

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 12-2015)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276 (Exp. 01/31/2019)

HERMITAGE HOTEL

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Historic Landmarks Nomination Form

1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Hermitage Hotel

Other Name/Site Number: N/A

Street and Number (if applicable): 231 6th Avenue N.

City/Town: Nashville

County: Davidson

State: TN

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Criteria Exceptions: N/A

NHL Theme(s): II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
2. reform movements
IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
1. parties, protests, and movements
4. political ideas, cultures, and theories

Period(s) of Significance: July 1 – August 24, 1920

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2):

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6):

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: Carpenter and Blair Architects, New York City/Nashville

Historic Contexts: Women's History – Woman Suffrage and the Passage of the 19th Amendment

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement. We are collecting this information under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461-467) and 36 CFR part 65. Your response is required to obtain or retain a benefit. We will use the information you provide to evaluate properties nominated as National Historic Landmarks. We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. OMB has approved this collection of information and assigned Control No. 1024-0276.

Estimated Burden Statement. Public reporting burden is 2 hours for an initial inquiry letter and 344 hours for NPS Form 10-934 (per response), including the time it takes to read, gather and maintain data, review instructions and complete the letter/form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate, or any aspects of this form, to the Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Mail Stop 242, Reston, VA 20192. Please do not send your form to this address.

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3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

☐ Yes

☒ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 0.54 acre

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates:

Datum if other than WGS84:

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

Latitude: 36.163746

Longitude: -86.782598

OR

UTM References: **Zone** **Easting** **Northing**

3. Verbal Boundary Description:

PT Lot 112 Original Town of Nashville, Map and Parcel Number: 093 06 1 003.00

4. **Boundary Justification:** The boundary describes all property historically associated with the Hermitage Hotel. There have been no changes to the original boundary or footprint of the building since its construction.

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5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Hermitage Hotel at 231 6th Avenue N. in Nashville, Tennessee, is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 1 for its direct association with the ratification by the State of Tennessee of the 19th Amendment, extending to American women the right to vote. The suffrage movement began in 1848 and culminated in August 1920, when Tennessee became the necessary 36th state to ratify the amendment. The Hermitage Hotel's opening in 1910 coincided with the growing influence of the suffrage movement in Tennessee, and by the summer of 1920, local, state, and national figures in suffrage, politics, industry, and media became keenly aware that Tennessee alone held the fate of the 19th Amendment. During the summer of 1920 the Hermitage Hotel was the headquarters of both the pro- and anti-suffrage forces as they lobbied the state legislature. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, stayed in a suite at the Hermitage Hotel for nearly six weeks, guiding the strategy and tactics to win the final vote in the state legislature. Few extant buildings in the United States are associated with Ms. Catt's work to champion woman suffrage, and the Hermitage Hotel is the site where her lifelong ambition and strenuous efforts, and that of thousands of others, came to fruition. The Hermitage Hotel's role in the history of ratification of the 19th Amendment was so significant it earned the name the "Third House" of the Tennessee State Legislature, referring to the extraordinary presence and influence of the major stake-holders and deal-makers convening there.¹ When Tennessee became the "Perfect 36th" state to ratify the 19th Amendment on August 18, 1920, the achievement fulfilled more than 70 years of tireless efforts by suffragists to enfranchise American women under the U. S. Constitution.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT AND THE ROAD TO TENNESSEE

Historically the suffrage movement was intertwined with other humanitarian and progressive efforts, especially abolition of slavery and temperance. Women, however, were denied participation in these civic groups, and the marginalization challenged and inspired independent-minded women and men to organize their own assemblies. Lucretia Coffin Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton helped spearhead the 1848 Seneca Falls, New York, Convention, commonly acknowledged as the formal genesis of the equal suffrage movement in the United States.² With her steadfast cohort, Susan B. Anthony, Stanton fought for women's rights over the course of several decades.

Suffrage conventions went on hiatus during the Civil War crisis. Women across the divided nation were thrust into new roles, taking on work outside the home in the absence of men, then off at war, many never to return. These shifting demographics set a precedent for the women's movement in the contexts of work and war, reinforcing the argument for equal voting rights.

Following the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which abolished slavery in the United States, the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, granting citizenship to former slaves, was introduced in Congress. Woman suffrage leaders discerned that freedmen suffrage would follow and attempted to unite the two causes.

¹ Carolyn Lynn Yellin and Janann Sherman, *The Perfect 36: Tennessee Delivers Woman Suffrage*, (Memphis: Vote 70, Inc., 1998), 98.

² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage Vol. I: 1848-1861* (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881), 72-73.

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Thus, at the 11th National Women's Rights convention in 1866, Anthony motioned for resolving the convention into a new organization. The American Equal Rights Association (AERA) was established to campaign for suffrage regardless of race or gender.³ Key leaders of the AERA included Anthony, Stanton, Mott, and Frederick Douglass, escaped former slave, author, printer, orator, and champion of equal suffrage for all.

One of the first challenges taken up by the AERA was a suffrage measure in Kansas, where in 1867 the vote for women was on the ballot as a separate referendum from the vote for freedmen. Kansas Democrats opposed both measures as well as a new temperance law. Republicans in Congress admonished Kansas Republicans that the African American vote was of national significance, a cornerstone of Reconstruction.⁴ Suffrage leaders on the ground in Kansas, therefore, turned to Democrats for support. While both referenda were defeated, the implied dynamic placing woman and freedman suffrage at odds persisted.

Anthony and Stanton continued courting the Democrat party for woman suffrage, against warnings from suffrage elites. Anthony was appointed a delegate at the National Democrat Convention on July 4, 1868 at Tammany Hall in New York City. The slogan for the convention was "This is a White Man's Country, Let White Men Rule."⁵ Anthony's letter petitioning for woman suffrage was read. She urged that slavery, the war, and the Southern cause were "dead questions of the past," and Democrats had the power to free women from enslaved labor through suffrage.⁶ Several major newspapers agreed that Democrats were presented "a splendid opportunity to take wind out of the Republican sails," in the words of *The New York Herald*.⁷ Democrats, however, chose not to rise to the opportunity.

Many politicians and activists felt pushing woman and freedman suffrage simultaneously was an extravagant goal that would doom both efforts. Stanton and Anthony published several editorials hostile to the 15th Amendment, granting freedmen the right to vote. Race-based rhetoric strained friendships with Douglass and moderate suffragists. At the Woman Suffrage Convention held in Washington in January 1869, Stanton proposed a resolution for a 16th Amendment for the vote to women.⁸

By Congress' passing of the 15th Amendment in February 1869, the divisions, conflicts, and feelings of betrayal within the AERA effectively dissolved the organization. On May 15, 1869, Stanton and Anthony led a meeting to re-organize as the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), with Stanton as President. Other key figures re-structuring the new group included Lucretia Mott, Ernestine Rose, Reverend Olympia Brown, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Anna E. Dickinson, Ida Greeley, Amy Post, and many other women. Men were not admitted to the NWSA. The organization's petition of June 1, 1869 was sent to Congress asking for "prompt passage" of a 16th Amendment, "which shall secure to all citizens the right of suffrage without distinction of sex."⁹

³ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage Vol. II: 1861-1876* (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881), 153, 172.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 230-231.

⁵ Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, The New York Public Library, "Our ticket, Our Motto: This is a White Man's Country; Let White Men Rule," Campaign badge supporting Horatio Seymour and Francis Blair, Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, 1868," New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed July 23, 2019 at webpage <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/62a9d0e6-4fc9-dbce-e040-e00a18064a66>.

⁶ Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *Vol. II*, 340-42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 348, 349, 354, 358, 382.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 396, 400, 405, 406.

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Securing the ballot for women was the NWSA's main objective, with tangential social reforms such as equal pay, an eight-hour workday, and reformed divorce laws. These propositions were radical to the more mainstream suffrage leaders, including Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." They created the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in November 1869 in Boston, with Henry Ward Beecher as president. The AWSA focused solely on woman suffrage at the state level.¹⁰

The two camps continued their suffrage work separately via petition drives, public speeches, conferences, and state campaigns. There was evidence of the cause gaining traction, not least in an emerging counter movement. When in 1868-1869, the Massachusetts state legislature took up a proposal for the vote for women, a group of 200 women countered with a petition to their lawmakers not to force the ballot on female citizenry.¹¹

Catherine Beecher, sister of suffragists and abolitionists Henry Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Isabella Beecher Hooker, delivered lengthy anti-suffrage speeches in late 1870 and May 1871 at Boston and Hartford, respectively. Anti-suffrage rhetoric espoused femininity, domesticity, and family. Ironically, public oration contradicted these institutions and the premise of natural gender roles. Their own activism placed the demurring anti-suffragists precisely in the realm of male politics. A Boston newspaper quipped: "The anti-woman suffrage women get deeper and deeper into politics year by year in their determination to keep out of politics. By the time they triumph they will be the most accomplished politicians of the sex."¹²

Indeed, the "Antis" were quite effective, adopting strategies, tactics, and propaganda that shut down 480 "Suff" campaigns in twenty-eight states over a 40-year period.¹³ During the same period, the suffrage movement gained school suffrage in 20 states, granting women access to voting in school committee elections, which undeniably fell within the sphere of womanhood. Kansas passed women municipal suffrage, and Wyoming, where women enjoyed equal suffrage under territorial legislation from 1869, became the first state with full equal suffrage in 1890.¹⁴ But these were not Constitutional victories.

