United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

__x__ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Women's Suffrage Movement in Maryland

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

I. 17th Century: Mistress Margaret Brent
II. 19th Century: Birth and Growth of the Women's Suffrage Movement
III. 20th Century: New Opportunities and New Voices
IV. World War I and Passage of the 19th Amendment
V. Post-1920 Activism for Women

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Elizabeth Hughes

Director/SHPO 12/5/2023
Signature of certifying official Title Date

Maryland Historical Trust
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

The Women's Suffrage Movement in Maryland | Maryland
Name of Multiple Property Listing | State

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Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

The Women's Suffrage Movement in Maryland — Maryland
Name of Multiple Property Listing — State

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Name of Property
County and State The Women's Suffrage Movement in Maryland
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Statement of Historic Contexts

OVERVIEW

The overview that follows provides new historic context for the Maryland women's suffrage movement and connects the women of this campaign with the places where they made history.

On August 26, 1920, the 19th Amendment became law and officially granted twenty million American women the right to vote. This mass expansion in voting rights was the result of over 70 years of intense activism known as the women's suffrage movement. The success of this campaign was driven by the hard work and commitment of a nationwide pool of women of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, including thousands of Marylanders.

Maryland's suffragists played an important role in the passage of the 19th Amendment. Even though the Maryland legislature failed to ratify the suffrage amendment at the time, the women's suffrage movement had a powerful impact on the state. Mass activism by suffragists throughout Maryland permanently changed the social and political roles of women by bringing them into new spheres of civic and political engagement. The diversity of sites associated with the suffrage movement reflects the breadth of suffragists' work and the wide range of strategies they used to marshal social and political power in the face of entrenched institutional opposition.

State suffrage leaders developed a robust network of grassroots organizations that worked in cities and counties across the state. Much of this work was done in close coordination with the leading organizations of the national suffrage movement, which directed strategies and tactics used by affiliated groups around the country. Nationally recognized suffrage leaders frequently campaigned in Maryland in the belief that its citizens and legislators would support their cause, and regularly used the state as a staging location for national lobbying and publicity campaigns in nearby Washington, D.C.

Maryland's suffrage movement shared much with the national campaign, including a troubled racial legacy. The women's suffrage movement (ca. 1848 – 1920) occurred during a period of great transition for African American citizens and their rights; from Emancipation to Reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow. Tensions over race and the expansion of rights and citizenship led many white suffragists to employ racist stereotypes in the promotion of their cause and to exclude people of color from the dominant suffrage organizations. Maryland's campaign was divided along racial lines, with largely separate leaders, organizations, and sites associated with white and black suffragists.

A vocal anti-suffrage movement was also active in the state, motivated in part by these racial divides and by strongly held views that women should maintain their traditional, private, roles in society. Women and men joined anti-suffrage organizations that campaigned vigorously around the state and in the nation's capital to block the expansion of voting rights to women. Maryland's General Assembly

repeatedly rejected statewide and municipal suffrage measures and failed to ratify the 19th Amendment after its passage by the U.S. Congress in 1919.

The approval of 36 states was required for the ratification of the 19th Amendment. On August 18, 1920, Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify the Amendment, and on August 26, 1920, the 19th Amendment was officially signed into law. Regardless of the Maryland state legislature's disapproval, women of the state now legally had the right to vote.

Maryland's suffragists moved immediately to transform their campaign to acquire the vote into an effort to educate and activate newly enfranchised women. They posted advice in local newspapers and organized classes for new women voters. Many also threw their support behind the Equal Rights Amendment, an as-yet unratified amendment originally drafted by suffragists in 1923 that bars discrimination based on sex.

I. 17TH CENTURY: MISTRESS MARGARET BRENT

Maryland has a notable distinction in the history of the American women's suffrage movement. The first woman in the English colonies who claimed a right to vote was Mistress Margaret Brent of St. Mary's City.

Brent was a powerful figure in colonial Maryland. She emigrated from England in 1638 with her sister, Mary, and two of her brothers. Both Margaret and Mary Brent arrived with a promise from Maryland's Proprietor, Lord Baltimore, that they would have the same rights to landownership as any free male settler. Neither sister chose to marry, and instead established an estate of their own just outside St. Mary's City that they named Sisters Freehold. As an unmarried woman, Brent retained legal powers and privileges that married women surrendered to their husbands. She was a landowner in her own right and frequently appeared in court to collect debts and settle matters of business related to her property. Though these were rights and responsibilities granted to unmarried landowning women under English law, she was unusual in her ongoing skillful public exercise of these powers in large part because there were so few unmarried women in the Maryland colony.

Due to her important position and demonstrated competence in managing complex legal affairs, Governor Leonard Calvert named her the sole executor of his will just before he died in May of 1647. He left her in a fraught position, having recently put down a Protestant insurrection but dying before determining how to pay the soldiers. Before the Governor's death, he had held the power of attorney for his brother, Lord Baltimore, the colonial proprietor. Upon Governor Calvert's death, Margaret Brent sought to assume this power to help her settle the colony's debt to the soldiers and suppress an impending mutiny. On January 3, 1648, the Maryland Assembly formally granted her the authority to act as attorney for Lord Baltimore, which she used to repay the soldiers and avert an all-out rebellion that would have had disastrous consequences for the colony.

Not long after this power was granted, Brent made her now-famous claim. On January 21, 1648, she appeared before the Assembly to demand a "voice and vote" corresponding to her position as a landowner, executor of the Governor's estate, and attorney for Lord Baltimore. Brent's demand to participate was denied. She in turn rejected the legitimacy of any further proceedings conducted without her.

The significance of this event has been contested and reinterpreted over time. Despite her undeniable power in Maryland's colonial society and her pioneering demand for a right to vote in the Assembly, it is generally accepted today that she was neither a feminist nor truly a suffragist. She did not seek a broad expansion of rights for colonial women, but instead made an individual request for the vote that stemmed from her unique position of power.

Nonetheless, she set an important precedent that women of the 19th and 20th century suffrage movement were eager to follow. Brent was lauded as "the first woman suffragist in America" by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and her name and story were used as motivating and messaging tools throughout the later suffrage movement.[1] She was frequently cited as an example of why Southern women in general and Maryland women in particular should support women's suffrage.

II. 19TH CENTURY: BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

It was nearly two hundred years after Margaret Brent's appeal before the American women's suffrage movement began in earnest. By the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of American women were involved in the nationwide abolition movement. Women played an active role in advocating for an end to slavery but faced gendered discrimination from their abolitionist peers as well as the general public, who felt that women were taking too vocal of a public role. Many white abolitionist women began to draw comparisons between the nation's treatment of enslaved persons and the legal discrimination against women.[2] Frustrated by sexist treatment by fellow abolitionists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott convened the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York on July 19 and 20, 1848.

The Convention drew three hundred men and women who collaborated to produce a Declaration of Sentiments that was modeled on the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration proclaimed the equal

[1] Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, Eds. *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. IV. 1883 – 1900.* (Indianapolis: The Rollenbeck Press, 1902): 695.
[2] National Women's History Museum, "The Abolition Movement and Woman Suffrage." *Rights for Women: The Suffrage Movement and Its Leaders.* 2007. https://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/rightsforwomen/abolitionandsuffrage.html

rights of women and men and detailed the many abuses facing American women.[3] A key figure in the drafting of the Declaration was nationally known abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who had been born into slavery on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Douglass was a critical ally for Elizabeth Cady Stanton in her bold decision to propose a resolution calling for women's enfranchisement. This position was so radical that Stanton's husband and even her co-organizer Lucretia Mott refused to support it out of the belief that it discredited the entire platform. Frederick Douglass was the lone man in attendance who supported the resolution. He seconded Stanton's motion and delivered an impassioned speech that convinced other attendees to accept it as part of the Declaration.[4]

This important moment marked the beginning of a fragile, racially mixed coalition of men and women who sought expanded rights for all people, including the right to vote. In 1866, Douglass, Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony formed the American Equal Rights Association (AERA), to "secure equal rights to all American citizens, especially the right of suffrage, irrespective of race, color or sex."[5] AERA had the support of African American activists like Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, a published poet and author who had been born free in Baltimore in 1825 and campaigned around the country for temperance, abolition, and women's rights. In the aftermath of the American Civil War, AERA members believed it was possible to integrate gender, race, and class-based advocacy in a broad push for equality.[6]

However, this spirit of consensus would fade quickly. It soon became apparent that the nation would likely adopt the 15th Amendment that would grant the vote to black men but not to women. By the time AERA met for its national convention in 1869, racial tensions had risen to the surface and split members over support for the 15th Amendment.

Some, like Douglass and Harper, supported the amendment and argued that any expansion in voting was a positive step. Douglass further argued that recently enslaved men arguably needed the vote more urgently; to gain access to education, economic opportunities, and protection against violent retaliation by former slaveholders and nascent white terrorist organizations.[7] Suffragists opposed to the Amendment, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, refused to accept that black men would have the vote before white women. They began to draw on racist stereotypes to argue against the perceived unfairness of the amendment. When the 15th Amendment was adopted in 1870, AERA

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[3] Women's Rights National Historical Park, "Declaration of Sentiments." National Park Service. n.d. https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/declaration-of-sentiments.htm
[4] S. Jay Walker, "Frederick Douglass and Woman Suffrage." *The Black Scholar* 4, no. 6/7 (1973): 18-25. http://www.jstor.org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/41163793. 20.
[5] "American Equal Rights Association (AERA)." Encyclopaedia Brittanica. 1999. https://www.britannica.com/topic/American-Equal-Rights-Association
[6] C.C. O'Brien, "'The White Women All Go for Sex': Francis Harper on Suffrage, Citizenship, and the Reconstruction South." *African American Review* 43.4 (Winter 2009): 605.

dissolved acrimoniously. These racial tensions would echo throughout the remainder of the women's suffrage movement and often dictated a separate course for white and black suffragists.

The Maryland Equal Rights Society

The Maryland women's suffrage movement began in the brief period of post-Civil War optimism. The first suffrage organization on record was the Maryland Equal Rights Society, organized around 1867 by Lavinia Dundore in Baltimore. The Equal Rights Society was one of the earliest state-based suffrage organizations in the country. None had existed before 1867, when suffragists organized groups in Kansas, Missouri, and New Jersey as well as Maryland.[8]

The Equal Rights Society identified their mission as the promotion of "the principle of equal chance to all human kind, irrespective of sex or color, through the mediumship of the elective franchise." A mixed group of African American and white women and men gathered at the headquarters of the Douglass Institute on November 12, 1867 for their first public meeting.[9]

The Douglass Institute was an organization founded by a group of African American men in 1865 to promote the "intellectual advancement" of the city's African American population.[10] The Institute purchased its facility at 11 East Lexington Street, Baltimore, for $16,000.[11] Though the founding members were black men, the building was officially purchased by white men since African Americans were legally barred from incorporating at the time of the Institute's founding.[12]

The Institute, seeing a shared interest with the Equal Rights Society, offered the suffrage organization free use of space in its building. In monthly meetings held at these headquarters, they developed several strategies to raise attention for the suffrage cause. In April of 1870, 150 suffragists organized by the Equal Rights Society delivered a petition to the Maryland General Assembly demanding the "right of suffrage and political justice." Their petition was forwarded to the Committee on Federal Relations, but

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[7] Walker, 21.
[8] Holly J. McCammon, "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment: The Formation of the State Woman Suffrage Organizations, 1866-1914." Social Forces, Vol. 80, No. 2 (December 2001), 452.
[9] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Jocelyn Gage, Eds. History of Woman Suffrage, Volume III, 1876- 1885. (Rochester: Charles Mann, Printer, 1887): 815.
[10] John Thomas Scharf, The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers. 1874. p. 661.
[11] The current street address for this property is 210 East Lexington St., Baltimore, MD.
[12] Maryland State Archives, "210 East Lexington: The Douglass Institute." The Road from Frederick to Thurgood. Black Baltimore in Transition, 1870 – 1920. 1997. Accessed April 10, 2017. http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1259/121/6050/html/douginst.html

died there. Later that spring, Lavinia Dundore, Ellen M. Harris, and Mrs. A.M. Gardner attempted to register to vote in Baltimore's Third Ward but were rejected by the local registrar.[13]

The Equal Rights Society also organized public meetings around Baltimore between 1870 and 1872, and secured nationally prominent suffragists to speak at their events, including Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and Susan B. Anthony. By February of 1872, the group was organized enough to host a large two-day convention at Raine's Hall, a rentable facility near the corner of Baltimore Street and Post Office Avenue owned by the German American publishers of *Der Deutsche Correspondent*. A large crowd of women and men, including well-known local politicians, ministers, and lawyers heard speeches from local suffragists and national figures such as Belva Lockwood, one of the country's first female attorneys.[14] The program was typical of many of the public meetings of the women's suffrage movement, and contained a mix of speeches, skits, and musical performances designed to educate, entertain, and enlist the audience. The convention was reported with pleasure by national women's suffrage organization as demonstrating the "rapidly increasing interest in the movement" within Maryland.[15]

Opponents to women's suffrage took note of the growing momentum in Maryland and at the national stage. On March 20, 1872, Maryland State Representative Stevenson Archer delivered a lengthy address from the floor of the House of Delegates entitled, "Woman Suffrage Not To Be Tolerated." His condemnation was partially a response to then-Senator Woodrow Wilson's proposal to grant suffrage to women of the western territories as well as a rebuttal of Maryland's nascent suffrage movement.[16]

Representative Archer spoke for the majority of his legislative colleagues when he condemned the suffrage movement. The political climate in Maryland was not receptive to an expansion of the vote. Maryland was a Southern and conservative state in the firm control of the Democratic Party. The Democrats deployed states' rights arguments to oppose a federal suffrage amendment, but were motivated in large part by self-preservation and racial bias. They feared that if African American women could vote, more likely than not they would register for the Republican Party and swell the ranks of their opposition. This unreceptive climate in the state quashed suffrage activity for close to two decades after the dissolution of the Equal Rights Society in 1874.

Rebirth in Sandy Spring

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[13] Mal Hee Son. "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland from 1870 – 1920." Master's Thesis, University of Maryland, 1962. P. 11.
[14] "Woman's Rights Convention." The Baltimore Sun February 29, 1872. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534080935
[15] History of Woman Suffrage, Volume III, p. 816
[16] Son, 12.

