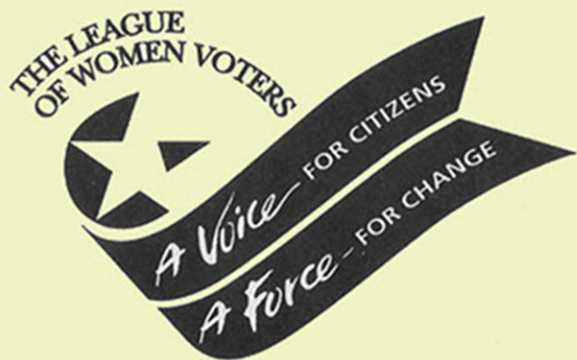
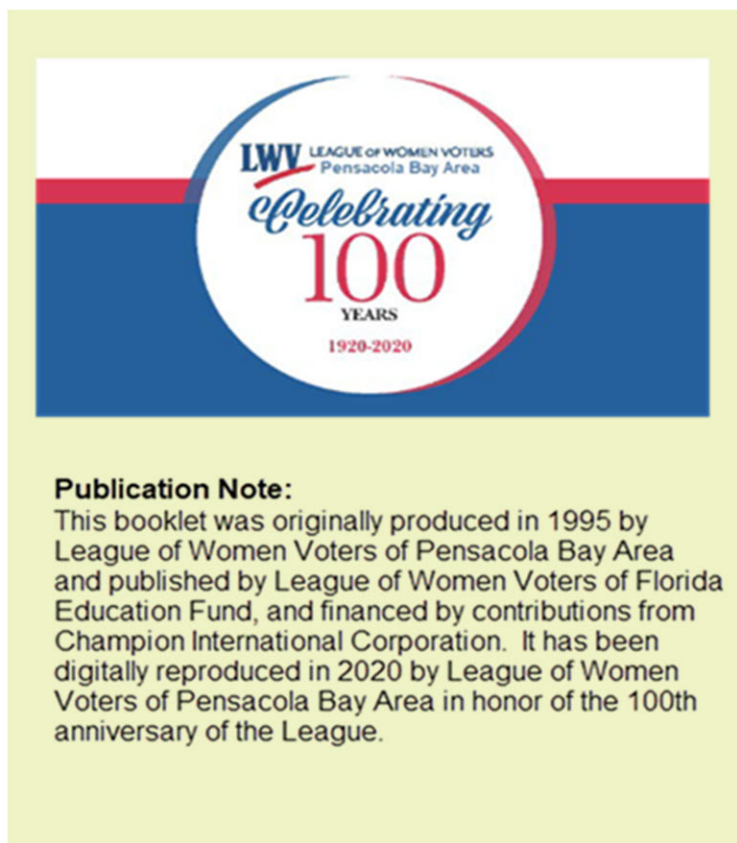


# When Women Vote



League of Women Voters  
Pensacola Bay Area



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THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE PENSACOLA BAY AREA

**WHEN WOMEN VOTE**

A STUDY OF THE PENSACOLA SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT AND THE  
FOUNDING OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE  
PENSACOLA BAY AREA AND ITS HISTORY

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**CONTENTS**

PREFACE	1
A CHRONOLOGY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE	4
INTRODUCTION	5

**PART I**

PENSACOLA EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE	6
POST-SUFFRAGE NOTES ON ESCAMBIA COUNTY	36
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT	38
LEAGUE PRINCIPLES	39

**PART II**

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA	40
ENDNOTES	58
SOURCES	59

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# PREFACE

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As members of the League of Women Voters of the Pensacola Bay Area began to make plans for the 75th anniversary celebration of the League of Women Voters of the United States (LWVUS), we became aware of the need to uncover the history of the Pensacola woman suffrage movement as well as a need to consolidate the records of our local League into one written history.

A search of area resource libraries produced little to no information on the Pensacola suffragists. Several books on Pensacola made merely a scant reference in a paragraph.

With help from the University of West Florida Special Collections, a study was made of the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League file. Several months of scanning microfilm of Pensacola Journals from 1914 through 1920 for suffragist articles produced an abundance of information.

Material found was pieced together in a meaningful sequence of events. This publication, When Women Vote, fills an overlooked and neglected area of Pensacola history. It allows observation of the suffrage movement at the local level in its most human dimension.

One thing that immediately jumped to attention was that the word "suffragist" was always used in their correspondence and in the Pensacola Journal articles. Never did any of these "workers" refer to themselves or to another as a "suffragette." Two references were made to England's woman suffrage workers as "suffragettes." Therefore, you will find the word "suffragist" is used correctly in When Women Vote.

From the 1776 date of the Declaration of Independence, the 1789 effective date of the U.S. Constitution, to the 1920 ratification date of Amendment XIX giving nationwide suffrage to women, political voting rights for women were denied. One hundred and forty-four years of mobilization of women and their collective activity toward the cause of suffrage is an enormous span of history to cover. Significant dates, events, people and issues associated with the suffrage cause (such as the right of women to speak in public) encompass a myriad of legal rights for women.

Four background points are essential for purposes of understanding the suffragists, voting rights and information contained in When Women Vote. These are:

- 1) The beginnings (of this organized women's movement process) lie primarily among women abolitionists brought together by the antislavery movement in 1848.
- 2) Post Civil War politics again excluded women when Amendment XV to the Constitution guaranteed voting rights shall not

- be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude was ratified in 1870.
- 3) In realizing that the woman suffrage fight must find a new political context for an independent movement, the dominant leaders Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony together in 1869 founded the National Woman Suffrage Association supporting a federal amendment. Also, in 1869, Lucy Stone formed the American Woman's Suffrage Association seeking suffrage through states' rights. The two groups finally merged in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.).
  - 4) Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt were successors as leaders of the suffrage movement through the two decades of the 20th century. Mrs. Catt is credited with founding the League of Women Voters on February 14, 1920.

This mighty effort to overcome the conflicts and hostilities preventing woman suffrage brought about the passage of Amendment XIX. The wording, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of sex," is exactly as drafted by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.<sup>1</sup>

The Anthony Amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1878. It was introduced in each succeeding Congress until it passed.<sup>2</sup> The first time it came to a vote, it was defeated in the Senate on January 25, 1887. It did not come to a vote again until 1914. Then, prodded by a petition of almost 500,000 names presented to Congress by N.A.W.S.A. (as well as the pickets of Alice Paul's National Party), Congress reconsidered the Anthony Amendment:

March 19, 1914 defeated in Senate;  
January 12, 1915 defeated in House;  
January 10, 1918 passed by House;  
October 1918 defeated in Senate;  
February 11, 1919 defeated in the Senate;  
May 21, 1919 passed by House--June 4, 1919 passed by Senate.

Extensive campaigns for ratification were waged in all the states. It was certified by the Secretary of State as Amendment XIX to the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1920.

The really overwhelming commitment by organized numbers of women and men in every state who worked for woman suffrage is significant. Floridians were busy in Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Tampa and Pensacola, as well as in the many smaller towns and communities that bordered these cities.

When Women Vote focuses on the activities of the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League (P.E.S.L.) from 1914 through 1920. It is designed to preserve local suffragist efforts as part of Pensacola's history and to educate the public about their work and the work of the League of Women Voters of the Pensacola Bay Area (LWVPBA). It does not cover nor analyze the national suffrage movement since this can be found elsewhere.

This publication gives us many reasons to be grateful to the commitment and courage of the suffragists in the fight for the woman's right to vote. The League of Women Voters is an outgrowth of the suffragist movement and is noted for standing resolutely above politics by maintaining its non-partisan position in its work and its study of issues. Voter education has been central to the League since its founding on February 14, 1920. We are proud of our past and accept the challenges of the future for the LWVPBA. The slogan chosen for the League's 75th anniversary is a fitting one: A Voice for Citizens, A Force for Change.

I am grateful to the League of Women Voters of the Pensacola Bay Area for giving me the opportunity to research and write this publication. Part II was produced with the help of the League members who comprised the 75th Anniversary Committee. They are all long-time League members who have served on the LWVPBA Board of Directors and many have served on the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of Florida. I couldn't have finished without their help. Several other people read an earlier version of this study, and I am appreciative of their recommendations and encouragement.

Fay D. Walker  
Member, Board of Directors (1994-1996)  
Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Committee

75TH ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Sherlee Aronson	Gene Feicht
Margrette Barker	Marjorie Hart
Miriam Birdwhistell	Miriam Jennings
Gloria Dawson	Tommie Phillips
Janet deLorge	Muriel Wagner
Vivian Faircloth	Fay Walker

## A CHRONOLOGY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE<sup>3</sup>

- 1789 U.S. Constitution did not grant voting rights to women.
- 1848 First organized Women's Convention which was held in Seneca Falls, N.Y. included a demand for suffrage.
- 1869 National Woman Suffrage Association & American Woman Suffrage Association were formed. (They united in 1890.)
- 1869 First woman suffrage in U.S. was granted by Wyoming Territory (admitted as state in 1890).
- 1870 15th Amendment to U.S. Constitution adopted; it did not include women.
- 1870 Women voted for first time in America in a Utah election. Legislature passed a woman suffrage bill on February 12, 1870 (admitted as a state January 4, 1896).
- 1872 Susan B. Anthony was arrested for crime of voting in an election in Rochester, N.Y.
- 1878 Anthony Amendment was introduced in U.S. Congress
- 1884 Equal Rights Party was formed by group of suffragists. It nominated first woman candidate for the Presidency, Mrs. Belva Lockwood, a lawyer who was renominated in 1888.
- 1910 Woman suffrage was adopted by state constitutional amendment in Washington state.
- 1912 Progressive Party, formed as third party, included a woman suffrage plank. (Bull Moose Party)
- 1916 Alice Paul pulled out of N.A.W.S.A. to found National Woman's Party, a militant, outspoken wing of the suffrage movement.
- 1917 Rep. Jeanette Rankin, R. from Montana, became first woman member in the House (1917-19; 1941-43). She cast the sole votes against U.S. entering both World Wars I and II.
- 1919 Carrie Chapman Catt, President of N.A.W.S.A., at its 50th convention, proposed a League of Women Voters "to finish the fight."
- 1919 Amendment XIX was passed by Congress giving nationwide suffrage to women.
- 1920 February 14, League of Women Voters was founded.
- 1920 August 26, Ratification of Amendment XIX was certified by Secretary of State.
- 1922 Woman Suffrage Amendment XIX was declared constitutional by unanimous decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

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# INTRODUCTION

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The concerns of the nation of the late 1890's into the early 1900's were many.

Mammoth corporations existed and personal colossal fortunes were amassed by the few. A depression that lasted from 1893 for four years created strife for farmers and workers. It was a time of violent strikes. Industry had nurtured America's trade but left the cities darkened by poverty and political scandal as well as by smoke. Children labored without laws.

The nation was primed for reform and change. Local women's groups and clubs in cities throughout America were organizing to help solve the problems of the children, the poor and the sick. In Chicago in 1889, Jane Addams and Ellen Starr established Hull House to improve conditions for children with tuberculosis and polio, as well as to improve the unsanitary living conditions in the industrial district.<sup>4</sup> Jane Addams later became vice president in N.A.W.S.A. In 1890, also in Chicago, the Visiting Nurse's Association was formed. But, gaining the woman's right to vote was critical to changing society and changing woman's relationship to society. She would gain a claim to her own future.

On January 17, 1915, a full-page editorial appeared in the Hearst's Sunday American Atlanta newspaper. It praised women as mothers, "for there is no love like mother love and their hopes for the future of their children." It condemned the conditions existing in factory towns throughout America "where men have put profit ahead of conscience by enslaving children to work all day in mills." The last paragraph stated: "This is NOT a land of equal opportunity when child slavery can exist for a second. It is the blackest curse of all time, and no man with a vote is guiltless while it flourishes. And if there were no other reason for Universal suffrage, it would be sufficient to urge that, when women vote, children cease to toil".

"When women vote" was the phrase that expressed hope that began with the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Abigail Adams, the wife of future president, John Adams, asked that he "Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors....If particular care...is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation."<sup>5</sup>

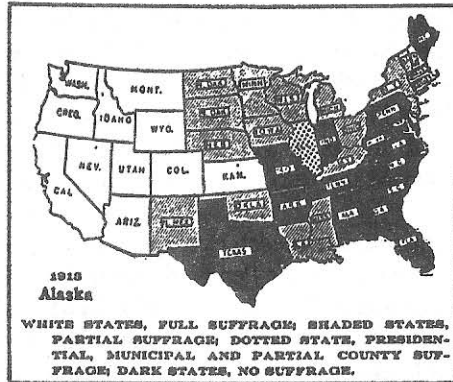
The struggles for equal rights under the law for women have been won little by little since the first women's convention met in Seneca Falls, N.Y. in 1848 to discuss the social, civil and religious conditions and rights of women. The demand for woman suffrage, which was one of the resolutions passed, would test severely their powers of endurance for the next seven decades!