By the 1890s, the ill feelings between the NWSA and the AWSA had subsided, as a new generation came into its ranks. The daughters of Lucy Stone (Alice Stone Blackwell) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Harriot Stanton Blatch) helped re-unite the two camps, forming the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. That year, Carrie Chapman Catt made an impressive first appearance on stage at the NAWSA convention at Washington, D. C.¹⁵ Anthony replaced Stanton as president, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw became vice president. Stanton had given her last convention speech in 1892.¹⁶ Lucy Stone passed away on October 18, 1893.¹⁷

¹⁰ Susan Campbell, *Tempest-Tossed: The Spirit of Isabella Beecher Hooker* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014), 97-98; and Wiess, 135-36.

¹¹ Thomas Jablonsky, "Female Opposition: The Anti Suffrage Campaign," in *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*, ed., Jean Baker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 119.

¹² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage 1876-1885: Vol. III* (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1886), 276.

¹³ Susan E. Marshall, *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign against Woman Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 2-4.

¹⁴ Lucy Stone, "The Progress of Fifty Years," in Mary Kavanaugh Oldham, ed., *The Congress of Women: Held in the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, U. S. A., 1893* (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 58-61.

¹⁵ Susan B. Anthony, and Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. IV: 1883-1900* (Indianapolis, IN: Hollenbeck Press, 1902), 169.

¹⁶ Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. V: 1900-1920* (N.P.: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 32.

¹⁷ Elinor Rice Hays, *Morning Star: A Biography of Lucy Stone, 1818-1893* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, World, 1961), 304-

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In November 1893, Colorado became the next state with equal voting rights, inciting a vigorous response of opposition in Eastern states. New York Anti Mrs. William Winslow Crannell caught the attention of the press for her appearances at both the Democrat and Republican national conventions in 1896, as Utah and Idaho became the next states to give women the vote. Two years later, Crannell was sent to Washington state and South Dakota to contest woman suffrage.¹⁸ Crannell emerged as a leading Anti, chosen to debate Carrie Catt, newly elected NAWSA president in 1900.

Catt had been extremely effective in field organizing for the NAWSA, especially in western states where suffrage had its earliest victories. She quickly gained the respect and admiration of Susan B. Anthony, who selected Catt to succeed her.¹⁹ The suffrage movement evolved as Catt continued to build her influence as a leader. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was eulogized at the 1903 NAWSA convention in New Orleans. The local *Picayune* newspaper pointedly reported on the passing of the torch, as rising New Orleans suffragist Jean Gordon presented Anthony with a bouquet of yellow roses, the color chosen to represent the suffrage movement. Jean's sister, Kate, was then secretary of the NAWSA.²⁰

The Gordon family of Louisiana represented the Old South, and Kate especially brought to the suffrage movement the ideologies of states' rights and superiority of white woman over African American suffrage. She openly expressed distaste for a federal suffrage amendment, which would certainly nullify Louisiana's recently enacted literacy and property-ownership voting requirements, designed to thwart the 15th Amendment. During the early years of the 20th century, Gordon and NAWSA were able to maneuver around their conflicting principles, much to Catt's diplomacy.²¹

The movement could ill afford to ignore any Southern support, given the upswing in anti-suffrage activity. Unfortunately, Catt was forced to step down from the presidency of NAWSA in 1904 to care for her ill husband. His death in 1905 was soon followed by that of her mother, brother, and Susan B. Anthony on March 13, 1906. Due to these personal losses, Catt took a leave from the movement for a period.

Dr. Shaw stepped up as president of the NAWSA and invited President William Howard Taft to its 1910 convention in Washington, D. C. It was the first time the Suffrs asked a sitting president to give a welcoming speech, which they clarified would not be construed as support for woman suffrage. Taft did appear, giving a convoluted speech that echoed newspapers of the period in suggesting that the Suffrs' challenge was not in convincing men but a "majority of your own class of the wisdom of extending the suffrage to them and of their duty to exercise it."²²

A highlight of the 1910 convention was NAWSA's parade of 50 cars delivering some 160,000 petitions and 17,000 individual letters, representing 404,825 names in support of woman suffrage, from the Hotel Arlington to the Capitol. These were among the hundreds of thousands of suffrage petitions conveyed to Congressional

05.

¹⁸ Anne Myra Benjamin, *Women Against Equality: A History of the Anti-Suffrage Movement in the United States from 1895 to 1920* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2014), 34-35, 41.

¹⁹ Anthony and Harper, eds., *Vol. IV*, 387, 514.

²⁰ Harper, ed., *Vol. V*: 57, 74.

²¹ Elna C. Green, "The Rest of the Story: Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South," in *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* (Vol. 33, no. 2, 1992), 171, 173, 175. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4232938.

²² Harper, *Vol. V*, 266, 269-71.

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leaders since 1866.²³ Yet, no state had granted women the right to vote since 1896.

Momentum was regained when suffrage amendments were passed in Washington in November 1910 and in California in October 1911.²⁴ These victories most certainly influenced the establishment of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) in December 1911 by Josephine Jewell Dodge (1855-1928), daughter of a D. C. statesman and pioneer of the day nursery movement for children. In a speech that year, Dodge explained her opposition to the vote for women, stating that “large endeavors” such as tariff reform and fiscal policies were men’s realm. The vote would not help fulfill the life of the “average woman.”²⁵ In short, denying suffrage rights helped maintain class stratification.

The amending of the state charters of Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas in 1912 to confer equal suffrage on women seemed a tipping point. A new energy invigorated the Suffrs, as convention attendance grew to capacity crowds and the printing of suffrage literature reached a new record. The shift was discernible in the national and international press as suffrage gained new regard. In April 1913, the NAWSA pressed for a hearing in the U. S. House of Representatives, which was met with immediate application by anti-suffragists to be heard as well.²⁶

The anti-suffrage movement found a voice in elite Northerners like Dodge and Southern Democrats alike. During the Congressional hearings, Alabama Representative Tom Heflin, famous for his demeaning grandstanding, urged that if women would stay home and “produce such a race of men and women as their mothers,” who never had or wanted the ballot, “they will render God’s service to their country.”²⁷ Heflin’s rejection of woman suffrage, as well as racial equality, was typical of Southern Democrat politicians in the post-Reconstruction period. Clinging to the memory of the Old South narrative, the Democrat “solid South” decried interloping Northern ideals of equal rights as tools of humiliation and subjugation of the South.²⁸

The emerging New South campaign calling for modernization of the economic base through industrial diversification, as well as social reform was promoted in many cities. Ladies of affluent status who identified with “new woman” progressivism turned away from traditional society functions towards a more civic calling. Nashville’s Anne Dallas Dudley, wife of prominent businessman Guilford Dudley, was such a woman, and she cultivated a leadership role in the woman suffrage movement. By the early 1910s, no state in the South had supported woman suffrage. Anne Dudley helped the growing movement in Tennessee, giving hope to national leaders.

THE HERMITAGE HOTEL AND THE RISE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN TENNESSEE

The suffrage movement came late to the South. In the state of Tennessee, its emergence coincided with post-Reconstruction economic and industrial growth. The first organized group arose in Memphis in 1889. A Nashville group was formed in 1894. Neither survived long, and even visits from NAWSA presidents Anthony in 1895 and Catt in 1900 failed to engender a committed Tennessee organization. Nashville sought to frame

²³ Ibid., 274-76, 277.

²⁴ Ibid., 310.

²⁵ Josephine Jewell Dodge, “Woman suffrage opposed to woman's rights,” at Clairemont College Digital Library webpage <http://ccdlib.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15831coll15/id/374/rec/1> accessed August 21, 2019.

²⁶ Harper, *Vol. V*, 396-97.