The movement was revived in 1889 under the leadership of Caroline Hallowell Miller, who organized her circle of Quaker women of Sandy Spring Village in Montgomery County. Miller had long supported the suffrage movement and had appeared in previous years as a delegate and speaker at national suffrage conventions.[17] She called a group of friends together at her home in Sandy Spring that formally organized as the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association and elected Miller as president.[18] The group adopted a statewide name despite its limited membership: the club began with only 13 members in Sandy Spring. The group met frequently at the nearby Sandy Spring Lyceum, built around 1858-1859, to serve as a community gathering space for lectures, club meetings, and discussions, a purpose it still serves today.[19] At meetings at the Lyceum, Sandy Spring suffragists elected officers, selected delegates to send to national conventions, read pro-suffrage essays, and hosted visiting lecturers.[20]

The Sandy Spring suffragists soon found new allies. On February 10, 1894, a group of 15 women met at the Baltimore home of Dr. Flora Brewster to form the Baltimore City Suffrage Club and elected Sarah H. Tudor as president. The Club grew quickly to a membership of 50 within only a few weeks of its establishment.[21] To clarify their relationship, the Sandy Spring group renamed itself the Montgomery County Suffrage Association, and both clubs allied under the banner of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association.[22] The Maryland Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA) was initially a statewide organization in name only, with members confined to Baltimore City and Sandy Spring. The new joint organization elected Mary Bentley Thomas, of the Montgomery County chapter, as president. Thomas led the MWSA for the next decade as it grew into a larger and more productive organization.

Most of this growth occurred in Baltimore City, where the concentration of large numbers of women helped the Baltimore City Suffrage Club to flourish, particularly after it elected Emma Maddox Funck as its third president in 1898. Funck described herself as a lifelong supporter of equal rights who had been transformed into a suffrage activist during two years spent in homebound convalescence. She passed the time by reading suffrage literature, and when she emerged she immediately sought out other Baltimore women engaged in the movement.[23]

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[17] Son, 13.
[18] Emily Emerson Lantz, "Demand The Right To Vote: National Convention Of The Woman's Suffrage Association To Be Held In Baltimore," *The Baltimore Sun*. January 7, 1906
[19] Maryland Historical Trust: Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties. "M:28- 11 Sandy Spring Historic District." 2011. https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2028-11.pdf
[20] Eliza N. More, Annals of Sandy Spring or Twelve Years History of A Rural Community in Maryland, Volume II. Baltimore: Thomas & Evans. 1902.
[21] "Two Active and Enthusiastic Suffragette Clubs Are Preparing to Stir Up Baltimore With A Series of Outdoor Tournaments." *The Baltimore Sun*. April 25, 1909.
[22] Lantz, n.p.
[23] Two Active and Enthusiastic Suffrage Clubs, n.p.

In the last years of the 19th century, MWSA moved forward cautiously. Wary of provoking suffrage opposition, they focused on organizing their members and educating the public. Club members studied laws governing the status of women, and followed the rhetorical and lobbying strategies used by NAWSA. They considered but ultimately decided against a letter writing or petitioning campaign, and rejected encouragement from national leaders to contest their legal right to vote in court.[24]

As the suffrage movement re-emerged in the late 1880s and 1890s, white middle class women were still subject to Victorian social norms that held that women belonged in their homes, a "separate sphere" than the male public realm.[25] At the beginning of this period, there were still few public places where it was socially acceptable for women to congregate.[26] This exclusion from the public realm limited women's access to information and influence, a disadvantage recognized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott in the language of the Declaration of Sentiments.[27] The changing venues for suffrage activity throughout this period reflect women's broader transition from the private to the public realm. Maryland's suffrage clubs largely began by meeting in organizers' and members' homes. As these early organizations grew, both their strategies and the places where they worked became more public-facing. Both the Sandy Spring and Baltimore organizations moved their meetings from homes to Quaker gathering places. The women of Sandy Spring used the local Lyceum for their meetings, while the Baltimore chapter began hosting public meetings at the Friends' Meeting House on Park Avenue. The Maryland State Woman Suffrage Association held their Annual State Meetings here six times between 1895 and 1906. These meetings involved routine club business and addresses by outside speakers, including national leaders such as Carrie Chapman Catt.

Suffragists' growing presence and influence in the public sphere was bolstered by a loose alliance with the many civic-minded women of the state's women's clubs. As these clubs transitioned from an inward focus on self-improvement to an external focus on civic activism, their work frequently overlapped with the work of the suffragists. Both clubwomen and suffragists drew on the idea of women's superior morals to argue for an expanded role in public leadership, where their pure intentions would clean up the dirty business of politics.[28] In Maryland, this brought suffragists and clubwomen to the Maryland State

[24] Son, 18-19.
[25] Katherine Scarborough, "Women Who Weren't Content with Pink Teas," The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991); August 3, 1952; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun pg. A3
[26] Dorothy Lang, "Self-Improvement, Community Improvement: North Carolina Sorosis and the Women's Club Movement in Wilmington, North Carolina, 1895 – 1950" (Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina Wilmington, 2005), 3.
[27] Daphne Spain. *Gendered Spaces*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 240.
[28] National Women's History Museum, "Introduction to Women in the Progressive Era," Reforming Their World: Women in the Progressive Era. n.p. Accessed April 19, 2017. https://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/progressiveera/introprogressive.html

House, where they successfully lobbied for a series of laws that transformed the legal status of women in the state and reduced some institutional inequalities. The 1889-1890 General Assembly passed reforms that granted married women the right to own property independently of their husbands and to form legal contracts. New labor regulations changed women's working conditions by requiring employers to provide seating for women working long hours, and barred employment of women in establishments that might be detrimental to their safety or character.[29] Other measures increased women's protections against physical and sexual abuse as penalties for domestic violence were increased and the age of consent for girls was raised from fourteen to sixteen.[30]

Not all the legislation passed under the guise of progressive reform was universally beneficial to Maryland residents. The General Assembly adopted a series of laws that formalized racial discrimination by instituting segregated rail and steamship transportation while ignoring lynching. The legislature considered but ultimately did not pass measures to disenfranchise African American men; Republican legislators worked to defeat these proposals because their party was dependent on black voters.[31] The ultimate failure of progressive reforms for black Marylanders was Baltimore's 1911 passage of the West Ordinance, the first residential segregation law in the nation. The ordinance was passed under the leadership of a women's suffrage and social justice proponent, Mayor J. Barry Mahool, as a means of "preserving peace…and promoting the general welfare."[32]

In response to the multiple threats facing black communities in this era, Maryland's African American clubwomen were especially active in taking a broad approach to club work and civic engagement. Many black women in Baltimore joined and organized women's organizations committed to neighborhood-level reforms as well as progress for African Americans at large.[33] Their work took on multiple causes, including providing clothing and coal for poor families, purchasing a farm in the country where children could take in fresh air, organizing childcare for working mothers, and protesting the residential segregation ordinance.[34]

At the close of the 19th century, women and suffragists were finding increasing venues from their work and had moved from private meetings in members' homes to public lobbying of the State legislature in pursuit of their reform agendas.

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[29] Son, 24-26.
[30] Lantz, n.p.
[31] Diane E. Weaver, "Maryland Women and the Transformation of Politics, 1890s – 1930." Dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1992. 16-17.
[32] Garrett Power, Apartheid Baltimore Style: The Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910-1913, 42 Md. L. Rev. 289 (1983) Available at: http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/mlr/vol42/iss2/4, 289.
[33] Weaver, 17.
[34] Weaver, 18.

III. 20TH CENTURY: NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND NEW VOICES

The twentieth century opened with an exciting moment for Maryland's suffragists. The General Assembly voted in the early months of 1900 to allow taxpaying and property-owning women of Annapolis to vote on a ballot question on municipal bonds for city infrastructure improvements.[35] Twenty-two women voted in the municipal election on May 14, 1900, with the majority in favor of the measure. Not all women who appeared at the poll were allowed to vote. Two women were turned away when their names did not appear on the list of taxpayers.[36] Additionally, at least a small number of women were deterred by the ballot's de facto literacy test; voters were required to write "for" or "against the bonds" to cast their vote.[37] Despite this milestone, this election did not mark a turning point for the women of the Maryland suffrage movement. The legislature had granted a very limited and temporary form of suffrage that neither granted permanent voting rights to Annapolis women nor led other municipalities to follow the city's example. It was a notable but isolated incident.

The Maryland Woman Suffrage Association continued organizing and recruiting members in the early years of the twentieth century and hosted increasing numbers of public mass meetings to recruit supporters. To accommodate the large crowds these events could draw, clubs sought larger venues for their meetings. Churches remained a common choice, but meetings were increasingly held in private halls and theaters rented for the occasion. These meetings often drew attendees by promoting speeches by prominent national suffragists: Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt spoke to crowds in Baltimore's Heptasophs' Hall in 1900, and Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw appeared together in the Baltimore Business College hall in February of 1902. These mass meetings drew the national leaders of the women's suffrage movement into Maryland and into close contact with the state's suffrage leaders, who were eager to coordinate their efforts with the national cause.

By the fall of 1904, the MWSA had a membership of 196 people, with an additional 500 pledged supporters around the state.[38] At the 1904 statewide convention, MWSA members elected Emma Maddox Funck as President, a position she held until the passage of the 19th Amendment. Funck used her presidency to continue the organizational and educational tactics that had been successful to date, but pushed for greater connection to the national suffrage movement. Funck invited Dr. Anna Howard Shaw to lead a statewide speaking tour in 1905 that caused new suffrage clubs to spring up around the

[35] History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. IV, 698.
[36] "Annapolis Progress." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* May 15, 1900. https://search.proquest.com/docview/536201715
[37] Elihu Samuel Riley, *A History of Anne Arundel County in Maryland: Adapted for Use in the Schools of the County*. (Annapolis: Charles G. Feldmeyer, 1905), 92.
[38] Son, 33.

state, such as the Bel Air Woman Suffrage Association and the Era Club of Baltimore County. As these groups affiliated with the state association, MWSA membership rose to 423 women statewide.[39]

Funck seized upon this momentum and appealed to the leadership of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) to host their annual convention in Maryland. NAWSA was the sole national woman's suffrage organization, formed in 1890 to rejoin the disparate branches of the movement that had split over the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870. The national organization operated through affiliated statewide and local chapters, such as the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association, and brought these organizations together in a convention every year to strategize and grow the movement. Spurred by Funck's heavy lobbying and the belief that Maryland was an up-and-coming suffrage state, NAWSA agreed to host the 38th Annual National American Convention in Baltimore in 1906. The decision was announced at the 1905 convention in Portland, Oregon, and it touched off a year of intense organizing on the part of the Maryland suffragists.

MWSA members formed committees to oversee all details of the planning: hospitality, reception, decorations, program advertisements, ushers, press, music, rest rooms, and more.[40] The Lyric Theater was selected as the venue, with the nearby Belvedere Hotel as the official lodging and headquarters. In addition to all the logistical issues inherent in planning a large conference, NAWSA leaders were anxious to create a receptive climate for the convention in what was still a very conservative city that had not fully embraced their cause. To that end, NAWSA leaders recruited powerful local women to tap their social and professional connections to create a welcoming atmosphere. Dr. M. Carey Thomas, a Baltimore native and president of Bryn Mawr College, was asked to turn out college women supporters, while her friend Mary Elizabeth Garrett, a wealthy philanthropist, made inroads with polite society and helped to finance the cost of the convention.[41]

The convention ran from February 7 – 13, 1906 and brought together thousands of suffrage activists from Maryland and around the country for a full program of speeches, prayer services, musical performances, and club business meetings, all held at the Lyric. Attendees were aware that the convention marked an important milestone for the national movement on several fronts. The convention was held in a deeply conservative state and brought together the most notable slate of prominent figures to appear at a suffrage convention to date. Most importantly, it brought three aging suffrage leaders together for the first and only time at a point when the movement's founders were aging out of active work. [42] Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton, and Julia Ward Howe were all in their mid-to-late eighties and

[39] Son, 34.
[40] Lantz, n.p.
[41] Ida Husted Harper, Ed. History of Woman Suffrage, Volume V, 1900-1920. (New York: J.J. Little & Ives Co., 1922): 152.
[42] History of Woman Suffrage Volume V, 151.

were purposeful in their attempts to pass the mantle of leadership to the next generation of women. The convention program reflects NAWSA's attempts to reach a wide pool of new potential activists by tailoring content to specific audiences such as working women and college women.[43]

Anthony and Howe were given top billing as featured speakers on numerous nights, but were frequently unable to attend due to their frailty and ill health. As their health permitted and they were able to appear, the crowds showered them with affection. When Susan B. Anthony came to the stage of the Lyric Theater to speak on the penultimate evening of the conference, she received a standing ovation that seemed to last a full ten minutes. She began her speech by recounting the many suffrage conventions she had attended and the impactful leaders she had known, before deliberately passing the torch to the younger women assembled in the crowd:

> I have looked on many such audiences and in my lifetime I have listened to many such speakers, all testifying to the righteousness, the justice and the worthiness of the cause of woman suffrage. I never saw the great woman, Mary Wollstonecraft, but I have read her eloquent and unanswerable arguments in behalf of the liberty of womankind. I have met and known most of the progressive women who came after her – Lucretia Mott, the Grimké sisters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone – a long galaxy of great women… Those older women have gone on and most of those who worked with me in the early years have gone. I am here for a little time only and then my place will be filled as theirs was filled. *The fight must not cease; you must see that it does not stop*.[44]

This powerful call to action, delivered from the stage of the Lyric Theater, was Anthony's last address at a women's suffrage convention, and some of the last remarks that she delivered in public. Her illness lingered and she passed away just a month later.[45]

The 1906 NAWSA Convention in Baltimore was one of the most significant events associated with the Maryland suffrage movement, not just for the role it played in the national campaign but because it catalyzed statewide activism. The convention proved the enthusiasm and competence of Maryland's activists, who proclaimed it to be the "first outstanding success of the Maryland suffragists since [the] movement started."[46]

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[43] Pamphlet: National American Woman Suffrage Association Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention Program, The Lyric, Baltimore, Maryland, February 7 to 13, 1906. Enoch Pratt Free Library / State Library Resource Center. Special Collections Department, Woman Suffrage in Maryland Collection, Folder 3, Box 1. http://collections.digitalmaryland.org/cdm/ref/collection/scws/id/31
[44] Anthony, quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, Volume V, 185. Emphasis added.
[45] History of Woman Suffrage Volume V, 192.
[46] Suffragist Dr. William J. Funck, quoted in Son, 35.