Their continued efforts resulted in a few states adopting constitutional amendments permitting women to vote in the late 1800's and early 1900's. Woman suffrage was considered a states' rights issue. It consisted of haphazard laws of municipal, county, and state governments. The 1913 map reproduced on this page was taken from the letterhead of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It also appeared in the September 7, 1914 Equal Suffrage Edition of the Pensacola Journal. Sixteen states are shown as having NO SUFFRAGE--including Florida.

With the stage set, the climate of the reform spirit flourishing across America, women organized to gain the national vote, to demand better pay and work conditions, and to work for better services--sewers, schools, parks and transportation. Out of this American scene, the Pensacola story of the woman suffrage movement emerged.

### 1913 SUFFRAGE MAP




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## THE PENSACOLA EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

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Earlier endeavors (1893-1897) to organize suffragists in Tampa had acquainted the Florida public with the movement's ideas and hopes for enfranchisement of women. But from 1897 until 1912, the woman suffrage movement in Florida was dormant.<sup>6</sup> However, the N.A.W.S.A. movement's national momentum was winning more acceptance and their progress did not go unnoticed in Florida.

In 1912, equal franchise leagues were revived in Jacksonville and Orlando. Other cities around the state organized "equality clubs" or "franchise leagues." Little unity or cooperation existed among them until the Florida Equal Suffrage Association was organized in November 1913, in Orlando.<sup>7</sup>

The women organizers of the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League were among the most progressive in the South. Many of these women had advanced schooling in a time when public education for children was not mandatory. They had been actively working for years to accomplish growth of the city, both morally and physically. Some were affiliated with club life; some were not members of any woman's club. Some were business women, but most who attended the meetings for the purpose of creating interest in the suffrage movement were mothers.

Their alert minds had an awareness of the needs for social justice and civic righteousness for the sake of their children (as well as those of the Country). They were interested in better labor laws, better schools, better sanitation, and the principles of good government.

The old traditions of the South were part of the culture of these women. They were interested in enfranchisement but were afraid--not of themselves, not of the public and not of ridicule. They were afraid of aligning themselves with a movement at odds with their ethics. They were conservative women who held the standards of womanhood high. They believed a woman's first duty was to her child and that, above all things, a woman should love the home and being a homemaker. They opposed the force of violence and would not be a part of a militant movement.

The first equal suffrage speech ever made in Pensacola (according to Celia M. Robinson, columnist for the Pensacola Journal in 1914) was delivered by Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner on February 21, 1914. In her audience were nearly 100 people, only a dozen of whom were men. She spoke for over an hour with eloquence, power and intellect, presenting the irrefutable facts of the suffrage movement and why women wanted the vote.

Mrs. Stoner was a native of Jacksonville, Florida, where she was prominent in social and club life. A Washington, D.C. resident for 15 years, she was Chairman of Southern Suffrage organizations for N.A.W.S.A., and travelled widely throughout the South speaking on woman suffrage.

Mrs. Stoner remained in Pensacola as the guest of Mrs. May Clutter for several days and, along with a few Pensacola women, did some notable work. (One of these women was Miss Mary Winston Jones.) They circulated a petition gathering signatures to induce a representative from N.A.W.S.A. to come to Pensacola for the purpose of organizing a suffrage league.

As a result of their petition, Miss Lavinia Engle, field secretary of N.A.W.S.A., came to Pensacola and remained for nearly two weeks. Her arrival was announced in the March 12, 1914, Pensacola Journal: "Miss Lavinia Engle of Washington, D.C., lecturer and organizer for the National Woman's Suffrage Association arrives today to speak in response to petition sent via Mrs. Stoner by a number of Pensacola woman and will probably organize a suffrage association

in Pensacola." Her schedule for meetings and speaking is summarized below:

March 12th, Thursday afternoon, San Carlos Hotel

March 13th, Friday evening, Y.M.C.A. (audience composed largely of men, was introduced by Frank L. Mayes)

March 15th, Sunday, Universalist Church

March 16th, Monday, Y.W.C.A.

March 20th, Friday, San Carlos Hotel

March 23rd, Monday night, City Hall Chamber.

On March 13, 1914, after Miss Engle's first speech at the San Carlos Hotel, the Pensacola Journal carried a front page article headed "SUFFRAGE CAUSE ABLY ESPOUSED BY MISS ENGLE, SOUTHERN GIRL." The journalist clearly expressed surprise upon both seeing Miss Engle and hearing her speak. Rather than an emancipator of masculine bearing and manner, he found a tall, slender, girl only twenty-one years of age. Miss Engle's southern ancestry was emphasized, as well as the soft cadences of her southern voice. There was no doubt that the writer found her intelligent, able, enthusiastic, and a poised "graceful figure of Liberty." Miss Engle spoke about women asking, "What is the ballot?" In part, her answer was merely being able to say yea or nay as a national expression of opinion. She said, "There are 9,000,000 women workers in the United States. Surely, these women have the right to an opinion as to what the laws shall be that are made to govern them and their children. American women do not want militancy--we leave that for the English suffragettes. There is a great difference in the suffragist and the suffragette. The American women do not believe in the militant methods any more than do the American men. What women of America, and of the South, ask is simply the right to stand beside the men and help them in the world's work." Miss Engle's speech continued with questions from the audience.

"What would you do with the vote of the colored woman?"

"Well, the vote of the colored man has not disintegrated the political life of the South, why should that of the southern woman?... But, if the Negro woman should vote, it might be that their vote would be as much value as that of many men. For the heart of the mother is the same, in the breast of every woman, and these women, these mothers of the country, who are asking for the vote, are fighting for their children. And if the Negro women fight for their children, and make of them better citizens, it might yet be that even their vote should become a power for good."

"Would men think less of women who vote?"

"Do you think a man would think less of his mother because she dropped a piece of paper in a ballot box?"

Ambassadors for equal suffrage, like Miss Engle, were kept busy travelling from city to city, speaking and organizing new leagues. The newspaper reported

Miss Engle spent two days in Milton organizing the Milton Equal Suffrage League before leaving for Tallahassee. The Pensacola League's file also contains correspondence with Lena Coley, president of Escambia Suffrage League in Bluff Springs, Florida, located in the north end of Escambia County.

Headlining another article on the Pensacola Journal front page on March 20, 1914 was a daunting message: "SENATE VOTES DOWN BY BIG MAJORITY RESOLUTION GIVING WOMEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE."

After Miss Engle's speech at the Monday night, March 23rd meeting, the enthusiastic organizers founded the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League, elected officers, submitted and adopted a Constitution and enrolled around 45 members. Scheduled meetings were for the 2nd and 4th Mondays of each month, held in the Council Chamber of the City Hall at 8:00 P.M. Night meetings were held to "reach the men--the greater need." Both men and women were members who paid dues of \$1.00 per year. Its stated purpose was to aid women of Florida in securing the ballot and promote the cause of equal suffrage. It was an auxiliary to the Florida Equal Suffrage Association and 25¢ per member was paid to the F.E.S.A. treasury.

The following charter members were listed in the March 25, 1914 newspaper:

Mrs. G.W. Barrow	Mrs. George W. Marble
Mr. R.R. Beal	Mrs. J.P. Morris
Miss Mary Berry	Mrs. G.O. McPhail
Mrs. Henry Borst	Miss Edith M. Nicholas
Mrs. A.F. Brown	Miss Anna B. Orr
Miss Theresa Conroy	Mr. J.B. Perkins
Mr. Charles Cottrell	Mrs. M.W. Preston
Miss Sara E. Donaldson	Mr. & Mrs. E.L. Reese
Mrs. J.H. Griffith	Miss Evanette E. Robinson
Mr. & Mrs. Walker Ingraham	Mrs. O.C. Reilly
Miss Isabelle Ingraham	Miss Clara Roche
Mr. W.N. Lounsberry	Mr. & Mrs. Fred Roege
Miss Pearl Lybrand	Mrs. Herman Roege
Miss Rosa Lybrand	Mr. Carl E. Swanson
Mrs. A.E. MacDavid	Mrs. W.C. Wood
Miss Irma MacDavid	Lieutenant F.H. Young

In addition, the following officers were nominated and elected:

President:	Mrs. J.B. Perkins
First Vice-President:	Mrs. May Clutter
Second Vice-President:	Mrs. Alice Shear
Secretary:	Miss Mary Winston Jones
Treasurer:	Miss Marguerite Ingraham

## COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Finance:	Col. Frank L. Mayes
Legislation:	W.P. Cunningham
Press:	Miss Celia M. Robinson
Program:	Miss Gertrude Friedman
Bylaws:	Dr. Henry Borst

Several of the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League members were elected December 1914, to serve as state officers in the Florida Equal Suffrage Association as shown on the F.E.S.A. letterhead:

Mrs. A.E. MacDavid, Second Vice-President  
Mrs. Frank D. Tracy, Recording Secretary  
Mrs. E.E. Saunders, Second Auditor  
Miss Celia M. Robinson, Chairman Press Committee  
Miss Minnie Kehoe, Legislative Committee Member

The members who served as president from 1914 through 1920 were:

Mrs. J.B. Perkins  
Mrs. Fred Roege  
Mrs. A.E. MacDavid  
Miss Marguerite Ingraham  
Miss Minnie Kehoe  
Mrs. Walker Ingraham

Also, Miss Mary Winston Jones (who was instrumental in organizing the Pensacola League) accepted a position as Office Secretary for the Missouri Equal Suffrage League in St. Louis in September 1914.

The Pensacola Equal Suffrage League's correspondence file shows it maintained a busy 1914 schedule. Priorities of its public activities were to increase membership and to hold fundraisers to finance expenses for office supplies (stationery, envelopes), postage for necessary correspondence and telegrams. Money was needed to pay for the notable suffragist speakers' expenses for travel to Pensacola. Some of the events and methods used to raise money were:

- 1) Self-sacrifice Day was used throughout the state on suffragist Lucy Stone's birthday (August 15th). The idea was to "do without something" and donate the money saved to the League.
- 2) Better Babies Contest was used throughout the country to promote "healthier" babies. Entrants were judged by a panel of physicians, and the contest was held in October at the county fair. This was a popular event and recurred several years.
- 3) Buy-a-Bale Movement was a novel idea in which the League purchased a bale of cotton from an Escambia county farmer for 10¢ per pound. It was stored in the San Carlos Hotel until the market for cotton was considered right to sell for a good price. The League then borrowed \$40 from a local bank to use for expenses until the bale sold. Through

someone's negligence, the bale caught fire which resulted in damage to 30 lbs. or \$3.00 worth of cotton. It was sold at 11 ¢ per pound. After deducting loan interest, insurance and storage costs, the League sustained a loss.

4) Collection plates were commonly passed at rallies.

People and events of the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League received full coverage of their activities since Miss Robinson, their press chairman, was woman's editor of the Pensacola Journal. Also, the Journal's president and publisher, Frank Mayes, was a member and supporter of suffrage.

Access to Pensacola by Louisville & Nashville (L. & N.) and the Gulf, Florida and Alabama (G. F. & A.) Railroads allowed a steady stream of suffragist speakers throughout the suffragist movement years. There was a direct rail line from Jacksonville through Pensacola to New Orleans. Some of the speakers who stopped to visit the Pensacola League were:

Kate M. Gordon, president, Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, New Orleans (October 17, 1914)

Mrs. Pattie R. Jacobs, president, Alabama Equal Suffrage Association (December 1914)

Dr. Mary A. Safford, president, F.E.S.A. (December 1914)

Dr. Anna H. Shaw, N.A.W.S.A., New York, referred to as Dean of the American Suffragists inherited leadership from Susan B. Anthony (March 20, 1915)

Mrs. DeSha Breckenridge, 2nd V.P., N.A.W.S.A. of Lexington, Ky. explained the merits of a federal amendment

Mrs. Angus M. Taylor of Birmingham, Alabama

Dr. E.S. Albertson gave an address on suffrage and its ramifications (April 10, 1916).

Some attention needs to be given and a few words written about the stamina of these women. In a letter to Mrs. A.E. MacDavid dated February 26, 1915, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw listed her speaking engagements in Florida. (We can assume that she had many stops and many occasions to speak before reaching Florida from New York by rail. It appears that these hard working suffragists travelled by train day after day without much of a break in scheduling for rest. Many overnights were spent sleeping on the trains.) Her Florida itinerary included:

March 15th in Deland, March 17th in Miami,

March 18th in Jacksonville, March 20th in Pensacola,

March 21st in New Orleans--

then on to speeches in Texas! Although there was no hint of complaint or discomfort discussed in her letter, the prevailing fashion of the day (corsets and such), combined with the heat of summer and cold temperatures of winter, must have added greatly to the discomforts of travel. Only the occasional hospitality of a local host gave a much-welcomed respite.