²⁷ United States Congress House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary, *Woman Suffrage: Hearing on Woman Suffrage, March 3, 1914* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing office, 1914), 84-85.

²⁸ Armantine M. Smith, “The History of the Woman suffrage Movement in Louisiana,” in *Louisiana Law Review*, Volume 62, Number 2, (Winter 2002), 512-13, 538, 539, 543.

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itself as a rising city of the “New South,” building on the success of the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Exposition, which attracted 1.8 million visitors during its six-month run.²⁹ Construction of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad’s grand new station in 1900 helped draw new investors to Nashville in manufacturing, banking, insurance, and education.³⁰ During this period of city-building, hotels often served as meeting spaces for various organizations. In December of 1906, Memphis’s Peabody Hotel hosted a conference of Southern Women Suffragists, at last sparking an enduring Tennessee Equal Suffrage League.³¹

Nashville developers decided the city needed its own signature grand hotel. On April 1, 1908, *The Tennessean* announced the Hermitage Hotel Company would build a “new and modern hotel” at the corner of Union Street and Sixth Avenue North. The largest shareholder and designer, architect James E. R. Carpenter, pledged \$100,000. The company included bankers Joseph Frank and Edwin Lindsey, manufacturer Robert L. Burch, and businessman and former Nashville Mayor Richard Houston Dudley. Other investors in the hotel project became conspicuous figures in the suffrage movement in Tennessee. Luke Lea, editor of *The Nashville Tennessean* and soon-to-be U. S. Senator, was an outspoken advocate for woman suffrage. Rival newsman Edward B. Stahlman, a former railroad executive, also initially indicated support of suffrage. Stahlman, suspected of succumbing to the interests of the railroad industry, reversed his stance in 1920, using his *Nashville Banner*, as an anti-suffrage mouthpiece.³² Richard Dudley’s brother, Guilford, was notably associated with the woman suffrage movement in Tennessee through his wife, rising suffrage leader Anne Dudley.

Mrs. Dudley became a dynamic leader in helping the nascent movement in Tennessee become an integral member of the national body. From the environs of the Hermitage Hotel, she helped draw supporters, media, national suffrage figures, and opponents. As the nation-wide effort to secure voting rights for women narrowed to Tennessee, the history of the Hermitage Hotel and the ratification of the 19th Amendment became intertwined.

Construction of the Hermitage Hotel began in 1909. The grand opening was celebrated September 17, 1910 to much fanfare.³³ Official guests were limited to 400 of Nashville’s most elite and influential residents, while hundreds more sightseers streamed through the lobby. Offering an abundance of public spaces, meeting rooms, and suites, as well as fine cuisine and outstanding service, the Hermitage Hotel was soon the premier venue for various gatherings and conventions. Located two blocks from the State Capitol, the Hermitage Hotel became a favorite place for legislators to meet constituents and lobbyists and came to be called the “Third House” of the State Legislature, in addition to the official Senate and House chambers.

In 1910, the year of the Hermitage Hotel’s opening, the first local suffrage groups began to organize in Memphis and Knoxville. On September 20, 1911, the Nashville Equal Suffrage League was organized. Anne Dudley was named the first president, Maria Thompson Daviess, the first vice president, Mrs. Willie Lawson Williams, treasurer, Ada Cooke Settle, secretary, and Ida Clyde Gallagher Clarke, press secretary.³⁴ Miss Sue

²⁹ Don H. Doyle, “Tennessee Centennial Exposition,” in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, Carroll Van West, ed. (Nashville, Tennessee: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 922.

³⁰ Don H. Doyle, *Nashville in the New South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 20.

³¹ Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. VI: 1900-1920*, (New York: J. J. Little and Ives Company, 1922), 596, 597.

³² DECISION REACHED: HERMITAGE HOTEL CO. INCORPORATED AND \$700,000 BUILDING WILL BE ERECTED. (1908, Apr 01). *The Nashville American* (1894-1910) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/944198793?accountid=33208>.

³³ *Nashville American*, 16 September, 1910.

³⁴ WOMEN OF STATE MADE LONG FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE: CREDIT BELONGS IN LARGE MEASURE TO

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Shelton White of Jackson joined the suffrage movement in 1912. White later established herself as a lead player on the national stage in the suffrage movement and a notable figure at the Hermitage Hotel in the weeks leading up to ratification of the federal suffrage amendment.

By 1912, the Hermitage Hotel began its tenure as host of important suffrage activities with the fifth annual convention of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association in its assembly hall. Dudley gave the welcoming address to members of the state's five local leagues representing Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Morristown.³⁵ Tennessee Governor Ben W. Hooper's address on the convention's last night acknowledged a growing wave of woman suffrage across the country that would "come to Tennessee when the women really want it and unite in sufficient numbers to push it through."³⁶ Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott was named president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage League at the convention.³⁷

The Hermitage Hotel was by then well established as the gathering place for suffrage activities in the state. The hotel hosted the 1913 annual session of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, at which Miss Elliott was re-elected president.³⁸ The hotel served as headquarters from which Elliott and Dudley expanded their presence in the national movement. The women traveled from Nashville to participate in the first woman suffrage parade in Washington, D. C. The parade, attended by some 8,000 supporters, took place on March 3, 1913, the day before President Woodrow Wilson's inauguration.³⁹

The event introduced the Tennessee suffragists to national leaders, including Catt (former NAWSA president), Shaw (sitting NAWSA president), Alice Paul, and Lucy Burns. Paul had previously been arrested for confrontational methods and force-fed while on hunger strike in jail. The parade experience also initiated the refined Southern women to the unseemly side of public suffrage work. Marchers were met with drunken obscenities and physical harassment from bystanders. The crowd became rowdy and aggressive, pulling women off parade floats, tearing their clothing, and ripping banners and flowers from their hands.⁴⁰

The experience did not dissuade Tennessee suffragists, who continued to raise awareness to their cause within the state and enhance Tennessee's clout on the national level. As president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association in 1912 and 1913, Elliott is credited with attracting the upcoming National Suffrage Convention to

PIONEERS IN CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE. (1919, Apr 27). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/927252201?accountid=33208>.

³⁵ Harper, Vol. VI, 597.

³⁶ SUFFRAGISTS FROM ALL OVER STATE CONVENE; ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR: WOMAN ASPIRANTS FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE OPEN THEIR FIFTH ANNUAL CONCLAVE AT THE HERMITAGE HOTEL PRESIDENT, MRS. J. D. ALLEN OF MEMPHIS PRESIDES OVER NOTABLE ASSEMBLAGE OF TENNESSEE'S WOMANHOOD TODAY'S PROGRAM. (1912, Jan 11). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/904744702?accountid=33208>.

³⁷ Yellin and Sherman, 140.

³⁸ ASSEMBLY ROOM OF HERMITAGE HOTEL LIVE PLACE TODAY: SUFFRAGISTS FROM ALL OVER STATE, IN ANNUAL SESSION SOMETHING DOING "WILL TENNESSEE GO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT THIS LEGISLATURE?" IS AN IMPORTANT QUESTION. (1913, Jan 06). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/906733078?accountid=33208>.

³⁹ Elizabeth Frost-Knappman and Kathryn Cullen-DuPont, *Woman suffrage in America* (New York, Facts on File, Inc., 2005), 295, 296; and WOMEN OF STATE MADE LONG FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE: CREDIT BELONGS IN LARGE MEASURE TO PIONEERS IN CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE. (1919, Apr 27). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/927252201?accountid=33208>.

⁴⁰ Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont, 296, 301; Probing washington parade. (1913, Mar 12). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/914192154?accountid=33208>.

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Nashville in 1914.⁴¹ The selection of Nashville as host city for the annual NAWSA convention signaled awareness among suffrage leaders that Tennessee stood apart from the rest of the South, where woman suffrage was otherwise largely scorned.

The Hermitage Hotel was the ideal setting to welcome the convention with Southern hospitality. Dudley booked lodging at the hotel for the National officers - President Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice president Caroline Ruutz-Rees, recording secretary Mrs. Richard Fitzgerald, and treasurer Katherine Dexter McCormick.⁴² Accommodations for visiting delegates, representing more than one thousand chapters of the NAWSA, were arranged in private homes across Nashville.⁴³

The buoyant energy surrounding the convention was bolstered by news that Nevada and Montana passed woman suffrage legislation, creating a dense coalition of western states with voting for women. The state-by-state approach, which supporters believed would ultimately yield federal action, had produced eleven states with full suffrage and nine other states with partial voting rights to women.⁴⁴ Even long-time investors in the movement recognized Tennessee as a rising stakeholder. An article in *The New York Evening Post*, admonished readers that the South's hostility to woman suffrage did not apply to Tennessee and predicted "triumph" for the NAWSA convention at the Hermitage Hotel. The newspaper warned: "If the south thinks it is mossbound on the question of votes for women, it is going to be startled. And the businessmen of Nashville are not to be outdone by the women in hospitality."⁴⁵

During the convention, local merchants decorated their storefronts with welcoming yellow mums and "Votes for Women" banners.⁴⁶ The Hermitage Hotel missed no opportunity for showcasing impeccable service, gracious hospitality, and copious suffrage yellow streamers and festoons throughout the lobby. Amidst the festive occasion, however, there were growing tensions between the mainstream NASWA and more militant suffragists attending the NASWA convention at the Hermitage Hotel.

