to induce help from each one. Out in North Dakota we used the Non-Partisan League, very strong in that section of the country. William Lemke, the Secretary of the league in that State, was of much help in causing Governor Lind J. Frazier to see the wisdom of changing his mind from his first position—opposition to calling a special session of the Legislature. Governor Frazier has now promised us that he will call a special session as soon as he can without interfering with the work of the farmers.

"You would be surprised at how we have been held up by the farmers busy with their crops. We got nine States to ratify in June, but only four in July and only one in August. In the West so many of the members of the Legislatures are farmers. It used to be lawyers. In one Western State, I am told, all the members of the Legislature are farmers or have important farm connections. And, strange to say, some of the smallest States have the largest



Harris & Ewing.
Card Index of Congress and State Legislatures—Miss Maud Younger, (Standing,) and Miss Julia Emory, Secretary, (Seated.)

Legislatures. But we get after them all. Card-indexing a farmer is a simpler affair than card-indexing the city man. The farmer has fewer relations to trace out.

"There is no doubt that the special sessions that have been called are the result of pressure, and by what we have accomplished we know we can win a sufficient number of the others. As soon as we win a Governor we start him to work to get another Governor to call a special session. At the recent conference of Governors at Salt Lake City, Utah, we had Governors working on other Governors. Governors who were specially active in our behalf were Governor Allen of Kansas, Governor Shoup of Colorado, and Governor Sprout of Pennsylvania. And do you know that Senator Penrose helped to get the amendment through for us in Pennsylvania, after voting against it in the Senate? We had Mrs. Robert Baker, our political Chairman, at the Salt Lake conference and many delegations of women from nearby States were sent in. We fairly bombarded them with telephones and telegrams. Our monthly telephone and telegraph bill in this office amounts to \$500. One Governor told us privately that he was sorry he had taken a position in the beginning against calling a special session, and wouldn't have done so if he had known how much agitation was going to follow. I do not wonder!

"Our plan of attack is this: By means of the card-index system we go after the members of the Legislatures. When we win a particular legislator we get him to write to the Governor asking that a special session of the Legislature be called. In California, my native State, I induced a labor representative to write to the Governor, and that's the way it started there. One of the arguments we have to overcome is that of expense, that an extra session will be a burden on the taxpayers. Another is of the time the members will lose. This letter from one of our Chairmen in a Western State illustrates how we meet those objections:

We have already proceeded along the "Kansas plan" in this State regarding the special session and found that most of our Assemblymen were willing to donate car fare, and we suggested that in any district where the legislator felt he could not afford it the women of his constituency would be glad to take up a collection or give a strawberry festival or something in order to raise the funds. None of these things will need to be done, as the Governor announced his intention to call a special session about two days after our delegation of thirty prominent women waited upon him.

We are now putting on the "screws" to force him to call it on or before the

first of September. It has been a most interesting siege. I went up to — first about three weeks ago in the interest of ratification. And then last week I went up again and went on to — where we got all the labor unions to pass resolutions calling upon the Governor to convene the special session at once!

First, the Executive and his backers said it would be so very expensive, it would not be fair to the taxpayers. We did the obvious thing; we went to the Chairman of the Budget Committee at the Capitol and had him figure it out, and we presented the gentleman with the facts. They told us it would cost \$35,000. We found that a three-day session would cost at the outside \$1,600!

Then they said there were so many farmers whose crops would be ruined if they had to leave to attend the Legislature. We polled them; we found that out of the 100 Assemblymen the great majority were not farmers, and we pointed out that we thought Kansas, Iowa and Missouri were farming States, and they seemed to be able to call sessions. We have met every objection so far, and now I understand the Governor has written —, who is said to run things in the Republican Party in this

State, that he will call the session in September.

We are now insisting that the Governor shall call the session, naming the definite date, so that it will be useful to us as a lever to lift other backward States into line. There is, of course, no question that the amendment will be ratified here, probably unanimously, when it is voted on.

"In many of the States," continued Miss Younger, "we have persuaded members of the Legislatures to waive mileage and their per diem."

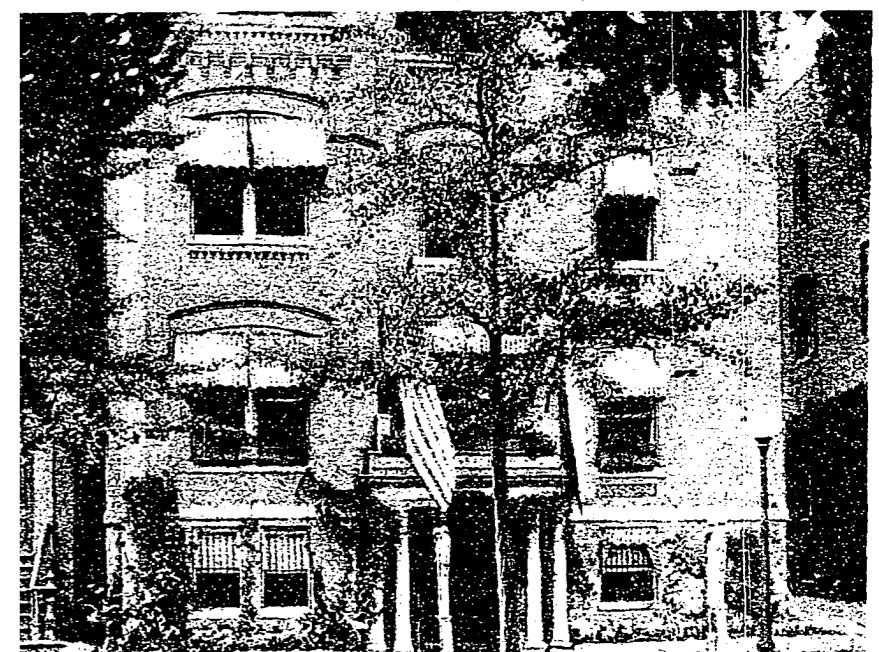
"We have just had an organizer going all over Delaware." Miss Younger drew a card out of the new State Legislatures index, and read the answer of the member in question as follows: "My district is opposed. I am opposed. I will not promise to vote at this time."