Correspondence with other Florida leagues revealed neatly typed letters from the Pensacola officers with hastily-scrawled replies from the busy Florida Equal Suffrage Association president, Dr. Mary Safford, in Orlando. Acknowledging that she knew Dr. Safford to be a minister, Mrs. Fred Roege, in a letter, asked Dr. Safford about her church affiliation. Her reply dated July 30, 1914, holds true to current League of Women Voters positions: *"the suffrage organizations are non-partisan and non-sectarian and we recognize our common humanity rather than any sectarian distinctions which have naught to do with our work."* Although not having a church ministry at that time, records show Dr. Safford was an ordained Unitarian Church minister.

On August 28, 1914, Dr. Safford wrote to Mrs. Fred Roege: *"The war in Europe has made me so depressed...when women vote, I trust that none of them will ever vote for war unless it be absolutely necessary for the defense of life."*

War-time scenes and reports on the German Kaiser's army advances in Europe dominated the front page of the Sept. 1, 1914, Pensacola Journal. Related stories covered the caring of the wounded, U.S. prices of medicines soaring due to war, and the work of the Red Cross in "Europe's Great War." The Journal printed the latest European War Map showing most recent boundary lines (information on rulers, navies, and armies) which could be purchased for 10¢ at their office.

On page 4, September 1, 1914, Pensacola Journal, a telling article appeared: CONGRESSMEN PRESENT HUMILIATING SPECTACLE. An Associated Press dispatch reported the spectacle of members of Congress being forced to attend sessions! Sergeants-at-arms were ordered by Speaker Clark to raid "baseball parks, cafes, and other resorts in an effort to round up sufficient members for the transaction of business." Unfortunately (it said) the names of those arrested for neglect of duty were not made public. "The people should know who these fellows are in order that their negligence may be remembered when they ask reelection."

Undaunted and with amazing optimism, the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League's efforts had increased its membership to 113 members within six months of existence.

Major events were planned across the nation for September 7, 1914, Labor Day. The P.E.S.L. began work in July gathering material for a special edition of the Pensacola Journal. Letters were mailed to 14 influential Florida newspaper editors, soliciting "an expression from you on equal citizenship for men and women." Similar requests were made to men holding public office. The P.E.S.L. became accomplished in selling advertising space to help pay for this edition.

The result of the combined energies of the P.E.S.L. and the Journal was an outstanding, 20-page work in two sections called the EQUAL SUFFRAGE EDI-TION, issued September 7, 1914.

The use of this edition for a history classroom study would be sufficient in its coverage of national, regional and local suffragist aspirations to provide answers to questions and ideas for discussion.

The following selected items from this edition offer a sampling of authors, articles, reports and opinions on expectations before the public of the woman suffrage movement.

### EQUAL SUFFRAGE EDITION

To the abolition of child slavery and the pioneers of the suffrage movement in the South; to all earnest women and men who believe in the regenerative influence of the ballot; to the ultimate success of the greatest work of any era since the birth of the Savior of the World; to the preservation of peace and to conservation of the integrity of the nation, this edition is dedicated.

#### SECTION ONE, Page 6:

“Child Labor”--Evanette Esther Robinson

“The Way Women Helped Chicago”--work of Jane Addams

#### SECTION ONE, Page 8:

Opinions of Newspaper Editors and Men in Public Office

#### SECTION TWO, Page 4: Pensacola's Suffragist Leaders

Pictures of Nine Women Members of P.E.S.L. and History of Organization

#### SECTION TWO, Page 11:

“Highlights in the Life of Lucy Stone”

“Status of States on Suffrage” - 1913 Map

“Editorial Cartoon--Unfair Labor Practices--Women”

#### SECTION TWO, Page 12:

“Federation of Women's Clubs Endorsed Suffrage Movement” by Mrs. Wesley Stoner, who attended the Woman's Parliament Convention in Chicago. Jane Addams, guest speaker; topic: “Clubs and Public Policies”

#### SECTION TWO, Page 14:

“Southern Suffrage Pioneers--Florida, Georgia, Alabama” women working for the ballot

#### SECTION TWO, Page 15:

“45 Years of Equal Suffrage Out West Has Not Resulted in Sex Antagonism”

“Men's Rights Will Be No Less When Women Vote”

#### SECTION TWO, Page 16:

“Prominent National Suffrage Workers” featured: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt



SECTION TWO, Page 19:

“National Educational Association for Equal Suffrage”

picture of Miss Ethel Suter, Editor,

article “Endorsements of Educators”--opinions of local school principals:

Miss Reese, grammar school: “I heartily endorse Equal Suffrage, but am not a member of the league yet.”

Mrs. Melton, president of Parent Teacher League of School #1: “It will not entirely solve the problem of good government, but it will undoubtedly be a help towards obtaining better laws.”

Mrs. Besie T. Wilson, president of primary teachers association: “I am completely in sympathy of the movement.”

Miss Allie Yniestra, principal of School #74: “I am not yet converted to Equal Suffrage, but am fully in accord with all movements for better laws affecting factory inspection, child labor laws, compulsory education, and eight-hour-day labor laws.”

Mrs. A.K. Suter, principal, “Women of the present day have enlarged their sphere of activity as members of school improvement associations, civic leagues, park associations, factory inspectors. They have done much excellent work without loss of womanly traits; therefore, why should the placing of a ballot in a box unsex them? Equal Suffrage is a move in the right direction.”

Mrs. O.H. McReynolds, principal, “I believe in Equal Suffrage for the simple reason that it is right that women should have equal representation with men.”

The annual report of the P.E.S.L. dated May 14, 1915, states the Equal Suffrage Edition was a splendid success financially as well as placing suffrage before the people.

This EQUAL SUFFRAGE EDITION brought into context the demand for suffrage. It disclosed an advanced program for improving women’s positions--one that recognized women’s aspirations for a greater voice in community affairs by allowing them into the political arena.

The P.E.S.L.’s successes spawned more and more activity, and its efforts to recruit new members as well as organize new leagues in surrounding northwest Florida cities increased. The following letter from its file was sent out on Florida State Assistant Postmasters’ letterhead. Mr. Fred Roege was Assistant Postmaster in Pensacola, and his wife was P.E.S.L. president.

Pensacola, Florida, Aug. 5, 1914

*The Pensacola Equal Suffrage League greatly desires to get in touch with the men and women of West Florida who believe that the home, upon which the Nation's well-being rests, can be made better by extending to the women the right to cast a vote for better health conditions, better schools and better home surroundings. Pensacola expects to have the honor of entertaining the delegates to the First Convention of the Equal Suffrage Leagues of the State of Florida next autumn and wishes every town, especially those in West Florida, to be represented. Pensacola also wants to extend an urgent invitation to all those who believe in equal suffrage to attend the Escambia County Fair on Wednesday, October 21, which has been set aside as Equal Suffrage Day.*

*If you are favorable to the great movement of equal political rights for women, speak to your friends, neighbors and acquaintances and send me the names of three or four persons who are interested. Should your opinion not coincide with mine, will you not be a generous opponent and kindly hand this letter to a lady or gentlemen who, in your opinion, is in favor of equal suffrage?*

*I shall greatly appreciate your assistance and shall be pleased to render you a similar service if occasion arises.*

*Very truly yours,*

*(name of writer missing)*

Dr. Mary Safford's letter of September 17, 1914, noted that "difficulty of getting a delegate attendance in your city will be the only objection to going to Pensacola," and again on November 23, 1914, she wrote "owing to the great distance of Pensacola from most of the clubs you will have few voting delegates from them." However, the invitation to hold the first F.E.S.A. convention in Pensacola was accepted and plans were set in motion around the state. (See invitation on page 17.)

A handwritten copy of the program in the P.E.S.L. file revealed the topic: "Why the Women of Florida Want the Ballot," speaker, Dr. Mary Safford, president, F.E.S.A. On the outside cover page of the program was written:

We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little masterpiece, the Home, was our creation, with the help of man. The great masterpiece, the STATE, shall be perfected by man when in all seriousness, he takes woman as his helper.

Selma Lagerlof, F.E.S.A. First Annual Convention,  
Pensacola, Florida  
December 8-10, 1914, San Carlos Auditorium

The Pensacola Journal gave the convention front page coverage on December 9-10, 1914, reporting a tremendous amount of interest in the sessions. Among the City's outstanding citizens who addressed the sessions were:

Dr. A.S. Moffett, First Presbyterian Church pastor delivered the invocation. Then came the welcoming address by

Mayor Adolf Greenhut who openly came out for the cause of woman suffrage. Other city speakers followed:

Mr. C.E. Dobson, president, Chamber of Commerce

Mrs. Alfred Mood, represented Civic League

Col. Frank Mayes, represented the Press

Hon. W.A. Blount, represented the Bar Association

Dr. Louis Blocker, Escambia County Medical Association

Mrs. A.E. MacDavid, president P.E.S.L.

Other session or out-of-town guest speakers were:

Dr. Mary Safford, president, F.E.S.A.

Hon. W.R. O'Neal, Orlando Men's Equal Suffrage League

Mrs. Solon Jacobs, president, Alabama Equal Suffrage League

Miss Ernestine Noa, Nashville, Tenn. Transportation Board.

Those mentioned in attendance from Milton Equal Suffrage League were Mrs. Thompson and Miss Carrie Dey. Leagues represented in the F.E.S.A. were Pensacola, Orlando, Miami, Winter Park, Lake Helen, Pine Castle, Milton, Zellwood, Jacksonville, Ruskin, and Tampa. "All worked harmoniously together. The machinery has run smoothly and well for this the first convention of the state league for betterment of the human race" (December 10, 1914, Pensacola Journal). Officers for 1915 were elected which included the unanimous re-election of Dr. Safford as president.

From the March founding of the P.E.S.L. through the December state convention, the Pensacola suffragists completed the 1914 year with high-profile accomplishments that publicly advanced their cause.

**1914**  
**CALL TO THE FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION**  
**OF THE FLORIDA EQUAL SUFFRAGE**  
**ASSOCIATION**

To the Suffragist of Florida, Greeting:

The Florida Equal Suffrage Association will hold its first Annual Meeting in Pensacola, December 8, 9, 10th

In November of this year, Nevada and Montana were added to the number of Equal Suffrage States.

We have reason to rejoice in the steady gain of the greatest cause of the twentieth century; we too would be free. Come to the Convention at Pensacola and help plan how the women of Florida may speedily win their enfranchisement.

Come and let us highly resolve that our beautiful Southland shall not longer lag in the rear of the mighty procession of men and women who are moving forward to realize the dream of true democracy; come and by your coming, show that you grasp the meaning of the struggle by individual women for larger life and wider opportunities; come if you love your homes, that you may help to win the power to protect them. Realizing that if women had the vote, the cruelties and barbarities of war would not be tolerated, come to the Convention and help bring nearer the time when the battle flags of the nation shall be furled and good will everywhere prevail.

Mary A. Safford  
President of the F.E.S.A.  
and  
Mrs. Fred Stanley, Secretary

**DELEGATES:**

Every League is entitled to one voting delegate for every ten members and major fraction thereof, in addition to the President of the League.

All are cordially invited to attend the meeting and the visiting delegates may elect a voting delegate to represent them.

Persons going to the Convention will please send their names to Mrs.

Winning the vote had become a highly specialized business, needing experts in every line of work, and these suffragist experts learned much from one another. The Pensacola suffragists began studying and familiarizing themselves about campaign work (lobbying) in preparation for Florida's fight for the ballot. Relying on the experience of others, they wrote to the Montgomery Equal Suffrage League inquiring about a course of study. The response advised them to write to the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company in New York for assistance. However, the Montgomery League recommended two books: Olive Schriener's Women and Labor and Hecker's Short History of Woman Suffrage.

Keeping the suffrage issue in front of the public with the purpose to increase membership (and attract new supporters) was an ongoing concern of the P.E.S.L. throughout 1915. A rally was held January 25th at the San Carlos, at which time 20 new members brought the total membership to 180. Col. Frank Mayes made his last speech, and the suffragists lost one of their biggest supporters (with the occurrence of his death soon thereafter).

The U.S. House of Representatives had debated for 8 or more hours and defeated the Anthony Amendment on January 12, 1915. The Journal printed the Associated Press report stating that the galleries were filled by suffrage supporters, as well as anti-suffragists. Mrs. Arthur Dodge, president of the national anti-suffragists, opposed to woman suffrage, said the result indicated that "the suffrage movement fostered by hysterical women is on the wane." The suffragist leaders were undismayed, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw predicted "a more favorable result when Congress is again called on to vote on the question." The Journal printed many of the comments made (during the debate) by the representatives who opposed the issue.