A delegation from the Congressional Union (CU), a suffrage faction founded by Alice Paul, appeared at the convention. The CU proceeded to introduce a policy to publish the names of congressmen persistently dodging legislative action on suffrage.⁴⁷ The controversial suggestion reinforced the existing divide between the militant

⁴¹ Yellin and Sherman, 140.

⁴² SUFFRAGIST DELEGATES IN CITY: CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WILL BE HELD THIS MORNING OFFICERS ARE ON SCENE FIRST FORMAL MEETING OF NATIONAL CONVENTION WILL OPEN TOMORROW MORNING. (1914, Nov 11). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/923344684?accountid=33208>.

⁴³ SUFFRAGISTS TO ARRIVE TONIGHT: VANGUARD OF DELEGATES FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION EN ROUTE TO NASHVILLE CITY READY TO RECEIVE BUSINESS HOUSES DECORATED WITH SUFFRAGE COLORS--MEN CO-OPERATE WITH WOMEN. (1914, Nov 10). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/920614130?accountid=33208>.

⁴⁴ WOMEN NOW HAVE VOTE IN ELEVEN STATES. (1914, Nov 06). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/920614186?accountid=33208>.

⁴⁵ EXPECT CONVENTION OF TRIUMPH. (1914, Nov 08). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/904861912?accountid=33208>

⁴⁶ SUFFRAGISTS TO ARRIVE TONIGHT.

⁴⁷ ANNA, H. S. (1914, Nov 13). SUFFRAGISTS IN LIVELY DEBATES: ARGUMENTS AT NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SESSION IN NASHVILLE INDICATE THAT MORE AGGRESSIVE POLICIES MAY BE ADOPTED FACTIONAL LINES ARE CLOSELY DRAWN CLASH COMES OVER QUESTION OF "BLACKLISTING" OF CONGRESSMEN WHO ATTEMPT TO BLOCK PASSAGE OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE MEASURES. *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/920626345?accountid=33208>

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and mainstream suffrage factions, highlighting each side's preferred path to the vote for women. The CU supported the Bristow-Mondell bill, a federal mandate that would have Congress take up suffrage legislation, if not for blocking efforts by a small, powerful, bi-partisan coterie. Most NAWSA members backed the more time-consuming approach of the Shafroth bill, which would require states to hold referenda on suffrage and ostensibly pave the way for a federal amendment. The CU encouraged defection from NASWA for its leaders' support of the Shafroth bill, underscoring the significance of a united NASWA body at the Nashville convention. National suffrage leaders assessed the convention at the Hermitage Hotel as "the turning point in the history of suffrage in Tennessee,"⁴⁸ elevating Tennessee's profile within the suffrage movement and energizing Tennessee suffragists.

A December 3, 1914 meeting of the Nashville Equal Suffrage League at the Hermitage Hotel outlined plans for a state-wide campaign in all ninety-six counties.⁴⁹ The Hermitage Hotel provided a rent-free office to the Nashville league, which they occupied until donating the space to the Navy as a recruiting office when the U. S. entered the Great War in 1917. The league also planned a city-wide campaign in Nashville to distribute literature, hold street speeches, and visit schools. The campaign included a May Day suffrage parade, beginning at the Hermitage Hotel and ending at Centennial Park.⁵⁰

The following year, Dudley became president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage League, celebrated at a reception in the loggia of the Hermitage Hotel.⁵¹ Dudley and new Nashville league president, Catherine Kenny, appeared before the executive committee of the Tennessee Republican party, seeking an opportunity to address its upcoming convention on behalf of a suffrage resolution.⁵² These activities represented the passage of the suffrage movement from a theoretical discussion into the daily life of Tennesseans.

The advance of the suffrage movement in Tennessee also instigated the rise of opposing forces. Josephine A. Pearson (1868-1944) described her involvement in the anti-suffrage movement as a progression from an academic writer in the theory of political science to an active participant in the trenches of detestable politics.⁵³ Pearson maintained that for elite, white Southern women, suffrage was beneath the dignity of womanhood and domesticity. Pearson emerged as a leading opponent of suffrage in Tennessee and worked to gain allies in the state legislature.

As the battle between the Suffs and the Antis escalated nationally, Tennessee and the Hermitage Hotel drew increasing media attention and visits by the major contestants. In April 1916, NAOWS leader Josephine Dodge spoke to an audience packing the loggia of the hotel. *The Tennessean* noted the appearance was the "first move" of anti-suffrage activity in the South and would be followed up with visits by Dodge to Memphis and Chattanooga.⁵⁴ There was no mention of visits by Dodge to any other Southern state, suggesting that Tennessee

⁴⁸ Harper, Vol. VI, 598.

⁴⁹ Suffrage headquarters at hotel hermitage. (1915, Mar 18). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/920610527?accountid=33208>.

⁵⁰ Equal suffrage ward chairmen make plans. (1915, Dec 01). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/908347268?accountid=33208>.

⁵¹ Harper, Vol. VI, 598.

⁵² Beasley, J. S., & Stooksbury, E. G. (1915, Dec 31). CONVENTION OF REPUBLICANS TO BE HELD MAY 3: CALL ISSUED BY STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT MEETING HERE SHARP CONTEST IS STAGED FOR CONTROL HOOPER FOR SENATE AND OVERALL FOR GOVERNOR SAID TO BE SLATE. *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American* (1910-1920) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/920676448?accountid=33208>.

⁵³ Amanda Caroline Pearson, "Woman Suffrage: A Resume," in Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *Votes for Women!: The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, the South, and the Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 227-28.

⁵⁴ ADDRESSES MADE BY ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS: LARGE AUDIENCE HEARS MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE AND

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was then considered the one and only Southern swing state in the suffrage effort.

Pearson initially declined an invitation to attend Dodge's appearance in Nashville. There were other forces at work, however, as Pearson, presumably without her knowledge or consent, was unanimously elected president of the Tennessee State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. She initially declined the position but was swayed after visiting hardcore suffrage opponents Virginia and John Vertrees, who seethed at feminists, Republicans, and other radicals determined to upset the natural order of Southern politics. Vertrees escorted Pearson in seeking counsel from her childhood friend Major E. C. Lewis, railroad executive who encouraged her likewise.⁵⁵ Pearson's acceptance of the state anti-suffrage league presidency represented an equal and opposite force to the suffrage momentum in the state, drawing Tennessee deeper into the contest.

Anne Dudley's activities continued to raise Tennessee's standing in the suffrage movement. She spent a week in West Virginia, assisting that state's suffrage association and cultivating a national profile.⁵⁶ In June 1916, Tennessee sent seven suffragists, including Dudley, to the Republican national convention in Chicago. The event was attended by NAWSA current president Catt and former president Dr. Shaw, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) president Dodge, and members of the CU.⁵⁷ Dudley was one of only a handful of female speakers at the convention, which she claimed warmly received the women and their cause.⁵⁸ Dudley was also among the eleven women sent to the Democrat national convention in St. Louis. Now considered both a state and national leader, Dudley addressed the Tennessee delegation, which voted solidly in support of suffrage.⁵⁹

During 1916, the war in Europe loomed over the United States. In Tennessee, suffragists met in the loggia of the Hermitage Hotel on July 7, 1916, to organize volunteers for Red Cross service.⁶⁰ Carrie Chapman Catt addressed a special NAWSA conference held in September 1916 at Atlantic City, New Jersey, stating that "women are holding together the civilization for which men are fighting." Her rousing speech stressed that woman suffrage was imminent, based on the shifting social dynamics that could not be reversed upon conclusion of the war. President Wilson, in the midst of his re-election campaign, accepted Catt's invitation to address the conference. Wilson filed through an honor guard of suffragists representing each state, including Tennessee's Dudley.⁶¹ Wilson's declaration, "I have come here to fight with you" [not against], was betrayed by his conclusion that equal suffrage would come "in a little while." Dr. Shaw took the podium and stressed, "We have waited long enough to get the vote. We want it now. I want it to come during your administration."⁶²

MISS LUCY PRICE. (1916, Apr 11). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/906777363?accountid=33208>.