In the aftermath of the convention, new suffrage leaders and organizations began to appear as enthusiasm for the movement grew. In part, the appearance of these new groups represented a dissatisfaction with the progress made so far by Emma Maddox Funck's Maryland Woman Suffrage Association.

In 1906, a new and powerful organization emerged under the leadership of Elizabeth King Ellicott. Ellicott was a wealthy Baltimore clubwoman who used her position of privilege to advocate for progressive causes: women's education, municipal reforms, and eventually women's suffrage. Ellicott had been president of an influential women's club, the Arundell Club, since 1894 and had gradually moved the club from its origins in a literary society through increasing civic activism and ultimately towards support of the women's suffrage movement by many members. She grew to feel that the women's clubs civic works did not go far enough, and that securing the vote was the ultimate means for women to enact the municipal reforms they sought. [47] In 1906, Ellicott formed a separate group exclusively committed to women's suffrage: the Equal Suffrage League. She reorganized the existing Mary A. Livermore League, a small organization with limited scope that had primarily formed to support the execution of the NAWSA conference, and affiliated the new group with the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association. Ellicott brought her considerable leadership and organizing talents to the new group, and the new Equal Suffrage League was soon "raising… a smoke for suffrage in the city."[48] The organization was headquartered in office space rented from the Arundell Club at 2-4 West Eager Street in Baltimore's Mount Vernon neighborhood.[49]

Maryland suffragists petitioned the General Assembly in 1906 and 1907 to reform election laws and consider women's suffrage, but their efforts were taken as a joke and were immediately dismissed. After failing to make progress with this strategy, state leaders regrouped and focused on developing a new strategy to target the 1910 legislative session.[50]

In 1907, the Equal Suffrage League added an enthusiastic new member, Edith Houghton Hooker. Hooker was a pioneering figure. She was one of the first women to attend the Johns Hopkins University Medical School, and used her medical education as a social worker in Baltimore City, where the unhealthy and dangerous living conditions for poor families spurred her interest in the suffrage

[47] Maryland State Archives, "Elizabeth King Ellicott (1858 – 1914)." MSA SC 3520-13588. http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013500/013588/html/13588bio.html
[48] Two Active and Enthusiastic Suffragette Clubs, n.p.
[49] "Women And The Charter: Prof. Thomas Would Have Amendment About Voting." The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991); Oct 31, 1909; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun pg. 12
[50] Son, 38.

movement.[51] Hooker served as a lecture chairman for the Equal Suffrage League, but soon became frustrated and broke away to form a new group, the Just Government League. Hooker chose to affiliate the Just Government League directly with NAWSA, rather than aligning with the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association. Her decision was viewed as a condemnation of MWSA's tactics to date, particularly their failure to establish a statewide network, a structure Hooker saw as critical to the success of their cause.[52]

These tensions mirrored tactical differences that were beginning to emerge at the national level. NAWSA and its affiliated state organizations, including MWSA, had to this point focused on educational tactics and on legislative campaigns for statewide suffrage bills. Around 1910, new leaders at the national level began to push for a tactical shift towards a more aggressive campaign. At the head of this shift was Alice Paul, who had recently returned from time spent in England with the militant Women's Social and Political Union and believed that American women must adopt more active tactics. Maryland's state organizations were allied with different national leaders, and struggled for unity as divisions in the chain of command trickled down to the states.[53] Instead of entering the 1910 legislative session with a unified front, Maryland's suffrage movement was beginning to show clear signs of tension.

The Maryland Woman Suffrage Association had been laboring since the failed 1907 suffrage petition to carefully craft a statewide suffrage measure that they thought could be successful, but Elizabeth King Ellicott and Edith Houghton Hooker believed the time was ripe to try a different approach. Before MWSA's statewide suffrage bill could be presented, Ellicott successfully had her own measure introduced: a municipal suffrage bill for Baltimore City that would have given the vote only to property owning women and those who met a certain educational threshold.[54] This limited approach to suffrage was thought to be more palatable to legislators who had repeatedly expressed their reluctance to enfranchise all Maryland women. While the General Assembly did hold debate on the municipal measure, it was ultimately indefinitely postponed. The statewide measure was dismissed outright.[55]

Maryland's suffragists had problems beyond their legislative defeat. Furious at Ellicott's decision to pursue municipal suffrage and to circumvent the leadership of the MWSA, Emma Maddox Funck and

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[51] Sharon Miyagawa, "Edith Houghton Hooker (1879 – 1948)," Maryland State Archives Biographical Series, August 5, 2014.
http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013609/html/13609bio.html#_edn8
[52] Weaver, 90.
[53] Weaver, 96 – 97.
[54] Son, 40.
[55] Weaver, 98.

the MWSA leadership chose to expel Ellicott and the Equal Suffrage League. Ellicott reconstituted the 1,000 members of her organization under a new name, the State Franchise League. MWSA could no longer claim to speak with one voice for Maryland's suffragists. They now competed with the State Franchise League and Just Government League for members and control of the state's suffrage strategy.[56]

Women Opposed to Suffrage

In addition to these internal divisions, suffragists faced an additional challenge in a newly organized group of anti-suffragists, commonly referred to as "antis." Around 1911, a group of elite white women in Baltimore formed the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and in 1912 they affiliated with the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. At their first organizing meeting, attendees enumerated their reasons for opposing suffrage. The women argued against the extension of the vote to members of their sex, stating that women's true work was in the home and that "women are not equipped physically or mentally to meddle with any degree of success in politics and problems of government."[57] The women present at this early meeting, and those who would later lead the organization, were among the wealthiest members of Baltimore society. Women such as Annie Leakin Sioussat, Mary Frick Garrett, and Cornelia McQueen Gibbs came from families tied to leading industries in Baltimore including the B & O Railroad and the Gibbs Preserving Company. These elite women fit the mold of many women who were active in the national anti-suffrage movement. The antis were above all concerned with avoiding "societal disruptions." While these women happily engaged in civic reform work, they did not seek to disrupt a social order that gave them a position of special privilege as wealthy, white women.[58] Women's suffrage would grant lower and middle-income women new economic and political power that could detract from this privileged status. Maryland's anti-suffragists claimed to speak for a silent majority of women opposed to suffrage, arguing that the suffragists simply "[make] the most noise."[59]

The Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was based, much like the pro-suffrage organizations, in the heart of Baltimore's Mount Vernon, the locus of Maryland's social elite. Women on both sides of the suffrage issue at times found themselves in overlapping circles, such as Annie Leakin Sioussat and Elizabeth King Ellicott's shared leadership of the Maryland Federation of Women's

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[56] Ibid.
[57] ""ANTIS" START WELL." 1911.*The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991)*, January 05, 16. https://search.proquest.com/docview/539960995
[58] Linton Weeks, "American Women Who Were Anti-Suffragettes." NPR History Department. October 22, 2015. http://www.npr.org/sections/npr-history-dept/2015/10/22/450221328/american-women-who-were-anti-suffragettes
[59] "ANTIS START WELL."

Clubs.[60] Pro and anti-suffragists' homes and offices occupied the same neighborhoods and streets. By 1914, the antis had opened an office in Baltimore and were looking to expand to Annapolis.[61] Their Baltimore headquarters was in the Old St. James Hotel, now demolished, which formerly stood at the corner of Charles and Centre streets.[62] The homes of anti-suffrage leaders were scattered on elite streets nearby. Throughout the suffrage movement, the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage pursued many of the same organizing tactics used by the suffragists themselves, distributing leaflets and posters, and testifying before the state and national legislatures in opposition to suffrage bills.

The 1912 Democratic National Convention

Maryland suffragists were presented with an important opportunity when Baltimore was selected to host the 1912 Democratic National Convention. Nationwide, suffragists hoped to get both the Republicans and Democrats to introduce into their party platforms a plank that supported women's suffrage. To that point, no major party had endorsed votes for women. Women in Illinois targeted the Republican National Convention, held in Chicago, and the women of Maryland focused on the Democratic convention in Baltimore's Fifth Regiment Armory from June 25 – July 2, 1912.

Given the national political climate, it was a long shot for the Democratic Party to embrace women's suffrage. Maryland organizers tried their best to make it happen regardless, pursuing a three-part strategy in their attempts to secure the suffrage plank. They first pushed for Maryland Senator Isidor Rayner to read a resolution in support of suffrage from the floor of the convention. He agreed, but with the understanding that he would make clear that he was doing so by request and not out of his own support for the measure. After the resolution was introduced, suffragists planned for other delegates from around the country to speak up in support of the measure in order to demonstrate its nationwide appeal. Then, suffragists planted in the convention galleries would enthusiastically applaud the measure to demonstrate further enthusiasm.[63]

Coupled with the strategy inside the convention hall, Marylanders also planned a large suffrage parade to take place on the streets outside the Armory. They spent months coordinating a parade with a thousand participants and grand displays of pageantry, including floats, bands, horses, cars, and marchers. The women of the Just Government League planned to march in paper shackles, in contrast

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[60] Weaver, 128.
[61] Green, Elna C. 1997. *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed April 24, 2017), 106.
[62] "Mrs. Garrett Again Chosen."The *Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), March 23, 1914. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534962486
[63] "Suffrage Plank Ready." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* June 16, 1912. https://search.proquest.com/docview/537361092?accountid=14696

with the six victory chariots carrying women from the western states where women had the right to vote. Women wore elaborate costumes to portray inspiring women including Joan of Arc and Maryland's suffrage heroine Margaret Brent.[64] 10,000 people gathered in Mt. Vernon Place for the parade's start, and another 30,000 lined the parade route.[65] Despite this outpouring of enthusiasm, the convention did not adopt a suffrage plank.

The Republican National Convention also failed to support women's suffrage, but a rift in the party did result in the formation of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party. When the Progressive Party adopted its first platform that August, support for women's suffrage was included as a plank, a major milestone for the suffrage movement.[66]

Frustrated by their failure to earn the parties' support for suffrage and Woodrow Wilson's election despite his lack of support for their cause, NAWSA began to pursue several new tactics that departed from the educational and state-based campaigns favored to date. These newly aggressive strategies emerged under the leadership of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, who in 1912 reactivated NAWSA's Congressional Committee as a vehicle for the more confrontational tactics they had learned while working with the radical British suffrage movement. They worked to steer NAWSA's focus toward the passage of a national constitutional amendment and strove to make clear to the newly elected President and members of Congress that the Democratic Party would be held to account if they failed to pass the federal suffrage amendment.[67] NAWSA's previous federal strategy had been largely an afterthought; only $10 was allocated to the Congressional Committee's work in 1912.[68]

The Army of the Hudson

This effort began early in 1913 in the lead-up to Wilson's inauguration. A group of NAWSA members planned to march from New York City to Washington D.C. to hand-deliver a suffrage petition to President-elect Wilson. Their arrival was timed to coincide with a massive suffrage parade planned for

[64] "Suffragist In Armor." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* June 10, 1912. https://search.proquest.com/docview/535254595
[65] "Suffragists Delay." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* June 28, 1912. https://search.proquest.com/docview/535287991
[66] "Roosevelt And Johnson The Progressive Ticket." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* August 08, 1912. https://search.proquest.com/docview/535241967
[67] Library of Congress. "Historical Overview of the National Woman's Party." Women of Protest: Photographs of the Records of the National Woman's Party. https://www.loc.gov/collections/static/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf
[68] Library of Congress. "Detailed Chronology: National Woman's Party History." Women of Protest: Photographs of the Records of the National Woman's Party. https://www.loc.gov/collections/static/women-of-protest/images/detchron.pdf

the eve of Wilson's inauguration. These women, dubbed the "Army of the Hudson," set out on foot from Newark, NJ on the morning of February 12, 1913. At the head was Rosalie Gardiner Jones, called "General Jones," accompanied by militant English suffragette Elisabeth Freeman.[69] The women of the Army of the Hudson were white, predominantly wealthy women.[70] The hike was part of a growing campaign of physical activism by suffragists that brought women out from behind closed doors and into the public eye. The spectacle of wealthy women exerting themselves outdoors was a successful way to draw crowds, earn media attention, and spread the suffrage message to a broad audience.

They were accompanied on their march by a band of journalists, called "war correspondents," that included Baltimore native Emilie Doetsch. Doetsch had earned a law degree from the Baltimore Law School in 1906 and was the second woman to pass the Maryland State Bar. She did not immediately go into legal practice due to the limited opportunities available for women lawyers, and instead worked as a reporter for the *Baltimore News*. As a "war correspondent" with the Army of the Hudson, she regularly sent back reports of the women's progress on their journey.[71]

The 200-plus mile route brought the hikers through Maryland on their way to Washington, D.C. Residents eagerly tracked their approach, hoping to catch some of the spectacle. The Army passed through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware before arriving at Maryland's doorstep on February 19th. At 4:46 pm on February 20th, the suffragists crossed the Maryland line just north of Elkton in Cecil County. Rosalie Jones knelt in the dirt and spoke a few words: "Maryland soil, we bless thee in the name of equal suffrage. May our journey be pleasant and our cause prosper in your borders." Several of the hikers scooped up handfuls of dirt and put them in their pockets. [72]

The suffragists had covered 18 miles that day from Wilmington, DE and were met by the Elkton Suffrage League, local Women's Club, and the Mayor, Dr. H. Arthur Mitchell. Rosalie Jones attempted to visit Del. William T. Warburton, the Republican floor leader in the House of Delegates who defeated the suffrage bill in the previous legislative session, but he was supposedly not at home. The hikers stayed the night in Elkton at a local inn, the Howard House, and attended a banquet at the Felton House nearby.