However, a letter sent to the P.E.S.L. from Mrs. Edith Owen Stoner (the same Mrs. Wesley M. Stoner who came to Pensacola as an organizer of suffrage leagues) adequately describes the suffragists' feelings and the atmosphere in the Capitol Building. Representative Stanley E. Bowdle was from the state of Ohio. The nine-page letter was handwritten and is reprinted exactly, including underlined and misspelled words.

1527 R.I. Ave., Washington, D.C.  
January 31, 1915

*My Dear Pensacola Suffragists,*

*Will it be possible for me to express to you the mingled feelings of disgust and despair which held us in mute shame in the gallery of the House of Representatives in the Capitol of this United States on the 12th during the Suf-*

frage debate. For twelve long hours hundreds and hundreds of our countries brilliant women and men sat as if glued to the spot listening to first one side of the question and then the other side.

Not a man from a state where women have exercised the franchise, but what praised and lauded her and the result of her political activities. And many men from non-suffrage states did likewise. But, dear ladies, it remained for the majority, almost the entire body of southern men to oppose this great reform for the most inane, archaic reasons, which these days, are simply a proof of crass ignorance or lack of principal.

To a man, the southern representatives spoke of their chivalry toward women and those who did not prefer to hide behind the states' rights subterfuge, openly declared, that it was man's duty and pleasure to protect the weaker sex. In fact, as Webb of N.C. eloquently (?) flustered, "it is man's duty to protect woman against herself, and spare her from the difficult and laborious duty of voting." Piffle!

We had a full view of most of the Georgia & Florida congressmen. Wilson was not present, but Frank Clark (he of the stupendous intellect and ability to quote scripture) was there in all his glory. So was Heflin, the Breau Brummel of chivalry toward the weaker sex. I must say that by the time Sparkman of Tampa was reached, I had lost faith in all men, and I've nothing to say about him, one way or the other, but as to Frank Clark, poor pin head, my words fail me. He claims to represent the people of his district in Florida. Let me say, he may represent some of the men, but he mis-represents all of the women.

When Rep. Bowdle began his speech the equal of which was never before read in the presence of women, because it was so unspeakable, so scurrilous, so insulting, every single southern congressman who only a few moments before had in flowery language described, at length their happiness in protecting woman from the lightest zephyr of responsibility and their chivalry, born only in southern men, applauded each imprintable utterance with ghoulish glee. They slapped their fat thighs, clapped their hands, stamped their feet, and looked triumphantly toward the galleries. Frank Clark nearly split his hands clapping for joy, and not only did he do this, but he and his kind voted to extend this foul-mouthed speaker's time. Twice this time was extended by the votes of chivalry, who sat by while insult after insult was hurled at the galleries, and not one man, from north or south or east or west, sprang at his throat.

One awful sentence brought forth hisses from the galleries to which Speaker Clark pounded for order and exclaimed, "The women in the galleries are here by the courtesy of The House, and all demonstrations for or against must cease or the galleries will be cleared."

The first man to take the floor to resent Bowdle's foul speech was Hobson of Alabama. In beautiful language and a voice filled with emotion, he tried to shame his colleagues from the south, but so many of them had followed the foul-

mouthed Bowdle out into the lobby to congratulate him, that much of it was lost upon the very ones who needed it.

The next to shame and reprimand was a gifted young congressman from Missouri, young P.D. Decker.

The hisses from the galleries had a marked effect, for afterwards the glances upward were less grinningly triumphant and more furtive. I am sending here a copy of an unexpurgated print of Bowdle's speech, which did not appear in the Cong. Record. If this speech was all that was right decent and just, why were parts of it left out of the Record?

A beautiful young woman sat in our group had come 500 miles from Pittsburg on purpose to attend this debate. She is a granddaughter of a former Tennessee governor. Her ancestors help make Tenn. and the women as well as the men. This girls beautiful, intellectual old grandmother, now 84, is a suffragist and frequently talks on the subject in drawing rooms. She and all her daughters are heavy taxpayers in both Tenn. & Penn. yet their Eng. buler, their Sweedish chaffauer and their Irish gardner vote for the Representatives (?) in Congress, city & state, while they cannot.

One southern woman from S.C. said with tears in her voice, "Do we not now realize more than ever how very necessary it is for us to have the vote, and have it now?"

Our new Southern States Woman's Suffrage Conference branch, here in Washington (which we call the Kate Gordon Chapter) stands all ready for the fray. In fact, it is our chief desire to help our dear southern men enfranchise our women by the states' rights route.

You see no matter which way they turn, these men, we greet them smilingly and are ready to help them at once. Our chapter is well organized and last month adopted a very simple yet strong constitution. On the 11th of February, we will hold a large and beautiful reception here in Wash. in the ballroom of the Willard Hotel to which every member of Congress & the Cabinet has been invited. You are all invited, as many of you as will come. Our guest of honor will be Miss Kate Gordon of N.O., she who has stood so firmly for this principal of states' rights for the south for so many years.

An indignation meeting was called a few days after the debate in the House, and it was wonderful to hear the speeches by real men--not hirelings of trusts & corporations. One said he heard a man say, "Well it serves 'em right. That's what they'll git when they git the vote," to which the speaker replied, "Sir, that is what they got because they had not the vote. A voter is not often insulted, brazenly."

If we could only have walked out of the galleries, but we could not for the crowd in the corridors was so dense we were penned in, and as guests of the House of Representatives of this govt. of the people, by the people, we were helpless, insulted, ashamed, heartbroken, and also unforgiving. It is my desire to have every woman's club in the state of Florida--be it a suffrage club or not,

*know from an eye witness who sat with a full view down into this "pig sty," as it was called by a fearless westerner at the indignation meeting, just exactly the unvarnished truth.*

*I sign myself--fearlessly yours*

*Edith Owen Stoner*

*1527 R.I. Ave*

*Washington D.C.*

*Formerly,  
Jacksonville, Florida*

The fury unleashed in this letter is clear. How many of these lengthy letters Mrs. Stoner wrote and to how many Florida clubs is an unanswered question! The copy of Representative Bowdle's speech that was sent to the Pensacola suffragists is not in the P.E.S.L. file.

The worries associated with the war in Europe became a part of the platform of the women's movement. On January 16, 1915, N.A.W.S.A. leaders participated in two-day sessions in Washington, D.C., along with many prominent women from all parts of the country. The sessions were organized as "Woman's Movement for Constructive Peace," the objectives of which were to raise public opinion and to bring pressure to bear on the governments of the world to the furtherance of constructive peace. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw were pictured along with four other women in the Pensacola Journal.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, granted the request of the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League to include them on her Southern tour itinerary for March 20, 1915. This most prominent suffragist requires some background coverage.

At age 68, her travel and speaking schedule was extensive for it included worldwide engagements as well as those in every state. She was an Englishwoman born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, February 14, 1847. She came at age four with her parents to America where the family settled in Michigan. She studied at a college at Albion. Upon finishing the course of study, she studied theology in Boston University, graduating in 1878. She paid her own expenses by preaching and lecturing and was granted a license by the Methodist Conference. She filled the position of pastor at Methodist Church at Hingham, Mass. and later at East Dennis.

Miss Shaw returned to Boston University and earned a degree in medicine in 1885. She reverted to preaching and was the first woman to be granted the privilege of confirmation under the Methodist Protestant Church. Dr. Shaw gave up the pulpit for the suffrage cause and was chosen the N.A.W.S.A. president in 1904.



She presented her case for the cause that she championed to the people of Pensacola at the Opera House. The Pensacola Journal report of her nearly two-hour address described her as "holding the attention of her hearers using eloquence and force of logic." There was an immense audience--the lower floor being crowded with many standing in the aisles and at the rear.

One week after Dr. Shaw's appearance at the Opera House, Mrs. Ida Crouch-Hazlett arrived from Chicago for a 3-day sequence of speeches. Mrs. Crouch-Hazlett was an organizer of N.A.W.S.A. who had worked side by side with Susan B. Anthony and later with Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt.

The P.E.S.L. reported a membership of over 200--then the largest league in the state--on its one-year anniversary. Its members decided at its March 22, 1915, meeting to district the city according to precincts, each ward to work as an auxiliary to the parent league, with a chairman being chosen in each precinct to hold weekly meetings.

The P.E.S.L. files contain correspondence with other Florida leagues discussing ways to exert pressure on the Florida legislature through letters and meetings prior to the opening of the legislative session. The state league was prepared to recommend a bill which "in substance will be to amend Section 1, Article VI, of the Florida State Constitution by striking out the word 'male,' " and by so doing, ask for full suffrage.

The Pensacola league carried out a whirlwind campaign and secured 1600 signatures in five days, giving sanction to this recommended amendment to the state constitution. These signatures were delivered to the district representative by Miss Minnie Kehoe, who had been chosen to represent the F.E.S.A. as Legislative Chairman. Miss Kehoe was chosen for the position because she was considered to possess not only the ability but tact and discretion necessary for the job. She had trained as a court reporter before she studied law and, in 1915, was one of the few women lawyers in the South.

Although the bill was defeated, the Florida leagues planned to present another and "continue until Florida is a suffrage state," according to Mrs. A. E. MacDavid in a speech made before the San Antonio Equal Franchise Association in Texas.

The P.E.S.L. continued to experience vigorous growth, reporting 300 members in September 1915, of which 75 were men. By all indications, they were a well-informed and well-studied group who kept the telegrams flying from the "suffrage squadrons" sharing status of membership meetings and progress with the other 20 state leagues.

The popularity of earlier Better Babies Contests inspired greater efforts to produce a large number of entrants for the 1915 contest. Plans were announced, asking women to get their babies ready and enrolled on September 5. The panel of physicians who examined the babies was announced; the parade and contest were to be on September 24.

The P.E.S.L. on September 29, 1915 again published a special edition of the Pensacola Journal which contained material of special interest to mothers. The baby and the home were featured; articles of interest to club women, home lovers and suffragists were included. Columns gave particular attention to attempts to regulate child labor by writing about proposed child labor laws and child welfare. There was a report on "Hull House, What It Stands For."

Prizes for the best decorated baby carriage were published along with the pictures of the winners of the Better Babies Contest. Eight-month old Edwin Donald Chesser, son of Mr. & Mrs. James S. Chesser, Warrington, scored 100 percent, and Muriel Elizabeth Mabire scored 99 percent. Healthier babies was the goal promoted by the contest.

A new column was introduced by Miss Celia M. Robinson in the Sunday edition of the Journal on September 5 called VOTES FOR WOMEN. Its purpose was to keep the issue of suffrage before the public with up-to-date information on the work of suffragists around the country. As Press Chairman of the F.E.S.A., she regularly received messages from women attending state and national conventions, expositions and conferences.

Local suffragist Mrs. Alice Shear's report on attending the Panamá-Pacific exposition in San Francisco (celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal) was published in her column. While there, she had attended a promotion by the California State Woman Suffrage Association to garner support for a federal amendment. An evaluative comment made by a New York City Supervisor, Mr. Gallagher, regarding a federal amendment was quoted: "Women have proved two things: they can fight; and they can stick." He advised women to work for state suffrage rather than federal.

Miss Robinson's September 15 page addressed "The Question of States' Rights." This covered the vote of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference to give their support to any federal legislation that furthered the suffrage cause. The men of the South repeatedly declared the question of suffrage for women a states' rights question. Evidenced by the action of both Florida and Alabama legislatures, the men of the South were not in any hurry to enfranchise their women citizens.

This same article pointed out the fact that Southern representatives voted against the national child labor bill, which they declared violated the rights of states. (The inference here was that the national child labor bill was opposed by the mill owners and their representatives in Congress.) "Also, every congressman who voted against the child labor bill was an anti-suffragist!"

Another issue of this era was prohibition. The Pensacola Journal covered Escambia County's vote (for the third time) on the legalized sale of liquor in the county on October 12, 1915: "PROHIBITION DEFEATED--ESCAMBIA COUNTY WET BY BIG MAJORITY!"

The October 17, 1915 Votes for Women column reported that "Molino Advertiser has changed its view to support suffrage due to strong sentiment in

and about Molino.”

Mrs. Walker Ingraham, president, P.E.S.L., announced October 25, 1915, the sending of delegates to the National Convention in Washington and the Southern Conference in Richmond. This is evidence of the advancement of their involvement to secure the ballot to the national level. The Pensacola suffragists were thoroughly organized and their ideas for reaching their goal were clear.