⁵⁵ Josephine Anderson Pearson, "My Story: Of How and Why I Became an Antisuffrage Leader" in Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *Votes for Women!: The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, the South, and the Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 231-33.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Dudley to assist in campaign. (1916, May 07). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/905395570?accountid=33208>.

⁵⁷ MRS, E. B. (1916, Jun 18). SUFFRAGE NEWS AND NOTES: CHICAGO CONVENTION. *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/905585697?accountid=33208>.

⁵⁸ CHICAGO MEN CHEER SUFFRAGE, SAYS MRS. DUDLEY: WOMEN MARCH IN POURING RAIN FIVE THOUSAND STRONG. (1916, Jun 11). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/904857572?accountid=33208>.

⁵⁹ Harper, Vol. VI, 599.

⁶⁰ SUFFRAGISTS VOLUNTEER AS RED CROSS NURSES. (1916, Jul 07). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/920634333?accountid=33208>

⁶¹ Elaine Weiss, *The Woman's Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote*, (New York: Viking, 2018), 83.

⁶² President pledges his support in address to suffragists: I have come here to fight with you," he declares in speech before national woman's suffrage association-- enthusiastically cheered by 4,000 women. "we shall not quarrel as to method," he says. (1916,

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President Wilson was narrowly re-elected in 1916, and his victory was attributed by several observers to his support from women.⁶³ A month after Wilson's re-election, the U. S. could no longer maintain neutrality on the Great War. When German submarines targeted four American merchant ships, Congress was called into an extraordinary session, April 2, 1917, to vote to declare war. The entrance of the United States into the war factored into Wilson's pivot towards support for woman suffrage. He repeatedly praised the patriotism of American women, stepping up to support the war effort.

The year 1917 was critical in the timeline of the woman suffrage movement, from local and state to national and international spheres. In Tennessee, the State Legislature took up a suffrage proposal to give women municipal and presidential voting. The measure passed the House 59-25, but was defeated in the Senate, 12-21.⁶⁴ The same year, Dudley rose through the movement's ranks, becoming Vice President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1917. Katherine Warner succeeded her as president of the Tennessee league. By this year, the NAWSA had grown to two million members.⁶⁵ In the Anti-suffrage ranks, Josephine Dodge stepped down from the role of president of the NAWOS, which was filled by Alice Hay Wadsworth, wife of Senator James W. Wadsworth.

In early 1918, Montana Rep. Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to the U. S. House of Representatives, introduced a woman suffrage resolution that passed the U. S. House in a vote of 274 to 136.⁶⁶ Tennessee suffragists seized an opportunity to encourage the bill's passage in the Senate. Meeting in the loggia of the Hermitage Hotel, members of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association hosted their U. S. Senator John K. Shields on his visit to Nashville. Though Shields had previously opposed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, preferring states to vote separately on the measure, it was reported that President Wilson urged the Democrat to support woman suffrage.⁶⁷ Shields complimented the "logical" and "eloquent" suffrage arguments presented to him and promised his "thoughtful consideration," come September when the Senate would reconvene.⁶⁸ Shields voted against the federal suffrage amendment in Congress on October 1, 1918, and the measure failed by two votes in the U. S. Senate.⁶⁹ With the signing of the Armistice in November of 1918 and the end of World War I, renewed efforts by both pro- and anti-suffragists increasingly focused on Tennessee.

THE FIGHT FOR RATIFICATION AND THE WAR OF THE ROSES

In 1919, Tennessee was one of the few states that suffrage proponents felt could be the key to the passage of the 19th Amendment. In the spring of 1919, suffragists lobbied the state's general assembly for a partial suffrage measure granting women municipal and presidential voting rights, but not congressional. Freshman House

Sep 09). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/923330282?accountid=33208>.

⁶³ Christine A. Lunardini and Thomas J. Knock, "Woodrow Wilson and Woman Suffrage: A New Look," in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 95, no. 4, (Winter 1980-81), 663.

⁶⁴ James P. Louis, "Sue Shelton White and the Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, 1913-20," in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* Vol. 22, No. 2 (JUNE 1963), 175.

⁶⁵ Yellin and Sherman, 77.

⁶⁶ "Suffrage Amendment Adopted," (1918, January 11) *Nashville Tennessean* at the website <https://www.newspapers.com> accessed August 23, 2019.

⁶⁷ "Suffragists Plan to Appeal to Shields," (1918, July 20) *Nashville Tennessean* at the website <https://www.newspapers.com> accessed August 23, 2019.

⁶⁸ "John K. Shields Non-Committal," (1918, July 27) *Nashville Tennessean* at the website <https://www.newspapers.com> accessed August 23, 2019.

⁶⁹ Louis, 183-84.

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Representative Joe Hanover's passionate speech for woman suffrage identified him as a major proponent for women's rights.⁷⁰ Hanover, a Jewish immigrant from Russian-occupied Poland, deeply believed in universal suffrage as an American right. He became a central figure as the push for a federal suffrage amendment came down to Tennessee. Both the Tennessee House and Senate passed the partial suffrage bill in April, while the federal suffrage amendment at last gained traction in Congress.⁷¹

Previously, the federal suffrage bill was introduced and defeated in the U. S. House in 1915 and in the Senate in 1887, 1914, and 1918. U. S. House Rep. James Mann (R) of Illinois introduced House Joint Resolution 1 proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending voting rights to women on May 19, 1919. The bill had remained substantively unchanged from its original draft by Anthony and Stanton in 1875 and its first introduction by California Rep. Aaron A. Sargent (R) in 1878. To pass with a two-thirds majority in the House, 262 ayes were needed. The U. S. House passed the bill overwhelmingly 304-88 on May 21, 1919.⁷² After failed stalling tactics by Southern Senators, the federal suffrage bill passed with 36 Republican and 20 Democrats in favor and eight Republicans and 25 Democrats against.⁷³ Finally, after decades, both chambers of Congress passed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment on June 4, 1919.

The amendment was then sent out to the states for ratification. Indiana Governor James P. Goodrich (R) telegraphed 35 states encouraging their governors to call for special legislative sessions to ratify the suffrage amendment. Twenty-five states, fifteen of which already had full suffrage, agreed.⁷⁴ On June 10, 1919, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin voted to ratify, representing a midwestern bloc of support. Ohio, Kansas, and New York followed on June 16. In late June, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Texas ratified the 19th Amendment. Iowa became the tenth state to ratify on July 2.⁷⁵ On that day, former NAWSA president Dr. Anna Howard Shaw succumbed to complications from pneumonia. She had lived to witness victory of the suffrage amendment in Congress and its ratification by her childhood home-state of Michigan and her final state of residence, Pennsylvania.⁷⁶ Three more states followed later in July - Missouri, Arkansas, and Montana. The steady stream slowed, as only Nebraska approved the amendment in August.⁷⁷

In the South, Louisiana Governor Ruffin Pleasant (D) sent a telegram to governors of all other Southern states urging defeat of the federal amendment. He did not oppose woman suffrage per se, rather, equal rights to African American citizens. A federal amendment to the U. S. Constitution would invalidate state laws that had succeeded in circumventing the 15th Amendment.⁷⁸ Georgia was the first state of the Deep South to bring the

⁷⁰ Bill Haltom, *Why Can't Mother Vote? Joseph Hanover and the Unfinished Business of Democracy* (Jackson, TN: HillHelen Group, LLC, 2019), 41.

⁷¹ Anastasia Sims, "Woman Suffrage Movement," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, Carroll Van West, ed. (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 1071.

⁷² James Langland, ed., *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year-Book for 1922*, Volume 38, (Chicago: Chicago Daily News Company, 1921), 214.

⁷³ The New York Times, "The Passage of the 19th Amendment: digital history webpage at http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3610 accessed February 3, 2020.

⁷⁴ Smith, 558.

⁷⁵ Langland, ed., 214.

⁷⁶ DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, SUFFRAGE LEADER, DIES: HONORARY PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION CAME FROM ENGLAND, AN UNKNOWN PIONEER GIRL SERVED SEVEN YEARS AS MINISTER, RESIGNING TO TAKE UP FIGHT FOR TEMPERANCE AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS. (1919, Jul 03). *Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American (1910-1920)* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/907039815?accountid=33208>.

⁷⁷ Langland, ed., 214.

