History of the Bitter Struggle to Ratify Suffrage

he buttle is over, the fight is won." parts of the United States Thursday morning that Secretary of State Bainbridge colby had officially proclaimed the ratifivation of the Nineteenth Amendment by we-thirds of the states of the Union, the above quoted slogan, adopted by Seth M. Walker, speaker of the House of Rep-

tory. The suffragists won. It was a hard fight. The lattles extended over a period of many years, but at no time did the women, who were most active in the camweaken in their efforts to secure te enfranchisement. On the concomplete enfranchisement. trary, they seemed to gain courage from repeated defents. Inch by inch they fought and won for women the right of suffrage to which they carnestly believed themselves continue. themselves entitled.
Complete success was theirs when the

Tennessee legislature at the extraordinary session, called by Governor Roberts, be-came the thirty-sixth state to ratify the possibility of the fight for equalina would act unfavorably, which later proved the case, and there was little or no time to enable the women of the coun-to east their votes in the November

So it devolved on Tennesses to become the "perfect thirty-sixth." The victory was not achieved without a contest. On the contrary, the proposed suffrage amendcontrary, the proposed suffrage amend-ment resolution precipitated the bitterest battle that has ever been staged on Capitol hill. In their effort to kill the resolution, the "antis" resorted to every political ma-niceuver known in purilamentary proceed-ings. These all failed, and, in desperation, ings. These all failed, and, in desperation, they flung aside the restraint of parliamentary rules and endeavored to check a final national proclamation of ratification by organizing a filibuster, to which thirty-eight members of the House of Represent-

ob organizing a filibuster, to which thirtyeight members of the House of Represent
atives became a party.

The courts, too, were resorted to in an
attempt to have the action of the legis
lature on the suffrage resolution decigred
illegal. But each move of the 'units'
defeat the amendment was offset by a
counter move by the suffrage leaders, who
were never caught mapping on the job.
The final buttle for suffrage in Tennesse
commenced with the convening of the special session of the legislature on Angust
the real contest would come in the House,
and not in the Senate on Friday, August
13, the fifth any of the special session,
adopted the amendment resolution by a
vote of 25 to 4, two members answering
present, but not voting.

Of course, the suffragists were greatly
clated and encouraged by the Senate's
quick action, but they did not let up in
their fight. All of their efforts were then
centered upon the House members, with
whom they argued and pleaded for favor.

To fix the legal status of women.

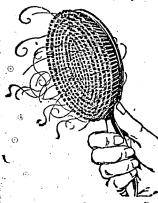
ible action upon the resolution when it was brought up for disposition.

was brought up for disposition.
During the days that intervened between
the date upon which the Senate acted and
August 18, when the House ratified the
amendment by a vote of 50 to 47, there
was considerable doubt manifested by both
the upponents and proponents of the
measure as to which way the tide would
furn.

Members of the House changed their

"DANDERINE"

Stops Hair Coming Out; Doubles Its Beauty.



CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

SCHEDULE FOR OPENING Saturday, September 4, 1920.

Principals, supervisors and teachers of white schools will meet in Hume-Pogg High School at 0 a.m. Principals, super-sisors and teachers of colored schools will meet at Pearl High School at 11 a.m.

Tuesday, September 7, 1920. All principals and teachers will report to their old places at 9 n. m.
All students seeking examination for any cause will report at their respective selections at 9 n. m.

Wednesday, September 8, 1920.

Students attending any of the City Public Schools during last Spring Term will report at 9 a. m. at the buildings formerly attended sand take their old sents, except students promoted to the High Schools, who will report at the High School buildings at 0 a. m.

Thursday, September 9, 1920. New pupils not in the public schools last Spring will report at the different buildings between 9 and 2 o'clock, accompanied by purents or guardian.

Saturday, September 11, 1920. General teachers' meeting, white, Hume-Forg High School at 10 s. no Colored Fearl High School at 9 s. m.

H. C. WEBER, Superintendent of Schools.

after the fight began in the special sestion. In the counting of noses before the legislature convened, the suffragists received assucances that he would stand with and fight for them.