## ✪ 1916 ✪

By 1916, the work of the suffragists to organize leagues and recruit supporters had been rewarded. The patient, slow process of educating the public to the issues of importance to the women’s movement became the work. Now, more time went to lobbying--delivering the message to the legislature and Congress--and working more effectively within political organizations.

If one looks at what had evolved, it is possible to think of these now mobilized suffragists as a potential political party or voting bloc. It is possible that fear of what their future impact would have in the political arena was foremost in the minds of the men in power in the legislatures and Congress.

The view of Florida Congressman S.M. Sparkman appeared in the Tampa Tribune and was reprinted in the January 8, 1916 Pensacola Journal. He was asked to contribute a short article on woman suffrage to include his own views on the subject. He saw no legitimate criticism against it as a state proposition: “white women, having the requisite intelligence, might use the ballot in the interest of good government.” The following objections commonly used as arguments against suffrage were listed in his article:

- 1) Political strife would unfit woman for her social and domestic duties. This claim has been found groundless in voting states. The tendency is toward raising their standard of citizenship and social conditions.
- 2) Suffrage would place the ballot in the hands of lower, immoral classes not in the interest of good government.
- 3) ”In the South, it is suggested that the Negro vote would be accentuated by woman suffrage. This claim is one well worth considering and one which will cause that section to hesitate long before granting the privilege. Against that fear, their votes would be more than offset by those of white women.”

He continued that the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution presented more serious questions and that “Southern states have never taken kindly to federal interference.” This openly expressed fear of the franchise for women because of the underlying tension of black suffrage was a major stumbling block in southern states.

The shift of emphasis of the campaign for suffrage from organizing and recruiting members to pressuring the legislature and Congress is well-defined.

In the Journal of January 30, 1916, N.A.W.S.A. announced its plans for its fight for the federal amendment. This was the first time that the national association had concentrated on work in Congress. Mrs. Frank Roessing of Pennsylvania was placed in charge of the campaign in Washington and four groups of speakers were appointed to be known as the Congressional Campaign Corps. The Corps was to canvass the entire United States to gather interest in the Amendment. There were 14 southern states assigned to a Campaign Corps of southern suffragists.

Moreover, N.A.W.S.A. announced the retirement of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as its president. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected to succeed Dr. Shaw.

The front page stories of the Pensacola Journal gave an account of the debate in the U.S. Senate over the government's neutrality policy regarding the European War, the exports of war munitions and travel by Americans on "belligerent owned ships." (The Lusitania, sunk May 7, 1915, carried munitions and American passengers were not warned.) Another major story related details of a damaging strike at the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company in Ohio which resulted in 3 deaths, 18 wounded and \$800,000 of property dynamited and burned.

The P.E.S.L. chose Mrs. Frank D. Tracy to represent them at the F.E.S.A. convention to be convened in Orlando on February 2. She was recording secretary of the state association.

The Florida Equal Suffrage Association was formed in part through the efforts of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs. A January 12, 1916 Journal story told of close ties among the clubs and that women's clubs were working together for "good."

A summary of social and industrial conditions in Florida as found by the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs was published and included recommendations for reform.

The report continued over three pages and is greatly abbreviated below:

- 1) Probation Officers: Expressed concern that there are only two women officers in the entire state. Hoped for more soon. "Think of the countless emergencies where a woman's tact is needed. Our stations, streets, motion picture places, public dance halls, etc., need the surveillance of women with police authority."
- 2) Two Worthy Commissions were appointed by the Legislature to study needs of the state for a mother's pension law. "It would certainly seem better for fatherless children to be supported by the state in their own homes giving them the benefit of their own mother's care and togetherness."
- 3) Drugs: An organization was formed in Jacksonville for helping the addicted unfortunates. The 1915 legislature passed an act "requiring the teaching of evils of alcoholic beverages and narcotics to children in the primary department of the public schools."

- 4) The Social Evil: "Scientists tell us that our policy of silence on the truths of life has been an absolute failure as proven by present conditions. This places an awful responsibility of telling children the truth upon parents and upon teachers should parents shirk it. To meet this need, social hygiene should be taught in normal schools. We cannot stamp out the social evil all at once but we can seriously interfere with the commercial side of it by making it impossible for a girl to be trapped. Whatever makes for social betterment is helpful; whatever leads women to demand of men the same code of honor, decency and self-respect that men demand of women is a contribution toward the solution of absolutely equal responsibility between the sexes."
- 5) Recommendations to Study:
  - a) a living wage for women while keeping an active interest in child labor.
  - b) the need for trained social workers as matrons on through trains and steamship lines and women inspectors at ports of entry.
  - c) permanent state custodial care for feeble-minded women of child-bearing age.
  - d) promotion of prison reform. Women prisoners need women overseers rather than men.

The report ended with the comment that it is the nature of reforms to move slowly.

The P.E.S.L. file at the University of West Florida contains one list of members' names dated January 31, 1916 with a total count of 240.

The City of Pensacola's 1916 Mardi Gras was reported as a "record gathering" with 8,110 people arriving (4,610 by L. & N. rail, 1,500 by G.F. & A. rail, 2,000 by boat and auto.) All available rooms were filled. Governor Park M. Trammell came for the carnival. The P.E.S.L. opened the only public "rest room" arranged for carnival visitors. They were motivated by concerns for tired mothers and their children. Tea and wafers were offered as refreshment along with easy chairs and hospital cots. The rest room was located in the American National Bank building on Government Street.

The R.L. Polk & Company (1916-1917) Directory stated that Pensacola's population was "estimated at 31,045 which included the suburbs as well as in corporate limits."

The activities of the P.E.S.L. in addition to a rummage sale, a dance and a moving picture for the benefit of the league, included interviewing committeemen to the Republican and Democratic national conventions. Misses Isabelle Ingraham, Evanette Robinson, and Edith Nicholls formed the committee soliciting the support of both parties for suffrage. Both parties were urged to draft a platform "to embody an Equal Suffrage plank."

The N.A.W.S.A. sent a series of questions to every candidate for either House or Senate; 112 of 132 replies received declared themselves in favor of woman suffrage and said they would vote for the federal amendment. President Catt urged the association to maintain their present non-partisan attitude. Partisanship might cause its defeat or delay the women getting the ballot for years.

In September 1916, the F.E.S.A. sent ballots to all the Florida suffrage leagues for a vote whether or not to work for both the federal amendment and for state adoption of suffrage. The P.E.S.L. voted "YES" to work for both.

Advocates of suffrage named in The Association Monthly, published in the interests of the Y.W.C.A., declared its "great membership of 360,000 intelligent Christian women as favoring suffrage." The possibilities of a more Christian government appealed to more church organizations, and at national conventions, the Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Universalist Sunday School came out for suffrage.

"WOMEN MEET AND AGREE ON A CANDIDATE" was a March 25 front page story of the Journal. With much fanfare, nearly 100 women representing education, business, clubs, and social interests filled the chamber of city hall to advance the women's movement. Their purpose was to put forward a candidate for the School Board. "Owing to her inability (through man-made laws) to qualify in the primary, she will run as an independent candidate in the general election; and we solicit the support of all voters, irrespective of party." The above was part of a press release to the Journal announcing Mrs. E.E. Saunders as the nominee.

Mrs. Saunders' campaign was formally launched on September 2, 1916. Born Harriet Nichols in 1855, she married Eugene Edwin Saunders. At his death in 1913, she inherited a sizeable estate. At age 61, her failing health prevented her from finishing the campaign.

Miss Margaret A. McIntyre, a broadminded business woman, active in Civic League and the P.E.S.L., was nominated as candidate on September 19, 1916 by letter from the P.E.S.L. In checking with the Escambia County Supervisor of Elections office records, Miss McIntyre's name did not appear on the 1916 ballot. Perhaps she declined or did not qualify.

Compulsory education in Florida was still an option for counties, and petitions were being circulated to bring it to the voters.

A local editorial in the Pensacola Journal of November 14, 1916 was about a history-making event. It was only four short paragraphs buried among many other short stories on the same page.

#### MADAME ENTERS CONGRESS

With so many precedents upset in the last election, the people have hardly had the time to realize their full significance; it is not surprising, therefore, that what would otherwise be the big news of the day and the main topic of conversation, is tucked away under an obscure headline and is hardly mentioned at all.

We allude, of course, to the election of Miss Jeanette Rankin as representative from Montana--the first woman in America to be sent to Congress.

Now Miss Rankin was elected on the Republican ticket, but, Montana went Democratic. But Progressive or Democrat, Congress will be better off for every element of reform--every impulse to go forward--anything but go back to the old worn-out pastures.

One woman among 478 men! Of a truth, she will be a national figure--more important than she who, by courtesy, will still be called the First Lady of the Land.

The P.E.S.L. listed in a letter to Dr. Safford of F.E.S.A. the newly elected officers:

Miss Marguerite Ingraham, President

Miss Gertrude Friedman, 1st V.P.

Mrs. J.B. Perkins, 2nd V.P.

Vacant--Treasurer

Miss Faith Binkley, Record Sec.

Miss Evanette E. Robinson, Corresp. Sec.

Mrs. Rosa Barrow, Chairman Finance

Mrs. A.C. Binkley, Chairman Press

Miss Isabell Ingraham, Chairman Program

Miss Edith Nicholas, Parliamentarian.

At the N.A.W.S.A. National Convention of September 6, 1916 in Atlantic City, plans were made for a suffrage drive for a million dollar fund! \$800,000 was pledged (or assigned). Each state suffrage league was assigned an amount to be raised from all district leagues and set to N.A.W.S.A. The F.E.S.A. was assigned \$4,000.

Dr. Safford wrote to the P.E.S.L. asking for their cooperation, as well as Milton and Escambia leagues. The response of Evanette E. Robinson on behalf of the P.E.S.L. was an embarrassing one for her to write. She confessed that it had not been a good year for Pensacola's economy, and that their financial matters had suffered. The P.E.S.L. was financially unable to undertake more. She said, "I always hope for the best."

Whatever their finances, the largest nationwide suffrage lobby in history prepared to besiege Congress in 1917!

## 1917

The year's plan for the suffragists' campaign for the federal amendment was to be delayed with the United States entry into the Great War.

Germany, suffering from British blockade, declared almost unrestricted submarine warfare on January 31. An American ship was "submarine'd" on March 23, 1917, resulting in 21 deaths. U.S. Fleets were readied and preparations for war continued until Congress passed the War Bill. The United States formally declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917.

President Wilson called on every American to do his full duty. He urged all citizens, especially farmers, to concentrate their energies to produce.

On April 1st, P.E.S.L. president, Minnie Kehoe, was invited to Red Cross headquarters. She agreed that the suffrage league members would lead every effort toward the success of the Red Cross movement.

A mass meeting was called by the P.E.S.L. on April 8, 1917 to include the many women's organizations and any woman who wished to help the nation. The purpose was to encourage the women to join the Women's Defense Corps. It was part of a newly-formed National Council in which various women's organizations of the U.S. were joining to aid the country in the prevention of waste, the conservation of the resources of the nation or in whatever way possible.

The files and the Journal show limited activity for the Pensacola Equal Suffrage League from April throughout the remainder of 1917.

A new organization of suffragists arrived November 1, 1917 by automobile into Pensacola. Three women representing the National Women's Party (a militant, outspoken wing of suffragists organized by Alice Paul when she withdrew from N.A.W.S.A. in 1916) received an unwelcome, cold reception. The visiting women included:

- 1) Mrs. Howard Gould (formerly Katherine Clements) wife of one of the heirs of the Gould millions;
- 2) Miss Maude Younger of California who had helped her state win suffrage in 1911 and was influential in effecting an eight-hour work law; and
- 3) Mrs. Rebecca Hourwick of New York, who billed herself as the "advance person."

The women spoke outdoors at Mallory Square to a crowd of approximately 75 men and 25 women. (The newspaper account said the sisters, Fannie and Minnie Kehoe, were in the audience and that their brother was Congressman Kehoe.)

Miss Younger told of picketing in Washington, D.C., and at the White House, and described it as a legal means of bringing pressure to bear for the federal amendment to the Constitution. The arrests of the picketing women were termed unlawful, unconstitutional, and inhuman resulting in prison terms of three



days to three years for "blocking traffic." Mrs. Gould's address centered around the description of the suffering of the arrested women and made it clear the suffragists were being persecuted in prison.

Celia M. Robinson's Journal column of November 6th read:

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Local suffragists request publication of the following:

There are two organizations of suffragists:

- I. The N.A.W.S.A. (of which the F.E.S.A. is a branch);
- II. The National Women's Party, or the Congressional Union.

The first is conservative. It has offered its great organization to the government for relief work during the War, and its members may be found cooperating with every patriotic move from Food Conservation to Red Cross work.

The second holds the political party in power responsible for the passage of a federal amendment granting suffrage and adopts the method of picketing the White House to gain its ends.