⁷⁸ Smith, 558.

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19th amendment forward, voting it down on July 24, 1919. By the end of the year, the 19th Amendment gained ratification by several more states - Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Utah in September; California and Maine in November; and North and South Dakota and Colorado in December, bringing the total to 22. In the first two months of 1920, that number jumped to a total of 33, with ratification by Rhode Island, Kentucky, Oregon, Indiana, and Wyoming in January and Nevada, New Jersey, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma in February.⁷⁹ Several of these states were likely supporters of ratification, as many had already passed suffrage legislation or had politicians long supportive of woman suffrage. Conversely, the defeat of the amendment in Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland during the same period was not unexpected.

In March 1920, West Virginia, where Anne Dudley had assisted organizing the state's suffrage league, ratified the 19th Amendment. Later the same month, Washington became the 35th state to ratify the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.⁸⁰ Ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution required a majority of 36 states. Louisiana became the eighth state to vote down the amendment on June 8, 1919, leaving only five possible avenues to victory: Vermont, Connecticut, Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee.⁸¹

Support for suffrage in Tennessee, though not without challenges, indicated the state was the most likely to become the 36th to ratify, but there appeared to be a conflict with the state constitution. Article II, Section 32 of the Tennessee constitution reads: "No convention or General Assembly of this States shall act upon any amendment of the Constitution of the United States proposed by Congress to the several States unless such convention or General Assembly shall have been elected after such amendment is submitted."⁸² Concurrently, a referendum in Ohio on the Federal Prohibition Amendment triggered a similar conflict, resulting in a decision from the U. S. Supreme Court that appeared to apply to the Tennessee conundrum. The Court ruled: "It is not the function of courts or legislative bodies, National or State, to alter the method which the U.S. Constitution has fixed." The U. S. Constitution was the supreme law of the land.⁸³

The ruling ostensibly re-opened the issue in Republican-majority legislatures of Vermont and Connecticut. Both Republican governors, however, remained firm in their refusals to call for special sessions on the suffrage amendment, to the dismay of U. S. Congressional Republicans, who originally introduced the amendment. There remained only three possible states for passage - Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Legislative majorities in Florida and North Carolina indicated they would join the Southern bloc of opposition. Tennessee appeared to be the last hope for the federal suffrage amendment.

NAWSA president Catt sent Tennessee Governor Albert H. Roberts a June 10 telegraph urging him to call an extra session of the state legislature, reinforced by a group of 40 members of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage League. Roberts would not promise a timeline for such a call.⁸⁴ President Wilson intervened, telegraphing Roberts June 24: "It would be a real service to the party and to the nation if it is possible for you under the peculiar provisions of your State constitution, having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case, to call a special session of the Legislature to consider the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Allow me to

⁷⁹ Langland, ed., 214.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 214.

⁸¹ Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 422.

⁸² Harper, Vol. VI, 617.

⁸³ Ibid., 617.

⁸⁴ HOPE OF EARLY EXTRA SESSION IS DOOMED: GOV. ROBERTS VIRTUALLY TELLS WOMEN HE WILL NOT CALL LEGISLATURE. (1920, Jun 22). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/927327201?accountid=33208>; Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, Vol. I, 617-18.

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urge this very earnestly.” Additionally, the Democrat National Convention meeting in San Francisco (June 28-July 6) pushed the extra session for a vote on woman suffrage as a prudent political move for the party.⁸⁵

Governor Roberts greatly admired the president, but he worried about his own re-election. To Wilson’s plea, Tennessee’s governor answered, “I will call the extra session in ample time for the women to vote in the 1920 elections.” Roberts was stalling, and the pro-suffrage *Tennessean* criticized the governor for squandering Wilson’s and the Democrat Party’s chance to claim whole credit for carrying woman suffrage to victory.⁸⁶

Appearing to begin the process, on July 1, Governor Roberts organized a state Democrat ratification committee, appointing Katherine Warner as chair. She selected 100 committee members representing each county and opened headquarters at the Hermitage Hotel. The selection of Warner was a snub to suffrage leaders Catherine Kenny and Chattanooga Abby Crawford Milton, the last president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage League. Kenny and Milton organized a separate ratification committee under the auspices of the newly formed League of Women Voters. Mrs. James Beasley became chairman of the Republican committee.⁸⁷ These developments suggested chaos rather than coalition in Tennessee, warranting special attention from the NAWSA. Marjorie Shuler, chairman of publicity, arrived in Nashville July 11. Shuler had distinguished herself as a member of the Federal amendment committee in Washington, D. C., and was one of only six women invited to witness the signing of the 19th Amendment upon passage in the U. S. House and Senate.⁸⁸

Despite the governor’s pledge, a rumor circulated that Roberts would ultimately be swayed by close Anti friends to reverse his call for a special session. The NAWSA called upon the governor’s staff, confirming he was surrounded by a hostile influence. *The Tennessean* prepared editorials and cartoons deriding Roberts. The NAWSA pleaded for time enough to send its president, Carrie Chapman Catt, to the contentious scene.⁸⁹ One of Catt’s first orders of business would be to meet with *Tennessean* editor Luke Lea, to convince him any negativity directed at Roberts would jeopardize momentum, if not the movement altogether.

Catt arrived at Nashville’s Union Station from New York on July 17, expecting to wrap up her business there in less than a week. That she remained in Nashville for over five weeks speaks to the highly combative environment and her certainty that Tennessee was the only remaining viable path to securing the 36th state for ratification of the suffrage amendment. Shuler and Kenny escorted Catt from her train to the Hermitage Hotel, where she was welcomed by representatives of the League of Women Voters.

Following the reception, Kenny assisted Catt in settling into the hotel’s Suite 309. Catt questioned Kenny on a delicate potential impediment she feared in the Southern state. Kenny attempted to allay the Suff leader’s concern over the racial issue that thwarted the movement across the South. Kenny assured that Tennessee suffragists had worked to help register African American women to vote, which they had done successfully since the state passed partial suffrage the year before. Catt was skeptical that Tennessee was different.⁹⁰ Kenny took leave, allowing Catt to begin her most pressing task, meeting Luke Lea. Catt greeted the newspaper man,

⁸⁵ Harper, *Vol. VI*, 617-18.

⁸⁶ Erwin, J. D. (1920, Jun 26). ADMINISTRATION AGGRAVATED BY ROBERTS' STAND: SUCCESS OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY AT ISSUE IN EARLY RATIFICATION OF SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT. *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/927350079?accountid=33208>.

⁸⁷ Harper, *Vol. VI*, 618-19.

⁸⁸ Miss shuler of new york here to assist committee. (1920, Jul 11). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/906852211?accountid=33208>.

⁸⁹ Chapman and Shuler, 432.

⁹⁰ Weiss, 34.

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whom she knew and admired from his time in the U. S. Senate. Though reluctant to pull parodies of the Governor from his newspaper, Lea acquiesced, committed to the long view of the movement.⁹¹

Catt requested and received an audience with Governor Roberts at her hotel suite. Catt conducted their meeting as his peer, informing him it was she who called off the harassment from Lea's newspaper. In return, she requested he formally acknowledge and accept the numerous ratification committees other than his self-appointed one, to which he agreed. She called the hotel front desk to wire a message to NAWSA headquarters that Tennessee appeared promising but required her indefinite stay.⁹² The morning following her arrival, Catt publicly expressed confidence that the state of Tennessee would not squander the opportunity to become the 36th state to ratify. In her words, "The eyes of the country and of the world are centered here at Nashville."⁹³ The steady stream of visitors to Catt's suffrage headquarters in her hotel suite buoyed her statement. She took hundreds of calls of support, conferring with leading Tennessee suffrage activists and supporters. Catt became convinced that for every Anti hoping to influence the special session, there would be 100 suffragists.⁹⁴

Four floors above Catt in Suite 708 was the room of the leader of the Tennessee Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Josephine Anderson Pearson. Several sources have remarked that the frugal Pearson, who arrived the same day as Catt, requested the cheapest room available.⁹⁵ She would have preferred staying elsewhere, but she knew the Hermitage Hotel would become the beehive of activity as the battle over the suffrage amendment escalated. Arriving from her home at Monteagle, Pearson went to work with leading Nashville Anti Mrs. (George) Queenie Washington, planning rallies, dinners, and other social activities in opposition of the suffrage amendment. They requisitioned the hotel mezzanine as the official headquarters for the Anti contingency. The mezzanine room was decorated with red roses and anti-suffrage leaflets and placards.