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Jaime Schultz (2010) The Physical is Political: Women's Suffrage, Pilgrim Hikes and the Public Sphere, The International Journal of the History of Sport, 27:7. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09523361003695801. 1134.
[71] Mary Katherine Scheeler, "Emilie Doetsch, 1882 – 1969: Suffragist and Lawyer." In Winifred G. Helms, Ed. *Notable Maryland Women*. Cambridge, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1977. 107.
[72] "Maryland Is Invaded." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), February 21, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/535209171

The original plan had been to spend the night in the town of North East, and residents there were dismayed at the change of plans. Instead, the hikers planned to stop for lunch there the next day and to proceed from there to Perryville, and then on to Havre de Grace. [73]

The suffragists battled terrible road conditions to make it into Havre de Grace. The roads were "a sea of mud," causing the hikers to frequently abandon the roadways to hike through fields to find solid ground. The automobiles that accompanied them repeatedly became stuck in the mud and had to be pulled out by horses, and the car carrying luggage and supplies caught fire twice during this struggle. They were finally welcomed into Havre de Grace by a parade of eager residents, and escorted to the mayor's office for speeches of welcome.[74] The next day, the Army stopped for lunch in Churchville, where they ate beef and potatoes with gravy while speaking with residents, and paused along the way to explore Tudor Hall, the childhood home of John Wilkes Booth. The suffragists were met just outside Bel Air by a Boy Scout troop, whose leaders encouraged the Army to take the next day off, because marching on a Sunday would be off-putting to potential supporters in Maryland. When the hikers arrived in town, they were met by excited residents and members of the Harford County Just Government League. After a brief rest and dinner, they attended a public meeting at the Masonic Hall, and some went on to a dance at the Bel Air Country Club before spending the night at the Kenmore Inn.

That evening in Bel Air, opinions were sharply divided on whether they should proceed the next day to Baltimore as originally planned or stop in Overlea at the invitation of a group of local supporters. When the stop in Overlea won out, a contingent of the suffragists hinted they may proceed to Baltimore regardless. [75]

The next day, the main body of the Army, led by General Jones, got lost on the road and decided to proceed directly to Baltimore rather than turn back for Overlea. Only a small group of women who had been straggling behind the main group proceeded to Overlea as planned. They were met by members of the Overlea Improvement Association, who had planned a lunch and reception to be followed by speeches by the marching suffragists. Newspaper coverage took advantage of this split to sensationalize a supposed personal rift between General Jones, and 'Colonel' Ida Craft, who led the Overlea party.

The main body of the Army marched into Baltimore on the afternoon of Sunday, February 23rd. They came on foot down Harford Road with such little notice that policemen had to scramble to meet them at the city line to escort them through the city. Crowds quickly gathered as word spread of their arrival and spectators lined the route of their march, from Harford Road to North Avenue, St. Paul St., Chase St.,

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[73] Ibid.
[74] "Suffrage Marchers Struggle With Mud." *New York Times (1857-1922)*, February 22, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/97435702
[75] "Bivouacing At Belair." The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991), February 23, 1913.

and finally down Charles St. to the Stafford Hotel, which served as the Army's headquarters for the duration of their stay in the city.[76]

Ida Craft and the Overlea contingent marched into the city the next day, stopping for lunch at the Roland Park home of Edith Houghton Hooker. The Just Government League had made arrangements for an elaborate luncheon to celebrate the army's arrival, plans that were scuttled by Rosalie Jones' arrival a day early. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that Hooker had made several excuses as to why she could not visit Jones after her arrival, fueling the rumors of a spat between the suffragists.[77]

While in town, the suffrage army met with local organizations and civic leaders, and hosted numerous large public gatherings to spread their message to city residents. The women invited Governor Phillips Lee Goldsborough and Baltimore Mayor James H. Preston to join them at a luncheon with the Sons of Jove, an electricians' organization, at the Emerson Hotel. After this they delivered a program of speeches at the New Theatre, where they were greeted by hearty booing. They also took their message out to the streets: "Corporal" Martha Klatschken spoke at the corner of Baltimore & Light Streets to a crowd of several hundred on the evening of February 24th. The suffragists also made an unannounced home visit to Catholic leader Cardinal James Gibbons to pay their respects, despite Gibbons' strong opposition to their cause. The Cardinal was a committed anti-suffragist who worked closely with the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. In 1916, he spoke at the National Anti-Suffrage Convention and declared suffragists to be "the worst enemies of the female sex."[78] Upon the suffragists' visit, he quietly accepted a suffrage banner but could not be converted to their cause.[79]

The suffragists finally departed Baltimore, reunited in one group, at 9:00 in the morning of February 26th. They marched southward through the city and made their way to Elkridge for a planned lunch stop.[80] On the way from Elkridge to Laurel, the Army was approached by a group of African American women who sought to join the march from Laurel the next day. Some of the hikers made no comment but others insisted that they would not march if joined by the African American women.

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https://search.proquest.com/docview/535209176
[76] "Hikers March In." The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991), February 24, 1913.
https://search.proquest.com/docview/535225430
[77]""Army" Again United." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* February 25, 1913.
https://search.proquest.com/docview/535198386
[78] "Cardinal Flays "Suffs"." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* December 08, 1916.
https://search.proquest.com/docview/542085231
[79] "On To Capital Now." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), February 26, 1913.
https://search.proquest.com/docview/535212130
[80] "On to Capital Now."

Upon arriving in Laurel, the hikers were met by Mayor George W. Waters in the town square. The mayor welcomed the women and presented the keys of the city to General Jones. Later Jones and the mayor spoke to a crowd of 1,000 from the front of the Clover Leaf Inn. That night, the *Baltimore* Sun reports that some of the suffragists became "half hysterical" at reports that a group of African American suffragists planned to join the march to Washington with a "Votes for Colored Women" pennant. [81] Some of the hikers speculated the group had been planted by suffrage opponents to make their cause appear "ridiculous," comments which revealed the prejudicial attitudes of many of the white suffragists.

The recurrence of similar incidents through the Army's march through Maryland highlight the racial tensions ingrained in the movement.

Bladensburg – Thursday, February 27, 1913

The next day, the suffragists were harassed and heckled in College Park as they passed the campus of the Maryland Agricultural College, now the University of Maryland. The young male students called out insults and physically intimidated the hikers, eventually shoving Rosalie Jones. At that point, the reporters attached to the suffrage army intervened, resulting in a fistfight between the two groups.[82]

That day near Muirkirk, the Army was approached by a small group of African American women carrying a "Votes for Negro Women" banner, who joined the march for about a mile before dropping off.[83] No detailed information was reported about the Muirkirk women who joined the march, but their participation was a small indicator of the presence of an underreported African American women's suffrage movement in the state. The appearance of the Muirkirk suffragists and the records of other African American women's civic clubs show a growing focus on women's suffrage among women of color in the state. The elite Du Bois Circle, a Baltimore women's civic organization, was formed in 1906 and by 1911 had reached a consensus to support women's suffrage; some of the Circle's members would go on to form the state's first black women's suffrage organization in 1915.[84]

The women of the Army of the Hudson spent the last night of their long journey in the "George Washington House," a Bladensburg inn with an unmerited reputation as the locale where George Washington spent the night before his inauguration. There, the suffragists received a telegram with new

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[81] "Color Line In 'Army.'" *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), February 27, 1913. http://search.proquest.com/docview/535201488?accountid=14696
[82] "Army At Capital's Door." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* February 28, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/535213326
[83] "Message To Wilson Taken From Hikers." *New York Times (1857-1922),* February 28, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/97453306
[84] "Ladies Discuss Suffrage." *Afro-American (1893-1988),* November 25, 1911. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530361181

orders from NAWSA. Instead of hand-delivering to Woodrow Wilson the petition they had carried all the way from New York, Alice Paul and the Congressional Committee would take the message and deliver it instead.[85] In addition, the Army was instructed to march at the back of the upcoming parade, with the men, rather than in the prominent position they had expected.[86] The hurt feelings and divisiveness generated by this episode reflected the ongoing internal conflict within NAWSA that would later manifest itself in the complete breakaway of Alice Paul's followers.

The Woman Suffrage Procession

After making the last leg of their journey from Bladensburg into Washington D.C., the women of the Army of the Hudson joined 5,000 other suffragists in an elaborate suffrage parade on March 3, 1913. An estimated 500,000 people lined the streets to witness an event so remarkable that the *Baltimore Sun* considered it "perhaps the most spectacular demonstration and the best-staged display that the national capital has ever witnessed."[87]

Maryland's suffragists proudly marched and rode floats alongside activists from around the country. The parade participants were carefully organized in themed waves, an immense display of pageantry that had been carefully orchestrated through months of planning by Alice Paul and the Congressional Committee. Among all the women's suffrage supporters who participated, there was the most question over where African American women suffragists should march. Alice Paul advocated that their place was at the rear of the parade, behind the men, and that any more prominent placement would deter Southern women's participation. Black women suffragists from around the country ardently opposed this segregated placement, and contemporary accounts from the journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) indicate that African American suffragists marched in line with their state or occupational delegations just as the white suffragists did.[88]

Not all the spectators in the crowd were supporters of the cause. Many were "hard-drinking Southern Democrats" in town to celebrate Woodrow Wilson's inauguration the next day. While the parade started smoothly, it quickly devolved into chaos: "the crowd broke through steel cables and spilled into the street. Men, many of them drunk, spit at the marchers and grabbed their clothing, hurled insults and

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[85] "Army At Capital's Door."
[86] "Message To Wilson Taken From Hikers."
[87] "5,000 Women In Biggest Of Suffrage Pageants." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* March 04, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/537311439
[88] Sheridan Harvey, "Marching For The Vote: Remembering The Woman Suffrage Parade Of 1913." *American Women: A Library of Congress Guide for the Study of Women's History and Culture in the United States* (Library of Congress, 2001). http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/aw01e/aw01e.html#ack

lighted cigarettes, snatched banners and tried to climb floats."[89] The District of Columbia police did little to quell the violence, and the dangerous situation was only calmed when the cavalry from nearby Fort Myer were called to restore order. Over a hundred marchers had to be hospitalized, and the police superintendent was ultimately fired in the aftermath of a Congressional inquiry into the riot.[90]

While the parade did not go exactly as planned, the outcome was exactly what Alice Paul had hoped. The spectacle of violent men assaulting women marching for their rights made excellent fodder for the press, and the suffrage cause benefited from the heightened attention.[91]

The parade was soon followed by another campaign to draw Congress' attention to the growing nationwide support for a suffrage amendment. In July of 1913, "Couriers to Congress" from around the nation converged at the Hyattsville, MD ballpark before proceeding to Washington to deliver pro-suffrage petitions to members of Congress. Each delegation brought signed petitions that had been collected in their states. The event reflected the pageantry that had come to characterize the suffragists' public demonstrations: the ballpark stands were decorated with red, white, and blue bunting, and the NAWSA flag was raised as the first state delegation entered the park. The local brass band from Laurel, MD, played to herald the entrance of each state's representatives. The excitement spread beyond the ballpark to the town, where plans were made for stores and houses to be decked out in suffrage colors – such a display that bunting was at a premium.[92] Once assembled at the ballpark, suffragists processed in a parade of sixty automobiles to deliver over 75,000 signed suffrage petitions to the Capitol.[93] The Hyattsville demonstration earned suffragists widespread media attention, as newspapers tracked the approach of each delegation and then detailed the festivities and the procession to Washington. This carefully executed strategy kept suffrage in the national eye and on the minds of members of Congress.

Media Savvy

The suffragists' growing astuteness with the press was no accident. They increasingly sought and managed media coverage, recognizing the power of this tool to spread their message. The first suffragist

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[89] Mary Walton, "The Day the Deltas Marched Into History." *The Washington Post*. March 1, 2013. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-day-the-deltas-marched-into-history/2013/03/01/eabbf130-811d-11e2-b99e-6baf4ebe42df_story.html?utm_term=.2acf73e7f6af. Accessed April 27, 2017.
[90] Ibid.
[91] "5,000 Women."
[92] ""Pilgrims" En Route." *The Washington Post* (1877-1922), July 21, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/145197726
[93] "Invasion By Fair Sex." *The Washington Post* (1877-1922), July 31, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/145239259

in Maryland to fully embrace these tactics was Edith Houghton Hooker of the Just Government League (JGL).

In establishing the Just Government League, Hooker deliberately set out to pursue a strategy of public engagement that was more aggressive than the conservative tactics used to date by the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association. Hooker pioneered new strategies of public outreach and organizing that had yet to be tried in the state.

Beginning in May of 1910, the JGL began holding open air mass meetings in Baltimore, at a time when public speaking was not a widely accepted activity for women. To train women to take on this newly public role in society, the JGL held suffrage speakers' trainings that boosted suffragists' public speaking abilities and coached them on how to respond to common questions and criticisms.[94]

Edith Hooker personally traveled the city by automobile, standing in the car and speaking to the crowds that would spontaneously gather at this unusual sight. This gave many Baltimore residents their first opportunity to hear directly from a suffragist and to have their questions answered. Hooker's clearheaded speeches and responses in these at-times tense situations helped to dispel the pervasive gendered stereotypes of women suffragists as "ugly-loud-belligerent-spinsters."[95]

In 1912, the JGL hired Lola Carson Trax as State Organizer to travel through the counties and establish new JGL chapters. Hooker saw the creation of statewide infrastructure as a critical means of building broad support for suffrage that could pressure legislators and elected officials across the state. Trax was adept at her job, and began organizing meetings and appearances at grange and union halls, county fairs, town squares, and in private homes around the state. By 1914, eighteen local leagues had affiliated with the statewide JGL.