Members of the Davidson county delegation in the House also turned. When the legislature first met, it was understood that the entire Davidson delegation was solid in support of the amendment resolution. Then a day or two before the resolution that the entire Davidson delegation was solid in support and present the suffragion upon the question of constitutionality of action by the Legislature. If follows: sentatives, in a last effort to rally the antennancement was made that the entire amouncement was made that the entire amouncement was made that the entire of the speaker and Members of the antennancement was made that the entire delegation had deserted the suffrage ranks can be sented to consider the entire and had joined the "antis." This proved a mendments has carefully considered Sentery. The suffragists won. It was a hard that the exception of Charles W. Longhurst, who, after giving the content the present Legislature has both a legal and moral right to ratify the proposed resolution.

"many years, but at no time did the "Bath of the Devideon county senators." "Full power and jurisdiction of the question and thought, when the Devideon county senators." "Full power and jurisdiction of the question and the content that the present Legislature has both a legal and moral right to ratify the proposed resolution.

clection of the Legislature.

The suffrage advocates, however, showed conclusively that that part of the state constitution was in conflict with the constitution of the United States, which all or authorities agree has precedence and is approme. Opinions were obtained from mot Solicitor-General Frierson, Attorney-General Thompson, Ed T. Seay, Gen. Chas. T. Cates and other lawyers, who hold that a state had no right to limit by its constitution an authority or privilege granted by is in

They further confused the "antis" on this jumped upon the state constitution merely as an excuse for their opposition, as none present in the House refused to voje when his name was called. In the Senate, Senators McFarland and Miller did not vote.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties at their national conventions adopted a plank in their platforms favoring ratifi-

ties at their national conventions adopted a plank in their platforms favoring ratification of the suffrage amendment. A similar stand was taken at the state conventions of the two parties. It was desired to have the amendment ratified in time to allow the women vote in the November election, and the presidential nomines of both parties urged upon the Tennèssee Legislature the importance of ratifying the amendment. President Wilson also gave his support to the amendment.

right of suffrings, being the proposed nineteenth amendment to the Federal constitution.

"2. To fix the legal status of women.

"3. To prescribe the qualifications of
women for suffrage, including the imposition of poll tax, to provide for their registration, and to enact such logislation as
may be necessary to this end."

There were 130 items included in the
call, in addition to the three foregoing
ones. In compiliance with the call, both
houses of the General Assembly met at
noon Monday: August P. The first day's
session of each house was brief, only a few
local bills being intrduced.

On Tuesday, August 10. a joint resolution was introduced in each House providting for the ratification of the suffrage
amendment. Under the rules of both
houses, the resolution was required to lie
over until the following day, and consequently no action was taken. But the fight
was on, and cach session of the Legislature was attended by a large crowd of
spectators, representing both the suffrage
and apti-suffrage factions.

The suffragists, having adopted yellow
for their color, decorated the wails, corridors and legislative halls of the Capitol
building with bunting and flags. Individuals identified themselves with the suffrage cause by wearing a yellow rose. The
"antis" adopted the red rose for their emblem. So that during the days that follawed the red and the yellow roses were
very conspicuous on Capitol bill, on the
streets of Nashville and in the lobbies of
the hotels. The suffrage fight became
known as "The War of Roses."

Real Fight Began August 11.

The fight began in carnest on Wednes-

It: very conspicuous on Capitol hill, on the surfrage land in the following of the first began in carneet on Wedges day, August 11. The suffragist deed from the surfrage forces of the feels of the first began and we have been adopted, a method hatther be suffrage forces. Dejate commenced and W. E. Weldon.

The fight began in carneet on Wedges day, August 12. The suffrage forces of the feels of the suffrage forces. Dejate commenced and we have been adopted, a method that the Hose adjourded to make again saturday morning, there coeffd be adjusted to the capitol building with buuting and flags. Individuals idequified themselves were were well as the suffrage flags and the suffrage flags and the suffrage and the suffrage and the suffrage flags and the suffrage flags and we have a suffrage flags the commenced and the suffrage flags and we have a suffrage flags the commenced of the flowes were well the suffrage flags and we have a suffrage flags the commenced of the flags and we have a suffrage flags the commenced of the flags and the suffrage flags and

taken by supporters of the suffrage measure as an indication of the ultimate passage of the resolution. It was the first test of strength on either side.

The suffragists gained another victory on the following day when a resolution introduced in the House by Representative Story, providing that "It is the opinion of the Legislature that no action either for passage or rejection can be taken by this Legislature, it being a violation at least of the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the state," was tabled by an aye and no vote of the body.