Pearson was boosted in her opposition by "women of distinction," according to *The Tennessean's* July 19 edition. Many of these "famous antisuffragists" were from adjacent Southern states. Her anti-suffrage delegation, also lodging at the Hermitage Hotel, included Mrs. James S. Pinckard of Montgomery, Alabama, president of the Southern League for Rejection of the Amendment; Mrs. Henry B. Thompson from Delaware; Mrs. Rufus Gibbs, president of the Maryland anti association; and former First Lady of Louisiana, Mrs. Ruffin Pleasant. Each of these women had assisted in defeating the amendment in her home state.⁹⁶ The NAOWS sent President Mary Kilbreth and field speaker Charlotte Rowe. The Antis descending on Nashville and the Hermitage Hotel altogether represented a strong coalition of three national organizations (the NAOWS, the Southern Women's Rejection League, and the American Constitutional League), 26 state anti-suffrage associations, and two men's Anti groups.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Ibid., 36-37.

⁹² Ibid., 72-73.

⁹³ Chapman and Shuler; and NATION LOOKS TO SOLONS OF STATE FOR RATIFICATION: SO DECLARES MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, NATIONAL LEADER, WHO IS IN NASHVILLE SEES NO CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIONS TO SUFFRAGE DISTINGUISHED SUFFRAGIST WELCOMED ON ARRIVAL WITH RECEPTION AT HERMITAGE. (1920, Jul 18). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/940553779?accountid=33208>.

⁹⁴ MRS. CATT SURE SUFFRAGE WILL CAIN TENNESSEE: SUFFRAGISTS PREPARED TO FIGHT FOR RATIFICATION--OPPONENTS IN MINORITY. (1920, Jul 19). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919084364?accountid=33208>.

⁹⁵ Rebecca L. Price, "The True Story of Tennessee Suffragists," December 26, 2015 at Nashville Lifestyle webpage <https://nashvillelifestyles.com/living/community/the-true-story-of-tennessee-suffragettes/> accessed June 21, 2019; and Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, Vol. I, 619.

⁹⁶ Nashville will entertain women of distinction. (1920, Jul 19). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919078433?accountid=33208>.

⁹⁷ "To Fight Against Ratification Here," *The Nashville Banner*, July 21, 1920.

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Catt's support team was led by Tennessee's Dudley, Kenny, and Milton. The women, educated, feminine mothers, were the antithesis of the bitter, masculine suffragist stereotype, and they lent their Southern credibility to the effort. Additionally, Alice Paul, now president of the National Woman's Party (NWP), enlisted veteran suffragist Sue White to join Catt's team. For picketing the White House and burning an effigy of President Wilson in 1919, White was the only Tennessee woman with a record of arrest and jail time for suffrage activity.⁹⁸ From her own room in the Hermitage Hotel, White fired off daily wires to the NWP president, keeping Paul apprised of strategy, legislative sessions, and Anti plots of subversion.⁹⁹

The Hermitage Hotel was the hub of suffrage activity as the Suffs and Antis attempted to persuade visiting politicians and influential Nashville elite to their side of the debate. Lobbyists for the textile industry and railroads were highly visible in the hotel dining room and lobby, working to reverse the pledges of support from Tennessee legislators. These industries feared woman suffrage would lead to demands for higher wages for women and child labor laws. Theories floated through the Suff inner circle that linked the Louisville & Nashville (L&N) Railroad to the recalcitrant Republican governors of Connecticut and Vermont and to Presidential candidate Warren G. Harding.¹⁰⁰

Catt appealed personally to Senator Warren G. Harding (R) and Ohio Governor James M. Cox (D), opponents in the upcoming presidential election. She received their respective endorsement of her presence in Tennessee to help pass the amendment. Harding told Catt, "If any of the Republican members should ask my opinion as to their course I would cordially recommend immediate favorable action." Harding sent a similar message to Tennessee Republican state chairman, Senator John C. Houk. Both parties sent members of their national committees to Nashville to assist with ratification - Harriet Taylor Upton as the Republican representative and Charl Williams, the Democrat.¹⁰¹

The upcoming gubernatorial election compounded politics of the Federal amendment. The pre-election climate bred rumors and suspicion among Tennessee Democrats, dividing the majority party into factions, each suspecting the other of making secret deals with the minority Republicans. Roberts faced a split in his own party, with conservative Democrats shrinking from the Governor.¹⁰² The governor's two rival candidates publicly ridiculed and taunted him to call for a special session of the legislature before the primary election on August 5th. Roberts' advisors convinced him such a move would be his own political suicide. He opted to wait, announcing he would call the special session for August 9th.¹⁰³

The Hermitage Hotel was a scene of constant political and social intrigue. Bribes, threats, false pledges, inebriation, spying, slander, and phone-taps contributed to the intense atmosphere, exacerbated by a sweltering heat wave. On Saturday evening, August 7, the foyer of the Hermitage Hotel was especially crowded with suffrage supporters, identified by their yellow roses, and opponents, wearing red roses. Legislators and lobbyists passed through the mezzanine, on their way to the infamous eighth-floor Jack Daniel suite, where free-flowing whiskey and moonshine mixed with secret deals and bribes.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Yellin and Sherman, 149.

⁹⁹ Weiss, 212-13.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 274-75.

¹⁰¹ Harper, *Vol. VI*, 620-21.

¹⁰² Jeanette Keith, "Albert H. Roberts," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, Carroll Van West, ed. (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 800.

¹⁰³ Catt and Shuler, 430-31.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 429, 441-42; and Yellin and Sherman, 96-97.

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Women, of course, were banned from the room, and the Suffs derided the Tennessee “tradition” of pairing whisky and politics, despite Tennessee’s 1909 prohibition law. The fallout was nerve-racking as the Suffs re-tallied their polls in Catt’s room into the early hours of the next morning. A representative from Meigs County, who had promised Kenny to vote aye, was the first to pull his support. The Davidson County delegation, considered solid for ratification, wavered. The worst betrayal was that of House Speaker Seth Walker, who had been expected to introduce and support the amendment. Suff Betty Gram publicly accosted Walker in the Hermitage Hotel asking for all to hear if the L&N railroad lobby had anything to do with his change of heart.¹⁰⁵

Joe Hanover, pro-suffrage representative from Memphis, had by now become a leading legislator of Catt’s support team. Staying on the third floor down the hall from Catt’s suite, Hanover joined the nightly Suff strategy sessions. On the night of August 8, Catt summoned Hanover to request he introduce the amendment on the House floor.¹⁰⁶ As Hanover’s visibility among the Suffs increased, he was physically assaulted in the Hermitage Hotel elevator, called a Bolshevik, received phone threats from men and secret rendezvous invitations from women, and was ultimately assigned a body guard.¹⁰⁷

The Suffs were dealt another surprise with the defection of *The Banner* publisher Edward B. Stahlman. Named to the Men’s Ratification Committee, Stahlman gave the appearance of enthusiastic support for the vote for women. On Catt’s arrival to the Hermitage Hotel, Stahlman’s *Banner* newspaper effused, “The great opportunity has come for Tennessee to be the thirty-sixth state to ratify the eighteenth [sic] amendment. It is really a grand privilege.”¹⁰⁸ Stahlman had promised suffrage support at the Kiwanis Club, but now represented the Antis. Suffragists viewed his reversal as the result of a bribe, as with several other pro-leaning politicians. Further, a stunning letter from presidential candidate Warren G. Harding, alleging his prior ignorance of a potential conflict with the Tennessee Constitution, seemed to back pedal his support of the suffrage amendment. Suffs anguished over the potential of the Harding message to cause defection of Tennessee Republicans they had been counting on for support.¹⁰⁹

On the morning of August 9th, the Governor sent to both houses of the legislature his message recommending ratification. No action was taken, and the legislature adjourned. Republicans gathered at the Hermitage Hotel for an afternoon caucus. The next day Presiding Officer Andrew L. Todd introduced the resolution in the Senate, and the Shelby County delegation, in the House. The Antis requested a hearing, set for August 12th.

On August 11th, Republicans and Democrats met separately at the Hermitage Hotel. Suffrage leaders, having met with the Republicans the night before, expressed confidence in a favorable result from the party. A rumor from the previous night began to take life that indicated 55 House Democrats would refuse to act on the resolution until after the Senate voted. Further, one Democrat informed *The Tennessean* that a resolution to defer would be introduced.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Yellin and Sherman, 97-98.

¹⁰⁶ Haltom, 59.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 72.

¹⁰⁸ “Mrs. Carrie C. Catt Arrived in City,” *The Nashville Banner*, July 18, 1920.

¹⁰⁹ Catt and Shuler, 443-44.