Among the JGL's most successful publicity tactics were suffrage hikes modeled on the groundbreaking march of the Army of the Hudson. The first of these hikes took place in January of 1914, named the 'Army of the Severn' in a clear tribute to the earlier campaign. Six suffragists, led by JGL organizers Lola Trax and Edna S. Latimer, walked the 27 miles from Baltimore to Annapolis to deliver a letter in support of women's suffrage, stopping along the way in Brooklyn, Glen Burnie, and Severna Park to hold open air mass meetings. [96]

This campaign lasted only two days, but the next effort was more ambitious. The next hike was a two-week trip through Western Maryland's Garrett County from June 13 – 27, 1914. Trax, Latimer, and five

[94] Mal Hee Son Wallace, "Edith Houghton Hooker, 1879 – 1948, Suffragist Leader." In Winifred G. Helms, Ed. *Notable Maryland Women*. Cambridge, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1977. 185.
[95] Wallace, 183-184.
[96] "Six Hikers At Bivouac." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), January 07, 1914.

other women traveled the county on foot, spreading the suffrage message to rural areas and small towns. Their route took them from Frostburg to Cumberland and finally to Bloomington, with many stops in between. The campaign was a rousing success, earning the Just Government League 820 new members and demonstrating clearly that support for suffrage was not confined to the Baltimore area. Latimer and Trax followed this hike with another through Howard County in August that signed up 161 new members.[97]

In advance of the Garrett County pilgrimage, Edna Latimer articulated a clear structure and purpose to these hikes that tied them to the JGL's larger organizing plan. The tours drew spectators from miles around eager to "see those crazy suffragists walk." This attracted attention by the press and provoked debate and discussion amongst neighbors, which above all served to educate people about the suffrage movement. Once people were drawn in by the spectacle, the organizers corralled the crowds into a public meeting space, often a town hall, where the hikers addressed the crowd, distributed literature, signed people on to petitions, and encouraged local chapters to organize. After the suffragists moved on, they "[left] a trail of suffrage organizations, literature, and enthusiastic converts behind."[98]

The most elaborate suffrage hike by far was the Margaret Brent Pilgrimage in the summer of 1915. The JGL planned an ambitious 350-mile route from Baltimore to St. Mary's County, historic home of Maryland suffrage heroine Margaret Brent. Rather than attempting this on foot, they made the journey by prairie schooner, a covered wagon popularly associated with the western migration of the 19th century. The suffragists traveled for 23 days through Maryland's southern counties, planning 37 stops along the way.[99] Lola Trax sent back a preliminary report of their results just before the journey's end:

> [We] spoke to 2423 people, secured 343 members, and raised $65.27. The expenses are heavy and the hardships many. It takes a 'good sport' to be a successful campaigner. A caravaner must

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https://search.proquest.com/docview/534130786

[97] "Army of the Severn to Invade Garrett County." *Maryland Suffrage News,* Vol. III, No. 11. June 13, 1914.
Maryland State Archives, Maryland Suffrage News Collection. MSA SC 3286-1-4.
http://mdhistory.net/msa_sc3286/msa_sc3286_scm7805/html/msa_sc3286_scm7805-0016.html;
"President's Report." *Maryland Suffrage News,* October 24, 1914. 234. Maryland State Archives, Maryland Suffrage News Collection. MSA SC 3286-1-6.
http://mdhistory.net/msa_sc3286/msa_sc3286_scm7805/html/msa_sc3286_scm7805-0032.html

[98] Edna Story Latimer, "The Pilgrimage in Western Maryland." *Maryland Suffrage News,* Vol. III, No. 11. June 13, 1914. Maryland State Archives, Maryland Suffrage News Collection. MSA SC 3286-1-4.
http://mdhistory.net/msa_sc3286/msa_sc3286_scm7805/html/msa_sc3286_scm7805-0016.html.

[99] "Route of the Prairie Schooner Expedition." *Maryland Suffrage News*, Vol. IV, No. 9. May 29, 1915. Maryland State Archives, Maryland Suffrage News Collection. MSA SC 3286-1-11.
http://mdhistory.net/msa_sc3286/msa_sc3286_scm7805/html/msa_sc3286_scm7805-0072.html

be prepared for all kinds of weather, all kinds of food and activity, and all degrees of response from varying audiences. Those who want to do real work can get it with us, but those who are looking for emotional thrills or a vacation should pass us by.

These efforts successfully built a sprawling statewide organization. By 1915 the Just Government League was the state's largest and most powerful suffrage organization, with 17,000 members.[100]

The Just Government League's publicity efforts were also supported by the in-house publication of the *Maryland Suffrage News*, a weekly suffrage newspaper edited by Edith Houghton Hooker. The paper debuted in 1912 and quickly gained a reputation as one of the best suffrage newspapers in the nation. The paper had subscribers not just in Maryland and the Mid-Atlantic but in states as far flung as California.[101] The *Maryland Suffrage News* initially focused on reasons that women should have the vote, stemming from their supposedly superior moral compass. Before long, the content began to shift rhetorically closer to the militant tone of the Congressional Union. Instead of attempting to convince the audience that women's votes would be a benefit to society, the paper claimed the right to vote was an innate political right from which women were actively shut out. Accordingly, women should stop asking for the vote and start demanding it, through "direct political action."[102] This ideological shift mirrored Edith Hooker's own evolution in thought closer to the militant suffrage advocated by Alice Paul. Not surprisingly, Hooker was eventually offered the position of editor of *The Suffragist,* published by Alice Paul's newly organized National Woman's Party.[103]

The home base for all the JGL's statewide operations was their headquarters at 817 N. Charles St., Baltimore, in the heart of Mount Vernon. The JGL first leased office space in this three-story brick Italianate rowhome in August of 1912, occupying a first-floor suite with "a large assembly room and several offices."[104] The *Maryland Suffrage News* was produced from the office, and it provided a space for private strategy sessions, public meetings, classes and trainings, and a launching point for the suffrage pilgrimages around the state. Its proximity to other pro- and anti-suffrage organizations in the same neighborhood contributed to the clustering of suffrage activity in this area. The volume of work emerging from this office made it the center of the suffrage movement in the city of Baltimore, and thus for the state of Maryland as a whole.

Statewide Activism

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[100] Wallace, 185.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Lisa Tuzo, "Militant Suffrage in Maryland, 1912-1920." Master's thesis, Towson State University, 1983. 26.
[103] Wallace, 185.
[104] "New Picture Theatres."*The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991)*, August 03, 1912. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534077941

As a result of the deliberate organizing on the part of the Just Government League, and a parallel effort by Elizabeth King Ellicott's State Franchise League, new suffrage chapters developed around the state in the decade after 1910.

By 1911, Nannie Melvin of Caroline County, a field secretary for the Just Government League, had opened a permanent suffrage office in Denton that she used as a base from which to organize Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's, Dorchester, Wicomico, Worcester, and Somerset Counties on Maryland's Eastern Shore.[105] She had a highly effective ally in Mary Bartlett Dixon, who organized Easton and Talbot County. Dixon, like Edith Hooker, favored increasingly militant tactics as the suffrage campaign progressed and eventually allied herself with the Just Government League. In addition to her active work in Talbot County, she wrote regularly for the *Maryland Suffrage News* and edited a column for *The Baltimore Sun* titled "What the Suffragists Are Doing."[106] Here, she highlighted the emergence and growth of new suffrage organizations around the state, documenting Allegany, Carroll, Anne Arundell and Baltimore County chapters in just the first three months of 1913.[107]

These newer suffrage organizations used spaces for their work that followed the same trajectory as the state's earliest groups. They typically began by meeting in members' homes and progressed to renting churches, theaters, and halls when they were well enough established to begin spreading their message to the public. A smaller subset of suffrage organizations could afford to rent or purchase dedicated office space. The Just Government League of Anne Arundel County was typical of this progression. The chapter's twelve founding members first organized in the spring of 1912 and began by hosting weekly meetings in members' homes. By the end of the next year, the group had a strong enough base of support to rent offices in the Advertiser Republican Building, a prominent location on Annapolis' Church Circle not far from the Maryland State House.[108] This office held regular weekly meetings, monthly "suffrage teas," and meetings of the county's Men's League for Women Suffrage.[109]

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[105] "Pushing Suffrage Fight." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* September 08, 1912. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534000522?accountid=14696

[106] Glenn Uminowicz, "The Justice of Woman Suffrage." *Tidewater Times*. May 2007. Accessed May 2, 2017. http://tidewatertimes.com/GlennUminowicz-May2007.htm

[107] Mary Bartlett Dixon, "What the Suffragists are Doing." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), February 16, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/535199783?accountid=14696; Mary Bartlett Dixon, "What the Suffragists are Doing." The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991), March 09, 1913. https://search.proquest.com/docview/537299262

[108] Mrs. Robert Moss, "The Just Government League of Anne Arundel County." Maryland Suffrage News, Vol V, No. 1. April 1, 1916. Maryland State Archives, Maryland Suffrage News Collection, MSA SC 3286-1-13. http://mdhistory.net/msa_sc3286/msa_sc3286_scm7805/html/msa_sc3286_scm7805-0088.html

[109] Dixon, "What the Suffragists Are Doing," February 16, 1913.

In Westminster, Carroll County, state JGL organizers first appeared in February of 1911. Two years later, local women officially established the Just Government League of Carroll County, and elected Mary Bostwick Shellman as President. Just a month after their formation, the League began hosting monthly public meetings in the Westminster Opera House. Over the course of the suffrage campaign, they would repeatedly use this hall to host large-scale public events with programs that included music and speeches by regional and national suffrage leaders. [110]

Baltimore's Woman Suffrage Club

Women of color were largely excluded from this massive statewide organizing effort. While other states' suffrage movements showed some cooperation between white and black suffragists, Maryland's uneasy racial legacy made collaborative efforts rare.[111] At the same time that Maryland women were pushing for suffrage, Maryland's African American men were fighting hard to retain the voting rights that had been granted to them by the Fifteenth Amendment. In 1905 and 1911, Maryland voters weighed proposed Constitutional Amendments that would have imposed grandfather clauses, literacy tests, and property requirements, all measures intended to disenfranchise black, poor, and immigrant populations. While both amendments were defeated at the ballot, the threat remained present. Other discriminatory measures were adopted successfully, such as the 1911 West Ordinance that legally established residential segregation in Baltimore, the first law of this kind in the nation.

Maryland's white suffragists took a convoluted approach to the matter of black women's suffrage. Their continually shifting positions seem to reflect their uneasiness with the question. They hesitated to support universal women's suffrage for fear of alienating committed racists and members of the Democratic Party, but could not go too far down this path without appearing hypocritical and undemocratic.[112] Instead of adopting a clear position, white suffragists frequently tailored their comments to the audience at hand, and shifted positions from one year to the next as political winds changed. They did not shy from making overtly racial arguments when it suited them. A typical case was that made by an officer of the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland in a 1919 letter to *The Baltimore Sun*: "Not only would woman suffrage give white control in these States a more permanent footing than now, but… white supremacy will continue to grow."[113] Another article in the *Sun*

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[110] "Carroll Suffragists Active." The Democratic Advocate. (Westminster, Md.), 28 Feb. 1913. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038292/1913-02-28/ed-1/seq-1/>
[111] Weaver, 121.
[112] Ibid.
[113] "Mrs. Maloy Thinks There Is No Danger of Negro Supremacy, If We Let The Ladies Vote." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), November 05, 1919.

hypothesized that Maryland's growing support for women's suffrage was fueled by a general realization that "the time is at hand, particularly in the South, when men will need all the strength at their command to maintain the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon vote."[114]

In this climate, African American women in Baltimore formed separate civic and suffrage associations: not just because they were unwelcome in white organizations, but because they saw a need to address issues very specific to their communities.[115] In addition to disenfranchisement and segregation, African American women reformers in Baltimore frequently drew on their roles as wives and mothers to address a range of issues very like those tackled by white women activists. Women organized for the improvement of neighborhood schools, better recreational facilities for children, childcare for working mothers, housing and medical care for impoverished people, and in favor of prohibition.[116]

The women's civic organizations that emerged to promote these causes fostered the leadership and organizing abilities of young African American women, but did not directly work to promote women's suffrage. This changed in 1915 with the formation of a Woman's Suffrage Club based in West Baltimore.[117] The club was organized by Estelle Hall Young, an active civic reformer. Young was a native Georgian who had attended Spellman College and Atlanta University, where she studied under W.E.B. Du Bois. She later moved to Baltimore and married Dr. Howard E. Young, a pharmacist and proprietor of the city's first African American owned and operated pharmacy. Both Estelle Young and her husband were actively involved in civic reform efforts in the city and contributed to the eventual establishment of a local branch of the NAACP.[118]

Young served as president of the Woman's Suffrage Club and was supported in her work by two key deputies. Club officers Augusta T. Chissell and Margaret Gregory Hawkins had deep roots in Baltimore's women's clubs. Both held leadership positions in the prominent Women's Co-Operative Civic League and close ties in their upper middle class neighborhood's social scene.[119] Chissell and

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https://search.proquest.com/docview/538638227?accountid=14696
[114] Lantz, n.p.
[115] Weaver, 52.
[116] Weaver, 46-55.
[117] This club appears in newspaper records under different names over time, including the Progressive Suffrage Club and the Colored Woman's Suffrage Club, and slight variations on these names. This was common to Maryland's women's suffrage organizations, whose names were often reported inaccurately.

[118] "Biographical Note." Finding Aid to the N. Louise Young Manuscript Collection, MS 3137, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society. http://www.mdhs.org/findingaid/n-louise-young-manuscript-collection-ms-3137
[119] "An Interesting Out-Door Event." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), May 16, 1914. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530358125;"Civic League At Luncheon." *Afro-American* (1893-

Hawkins were next-door neighbors in homes at 1534 and 1532 Druid Hill Avenue, while Estelle Young lived a few blocks down at 1100 Druid Hill Avenue. These women and their families were part of a progressive black middle class who lived and worked in neighborhoods now recognized as part of the Old West Baltimore Historic District.[120] The close proximity of the Woman's Suffrage Club membership made it convenient for members to hold club meetings in their homes.[121]

The Club moved quickly to engage the public by holding mass meetings. Their first public meeting drew a large and enthusiastic crowd to Grace Presbyterian Church in early December 1915. A special guest speaker, author and political activist Alice Dunbar, spoke to the crowd about the latest suffrage campaigns in nearby states.[122] The club hosted numerous public gatherings at Baltimore churches over the course of the suffrage campaign and utilized the pages of the *Baltimore Afro-American* to publicize their events.[123]

Women's suffrage also began to secure the support of important state and national organizations. The National Association of Colored Women endorsed women's suffrage in 1914, and brought their 1916 biennial national convention to Baltimore, where the suffrage movement was a major topic of discussion.[124] Lucy Diggs Slowe, later a nationally prominent educator and activist, was at the time a Baltimore teacher and officer of the Baltimore Branch of the NAACP. She used the occasion of a 1915 Branch meeting at the Sharp Street Memorial M.E. Church to deliver an address titled "The Relation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the Suffrage Movement," in which she drew a clear connection between women's suffrage and racial justice.[125] Prominent Maryland

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1988), March 04, 1916. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530438445

[120] "Old West Baltimore Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1390.pdf

[121] "Bachelors Give New Year Dance." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), January 06, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530382379;
"Addresses Suffragettes." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), January 20, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530419886

[122] "Suffragettes Hold Big Mass Meeting. *Afro-American (1893-1988),* December 11, 1915. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530411986

[123] "Classified Ad 1 -- no Title." *Afro-American (1893-1988),* June26, 1915. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530378243; "To Hold Suffrage Meeting." Afro-American (1893-1988), February 17, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530375306

[124] Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895–1992 [microform]. Ed, Lillian Serece Williams. (University Publications of America: Bethesda, 1994). http://www.lexisnexis.com/documents/academic/upa_cis/1555_RecsNatlAssocColWmsClubPt1.pdf

[125] "Miss Slowe For Women's Suffrage." *Afro-American (1893-1988),* October 23, 1915. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530358425

organizations also began to advance the cause, including the Maryland Federation of Christian Women (1915) and the Women's Co-Operative Civic League (1916).[126]

IV. WW1 – PASSAGE OF THE 19TH AMENDMENT

The 1916 presidential election occurred amid widespread and increasingly militant suffrage activity within Maryland and around the nation. Though both the Republican and Democratic Party platforms for the first time included support for women's suffrage, Alice Paul and her followers worked to punish Democrats at the ballot box for their failure thus far to pass a federal suffrage amendment. Suffragists picketed the national conventions and focused their attention on the western states that had already enfranchised women.[127] Experienced Maryland organizers from the Just Government League and a recently formed chapter of the Congressional Union headed west to organize voting women. Edna Latimer was deployed to Nevada, where she held suffrage meetings in underground mine shafts; while Baltimorean Lucy Branham worked in Utah and impressed Alice Paul with her tenacity and effectiveness.[128]

Despite these efforts, President Wilson was re-elected in November 1916. His victory spurred many suffragists who were already discontent with the movement's progress to embrace even bolder action targeted directly at the president and his administration. Their first opportunity to enact this more aggressive strategy was Wilson's annual address to the U.S. Congress, delivered that December. As Wilson spoke, a group of suffragists in the first row of the gallery above him unfurled a banner that read: "Mr. President, What Will You Do for Woman Suffrage?" Five women served as guards for the suffragists who held the banner, including Marylander Helen Evans Scott. As Wilson continued to speak, Senate pages tore down the suffrage banner.[129] This audacious act generated enormous publicity, much of it negative, which kept suffrage part of the national conversation.