In order to give both sides an opportunity to be heard, and that the members of the Legislature might not act hastily and without due consideration of the proposition, the resolution was referred to the committee on continuous amendments in each house.

These committees arranged for a public hearing which took place in the hull of the House of Representatives on the night of Thursday, August 12.

Manifesting fite intensest interest the public feit in the proposition before the Legislature of the press crowle that ever

Manifesting the intensest interest she public felt in the proposition before the Legislature, one of the Ingrest crowds that ever assembled in the Capital was present to hear the arguments for and against ratification of the amendment. Senator L. E. Gwinn of Covington, chairman of the Senato committee on constitutional amendments, presided, and allotted to each speaker a period of time in which he or she would be allowed to present his or her side of the case.

Speaking in favor of the amendment were Miss Chair Williams, vice-chairman of the intiqual benorrangle committee and

were Miss Charl Williams, vice-chairman of the untional Democratic committee and leader of the Democratic women in the flight for ratification; Gen. James A., Fow, let of Knoxylle, Ed. T. Seay of Nashville, Senntor Konneth D. McKellft of Memphis and Gen. Chas. T. Cates, Jr., of Knoxylle, Those speaking for the antisuffragists were Judge G. N. Tillman of Nashville, Judge S. F. Wilson of the Court of Civil Appeals, E. R. Stahlman of Nashville, Miss Charlotte Rowe of New York and Congressionan Finis J. Garrett.

Senate Committee Favorable.

thought, voted to railly the amendment.

Both of the Davidson county senators.
Finley Dorris and Albert E. Hill, stuck to their original stand on the proposition and voted to railly.

Main Argument of "Anti-"

The leading argument presented by the auttratificationists was that action by the Legislature on the question was in voted to roll, and any legislature may legislature on the constitution of the state. That portion of the constitution, upon which they based their contentions, provides that no amendment to the constitution of the their contentions, provides that no amendment to the constitution of the their contentions, provides that no amendment to the constitution of the their contentions, provides that no amendment to the constitution of the total true the right to exercise such power, is clearly null and void, because in direct conflict with the United States constitution. The attempt to deny this Legislative, unless the proposed amendment was submitted to Congress prior to the election of the Legislature.

The suffrage advocates, however, showed.

"To contend that an illegal provision of a state constitution imposes a duty or creates a moral obligation is to state a proposition that is manifestly and funda-

the plain provision of the Federal Constitution.

To the contrary, to be governed by a nugatory clause of the state Constitution on a purely Federal question—and that is what the nincteenth amendment is—would be dingerously near a violation of the real to support the Constitution of the United States. Legal opinion and common sense arguments could be multiplied in support of this position, but these are deemed unnecessary.

"In view of the fact that all of the members of this Senste are either Democrats or Republicans, and that both nominees and platforms of their respective parties, state and national, have unequivocally declared for the ratification of this amendment, and that its final adoption is as certain as the rocurrence of the seasons, and the further fact that this Senste has heretofore taken a stand in favor of woman suffrage by the enfranchisement, as far as was legally possible, of the womanhood of Tennessee, we have not considered it necessary to state the many good reasons that might be urged in favor of the adoption of the amendment.

"National woman's suffrage by Federal amendment is at hand; it may be delayed but it cannot be defeated; and we voted for Tennessee the signal honor of being the thirty-sixth and last state necessary to consummate this great reform.

for Tennessee the signal honor of being the thirty-sixth and last, state necessary to consummate this great reform.

"Fully persuaded of its justice, and confident of its passage, we carnestly recommend the adoption of the resolutions.

"Respectfully submitted. L. E. Gwinn, chaliman; John C. Houck, J. W. Murray, Douglas Wikle, M. H. Copenhaver, C. C. Collins, T. L. Coleman and E. N. Haston."

Senate Passes 25 to 4.

Benate Passes 25 to 4.

When the resolution was called up in the Senate to be disposed of, a debate ensued which lasted for nearly three hours. Most of the speakers, however, were in favor-of the measure, only two Senators speaking for the negative side on the floor of the Senate. These were Senator II. M. Candler of McMina county, and Senator J. B. Summers, of Payette.

The debate was concluded at 1 o'clock and the roil csll on the passage of the resolution followed. The vote was:

Aye—Bradley, Rurkhalter, Caldwell, Carter, Coloman, Collins, Copenhaver, Dorris, Fuller, Gwinn, Harber, Haston, Hill, Houk, Long, McMahan, Matthews, Monree, Murrey, Patton, Rice (of Shelby), Stockard, Wiltby, Wikke and Speaker Todd.