This distinction should be clearly understood and the method, not the principle, condemned. The P.E.S.L. disapproves of the method as much as you do.

In a letter of November 7, 1917, Miss Evanette E. Robinson of the P.E.S.L. wrote to Mrs. Frank Stranahan, the new president of the F.E.S.A. in Ft. Lauderdale, about the visit from the National Women's Party. This private view is more supportive than that published in the Pensacola Journal. Following are excerpts from her letter.

*Last week Miss Younger, Mrs. Howard Gould, and Mrs. Hourwich, touring the South, reached Pensacola on their itinerary. Mrs. Hourwich called on our President and desired to know our attitude toward their speaking, etc. and asked that we put no stumbling blocks in their way. While Miss Kehoe deemed it right to make no public or official recognition of them acting under direction of the Convention called for that purpose some time ago, she did call on them in a social way and learned much of their work. With no prearrangement, a good number of the suffragists gathered at the speaking which took place from the car on*

*the streets. We were all very deeply impressed with their earnestness, fairness toward the President, and their philosophic treatment of the injustice accorded them in the Courts of the District and the fearful conditions existing in the Occoquan Workhouse. From their report, I am expecting daily to hear of the death of Alice Paul, their leader. I have hardly been able to rest for the anxiety I feel on their score.*

*I feel that some protest should be made in the Convention and means found to reach the authorities answerable for the injustice toward these women. Were these women the veriest vagabonds I should resent such treatment as they have received, but being women, co-workers in a great Cause, I am appalled at the report made by Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould.*

*Miss Younger is such a woman as I would be proud to imitate, a delightful, conservative talker, good judgment, beautiful voice, graceful manner, and charming womanhood. I regretted that my prejudice had denied me the pleasure of a social call on her. But the papers distort everything with which they have no sympathy, and naturally the truth is not known about these women. I trust their course had not hurt the Cause, but if so, they are still in my opinion women of a high purpose and unselfish aim, all having gained already that for which they are fighting for other women, the vote.*

*I was deeply impressed with their unselfishness and wondered if we have been wise in condemning them so roundly.*

A letter to the F.E.S.A. dated December 12, 1917 closed out the year stating, "At one time, I felt somewhat hopeful as to this term of Congress, but when I saw that the House Committee made no recommendation for the Suffrage Bill, I saw, it seemed, no hope ahead for us. I do not like to be a 'doubting Thomas' but this seems ominous to me."

Indeed, nationwide suffrage seemed a distant goal. The War had interfered with the year that was to have given woman the ballot.

In the long fight for the vote, the N.A.W.S.A. had become a tightly knit, efficient, politically wise, powerful organization. The "woman's lobby" could no longer be ignored; they were not going away.

In a January 4th P.E.S.L. letter to Mrs. John Schnarr of the F.E.S.A., the unknown writer said, "I am watching the work of the suffragists before the Committee, and as Dr. Shaw is on the ground, I feel somewhat hopeful. ...hoping that 1918 may be a year of prosperity and happiness for the suffragists everywhere and the culmination of our aims."

With the United States at war, and with many women doing men's jobs on the home front, and in other ways contributing to the war effort, congressional opposition to woman suffrage was lessening.

On January 10, 1918, the House of the 65th Congress passed the woman suffrage amendment 274 to 136--a fraction of one vote over the required two-thirds.

The January 11 Journal front page said, "VOTE REACHED AFTER LONG DEBATE ON THE IMPORTANT MEASURE--MISS RANKIN IN VERY ABLE SPEECH."

Miss Minnie Kehoe, president of the P.E.S.L., offered this statement, "I congratulate the Congressmen of the U.S. who voted on the Amendment, on their democracy, and I felicitate the women of the U.S., and particularly the women of Florida on this victory, and the near prospect of the exercise of the ballot."

The January 12th Journal followed the occurrence with the report that "SUFFRAGE IS OPPOSED BY SOUTHERNERS--Many Congressmen From South Not Enthusiastic Over Amendment."

Miss E.E. Robinson, on behalf of the P.E.S.L., had written to the president of the Florida State College For Women in Tallahassee, expressing concern that the women students may have been forbidden to discuss suffrage.

On May 8, 1918, President Edward Conradi replied, "...*the student body here has not only never been forbidden to discuss woman's suffrage, but various departments of the College have invited students to discuss the problem freely. Moreover, the Florida Flambeau, the weekly publication of the students, urges the students to use its columns to discuss the problem. The students have the same freedom to discuss public questions as at any first class college for women.*"

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt sent telegrams to all state suffrage associations in May, notifying workers to spare no effort to flood telegrams to both state Senators as debate was expected in the Senate on the federal amendment. "Success depends upon loyal and vigorous action from the states," she said. F.E.S.A. President Stranahan asked local leagues to get women's clubs also to send telegrams.

The P.E.S.L. complied with a telegram to Senator Jones, Chairman of the Suffrage Amendment Committee, on May 10: DEPEND ON YOU PASSAGE OF AMENDMENT. WE ENDORSE AND UPHOLD YOU.

No debate or vote was taken until October 1918. The Senate voted on the Anthony Amendment, 62 For, 34 Against--only two votes short of the necessary two-thirds needed.

With over one million American troops in Europe in July 1918--the armistice of World War I occurred on November 11, 1918.

## ✂ 1919 ✂

In February 1919, late in the life of the 65th Congress, (this was the day of the "lame duck" session) the Senate voted again, 63 For and 33 Against the Anthony Amendment--just one vote short!

A few months later, on May 21, 1919, the House of the 66th Congress passed the Anthony Amendment by an immense majority, 304 to 90. On June 4, 1919, the Senate passed it by two votes more than the two-thirds majority required.

No time was taken to celebrate the passage by both houses. Within an hour after the Senate vote, the N.A.W.S.A. launched its drive for ratification which took over a year to achieve.<sup>8</sup>

On June 7, 1919, the Pensacola Journal heralded the caption, "CALM MARKED CLOSING ACTS OF FLORIDA LEGISLATURE--No Action Was Taken on Governor's Special Message Urging Adoption of Woman Suffrage." "No excitement marked the closing of the legislature which adjourned sine die today officially at noon..."

The Journal began running front page reports on the outcome of states legislatures as each voted on the Suffrage Amendment. June 10 claimed suffrage victories in Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois as all their legislatures ratified.

Pensacola Equal Suffrage League members were joyous over passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. On June 20, announcement was made in the Journal by both Pensacola and Florida suffragists to marshal forces to gain ratification by the state legislators. "The goal has been set and already the fight has begun for decisive action either at a special session or at the 1921 meeting. Women intend to wage a battle to put men (on notice) in the legislative halls of the old state capitol who will vote to ratify when the time comes. Both Democrats and Republicans are pledged to the 19th Amendment, and the man in any legislature who votes against ratification will thereby vote himself out of these parties."

Organizational work for ratification took on an urgency to make a final plea for the vote. All clubs such as Business Women's Association were asked to join the suffrage organization in voicing the demand as one statewide effort of all

women. Miss Elizabeth Skinner of Dunedin was the F.E.S.A. state organizer and the person from whom the executive board of the P.E.S.L. received reports. Local plans for regular conference meetings among the various women's clubs were indicated by the executive board.

The year 1919 marked the Congressional victory in the battle for woman suffrage. Ratification by the 36 state legislatures needed to proclaim final victory was many months away.

## ❧ 1920 ❧

At the Democrat and Republican conventions under way in San Francisco and Chicago, the issues before them were the League of Nations, woman suffrage, anti-strike legislation and prohibition.

On July 3rd, the Journal printed an editorial from the Tampa Tribune. The editor expressed concern that granting the franchise to the women of the country would affect the power of the political parties. The Tribune demanded that parties should heed the strength of the woman vote when considering the issues to be included in their platforms. "Women are not easy to line up for any party. But they are easy to line up for a principle. The woman's vote will be the decisive factor."

August 4, the Journal reported: MEN FAR OUTNUMBER WOMEN IN FLORIDA. This article, using the 1920 Census, estimated women of voting age to be outnumbered by men of voting age in Florida by 38,642. This same Census showed voting women in the United States at 26,883,566 and men at 29,577,699.

The Pensacola suffragists held a "mock convention" and voted for candidates. However, the story in the August 8 Journal made no mention of the choice of party candidates.

On August 12, it was reported that anti-suffragists groups working in state legislatures were threatening to take legal action to prevent the Secretary of State from ratifying the Amendment.

The equal suffrage battle on August 14, 1920 seemed to hinge on two states: Tennessee and North Carolina. The August 19 Journal reported Tennessee's ratification, which brought the needed number of states to 36. And so, finally, the Susan B. Anthony Amendment was ready for proclamation by the Secretary of State as Amendment XIX to the U.S. Constitution (with Florida's legislature having taken NO action).

The final victory of proclamation announcing officially that the suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution had been ratified was August 26, 1920, when Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby signed it at 8:00 A.M. at his home.

When Secretary Colby arrived at his office, he encountered a disappointed group of suffrage leaders from the National Woman's Party (including Alice Paul)

who had gathered to witness the signing. Miss Paul made her statement to the Associated Press and left to prepare to return to New York, while the others returned to their homes.

Another party of suffrage leaders appeared, headed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. They accepted an invitation to hear the lengthy statement which Secretary Colby had planned to read. His statement explained his prompt action at his home upon receiving word by mail of the Tennessee legislature's ratification. He assured his audience that the seal of the United States had been duly affixed and that the suffrage amendment was now the 19th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. He congratulated them on the success of their efforts in this great reform.

In Pensacola, Mayor Sanders issued a proclamation calling on all citizens to join in the celebration set for Saturday, August 28. Plans were made for every business and every residence to decorate and, at the stroke of noon, whistles would blow and church bells would ring in celebration of the addition of over 25,000,000 voters to the list of free Americans. The Journal reported that similar celebrations would be taking place in every city in the country.

The Pensacola Equal Suffrage League members "are jubilant," said Mrs. Walker Ingraham, president. Miss Celia M. Robinson wrote of the event on August 28:

The Pensacola Equal Suffrage League were a group of earnest, thoughtful women who recognized the trend of the time and the value of equal citizenship for men and women. They banded together and did their part. Despite prejudice and dogmatic opposition, the recognition of mental equality of woman has been won and the power of the ballot placed in her hands. Men and women who worked for years against the popular prejudice of a nation feel a deep and peaceful satisfaction.

On Monday morning, August 30, a delegation from the P.E.S.L. waited for a statement from County Registration Officer J.A. Kirkpatrick. They were told that Escambia County women would not be registered until he received instructions from Tallahassee.

Mr. Kirkpatrick received word on September 7 that he could begin registering women. He was also advised that it would be legal to appoint women as deputies to assist him in the registration process.

On September 8, 1920, after being registered as a voter, Mrs. Walker Ingraham took office as deputy supervisor of registration. She was qualified to register voters on the books of any precinct and to assist Mr. Kirkpatrick at the central office in the courthouse annex. Mrs. R.B. Saunders, after registering to

vote, was appointed deputy in Precinct 35. The promise was made to appoint more women precinct deputies.

Seventy-eight women registered and qualified for voting during September 8, 1920--the first day the registration books were opened to women. Miss Celia Robinson, Mrs. C.W. Robinson, and Mrs. M.E. Batts were first to receive their registration certificates. Those who had worked for woman suffrage needed no urging to take advantage of this newly acquired privilege.

Announcements were run in the Pensacola Journal prompting all women to attend a "mass meeting" at the Army-Navy club on Tuesday night, September 14. Women interested in learning about voting were invited to join in the discussion and open exchange of ideas and information. It was promoted that "expert legal advice will be given and every phase of the general election laws will be discussed and explained."

The era of the woman suffrage movement ended. The initial step was taken by women to enter the political arena of Escambia County, Pensacola, Florida and the nation.

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## POST-SUFFRAGE NOTES ON ESCAMBIA COUNTY

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In this 75th anniversary year of woman suffrage, 1995, the first woman to be elected to the office of Escambia County Supervisor of Elections, Bonnie M. Jones, provided the following information for When Women Vote.