Through early January of 1917, suffragists continued to press Wilson for a meeting to discuss their concerns and to present a signed suffrage resolution. He finally met with the women on January 9, 1917, only to storm out when pressured to support a federal suffrage amendment.[130] The next day, members of the Congressional Union took decisive action to hold Wilson accountable for his lack of support. On the morning of January 10, twelve women marched to the gates of the White House carrying tri-color flags

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[126] "Women Hold Annual Session." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), November 06, 1915. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530370239?accountid=14696; "Civic League At Luncheon."
[127] Library of Congress. "Historical Overview of the National Woman's Party."
[128] Tuzo, 28-29.
[129] Library of Congress. "Historical Overview of the National Woman's Party."
[130] Ibid.

of suffrage gold, white, and purple, as well as banners demanding the right to vote. They stood silently at the White House gates as a visible reminder of Wilson's failure to enfranchise American women.

Pioneers of Political Protest

In picketing the White House, these "Silent Sentinels" pioneered a new form of political protest that has endured in American democracy; they are thought to be the first organization to ever deploy this tactic.[131] Many Maryland suffragists, particularly members of the Just Government League, participated in these protests from their inception. Because Maryland was so close to the action, the state's suffragists were expected to contribute large numbers of people to keep the protest going. To spur participation and to keep the media narrative fresh, themed days were organized to bring in new faces. The first "Baltimore and Maryland Day" was planned for January 18, 1917. Helen Evans Scott, leader of the Maryland chapter of the Congressional Union, urged women in Baltimore and Annapolis to turn out in large numbers, so as not to be embarrassed by a poor showing compared to the 200 New York women who planned to protest the following week.[132] Goucher College students who joined a February "College Day" against the orders of school leadership were publicly rebuked by college President William Guth for pestering President Wilson as he attempted to keep the nation out of the World War that had raged in Europe since 1914. His language was typical of the letters and columns that appeared in *The Baltimore Sun* that criticized women for their ignorance or rabblerousing by raising the trifling issue of suffrage in the face of grave matters of state:

> It is with chagrin that I speak of the spectacle before the White House gates on Saturday. When a danger as alarming as our country has ever faced was imminent, when the President was carrying a burden as great as ever was pressed upon the shoulders and soul of any ruler, a few misguided women stood ready to flaunt banners in his face and annoy him by their presence. Instead of college women taking part in such a disgraceful proceeding, the college women of our land ought to repudiate it, and repudiate it in no unmistakable terms.[133]

Militant suffragists were well aware of the ongoing war and were increasingly able to draw a connection between Wilson's support for democratic principles abroad but his failure to follow them at home. Mary Bartlett Dixon, of the Talbot County Just Government League, was quick to point this out in a response to a letter very like President Guth's. She wrote to the *Sun* on January 24, 1917, that:

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[131] Lis Harper, "Picketing the White House in 1917." National Woman's Party. January 4, 2017. Accessed May 4, 2017. http://nationalwomansparty.org/picketing-the-white-house-in-1917/
[132] "Local Suffs To Colors." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), January 13, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534923399
[133]"Rebukes Goucher Girls." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), February 06, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534933657

> [The] silent sentinels are not annoying the President; his attitude toward them is friendly and cordial. He realizes they are gentle reminders of his inconsistency… It is unthinkable that President Wilson can proclaim to the world, in his marvelous peace message, his belief in the American principle of 'equal rights for all' and continue to exclude, in his great leadership, 'equal rights' for all the women of the United States.[134]

This criticism became even more pointed after the United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917. Suffragists took Wilson's words about the war and used them against him, emblazoning banners with messages such as "Mr. President You Say 'Liberty Is The Fundamental Demand of the Human Spirit'" and at times addressing the President as "Kaiser Wilson," a reference to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.[135]

Women Suffragists in WWI

Many Americans, including many suffragists, believed that women should turn their attention to the war effort. Alice Paul saw this as a flawed strategy that had failed before. Women had suspended the suffrage campaign during the Civil War in the hope that a display of patriotism would secure men's support for the cause, but had nothing to show for it.[136] In Maryland, Edith Houghton Hooker had long opposed the war and used the *Maryland Suffrage News* to disseminate her views and encourage suffragists to employ oppositional tactics like boycotting fundraising efforts for the Liberty Loan program.[137]

While the militant suffragists represented a vocal minority, women associated with more conservative organizations like NAWSA chose to work in support of the war effort and in many cases vigorously condemned the picketers. Many suffragists saw the war as a chance to expand public roles and opportunities for American women, who took on new jobs and a new importance to the federal government. As men left home to fight, women filled in the gaps by serving as nurses, telephone and radio operators, factory workers, journalists, and wherever they were needed. At the same time, the network of civic associations that women had built since the late nineteenth century provided a framework that the government could activate for its own ends. The federal government found a new

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[134] Mary Bartlett Dixon. "The Real Purpose of the Silent Sentinel Business Seems to be to show that the President is A Liar." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), January 26, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534945714

[135] *Picket banners at Cameron House Hdqters-- Lafayette Sq*. United States Washington D.C, 1917. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000207/. (Accessed May 10, 2017.)

[136] Lis Harper. "War on the Horizon, Pickets Stand Strong." National Woman's Party, April 1, 2017. Accessed May 4, 2017. http://nationalwomansparty.org/war-on-the-horizon-pickets-stand-strong/

[137] Weaver, 151.

need to reach into states and local communities across the country to bring citizens on board with its agenda and to coordinate a newly-emerging national infrastructure of railroads, industry, and agriculture to meet the demands of war.[138] The federal government established the Council of National Defense to track and coordinate these needs, and appointed Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, then Honorary President of NAWSA, as Chair of the Women's Committee.

At Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's urging, NAWSA leaders and members turned their energy toward supporting the war effort. This shift was typified by NAWSA organizers such as Lavinia Engle. Engle was a Montgomery County native who had been working as a field organizer for NAWSA since 1914, traveling to southern states to organize groups that would support statewide suffrage amendments. After the U.S. entered the war, Engle transitioned to organizing for the Liberty Loan Committee rather than directly for the suffrage cause. Eventually, she was deployed to Europe to organize a YMCA Staff Field Hospital operated by women, and spent a year serving at the front. Engle only resumed her suffrage activism after the war had ended.[139]

In Maryland, much of women's work in support of the war effort was coordinated by Madeline Ellicott and Elizabeth Shoemaker, members of the NAWSA-affiliated Women's Suffrage League.[140] They tapped their suffrage networks to put women to work, advocating leadership roles for suffragists as a means of publicly demonstrating their loyalty and support for the cause. Not all suffragists were easily roped in: Lilla Crawford of Hagerstown refused a committee chairmanship on the grounds that she was not a full citizen without a vote. Mary Bartlett Dixon of Talbot County accepted a post, but made her motivations clear: "I am not only working for the war but am continuing my work for those at home who must submit to authority but have no voice in this government."[141]

Jailed for Freedom

Meanwhile, the Silent Sentinels carried on their protest at the White House gates, a glaring counterpoint to the unifying national effort to support the war. The public reception was never warm, but their presence on the street was generally tolerated. This changed on June 20, 1917 with the display of a new banner that targeted a Russian delegation meeting with President Wilson and his envoy Elihu Root. The banner boldly proclaimed that Wilson and Root were misrepresenting America to the Russians:

TO THE RUSSIAN ENVOYS

[138] Weaver, 141-142; 171; 190.
[139] Nancy Revelle Johnson. "Lavinia Margaret Engle, 1892 – , Volunteer and Political Leader." In Winifred G. Helms, Ed. *Notable Maryland Women*. Cambridge, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1977: 122-123.
[140] Weaver, 152.
[141] Weaver, 154-158.

> President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say, "We are a democracy. Help us win a world war, so that democracies may survive."
>
> We, the women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American Women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement.
>
> Help us make this nation really free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim free Russia as an ally.

This was too much for spectators to tolerate. Shouting about "treason," a hastily-formed mob ripped down the banner and tore it to pieces.[142] This scene was repeated several times over the next day, as angry crowds of hundreds of people formed to tear down each new banner presented by the suffrage picketers. The police did not respond until the afternoon of the second day of rioting, when they chose to censor the content of the banners allowed to appear and to guard the suffragists from attack rather than arrest them outright. President Wilson hoped to avoid making martyrs of the women by arresting them and further dramatizing their cause.[143]

Radical Maryland suffragists played a key role in further escalating tensions. They worked alongside women from other states, but could take advantage of their proximity to the capital to respond quickly to new developments. On the morning of June 23, Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore, and Dora Lewis, of Philadelphia, slipped by a police cordon to unfurl a suffrage banner in the usual spot near the White House gates. The banners were promptly seized and the women arrested and taken into custody, as were two other suffragists later that day.[144] These four women were the among the first to be arrested in the Silent Sentinel campaign.

The *Baltimore Sun* made much of Maryland suffragists' outrage on Greiner's behalf. Helen Evans Scott, leader of the National Woman's Party in Maryland, rejected Greiner's charge of obstructing the sidewalk as "a stupid subterfuge by the police" and claimed that the politicized arrests symbolized a failure of democracy.[145] Scott telegraphed the headquarters of the National Woman's Party in D.C. that she and a "squad of Maryland suffragists" were prepared to attempt to storm the police barricades that had been set up to block picketers traveling from their office to the White House.[146] True to her word,

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[142] Mary Walton, "A Woman's War." *The Great War*. PBS American Experience. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/the-great-war-womans-war/
[143] "Police Refuse To Make Martyrs Of 'Suffs'." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991)*, June 22, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534907438
[144] "Arrests Anger "Suffs"." *The Baltimore Sun (1837-1991),* June24, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534820196
[145] Ibid.
[146] ""Suffs" Now Picketed." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), June25, 1917.

she and 12 other suffragists were arrested the next day for unfurling suffrage banners just as thousands of federal employees were leaving their offices at the end of the day. The police, exasperated by the continued resistance, announced that the period of leniency had ended. Suffragists who were arrested would be charged and jailed to serve as a deterrent to their peers. The irritation had also spread to Congress, where a representative from Georgia introduced legislation to forbid the display of any political banners near federal government buildings.[147]

A few days later at the Mount Vernon offices of the Just Government League, members of the JGL and the statewide National Woman's Party voted to pool their efforts in support of the newly invigorated militant suffrage campaign merged their organizations under the banner of the Just Government League. Helen Scott, out on bail, spoke out strongly in defense of the new tactics: "Men may call us traitors. Let them! …They may call what we are doing what they please. We are in revolution, that's what it is: revolution."[148]

Maryland women continued to be arrested and eventually jailed for their participation in ongoing pickets throughout 1917. Several Marylanders, including Gladys Greiner and Julia Emory, were imprisoned in the infamous Occoquan Workhouse, where guards subjected the suffragists to brutal physical treatment and extended solitary confinement. When the women were denied status as political prisoners, which they demanded because of their politically motivated arrests, they went on hunger strike and some were eventually violently force-fed.[149]

Despite the negative public perception of militant suffragists at the outset of 1917, the widely publicized ill-treatment of these prisoners contributed to a creeping tide of support for their cause. This gradual shift was bolstered by the work of NAWSA affiliates who had thrown themselves behind the war effort and were viewed in a much more positive light. In January of 1918, President Wilson finally felt sufficiently pressured to publicly declare his support for the federal Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment. That September, he appeared before the Senate to ask for their aid in passing the amendment as a war measure, noting the contributions that women had made.