No—Candler, Parker, Rice (of Stewart) and Summers.

Thet marked the first real victory for

Whithy, Wikie and Speaker Todd.
No-Candler, Parker, Rice (of Stewart)
and Summers.
That marked the first real victory for
the suffragists.
The House committee on constitutional
amendments did not submit its report until the following Tuesday. At an executive session on the night of Monday,
August 16, the committee voted to report
favorably on the measure. Those voting
for ratification were: T. K. Riddick,
chairman; Joseph Hanover. Grover H.
Kenton, J. F. Odle, R. W. Bratton, J. D.
McMurray, J. Harris, U. S. G. Ellis; T. O.
Slimpson and R. Davis.
Those favoring rejection were: F. S.

Second Day of Debate Dramatic.

The House's session on the next day proved one of the most dramatic in the history of Tennessee legislation.

The galleries and lobby of the assembly hall were packed with interested spectators. By a previous rulling of the House, no visitors were allowed upon the floor.

Debate upon the suffrage resolution was immediately resumed, and continued for several hours, resulting finally in ratification by a vote of 49 to 47. As soon as the roll call was finished, Speaker Walker Immediately changed his vote from no taye and entered a motion to reconsider. The vote of the representatives on the resolution follows:

Aye—Anderson, Bell, Burn, Canale, Carr, Crawfort of Bedford, Davis, Dodson, Dowlen, Ellis, Fisher, Fitzhugh, Foster, Griffin, Hanover, Harris of Knox, Hickman, Howard, Jehr, Johnson, Kahn, Kenton, Lursen, Lenth, Light, Longhurst, Luther, Lynn, Marlin of Washington, McCalman, Milker, Morgan, Moose, Odle, Phelan, Phillips of Hawkins, Phillips of Madison, Rector, Riddick, Shoaf, Simpson of Bradley, Simpson of Humphreys, Storall, Swink, Tarrant, Travis of Henry, Tucker, Turner, Wade and Mr. Speaker Walker (changed from no to aye).

No—Bond, Boyd, Boyer, Bratton, Carter, Cassady, Cheek, Cole, Crawford of Fayette, Dunlap, Forsythe, Francisco, Frogge,

Just a few minutes before the final vote was taken, an effort had been made by the anti-ratificationists to table the amendment resolution. This failed, as the vote resulted in a tie, 48 to 48. On the motion to table, Representative Harry Burn of McMinn county, voted aye, but when the original resolution came up, Mr. Burn was counted among those favoring the amendment.

Mr. Burn's yote with the retificationists.

Mr. Burn's vote with the ratificationists on the question proved a severe blow to the antis, and they endeavored to charge the young representative with having been bribed. Charges were cooked up that Mr. Burn had been in a conference with Representative Joe Hanover of Shelby county, who had assumed the leadership on the Innover had offered Mr. Burn a ideration to vote for suffrage.

Mr. Burn, however, had no difficulty in explaining his position on the suffrage question and the reasons for his affirmative vote, and the attack upon him was attributed to the desperation of the antis in waging a losing fight.

After the votes on the motion to table and the motion on the respirators table

Friday, August 20, was the last day upon which Speaker Walker had the exclusive privilege of calling up the resolution for reconsideration. When he failed to do this and when the House adjourned to meet again Saturday morning, there could be no doubt that the matter would be finally disposed of.

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Gilbreath, Hall, Harvill, Hays, Jackson, Keisling, Long, Martin of Hamilton, Mc-Murray, Millican, Montgomery, Moore, Morvell, Oldham, Overton, Rucker, Rusher, Goldham, Overton, Rucker, Rusher, Goldham, Overton, Rucker, Rusher, Goldham, Overton, Rucker, Kusher, Goldham, Overton, Rucker, Smith, Story, Swift, Thronesberry, Travis of Franklin, Vinson, Weldon, L. M. Whittaker, M. E. Whittaker, Whitfield, Wilson, Wolfenbarger, Womack.

Absent—Brooks, Harris of Wilson and Rowan.

tering.

The fillbuster of the House members availed the antis nothing after all. The House met Saturday morning, according to schedule, and proceeded to dispose of the resolution on reconsideration ignoring the absence of the fillbusters.