"See that qualification at the last," exclaimed the lobby Chairman. "That

in work of this kind would not think so.

We send a delegation to a Governor or to a member of the Legislature and have a photograph taken. The official is usually the only man present, and looks most miserable surrounded by women. The effect is that of one who has women pleading with him in vain, and that is a picture a man does not like to have reproduced widely, though he will hardly think of that aspect of the case at the time it is taken.

"We are now indexing in twenty-four States. We shall do the others as soon as the amendment is ratified. There are reasons for also wanting other State officials and Mayors. You see, a Mayor comes in handy, because he is the official who issues permits to speakers. In this room we expect to have indexed all the



Harris & Ewing.
National Woman's Party Headquarters, Washington, D. C., Home of the Card Index.

means that pressure will bring him to our side. Of course, we can win men who have any doubt in their minds. We can even swing over members who have begun with an absolute 'No.' A mere State legislator's 'No' does not mean anything to us when we have changed United States Senators. Photographs help us in converting antis, though one unacquainted with the effect of a 'photo'

important officers of government, Federal and State, from the President and the members of the Cabinet down through Congress and the States. It is very useful to have the member of the State Legislature card-indexed; he often advances to higher political office. You can find out early in his career whether he is to be depended on.

"From this card [Miss Younger took one out] I find that this man started with a temperance hotel and wound up with a bar; he began as a reformer but didn't stick. The report on another member says his recreation is pool and that he is known as a poor loser. Here is an entry on another card; the member's name is not in the telephone book. Does not that at once give an idea of the limited activity of an official—a public man without a telephone? This is from a Kentucky member, who was asked to write to the Governor to call an extra session of the Legislature: 'As my wife is a strong suffragette and weighs 200 pounds and being very clever with the rolling pin, I am forced as a matter of self-defense to answer in the affirmative.'

"What will you do with the card system after the amendment is ratified, as you say it will be?" Miss Younger was asked.

"We are not looking that far ahead," was the answer. "Ratification first. But of course it will not be destroyed. In the future," continued Miss Younger, surveying the shiny cases containing the secret information, "women will know what they have to deal with. We have to be careful to keep the door of this room locked when we are not here. Some have tried to get in; and would you believe it, sociologists have tried hard to get a peep at the cards. One, in making his plea, said it would be a wonderful help in work he was undertaking, that women get the sidelights, while men, in making a card index, depend on categorical answers. It is the 'sidelights' that are often most helpful."

STATUS OF RATIFICATION OF SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Amendment Passed United States Congress June 4, 1919. States Necessary to Ratify, 36.)

STATES WHICH HAVE ALREADY RATIFIED—14			STATES WHICH HAVE ALREADY RATIFIED—14				
	Senate	House		Senate	House		
Wisconsin...	June 10	24-1	64-2	Massachusetts..	June 25	34-5	185-47
Michigan....	" 10	Unan.	Unan.	Texas.....	" 28	Unan.	96-21
Kansas.....	" 16	"	"	Iowa.....	July 2	"	95-5
Ohio.....	" 16	27-3	73-6	Missouri.....	" 3	28-3	125-4
New York...	" 16	Unan.	Unan.	Arkansas.....	" 29	29-2	76-17
Illinois.....	" 17	"	"	Montana.....	" 30	38-1	Unan.
Pennsylvania	" 24	32-6	153-44	Nebraska.....	Aug. 2	Unan.	"

STATES EXPECTED TO RATIFY ON BASIS OF LEGISLATIVE POLL—24

Arizona	New Jersey
California	New Mexico
Colorado	North Dakota
Connecticut	Oklahoma
Delaware	Oregon
Idaho	Rhode Island
Indiana	South Dakota
Maine	Utah
Maryland	(Special session Sept. 29)
Minnesota	Vermont
(Special session Sept. 8)	Washington
Nevada	West Virginia
New Hampshire	Wyoming
(Special session Sept. 9)	

SPECIAL SESSIONS NECESSARY

Of the twenty-four States expected to ratify only three will hold regular sessions before 1921—Rhode Island, Maryland, New Jersey. It is therefore necessary to secure special sessions in nineteen other States if women are to vote in 1920. Of the fourteen States which have already ratified, ten ratified at special sessions, seven of which were especially called for this purpose.

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Suffragist: "Now, Governors, All together R-A-T-I-F-Y!"

A Cover Page of The Suffragist Which Speaks for Itself.