These signs of momentum convinced the National Woman's Party and its affiliated organizations to keep up their efforts. Throughout 1918 and early 1919, demonstrations and protests continued in D.C. and around the nation, even as the war ended and then the U.S. House passed the Susan B. Anthony amendment in January of 1919. Still lacking sufficient votes in the Senate, suffragists continued to

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https://search.proquest.com/docview/534889849
[147] "Mrs. Townsend Scott Placed Under Arrest." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), June26, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534897290
[148] "Absorbs Woman's Party." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), June30, 1917. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534829566
[149] Tuzo, 31.

pressure Wilson to weigh in more forcefully: burning his speeches during protests in Lafayette Park and eventually burning Wilson in effigy.[150]

Maryland suffragists were heavily involved in these protests. Gladys Greiner and Julia Emory were repeatedly arrested and each served over 45 days in prison between 1917 and 1919.[151] Lucy Branham, who had so impressed Alice Paul during the 1916 elections, was arrested and sentenced to 60 days in the Occoquan Workhouse and her mother, Mrs. Lucy Branham, was sentenced to three days in jail for her part in the protests.[152] These women used their experiences in jail to further fuel their activism. Greiner, Branham, and Emory all joined the National Woman's Party "Prison Special" campaign that brought a train of formerly incarcerated suffragists in full prison costumes into states across the country to rally public support for Senate passage of the Anthony amendment.[153]

Though much of the work had shifted to the federal campaign, efforts continued in the Maryland legislature to pass a variety of state-level suffrage measures. In each legislative session between 1916 and 1919, suffrage bills were introduced and debated, but ultimately defeated.[154] State and local suffrage organizations also kept the pressure on Maryland's congressional delegation by heavily lobbying the state's six Representatives and two Senators. Mostly Southern Democrats, these legislators were largely opposed to the passage of a federal suffrage amendment, either because they opposed women's suffrage outright or they claimed the amendment to be an example of federal overreach.[155]

The Ratification Campaign

On May 19, 1919, suffragists saw their intensive lobbying pay off, when President Wilson called a special session of Congress to vote on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. On May 21, the House again passed the amendment 304 to 89, followed by Senate passage on June 4, 66 to 30. Maryland's legislators split their votes in both chambers. After passage by Congress, the measure moved immediately to the states for ratification. State legislatures in 36 of the 48 states had to ratify the amendment for it to become law. Conversely, only 13 states had to vote in opposition to kill the amendment. Most Southern states were expected to do so, including Maryland.[156]

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[150] Tuzo, 32.
[151] Tuzo, 31.
[152] Doris Stevens, "Appendix 4," *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), 354-71. http://chswg.binghamton.edu/WASM-US/crowdsourcing/Stevens_JailedForFreedom_Appendix4.pdf
[153] Library of Congress. "Detailed Chronology: National Woman's Party History."
[154] Ida Husted Harper, Ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. VI. 1900 – 1920.* (New York: J.J. Little & Ives, Co., 1922), 256-257.
[155] Tuzo, 31.
[156] Ida Husted Harper, Ed. *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. V. 1900 – 1920.* (New York: J.J. Little & Ives, Co., 1922), 651

The timing of the Congressional vote was not ideal. It occurred so late in the year that most state legislatures had already adjourned and were not scheduled to reconvene for two years. The suffragists therefore began a herculean organizing effort to convince governors around the country to convene special legislative sessions. Due to the expense of a special session, suffragists often had to raise funds to support it or convince legislators to pay their own expenses.[157] Time was of the essence if the amendment would be ratified in time for women to vote in the upcoming 1920 presidential election.

Maryland suffragists began an intense statewide lobbying campaign in an attempt to convince Democratic Governor Emerson C. Harrington to call a special session. The Just Government League tapped their statewide network, and national suffrage organizers including Julia Emory returned to the state, crisscrossing through the counties visiting legislators and trying to drum up public support through the summer and fall of 1919.[158] Governor Harrington ultimately resisted the lobbying push, resulting in a missed opportunity for women to vote in the state's November 1919 elections and leaving a decision on ratification for the next regular legislative session.

The Maryland General Assembly convened on January 7, 1920 with a new governor, Albert C. Ritchie, in place. The recent elections had not shifted the balance of power in the suffragists' favor: the Democrats had run on a pro-state's rights, anti-suffrage platform, and easily retained power in the legislature and the Governor's mansion.[159] Suffragists organized a Suffrage Campaign Committee made up of leaders from the state's many organizations, and held a mass meeting on January 20th in the State Armory at Annapolis that featured speeches and resolutions of support from national and statewide suffrage leaders.[160]

On February 6th, Governor Ritchie submitted the amendment to the General Assembly for consideration. Suffragists vigorously lobbied and testified in favor of its passage, while anti-suffragists urged its defeat. When a vote was finally taken on February 17, 1920, both chambers decisively rejected ratification: the House by a vote of 64 to 36 and the Senate by 18 to 9.[161] As if this defeat was not clear enough, the General Assembly also passed a resolution defying the authority of the federal government to propose any such amendment and declaring their intention to oppose the validity of the amendment even if ratified by other states. Not yet satisfied, another resolution was passed to support the travel of seven anti-suffrage legislators to West Virginia to encourage their legislature to similarly reject

[157] Ibid.
[158] Tuzo, 32.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. VI*, 258.
[161] Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. VI*, 260.

ratification.[162] The delegation ultimately failed in their mission: West Virginia voted to ratify on March 10, 1920.

By March 22, 1920, 35 states had ratified the amendment, but only four possible states remained from which to obtain final approval: Delaware, Tennessee, Connecticut, and Vermont. After extensive machinations, the Tennessee legislature voted for ratification on August 18, 1920. The tie-breaking vote was cast by young legislator Harry T. Burn, who credited a letter from his mother as the deciding factor in flipping his vote in favor of suffrage.[163] Shortly thereafter, on August 26, 1920, U.S. Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby certified the vote and proclaimed the 19th Amendment to be part of the U.S. Constitution.

Maryland's anti-suffragists were incensed at this outcome, firmly convinced that the 19th Amendment had been illegally enacted and greatly exceeded the powers granted to the federal government. They found an opportunity to challenge its legitimacy on October 12, 1920 when two women registered to vote in Baltimore's Eleventh Ward. Former judge Oscar Leser, a board member of the anti-suffrage Maryland League for State Defense, contested their registration on the spot. Shortly thereafter, the League filed a lawsuit seeking the women's removal from the voter rolls and challenging the constitutionality of the 19th Amendment. [164] Over the next year the case wound its way through the Maryland courts, which repeatedly found the League's arguments to be invalid. The U.S. Supreme Court finally took up the case in January of 1922 and ruled just a month later that the amendment had been legally enacted; a "knockout blow" to the anti-suffrage cause. Maryland's anti-suffragists largely respected the court's decision and accepted the verdict, including Cornelia Gibbs, president of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and Oscar Leser himself. Leser's wife Annette, herself a prominent anti-suffragist, was less magnanimous. Upon the court's ruling she claimed to the *Baltimore Sun* "that time will vindicate us in this [fight]."[165] While popular opinions on the verdict varied, the legal consensus was clear. Women's suffrage was now the law of the land.

V. POST-1920 ACTIVISM FOR WOMEN

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[162] Ibid.
[163] "Woman Suffrage Movement," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, 2017, Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture. 11 May 2017 <http://www.tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1528>
[164] "Suit Is Filed To Test Suffrage Amendment." 1920.*The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), October 31, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534503576
[165] "Woman's Right To Vote Upheld By High Court." 1922. *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), February 28, 1922. https://search.proquest.com/docview/544538651

Even before the passage of the 19th Amendment, suffragists had begun laying the groundwork to prepare women to vote. At the annual NAWSA national convention in early 1920, Carrie Chapman Catt officially established the League of Women Voters as a non-partisan advocacy organization that would help the 20 million soon-to-be enfranchised women understand and maximize their new civic duty.[166] In Maryland, Woman's Suffrage League leaders Madeleine Ellicott and Elizabeth Shoemaker pursued the same goal, first proposing the idea of a state League of Women Voters in November of 1919.[167] The establishment of a League of Women Voters was part of a larger strategy by the Woman's Suffrage League to have a voter education campaign already in place that could be activated within two days of the ratification of the federal amendment. The campaign had three elements: citizenship schools, a league of women voters, and a "citizenship pamphlet" containing the "essentials in the mechanics of voting" that would be distributed around the state within ten days of ratification.[168]

The citizenship schools were placed in the hands of NAWSA organizer Lavinia Engle, who returned from her suffrage work in North Carolina to take on a leadership role in Maryland.[169] She developed a plan to hold a centralized "school" session in each county that would instruct the leaders of that county's women's suffrage and civic clubs, who could then return to their communities and hold similar trainings that would be open to all women.[170] The first of the citizenship schools was organized by the Anne Arundel County branch of the League of Women Voters and was held in the Old Senate Chamber of the Maryland State House in January of 1921. Attendees heard from a slate of speakers that included Emma Abbott Gage, the first female clerk in the city of Annapolis, several former state legislators who had voted for suffrage, and Governor Albert Ritchie. The main educational sessions were led by Engle and focused on Maryland's history and governance.[171] Throughout 1921, other meetings were held across the state in halls and assembly rooms rented from other organizations, as the League of Women voters was still a nascent organization without dedicated meeting space. Citizenship meetings were held in March in the rooms of the Maryland Academy of Sciences in Prince George's County, at Firemen's Hall

[166] "History," *League of Women Voters*, accessed May 18, 2017, http://lwv.org/history.
[167] Weaver, 204.
[168] "Suff Leaders Prepare to Teach Women to Vote." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), June27, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534535835
[169] "Suff Banners To Fly As City Bells Ring." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), August 19, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534516296
[170] "Schools For Women In Counties Of State." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), Sep 17, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/288354720
[171] "Woman City Clerk Talks to New Voters at Citizenship School." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), January 12, 1921. https://search.proquest.com/docview/533985970

in Westminster in October, and in the Woman's Club rooms in Cambridge over several weeks from October through November.[172]

The largest piece of this strategy came to fruition with the formal organization of the Maryland Branch of the League of Women Voters (LWV) in October of 1920. The new organization united women from across the political spectrum including both pro- and anti-suffrage women.[173] Madeline Ellicott pushed for a common agenda that moved past these differences by drawing on many of the same issues that had spurred women's initial civic activism: "child welfare, education…government efficiency…social hygiene" and more.[174] Ellicott was elected as the first President of the Maryland LWV and held the position for twenty years, working alongside Lavinia Engle, who served as Executive Director until 1937.[175]

The Maryland LWV, tied as it was to the white women's suffrage campaign, unsurprisingly did not extend their voter registration and education campaigns to African American women.[176] The suffrage movement's established pattern of separate organizations working in parallel carried through post-ratification. African American women in Maryland built upon their suffrage organizing to create an independent network for voter registration and turnout.

Immediately after Tennessee's ratification of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, the *Afro-American* eagerly reported that 63,899 black women were now eligible to vote in Maryland, bringing the total number of potential black voters up to 120,000; a fifth of the state's electorate. The paper expressed hope that more power at the ballot box would help to quell the Jim Crow voting restrictions and racial violence sweeping across the South.[177] Women's addition to the voter rolls did not necessarily mean

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[172] "Former Governor Speaks." *The Prince George's Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser*. (Upper Marlborough, Md.), 04 March 1921. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89060124/1921-03-04/ed-1/seq-1/; "Woman's Citizenship Meeting." *The Democratic Advocate*. (Westminster, Md.), October 7, 1921. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038292/1921-10-07/ed-1/seq-4/; "Voter League Holds Final Meeting." *The Daily Banner*. (Cambridge, Md.), 05 Nov. 1921. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88065731/1921-11-05/ed-1/seq-3/>

[173] "Women Voters Form League Branch Here." *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1991), October 15, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/534508978

[174] Weaver, 208-209.

[175] Johnson, 123.

[176] Weaver, 227.

[177] "63,899 Colored Women are Eligible to Vote in Maryland." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), August 20, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530433865

"full voting privileges throughout the country, but that it is more difficult to keep black men and black women away from the polls than black men by themselves."[178] The paper also noted the special pride of Maryland's African American suffragists in the role that Frederick Douglass had played as a "worker with Susan B. Anthony and others for equal suffrage when the cause had but few adherents."[179]

Estelle Young, president of the Woman's Suffrage Club in West Baltimore, sought to make a statement with a massive turnout of African American women on the first day of voter registration: September 21, 1920. She declared it a matter of principle for Maryland's African American women, who had seen the state's legislators work so hard to defeat suffrage on the grounds that it would expand the pool of eligible black voters. She rallied women to send a clear message in response: "We women are especially bitter against the type of white politicians who said that we would not know a ballot if we saw one coming up the street. We must register in order to vote, and we must vote in order to rebuke those politicians."[180]

Her plan to enact this began just after ratification with a series of "enthusiastic overflow meetings" in Montgomery County at which she organized several new chapters of the Suffrage Club. After returning to Baltimore, she planned for a series of educational meetings at the "Colored" Y.W.C.A. on Druid Hill Avenue, just up the street from her home and those of other Club leaders. The meetings would be held every Thursday at 8:00 pm and include speeches by prominent figures as well as more practical instruction on how to register and vote. To reach a broader audience, Young asked ministers for permission for prominent suffragists to deliver five minute presentations at the beginning of church services that extolled the importance of all women registering on the first possible day.[181]

To bolster this effort, Club leader August T. Chissell began writing a regular column for the *Afro-American* entitled, "A Primer for Women Voters." The first piece appeared on September 10, 1920, in advance of the first day of voter registration, and addressed the information needed to register to vote and the party that readers should support.[182] Readers were invited to send questions to Chissell for future

[178] "Triumphant Suffrage." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), March 26, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530522502
[179] "63,899 Colored Women are Eligible to Vote in Maryland."
[180] "Plan Meeting to Aid Women." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), September 03, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530526023
[181] Ibid.
[182] Augusta Chissell. "A Primer For Women Voters." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), September 10, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530432569?accountid=14696

columns, and the submissions ranged from broad inquiries about why women should vote to requests for explanation of ballot measures that voters would see in the November election.[183]

These efforts were rewarded by a huge turnout of women during the first two days of registration. Across Baltimore's predominantly African American neighborhoods, "women were out in force to register and stayed in long lines stretching out on the sidewalk until their turn came. Old and young, beautiful and homely, they were there with bells on…"[184] The *Afro-American* noted the first woman in the city to register, believed to be Mrs. Joseph Poulson of 1618 Druid Hill Avenue, as well as the oldest, Mary Garret, aged 90. Garret and other elderly residents of the Bethel A.M.E. Church's Old Folks Home were taken to the polls by a volunteer, in what seems likely to be another effort of the Suffrage Club. [185]

The post-ratification work of the women of the Just Government League reflected their close ties to Alice Paul's National Woman's Party. The JGL initially envisioned serving as an information clearinghouse for Maryland's women voters, with position papers, candidate profiles, and party platforms available at their offices, but they ultimately focused much of their attention on supporting the NWP's work to achieve full gender equality.[186] The NWP was nearly exclusively focused on passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, a gender-equality measure drafted by Alice Paul in 1923. In 1922, Edith Hooker and her husband, Donald, made a large donation to the NWP to establish a new journal, *Equal Rights*, where she served as editor from 1923 – 1934. She described the work ahead in the first issue, published in February 17, 1923: "Women no longer need to be subordinated to men, the way to equality is open to them, and yet…in every avenue of life…they are still in almost complete subjection. From legislative halls to the police force, in the shop and factory, in the schools, in the home, women are still in substantially the same position they occupied before the vote was won."[187]

This aptly described the job facing all the women of the suffrage movement. Now that women had the vote, there was more work to be done to gain access to the political and economic power required to realize their goals. The skills and connections they had built over the course of their 72-year campaign to win the ballot would serve as the foundation for this ongoing cause.