From 1920-1969, the elections' office did not maintain gender registration figures. There were no gender registration figures for 1972. The low fluctuation in figures that occurred every four years was the result of purging the files of inactive registered electors.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WOMEN REGISTERED</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WOMEN REGISTERED</u>
1970	42,219	1984	66,407
1974	49,440	1986	61,734
1976	53,642	1988	65,084
1978	51,989	1990	62,521
1980	61,102	1992	65,190
1982	55,523	1994	67,853
		1994	62,100 Men

## WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE IN ESCAMBIA COUNTY AND PENSACOLA 1920 Through December 1, 1994

### CITY COUNCIL

Mary Harrell 1951 to 1953  
Dorothy Dyson 1951; resigned on 10/15/53

**CITY COUNCIL (continued)**

Cynthia Russell      May 1981 to May 1983  
Joyce Reese          May 1983; currently in office  
Lois Benson          May 1989 to September 1990  
Joan Gillson         May 1993; currently in office

**TAX ASSESSOR**

Frances Botts        1952 to 1956

**JUSTICE OF THE PEACE**

Edna Brazwell      1956 to 1968

**SCHOOL BOARD**

Joyce Wesley        1966 to 1970  
Lois S. Suarez      1976 to 1986  
Carol A. Marshall   1976 to 1980  
Barbara Morris     1986; currently in office

**COUNTY COMMISSIONERS**

Fannie Salmon      1924 to 1926  
Muriel Wagner      1986 to 1990

**ESCAMBIA COUNTY UTILITIES AUTHORITY**

Celestine Lewis     1984; currently in office

**CIRCUIT JUDGE**

Nancy T. Gilliam    1989; currently in office  
Laura Melvin        1990; currently in office

**STATE REPRESENTATIVE**

Virginia Bass        1982 to 1988  
Lois Benson          1992 to 1994

**CENTURY TOWN COUNCIL**

Marie McMurray     January 1978; currently in office

**SUPERVISOR OF ELECTIONS**

Bonnie M. Jones     Appointed August 1, 1994  
Elected November 8, 1994; currently in office

**PERDIDO RIVER SOIL & WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT**

**Group 3**

Jacqueline B. Freisinger Appointed November 8, 1994



# CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT<sup>9</sup>

League of Women Voters founder



- 1859 Born January 9, Ripon, Wisconsin
- 1880 Graduated from Iowa State College
- 1881-83 School Principal, Mason City, Iowa
- 1883 School Superintendent, Mason City, Iowa
- 1885 Married Leo Chapman; died 1886
- 1890 Married George W. Catt; died 1905
- 1900-04 President, N.A.W.S.A.
- 1902 Helped found International Woman Suffrage Alliance
- 1915 Founded Woman's Peace Party (with Jane Addams)
- 1915-20 President, N.A.W.S.A.
- 1920 Helped found League of Women Voters
- 1947 Died March 9, New Rochelle, N.Y.

## LEAGUE PRINCIPLES

◆ The League of Women Voters believes in representative government and in the individual liberties established in the Constitution of the United States.

◆ The League of Women Voters believes that democratic government depends upon the informed and active participation of its citizens and requires that governmental bodies protect the citizen's right to know by giving adequate notice of proposed actions, holding open meetings and making public records accessible.

◆ The League of Women Voters believes that every citizen should be protected in the right to vote; that every person should have access to free public education that provides equal opportunity for all; and that no person or group should suffer legal, economic or administrative discrimination.

◆ The League of Women Voters believes that efficient and economical government requires competent personnel, the clear assignment of responsibility, adequate financing and coordination among the different agencies and levels of government.

◆ The League of Women Voters believes that responsible government should be responsive to the will of the people; that government should maintain an equitable and flexible system of taxation, promote the conservation and development of natural resources in the public interest, share in the solution of economic and social problems that affect the general welfare, promote a sound economy and adopt domestic policies that facilitate the solution of international problems.

◆ The League of Women Voters believes that cooperation with other nations is essential in the search for solutions to world problems and that the development of international organization and international law is imperative in the promotion of world peace.

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# WHEN WOMEN VOTE

## PART II

### THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE PENSACOLA BAY AREA

1949-1995

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INTRODUCTION	41
LWV United States & LWV Florida History / Background	
LWVPBA	
Overview	44
EVENTS & ISSUES	
1950-1960	46
1961-1970	46
1971-1980	47
1981-1990	49
1991-1995	50
LEAGUE LISTS	
LWVPBA Members Elected to Public Office	52
LWVPBA Members Who Served on LWVF Board	53
LWVPBA Past Presidents	54
LWVPBA Members Who Received Governor's Appointments	55
Roster of Length of League Membership	56
1994-1995 LWVPBA Board of Directors	57
ENDNOTES	58
SOURCES	59

# WHEN WOMEN VOTE

## PART II

### THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE PENSACOLA BAY AREA

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#### INTRODUCTION

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The National League of Women Voters was designed to be “a political experiment.” It was an idea born as an auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.) to help 20 million women carry out their new responsibilities as voters. On February 14, 1920, the National League of Women Voters was introduced as an independent organization with an office and professional staff established in Washington, D.C.

The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 did not immediately bring about the reform and social justice that were part of the aspirations of the suffrage campaign. The effects of generations of stifling limitations that had been placed on women’s education and public role needed special efforts to get the average woman to register to vote and become politically involved. Most women had been taught that politics should be viewed as something “unladylike” they should avoid. As a result, they were uncertain and timid about political participation.

In many cities, the League of Women Voters provided the introduction of politics to women through citizenship training schools. An early slogan of the League urged women to “enroll in the political parties.”

The great variety of issues on the League’s agenda, carried over from the suffrage campaign, needed the energy of many committees. The League set its goals and efforts toward needed legislation with a clear understanding of its mission.

The League of Women Voters survived the problems and rough times of its formative years which included a national economic depression and a second World War. A restructuring of the League in 1946 emphasized a shift from a federation to a member-based organization. The name change to the League of Women Voters of the United States confirmed the birth of the modern League.

Because the LWVUS is a direct descendant of the influential women’s organization, N.A.W.S.A., it has received both praise and criticism for the roles it has assumed on feminist issues throughout its 75-year history. While the League terms itself a moderate organization, it has been attacked by the left as too conservative and by the right as too liberal.

Disregarding “hits” from both left and right, the LWV has charted its own course. Maud Wood Park, the League’s first president (1920-1924) said the LWV:

has chosen to be a middle-of-the-road organization in which persons of widely differing political views might work out together a program of definite advance on which they could agree. It has been willing to go ahead slowly in order to go ahead steadily. It has not sought to lead a few women a long way quickly, but rather to lead many women a little way at a time. It has held to the belief that no problem of democracy is really solved until it is solved for the average citizen.

The League established a **purpose** and **policy** statement at the 1946 Convention restructuring. “The **purpose** of the LWV shall be to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government.” Anyone who subscribes to the LWV purpose and policy is eligible to join and becomes a member of the organization at the local, state and national levels. The League of Women Voters speaks with one voice on public policy issues on which its membership has studied and arrived at a position.

The LWV **policy** statement reads, “It shall not support or oppose any political party or candidate.” Zealously guarding its philosophy of non-partisanship, which was inherited from N.A.W.S.A., the League is trusted as an unbiased, authentic representative of citizens’ views and concerns.

The purpose of local Leagues was included in the 1946 bylaws: “to promote the purpose of the LWVUS.” State Leagues comprise all recognized local Leagues in a state. “Local Leagues shall be organized into state Leagues in order to take action on state governmental matters and...promote the work of the League of Women Voters as a whole.”

It is the responsibility of the appropriate level (national, state, local) board to adopt programs (issues). The strength and credibility of the League of Women Voters is based on the strong grassroots membership understanding and involvement in the entire program process. Every member of the League is encouraged to participate in the process of “study and action” in its entirety, from the adoption of a study through the achievement of a consensus, to its ultimate conclusion with action.

Action can be taken through various means: lobbying elected officials, monitoring meetings, circulating petitions, testimony, letter writing campaigns, litigation, and educating the public. At the national level, action may be taken based only on national positions. At the state level, action may be taken based on national or state public policy issue positions. Local action may be taken based on local, state or national positions as long as there is member understanding and agreement that the action is appropriate, and it affects that particular local League’s

area. If the application of action were to have regional implications, all local Leagues involved must agree that the action is appropriate.

The LWV has been the most common training ground for women who enter public office as elected and appointed officials. Of all the LWV's assets, its ability to prepare women for public life may be its finest legacy to the nation. Over the years, the League has opened a door to intellectual activity and involvement in political life. Local politicians have begun to see women as capable of serving on local boards, bringing with them well-researched, valuable opinions.

And so, the organization that began as a political experiment has survived 75 years. It has been criticized because it doesn't fit the conventional political form. Moreover, its difference is its strength. Understanding the unique mission of The League of Women Voters brings an appreciation of not only the enormous list of past contributions, but also the significant role it continues to play toward the success of American democracy.

Several publications are available by writing to the League of Women Voters Publications Catalog, 1730 "M" Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Two specific publications on League history are recommended:

- 1) In the Public Interest -- A fascinating look at the League's founding and first 50 years.
- 2) The League of Women Voters in Perspective: 1920-1995 -- This is an inside look at the history of the League of Women Voters written by former national League president Nancy Neuman.

Also available are two other publications covering the Florida state League, 540 Beverly Court, Tallahassee, FL 32301:

- 1) History of the League of Women Voters of Florida 1939-1949 by Maxine Baker;
- 2) Recollections--A History of the League of Women Voters of Florida 1939-1989 by Arnetta Brown.

Since these publications covering the LWVUS and the LWVF are already available, Part II of WHEN WOMEN VOTE is designed to complement these histories with a look at the League of Women Voters of the Pensacola Bay Area 1949-1995. This overview of LWVPBA does not include specific studies, issues and events completed in cooperation with state and national League. These issues are documented in their publications. Our intent is to reflect this local League's contributions toward good government and a better community for all its people.

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA--OVERVIEW

By 1949, The Provisional League of Women Voters of Greater Pensacola had been formed. Officers and members of the Board of Directors were:

Mrs. Fayette Soule	President
Mrs. Ray Hepner	First Vice President
Miss Margaret Richardson	Second Vice President
Miss Agnes Heathcock	Recording Secretary
Miss Mary Ann Harrell	Corresponding Secretary
Mrs. Mabel Gonzalez	Treasurer

### Elected Directors

Mrs. George Cary	Publications
Mrs. Julius Leibert	Local Resources
Mrs. Lawrence Andrus	National & U.N.
Mrs. T.W. Read	State

### Appointed Directors

Mrs. R.P. Stritzinger	Voters Service
Miss Mary E. Bell	Bulletin
Mrs. H.A. Richman	Finance
Miss Patricia Lloyd	Publicity

On January 20, 1950, with 91 members, they applied to the League of Women Voters of the United States for a charter as a full-fledged League affiliated with the Florida state League. On February 24, 1950, LWVUS President Strauss informed the Pensacola League that it had met the Recognition Standards as a local League entitled to use the League insignia. And so, dropping the word "greater" from their name, The League of Women Voters of Pensacola assumed its place with other local Leagues throughout the country.

On March 1, 1963, the Pensacola League received permission from national League to change its name to the League of Women Voters Pensacola Bay Area. The name change came about as the result of a request from the Gulf Breeze Civic League "to consolidate" with LWV Pensacola. However, there was no consolidation but Gulf Breeze members joined the Pensacola League as individuals. The name change was reported by the Pensacola League to the state League saying "this name describes our present membership and we visualize recruitment from other towns in the area as well as in Gulf Breeze."

Through the years, the LWVPBA has studied many local issues and has been active in calling for changes and reforms. It has cooperated in supporting both state and national studies with LWVF and LWVUS.

The local League sends delegates to state as well as national convention. LWVPBA also sends delegates each year to LWVF Legislative Seminar held in Tallahassee, shortly after the Florida Legislature convenes in regular session. The delegates focus on the state League's legislative priorities and lobbying.

All LWVPBA members receive the following **League Publications**:

LWVUS magazine, the "National Voter";

LWVF magazine, the "Florida Voter";

LWVPBA newsletter, the "Voter."

These three publications provide information on priority issues that are being studied or supported by the League.

**Voter services and citizen information** are known and recognized community-wide as a very important area of LWVPBA activity:

- ♦ sponsoring candidates' meetings, debates, interviews;
- ♦ publishing candidates' responses to questionnaires;
- ♦ registering citizens to vote;
- ♦ making voting information readily available;
- ♦ sponsoring get-out-the-vote campaigns;
- ♦ publishing background materials on current public issues;
- ♦ sponsoring seminars and meetings on issues open to the public.

The League attracts serious women who want to look at a broad range of issues, who want to explore and present both sides of a question and who don't mind the drudgery of political study. Few public officials will deny the effect of the League's thorough studies. Politicians began to realize that the League is a studied, objective, valuable resource whose members are capable of serving on citizen advisory boards. LWVPBA members have received appointments by the Legislature, City Council, and County Commissioners to serve in the following capacities:

- ♦ Citizens Advisory Committee, Metropolitan Planning Organization;
- ♦ Advisory Board, West Florida Regional Library System;
- ♦ City Council, Committee for Redistricting;
- ♦ Advisory Committee, Port of Pensacola;
- ♦ County Board of Education Textbook Selection Committee;
- ♦ City of Pensacola, Civil Service Board;
- ♦ Mayor's Task Force on Violence;
- ♦ Charter Commission for Home Rule in Escambia County;
- ♦ Gulf Islands Seashore Park Advisory Board.