Motion To Reconsider Tabled.

When the House was first convened on Saturdey, a roll call showed no quorum present, and a receas was taken for one hour. On reconvening T. K. Riddlek of Shelby county, moved to reconsider the House's action in concurring in the adoption of Senate joint resolution No. 1, the suffrage amendment resolution. Speaker Walker overruled this motion on the reconstruction of the propriet was a recent and suffrage amendment resolution. Speaker Walker overruled this motion on the ground that no quorum was present and, further, because of the injunction that had been issued by the court.

been issued by the court.

Mr. Riddick appealed from the decision of the chair, and Representative Odle of Benton county, took the chair while the question was belig decided. The motion to sustain Speaker Walker's ruling was lost by a vote of 40 to 8.

Mr. Riddick then renewed his motion, making the point of order: "in the consideration."

making the point of order; "in the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1 to

"My reason for this is that our author ity to ratify or reject does not come from any rule of this House or this Legislature or from any statute or any constitutiona provision of the State of Tennessee, bu

or from any statute or any constitutional provision of the State of Tennesee, but comes directly from the Constitution of the United States, and that, therefore, no rule of this House applies.

"If further insist that this was necessarily decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the recent case of Hawke vs. Smith, secretary of the state of Ohio. I am further sustained by the opinion of the attorney general of Tennessee, who agrees with me that this contention is sound."

Speaker Walker again made the point of order that no quorum was present. When the question was put to a vote, 50 members voted against reconsideration and nine answered present, but not voting. The following motion was then entered by Mr. Riddick:
"Mr. Reaker, I move you that the clerk of this House be and he is hereby instructed to transmit to the Senate through the ordinary procedure Senate Joint Resolution No. L."

Mr. Walker raised objection to this, challenging the presence of a quorum and demanding a roll call before action was

No. 1."

Mr. Walker raised objection to this, challenging the presence of a quorum and demanding a roll call before action was taken upon the motion. He further challenged the right of Mr. Qile, acting as speaker in his stead, to putlenny such motion before the House in view of the injunction issued by Judge Langford and which was read by Mr. Walker to the members of the House in view of the intention issued by Judge Langford and which was read by Mr. Walker to the members of the House. The resolution was transmitted to the Senate by a vira voce vote.

On Monday, August 22, the "antis" sought further to prevent by court action the certification of the rottleation. A supplemental bill was filed in the chancery court, enjohing Chief Clark John Green of the House from transmitting the resolution to the Sonate and restraining Chief Clerk Carter of the Senate from receiving the resolution or communicating the House's action to members of the Senate.

The Senators were not at all pleased with the court's interference with the Senate's business, and at the session on the day

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the supplemental bill was filed. Senators Gwinn, Haston and Collins were appointed a committee to investigate the legal status of the injunctions granted by the court. Several of the Senators expressed the opinion that Judge Laugford nor any other court had any authority to enjoin the Legislature nor any officials of the two houses for proceeding in the discharge of their legislative duties.

This contention of the Senators was borne out on the following day when Chief Justice Lanaden of the Supreme Court granted a writ of certiorari and superse-des, vacating the injunctions of Judge

Langford.

Being advised by the attorney-general of the state that the order of Chief Justice Lansden superseded the injunction issued by Judge Langferd, Governor Roberts at 12:20 o'clock Tuesday morning, August 24, forwarded the certification papers by registered mail to Secretary of State Bain-bridge Colby, President Wilson, Vice-President Marshall and the speaker of the

miltee's report that the members of the Senate were advised of the vrit of ter-tionard and supersedeas issued by Judge Lansden and the subsequent action of Governor Roberts in certifying to the rati-fication of the proposed suffrage amend-ment by the Tennessee Legislature. Insamuch as the injunction had been va-cated, the committee offered the following

Insumen as the injunction had been vacated, the committee offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"He it ordered by the Senate that the original copy of Senate Joint resolution No. 1, now in the hands of the clerk of the Senate, having been returned to him by the clerk of the House, together with a report from such clerk, be spread upon the journal by the clerk of the Senate and retained in his possession as a part of the records of the Senate, until the final adjournment of the present session of the Sixty drax General Assembly, and then filled with the secretary of state as a part of the records of his office."

Thus the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States by the Tennessee Legisla-

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NASHVILLE TRADES AND LABOR COUN-

Geo. T. Garrett, Secretary.

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