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[183] Augusta Chissell. "A Primer For Women Voters." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), October 16, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530533508
[184] "Women Spring Big Surprise." *Afro-American* (1893-1988), September 24, 1920. https://search.proquest.com/docview/530519290
[185] Ibid.
[186] "Suff Banners To Fly As City Bells Ring."; Tuzo, 32.
[187] Edith Houghton Hooker, "The Picket Line," Equal Rights, vol. 1 no. 1 (February 17, 1923), 8, quoted in Amy Langford, "Equal Rights: The Next Chapter of the National Woman's Party." *National Woman's Party.* Accessed May 19, 2017. http://nationalwomansparty.org/equal-rights-the-next-chapter-of-the-national-womans-party/

Maryland's suffragists made important contributions at every stage of this decades-long struggle. Their work on the national stage as activist leaders, campaign organizers, and drivers of media content helped push the country towards the adoption of a federal suffrage amendment. At home in Maryland, their grassroots activism built a network of highly informed and active women who fought for education, workers' rights, clean food and water, and safe neighborhoods, among many causes. The women's suffrage movement brought generations of Maryland women from across the state out of their homes and into public political and civic activism that continues today.

F. Associated Property Types

Based on this study, five distinct property types associated with the civil rights movement emerged:

- Gathering and Strategy Centers;
- Demonstration Centers;
- Properties Associated with Prominent Persons;
- Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions; and
- Historic Districts.

These property types are consistent with those used in other civil rights heritage-related context statements, such as the Baltimore, Maryland; Selma and Birmingham, Alabama; and Orangeburg County, South Carolina, civil rights Multiple Property Documentation forms, as well as with various National Park Service civil rights contexts.

Most sites nominated under this context will be eligible under Criteria A or B for their association with important people or events associated with the woman's suffrage movement. When evaluating sites associated with this context, care should be taken to select those remaining sites that best represent the activism of the individual or organization. Many suffrage organizations moved several times over their organizational history—often meeting in private homes initially and moving into leased offices as circumstances required. When multiple sites are extant, consideration should be taken to select sites mostly closely associated with significant events or productive periods.

This context does not discuss the architectural significance of these five property types, but some sites, such as churches and public buildings, may also be eligible under criterion C for their architectural significance. In some cases, these architecturally significant buildings have already been listed in the National Register, but the forms do not discuss the building's significance to the woman's suffrage movement. In cases such as this, the forms should be amended to reflect this new contextual information.

Similarly, some sites, particularly demonstration centers, may also be listed or eligible for listing under Criterion A based on their significance to another historical trend, such as government or politics. Nominations for woman's suffrage sites should include contextual information for all significant themes associated with a property. Existing National Register forms should be amended to reflect new contextual information.

In order to meet registration requirements, properties must retain sufficient character and integrity to convey their period of significance. The seven aspects of integrity must be evaluated: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. Alterations to historic properties must be evaluated carefully, and properties that no longer retain primary distinguishing features from their period of significance may not have enough historic integrity to be eligible for listing.

Under each associated property type is a list of sites that may qualify for listing based on future research. Properties that are already listed in the National Register for reasons other than their association with the woman's suffrage movement are indicated with "NR" in parentheses after the site name. Some properties may qualify under multiple property types, e.g., the home of a prominent leader for an organization where strategy meetings were held; however, sites are listed below under the property type for which they are most clearly associated. This list is not comprehensive and other sites may be identified with further research.

Gathering and Strategy Centers

A "Gathering and Strategy Center" is a property connected with the woman's suffrage movement in Maryland that was the site of meetings, lectures, or other educational events held by activists in support of the pursuit of voting rights for women. These meetings were often led by prominent local activists or included guest speakers representing local, state and national organizations and institutions. At these meetings, activists planned or executed political strategies, fundraising campaigns, and media events, as well as gave speeches and lectures, all with the goal of achieving voting rights for women. Gathering and Strategy Centers may include any location, public or private, where individuals gathered together to plan for action, including residences, public buildings, organizational offices, churches, and business establishments.

Gathering and Strategy Centers are significant for their association with the effort to pass woman's suffrage legislation, enabling women to vote. A Gathering and Strategy Center must meet the following requirements to be nominated as part of this multiple property listing:

1. It must be closely associated with the events of the woman's suffrage movement in Maryland and qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion A.
2. In addition, some Gathering and Strategy Centers may be eligible under Criterion B, if they are also associated with a prominent individual in the woman's suffrage movement. See "Properties Associated with Prominent Persons" below.
3. It must maintain integrity of location, design, and materials. In other words, the property should retain its overall appearance from its period of significance. A property is not disqualified for minor alterations, which do not change its overall appearance.
4. For religious properties, it must meet Criteria Consideration A, meaning that it must be significant in areas other than religion. Religious properties associated with woman's suffrage activities should be eligible under Criterion A for social history/woman's history. Note that many of these religious properties will also be eligible under Criterion C for architecture.

The following sites may be considered Gathering and Strategy Centers:

- Baltimore Business College/Old YMCA (Baltimore City, B-2158)
- Belvedere Hotel (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-980)
- Bethel A.M.E. Church (Baltimore City, Old West Baltimore Historic District, B-123)
- Boyle's Hall (Carroll County, Westminster Historic District, CARR-134)
- Clara Barton National Historic Site (Montgomery County, National Historic Landmark, M:35-25)
- Friends Meeting House (Baltimore City, Bolton Hill Historic District, B-448)
- Harlem Avenue Christian Church (Old West Baltimore Historic District, Baltimore City, B-2975)
- Improved Order of Heptasophs (Baltimore City, B-1508)
- Lyric Theatre (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-106)
- Osler Hall (Baltimore City, B-1507)
- Sandy Spring Lyceum (Montgomery County)
- Sharp Street Memorial United Methodist Church (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-2963)
- Westminster Opera House/Odd Fellows Hall (Carroll County, Westminster Historic District, CARR-382)
- Young Women's Christian Association, Druid Hill Avenue Branch (YWCA) (Baltimore City, Old West Baltimore Historic District, B-1373)

Demonstration Centers

A "Demonstration Center" is a property connected with the woman's suffrage movement that was the site of a demonstration or public display related to the pursuit of voting rights for women. These centers include sites associated with legislative action as well as sites of parades, hikes, or other demonstrations. Demonstration Centers may include public buildings, parks and public spaces. Because of the nature of woman's suffrage protests and demonstrations, often happening at open-air meetings or as a parade or hike, many demonstration centers may be historic districts.

Demonstration Centers are significant for their association with the effort to pass woman's suffrage legislation, enabling women to vote. Demonstration Center must meet the following requirements to be nominated as part of this multiple property listing:

1. It must be closely associated with the events of the woman's suffrage movement in Maryland and qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion A.

2. It must maintain integrity of location, design, and materials. In other words, the property should retain its overall appearance from its period of significance. A property is not disqualified for minor alterations, which do not change its overall appearance.

3. For religious properties, it must also meet Criteria Consideration A, meaning that it must be significant in areas other than religion. Religious properties associated with woman's suffrage activities should be eligible under Criterion A for social history/woman's history. Note that many of these religious properties will also be eligible under Criterion C for architecture.

The following sites may be considered Demonstration Centers:

- Fifth Regiment Armory (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-1071)
- George Washington House (Prince George's County, National Register-listed, PG:69-2)
- Maryland State House (Annapolis, National Historic Landmark, AA-685)
- Mount Vernon Place Historic District (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-3722)
- St. Mary's City Historic District (St. Mary's County, National Historic Landmark, SM-29)

Properties Associated with Prominent Persons

Properties Associated with Prominent Persons are those properties associated with notable individuals involved in the pursuit of woman's suffrage in Maryland. These prominent people may be individuals who led activist organizations or institutions; notable speakers or demonstrators; politicians, elected officials or public servants who supported woman's suffrage activities; or other individuals who were active participants in the fight for woman's suffrage. Properties associated with Prominent Persons may include residences, public buildings, organization offices and business establishments.

Properties Associated with Prominent Persons are significant for their association with notable individuals who were involved in the effort to enact woman's suffrage legislation, enabling women to vote. Properties Associated with Prominent Persons must meet the following requirements to be nominated as part of this multiple property listing:

1. The individual must be closely associated with the woman's suffrage movement in Maryland and qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion B. Properties eligible under Criterion B must be associated with that person's productive life, i.e., an individual must have occupied the property while actively working on significant woman's suffrage activities. If there are several properties associated with one person, the listed property should be the one that best represents that person's contributions.

2. The property must maintain integrity of location, design, and materials, meaning that the property should retain its overall appearance from the period of significance associated with the individual. A property is not disqualified for minor alterations, which do not change its overall appearance.

3. For religious properties, it must meet Criteria Consideration A, meaning that it must be significant in areas other than religion. Religious properties associated with notable woman's suffrage leaders should be eligible under Criterion B for social history/women's history related to the individual's woman's suffrage–related activities.

The following sites may be considered Properties Associated with Prominent Persons:

- Augusta T. Chissell House (Baltimore City, contributing to the Old West Baltimore Historic District, B-2969)
- Elizabeth King Ellicott House (Baltimore City, contributing to the Mt. Vernon Place Historic District, B-5211)
- Cornelia M. Gibbs House (Baltimore City)
- Margaret Gregory Briggs Hawkins House (Baltimore City, contributing to the Old West Baltimore Historic District, B-1373-6)
- Edith Houghton Hooker House (Baltimore City, B-5339)
- Mary Bostwick Shellman House (Carroll County, contributing to the Westminster Historic District, CARR-136)

Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions

Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions are those properties associated with notable organizations involved in the fight in support of the achievement of woman's suffrage. Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions may include residences or organizational offices. Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions are significant for their association with notable organizations who were involved in the effort to enact woman's suffrage legislation.

Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions must meet the following requirements to be nominated as part of this multiple property listing:

1. It must be closely associated with the events of the woman's suffrage movement in Maryland and qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion A.

2. It must maintain integrity of location, design, and materials. In other words, the property should retain its overall appearance from its period of significance. A property is not disqualified for minor alterations, which do not change its overall appearance.

3. For religious properties, it must meet Criteria Consideration A, meaning that it must be significant in areas other than religion. Religious properties associated with woman's suffrage activities should be eligible under Criterion A for social history/woman's history. Note that many of these religious properties will also be eligible under Criterion C for architecture.

The following sites may be considered Properties Associated with Community Groups and Institutions:

- Just Government League, Baltimore (Baltimore City, contributing to the Mount Vernon Historic District, B-3722-1)
- Just Government League of Anne Arundel County/Republican Advertiser Building (Anne Arundel County, contributing to the Annapolis Historic District, AA-401)
- Just Government League of Caroline County Headquarters (Caroline County, contributing to Denton Historic District, CAR-201)
- Equal Suffrage League Office/Brown's Arcade (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-2166)

Historic Districts

Historic Districts are typically defined by the National Register as possessing "a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development." While many of the historic districts eligible under this MPDF will also be eligible under Criterion C for architecture, under the context of woman's suffrage, these districts will also be eligible under Criterion A for their historic associations. These districts are linked by associations with individuals, organizations and historical events prominent in the woman's suffrage movement.

Historic Districts are significant for their concentration of sites associated with notable individuals, organizations and events related to the effort to enact woman's suffrage legislation, enabling women to vote. A Historic District must meet the following requirements to be nominated as part of this multiple property listing:

1. It must be closely associated with individuals and events of the woman's suffrage movement in Baltimore and qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion A.

2. It must maintain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. In other words, the property should retain its overall appearance from its period of significance. A historic district is not disqualified for changes or alterations that do not change its cohesiveness as a distinct and unified area.

The following sites may be considered Historic Districts under this context:

- Mount Vernon (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-3722)
- Old Goucher College (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-3725)
- Old West Baltimore (Baltimore City, National Register-listed, B-1373)
- Sandy Spring (Montgomery County, M: 28-11)
- St. Mary's City (St. Mary's County, National Register-listed, SM-29)
- Westminster (Carroll County, National Register-listed, CARR-152)

G. Geographical Data

This MPDF applies to the entire State of Maryland.

Identification and Evaluation Methods

The aim of this research was to enhance our understanding of the Maryland women's suffrage movement by identifying key milestones, organizations, and leaders; and to link this information to the specific places around the state where women suffragists worked to advance their cause.

The research process began with a review of existing histories and analyses of the Maryland and national suffrage movement. These existing resources provided valuable information on suffrage organizations, activists, and tactics, but did not typically discuss the places where suffrage activities occurred. The process of linking the names of organizations and individuals to sites around the state relied upon an extensive search of primary sources including census and city directory records, digital collections of suffrage correspondence, ephemera, and photography. This research relied heavily on digitized newspaper archives of *The Baltimore Sun*, *The Baltimore Afro-American, The Washington Post,* and local newspapers from around the state.

It is important to note that these sources reflect the biases of their time. Suffrage activity was not popular in many places and not always objectively covered, or covered at all, and newspapers catering to majority-white audiences broadly excluded direct coverage of the work of African American suffragists. These editorial choices left an imperfect record of the scope of suffrage activity in Maryland.

Other difficulties in identifying significant suffrage sites are a product of the movement itself. Most of Maryland's women-led suffrage organizations were by nature transitory: instead of purchasing property, they moved between members' homes or temporarily-rented office spaces, moving as strategies and priorities changed. Their tactics revolved around open-air activities such as parades and demonstrations, spontaneous mass meetings and public speeches, and traveling campaigns that made only brief stops to publicize the cause. These deliberate and repetitive strategies were effective at garnering attention and support for suffrage, but do not easily lend themselves to the identification of discrete locations where activism was concentrated.

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