This is only a partial listing; for information on other appointments of League members, see the Lists that appear on the pages following Events and Issues 1950 to 1995.



## EVENTS AND ISSUES

### 1950-1960

Completed "Know Your County" survey including Health , Education, Crime, Child Welfare, and Employment

Began Voter Service with emphasis on registering women

LWV selected by County Commissioners to demonstrate new voting machines to community

Cooperated with Negro Good Government League survey of 1951

Completed library study and urged City Council to establish new library--1953; assisted in search for suitable library site at Gregory & Spring; opened 1957

Provided questions with candidate answers for Pensacola News Journal in 1956

Studied qualifications of School Board members

Began push for revision of the State Constitution

Successfully worked for a Constitutional Amendment to abolish the fee system for Escambia County elected officials

Led movement to establish a separate juvenile court in Escambia County

Prepared property tax study with emphasis on greater fairness in distribution of revenues

### 1961-1970

Prepared educational sheet on Millage Election proposed for County Schools

Published non-partisan Q. & A. Voters Guide on candidates in primary

## 1961-1970 (continued)

Completed reapportionment study

Report "Services to Children in Trouble in Escambia County" prepared

First publication of "Escambia County & Its Government"--a 48-page compilation of structure & services in 1966

First Home Rule Study completed in 1967

Local government study and consensus favoring consolidation of Escambia County & City of Pensacola in 1968.

Arrived at consensus favoring the appointment of the Superintendent of Public Instruction--1967

Campaigned for appointed Superintendent on 1967 Ballot--issue defeated by one vote

1968 study identified problems in county schools

Began study of water quality in Pensacola area, conducting a variety of seminars

Approved "Yardstick for Good Government"

LWVPBA coordinated visit of 5 U.S. State Department officials to Pensacola--1968.

Sponsored candidates' rally at Seville Square--1968

Took a position in support of a corporate profits tax

Initiated a League observer corps for local government meetings

## 1971-1980

LWVPBA supported appointment of School Superintendent in 1970--2nd time on ballot--defeated

## 1971-1980 (continued)

Published booklet "Learning to Learn," an assessment of Escambia County Public Schools in 1970; Florida Education Association presented the School Bell Award to LWVPBA for "Learning to Learn" in 1971

Began voter registration in area high schools--1971; continued through 1994

Voter Guide listing elected officials printed--1971

Evaluation of bicameral legislature

Extensive study of library to support adequate funding, qualified advisory board & professional & clerical staff--1973

Study and consensus in support of Home Rule Charter 1973-1974

Leagues opened membership to men--1974

Revised/updated edition of Escambia County Government, Its Structure and Services, 1976

League supported appointed School Superintendent in 1976--third time on ballot--defeated

Study of Pensacola Police Department released with recommendations to City Council--1976

Worked for passage of Home Rule Charter, 1977, defeated

Co-sponsored with UWF & YWCA day-long workshop designed to encourage women's participation in government--1977

LWVPBA list of members for appointment to citizen advisory boards made available--1977

Voters Guide published--1977/1978

## 1971-1980 (continued)

Initiated "Brickbats & Roses" fundraiser praising and lampooning worthy citizens & government officials 1976 to 1984

Sponsored candidates' "Soap Box Rally at Campaign Alley" at Seville Square--1972

Presented "The Grand Original Garbage Show," a look at solid waste disposal in Escambia County on WSRE TV in 1972

Presented Study of Federalist Papers--1979

Showed film "What Can I DO?" in high schools, sent birthday cards to 18-year-olds encouraging voter registration & civic participation

Sponsored Chatauqua 1980, two-day political rally at Cordova Mall, featured entertainment, voter registration & politicking

Worked for passage of single-member legislative districts--1977

Organized poll reporting from all Escambia County precincts for radio & TV stations as fundraiser for many years

## 1981-1990

Made study & led successful opposition to Getty Oil proposal to drill in East Bay--1980

Conducted survey of recycling by individuals on Keep America Beautiful Day--1981

U.N. Day celebration luncheon at PJC--1981

Sponsored high school contest for public service announcements on the value of the United Nations (\$50 prize)--1982

Energy Fair held for several years at Cordova Mall with exhibits showing energy conservation & alternative energy sources--1982

Sponsored workshop "How to Run for Office & Win"--1983

## 1981-1990 (continued)

Revised/updated edition "Escambia County: Structure & Services"--1983

Co-host candidates' rallies with WSRE-TV began 1984

LWVPBA attendance at all naturalization ceremonies & receptions--  
Voters Guide included in new-citizen packets

Held rummage sale fund raiser--1989

Studied Port of Pensacola--arrived at four points of support--1989

LWVPBA League supported an appointed School Superintendent, 4th  
time on ballot--defeated--1988

Had booth at Earth Day Celebration--1990

Initiated study of Escambia County Comprehensive Plan--1986

## 1991-1995

Supported Natural Resources Coalition to save 372 acres on Pensacola  
Beach from development as resort--1993

Escambia Growth Management Plan adopted 1993 by Board of County  
Commissioners--pushed by LWVPBA since 1986

Continued efforts to support adequate funding, qualified staffing and  
advisory board for library

Continued to support free & fully effective school systems--oppose  
"vouchers"

Campaigned for the appointment of School Superintendent on ballot  
for fifth time--defeated--1994

Studied and arrived at consensus to support Charter for Home Rule  
Government--1994

**1991-1995 (continued)**

LWVPBA Voter Service Committee worked with WSRE-TV, Q & A candidate forums before both primary & general elections--1994

“Know Your Elected Officials”--1995-1997 Escambia County, Santa Rosa County, written, printed, distributed

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**WHEN WOMEN VOTE**

**PART II**

**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA**

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**MEMBERS WHO SERVED ON L.W.V.F. BOARD**

Sarah Elizabeth Knisley	1966 Secretary
Tommie Phillips	1966-1969 Secretary & Membership Chair
Sherlee Aronson	1968-1973 Board of Directors
Gloria Dawson	1983-1985 Secretary Publications Chair
Vivian Faircloth	1989-currently in office; Treasurer
Muriel Wagner	1993-1994 Growth Management Chair

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## WHEN WOMEN VOTE

### PART II

#### LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA

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#### MEMBERS ELECTED TO PUBLIC OFFICE

##### CITY COUNCIL

Mary Harrell	1951 to 1953
Dorothy Dyson	1951 to 1953

##### TAX ASSESSOR

Frances Botts	1952 to 1956
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##### COUNTY COMMISSIONER

Fannie Salmon*	1924 to 1926
	*(LWVPBA member in 1950's)
Muriel Wagner	1986 to 1990

##### STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Lois Benson	1992 to 1994
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## WHEN WOMEN VOTE

### PART II

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA

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### PRESIDENTS

Mrs. Fayette (Isabel) Soule	1949-1951
Mrs. Mort (May) O'Sullivan	1951-1955
Mrs. Marjorie Brow	1955-1958
Mrs. H.J. McRoberts	1958-1960
Mrs. Marshall P. (Beverly) Jones	1960-1961
Miss Margaret Richardson	1961-1962
Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Knisley	1962-1964
Mrs. R. Dan (Marjorie) Hart	1964-1966
Mrs. David (Sherlee) Aronson	1966-1968
Mrs. Herb (Elva) Miller	1968-1970
Mrs. R. Dan (Marjorie) Hart	1970-1972
Mrs. William (Miriam) Jennings	1972-1974
Mrs. William V. (Muriel) Wagner	1974-1976
Mrs. Ina Freeman	1976-1977
Mrs. Isabella Grimes	1977-1980
Mrs. Gloria Dawson	1980-1982
Mrs. Debbie Rees	1982-1984
Mrs. Janet deLorge	1984-1986
Mrs. Sharon Kerrigan (3 months)	1986
Mrs. Vivian Faircloth	1986-1989
Mrs. Rosemary Lowe	1989-1990
Mrs. Gloria Dawson	1990-1991
Mrs. Carolyn Salmon	1991-1993
Dr. Cynthia Worrell-White	1993-1994
Ms. Frankie Van Horn	1994-1995

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## WHEN WOMEN VOTE

### PART II

#### LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA

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#### MEMBERS WHO HAVE RECEIVED GOVERNORS' APPOINTMENTS

Jean Hiles	<u>1957-1961</u> Escambia County Governor's Advisory Committee for Education, Governor Leroy Collins
Tommie Phillips	<u>1971-1973</u> Historic Pensacola Preservation Board of Trustees, Governor Askew <u>1973-1988</u> Judicial Qualifications Commission
Charlene Nimmo	<u>1973</u> Florida Resource Recovery Council, Governor Askew
Teresa Hunt	<u>1974</u> State Advisory Council to Public Schools, Governor Askew
Sherlee Aronson	<u>1973</u> Lands For You Commission, Governor Askew <u>1981</u> Galvez Commission, Governor Graham
Marjorie Hart	<u>1976-1980</u> Human Relations Commission of Florida, Governor Askew <u>1979-1983</u> Judicial Nominating Commission of First Judicial Circuit, Governor Graham
Janet deLorge	<u>1978-1982</u> Pensacola Junior College Board of Trustees, Governor Askew
Isabella Grimes	<u>1978-1987</u> Escambia County Civil Service Board, Governors Askew and Graham
Muriel Wagner	<u>1981-1988</u> Coastal Resources Management, Citizens Advisory Committee, Governor Graham <u>1985-1987</u> Escambia/Santa Rosa Coast Resource Planning & Management Committee <u>1990-currently in office</u> Environmental Regulation Commission, Governor Chiles
Erica Wooley	<u>1979-currently in office</u> Gulf Island National Seashore Advisory Commission; Governor Chiles

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**WHEN WOMEN VOTE**  
**PART II**

**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA**

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**ROSTER OF LENGTH OF LEAGUE MEMBERSHIP**

**OVER 40 YEARS**

Marjorie Hart

**OVER 30 YEARS**

Sherlee Aronson

Peggy Booker

Isabella Grimes

Jean Hiles

Fran Jones

Claire Ordon

Tommie Phillips

Eva Scott

**OVER 25 YEARS**

Miriam Birdwhistell

Janet deLorge

Louise Eyster

Gene Feicht

Miriam Jennings

Doris Lea

Greta Rickoff

Debbie Rees Smith

Muriel Wagner

Fran Walker

Erica Woolley

**OVER 20 YEARS**

Bea Belous

Elizabeth Bosworth

Gloria Dawson

Andrea Dewitt

Gloria Dudley

Vernice Hudson

Evelyn Jackson

Eleanor Johnson

Lynne Lovoy

Peggy Sielski

Rita Stern

**OVER 15 YEARS**

Margrette Barker

Edith Carter

Shirley Kraselsky

Rosemary Lowe

Carolyn Salmon

**OVER 10 YEARS**

Martha Bullivant

Hulda Carastro

Patricia Edmisten

Pearl Eskin

Yolanda-Evans-Connolly

Vivian Faircloth

Jan Hervieux

Laura Jernigan

Janice Kilgore

Barbara Liggett

Dorothy Martin

Shelby Owens-Brewer

Jonte Pryor

Joy Ranney

Betty Salter

Nancy Van Epps

Frankie Van Horn

Charlcie Wicke

Sara Williamson

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**WHEN WOMEN VOTE**

**PART II**

**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS PENSACOLA BAY AREA**

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**BOARD OF DIRECTORS 1994-1995**

President	Frankie Van Horn
First Vice President	Carolyn Salmon
Secretary	Gloria Houston
Treasurer	Miriam Birdwhistell
Assistant Treasurer (Membership Chair)	Miriam Jennings

**Elected Directors (1993-1995)**

Voter Service	Gene Feicht
Education	Jonte Pryor
Natural Resources	Carol Young

**Elected Directors (1994-1996)**

Legislative Chair	Andrea DeWitt
75th Anniversary Chair	Fay D. Walker
	Vacant

**Appointed Director (1994-1995)**

Growth Management	Gloria Dawson
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## ENDNOTES

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1. The League of Women Voters: Forty Years of a Great Idea, p. 7.
2. Ibid.
3. Carruth, The Encyclopedia of American Facts & Dates.
4. National Geographic Historical Atlas, pp. 248-249
5. Wilson, Jr., Book of Distinguished American Women, p. 10.
6. The Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol XXXVI, p. 44.
7. Ibid.
8. The League of Women Voters: Forty Years of a Great Idea, p. 9.
9. Wilson, Jr., p. 37.

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## SOURCES

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