¹¹⁰ TIDE EBBS AND FLOWS IN FIGHT FOR RATIFICATION: BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS WILL HOLD CAUCUSES THIS MORNING DEMOCRATIC SENATORS MEET WITH SUFFRAGISTS CANDIDATE CHRISTENSEN GIVES OUT HOT STATEMENT AGAINST FORCES OF OPPOSITION. (1920, Aug 11). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919088303?accountid=33208>.

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The next day the state capitol was the scene of intense political activity. Motions to defer the special session were voted down, yet the number of legislators reversing their positions on the suffrage amendment was troublesome. Sue White pragmatically cautioned against counting victory, though *The Tennessean* reported that the defeat of a resolution to postpone the special session had created a “gloomy” mood at Antis’ headquarters at the Hermitage Hotel.¹¹¹

Friday, August 13th was an auspicious day for the suffrage movement, as the Tennessee Senate passed the ratification resolution after just three hours of debate. The vote was 25 to 4 with two abstentions. A strategy in effect for a few days had kept non-Tennessee Suffs away from the capitol, to avoid potential resentment of meddling outsiders. Catt remained cloistered in her hotel room, sitting at her window looking towards the Capitol for signs of news. Even at her distance, Catt was a target. Senator Herschel M. Candler’s attack on suffrage disparaged her by name as “an old woman down here at the Hermitage Hotel,” trying to dictate to Tennessee’s lawmakers.¹¹²

Candler went on, despite hisses from the crowd in attendance, calling Catt an anarchist. He claimed to have heard Catt say to a New York audience that she “would be glad to see the day when negro men could marry white women without being socially ostracized.” Candler concluded that the Suffragists “would drag the womanhood of Tennessee down to the level of the negro woman.” Speaker Todd followed, calling Candler’s speech “most unfortunate.” Several more Senators reiterated support for woman suffrage and criticism of Candler’s offensive remarks. The session concluded with a committee report summarizing, “we covet for Tennessee the signal honor of being the 36th and last state necessary to consummate this great reform.”¹¹³

As the Antis pressed for continued delays in the House, they also made a target of Catt. The NAWSA president was convinced her hotel room’s phone was tapped. She was certain her room had been breached, as she discovered a bottle of alcohol under her pillow. Catt panicked at what she imagined was planted evidence to sully her reputation. The bottle, instead, was placed there for safekeeping by an ally, as some Suffs were known to sneak a sip or a puff of cigarette during these stressful times.¹¹⁴

Catt’s concern was understandable, given the underhanded Anti tactics. Pearson attempted to discredit Catt by outing her as a co-author of the ultra-feminist *The Woman’s Bible*.¹¹⁵ A reinterpretation of Biblical references to woman’s subservience to man, *The Woman’s Bible* was authored by the late Elizabeth Cady Stanton and presented to a revising committee at the 1896 convention of the NAWSA. Though Catt was in attendance, she was not among the revising committee and had no other connection to the controversial best seller.¹¹⁶ Pearson kept a copy of the book in the Antis’ exhibit in the Hermitage Hotel for leverage against suffrage. The page

¹¹¹ LEGISLATURE TO CAST VOTE UPON SUFFRAGE FRIDAY: ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY SPEAKER TODD AND RIDDICK, HOUSE FLOOR LEADER ISSUE WILL BE DEBATED IN COMMITTEE TONIGHT SUFFRAGISTS ARE CONFIDENT OF VICTORY SINCE TEST VOTE IN HOUSE YESTERDAY. (1920, Aug 12). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919088989?accountid=33208>.

¹¹² Yellin and Sherman, 100.

¹¹³ SENATE RATIFIES SUFFRAGE, 25 TO 4, AFTER FIGHT: THREE-HOUR DEBATE FEATURED BY BITTER ATTACK OF SENATOR CANDLER WOMEN SUFFRAGISTS ARE DENOUNCED BY SPEAKER REMARKS HISSED ON FLOOR AND IN GALLERY BY MEN AND WOMEN. (1920, Aug 14). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919089954?accountid=33208>.

¹¹⁴ Yellin and Sherman, 98, 102.

¹¹⁵ Price.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman’s Bible* at Cornell University webpage <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/2585> website accessed August 5, 2019.

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purported to prove Catt's authorship was missing, which Pearson claimed was ripped out by Catt herself.¹¹⁷

The Suffs, at least the militant representatives of the NWP, Anita Pollitzer and Sue White, were not above their own schemes. The two women boldly ascended to the eighth floor to eavesdrop outside the transom windows of the notorious Jack Daniel suite in hopes of catching any useful information. A reporter from *The Chattanooga Times* approached the pair, accusing them of spying. The House sergeant-at-arms came out of the room and asked the women to leave twice. The women refused to leave until the hotel proprietor physically placed them on an elevator and sent it down.¹¹⁸

The more refined local ladies of the suffrage movement assisted in distracting their pledged legislators with leisurely drives out to the country, tickets to movies, and fancy dinners. Annie Laurie Stahlman, pro-suffrage daughter-in-law of the converted Anti Edward Stahlman, entertained a House representative at the exclusive Belle Meade Country Club. Pearson countered with an appeal to Southern memory and white womanhood, appearing before the Anti's headquarters in the Hermitage Hotel's mezzanine with an aged Civil War veteran and both the American and Confederate flags.¹¹⁹

The next legislative movement of the suffrage bill occurred August 17th, when a motion was made in the Tennessee House to adopt the Senate's resolution to ratify the 19th Amendment. Speaker Walker motioned mid-afternoon to adjourn and continue the debate the following morning. The motion carried, causing concern and uncertainty among the harried Suffs. The same day, the North Carolina Legislature defeated a motion of ratification, elating the Antis when news arrived at their Hermitage Hotel headquarters. The fate of the amendment rested solely on Tennessee, and Governor Roberts received threats from anti-suffrage newspapers to vote against ratification.¹²⁰

The next day, August 18th, the House returned to debate ratification under a packed room with the crowd spilling out onto the Capitol lawn. Yellow bunting clashed with red banners. Harry Burn, aged 24, of McMinn County entered the House floor with a red rose on his lapel, though he had promised his vote would not hurt the suffrage amendment. The majority of his constituents opposed woman suffrage, but his mother asked him in a letter he received that morning to vote in favor of the amendment. He had assured her and the Suffs that if the vote came down to a tie, he would cast his vote in favor. With three legislators absent, the Suffs still worried they would not have enough votes. When the resolution was introduced on the House floor, Speaker Walker immediately motioned to table it. The vote to table was 48 to 48. Walker's second motion to table had the same result, indicating to Burn the likelihood of a deadlock on the amendment itself.¹²¹

When the vote took place, Burn kept his promise and voted yes, and the resolution passed 49 to 47. The crowd's collective voice was a cacophony of cheers, heard two blocks away by Catt, sitting at her hotel room window. Suffrage supporters wildly waved American flags and yellow banners, breaking into song with "America." The joyous voices carried the tune as the crowd moved to the Governor's office for hand-shaking and back-slapping, before continuing on to the Hermitage Hotel. In the hotel lobby, legislators, women, and men staged an impromptu reception with more singing and celebrating.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Price.

¹¹⁸ Yellin and Sherman, 102.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 101.

¹²⁰ Catt and Shuler, 447.

¹²¹ Tyler L. Boyd, *Tennessee Statesman, Harry T. Burn: Woman Suffrage, Free Elections & a Life of Service* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2019), 64, 66, 68.

¹²² "Heroes Greeted by Women on Second Victory," in *The Evening Tennessean*, August, 18, 1920.

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Of course, not all who witnessed the historic event were pleased. Immediately following the vote, Burn was approached by the chief sergeant-at-arms, who ominously instructed him to remain at his seat until troopers could escort him as bodyguards. Instead, Burn climbed out an upper-floor window onto a ledge of the Capitol. After jumping from the ledge, he hid out in the State Library before dashing to the nearby Hermitage Hotel with an irate group of Antis behind him. Upon entering its doors, he calmly assumed a leisurely stroll through the lobby to blend with the crowd. He exited the back entrance and from the sidewalk watched his pursuers continue past the front of the hotel, oblivious to his detour.¹²³

Before the clerk's official announcement of passing of the federal suffrage amendment by the Tennessee Legislature, Walker switched his vote from nay to aye in a calculated maneuver to continue to fight ratification. Only a legislator of the prevailing side of a vote was permitted to motion to reconsider. By switching his vote, Walker controlled the measure for the next 72 hours, during which period he could at any time call for a vote in reconsideration.¹²⁴ Walker likely expected he could change some votes over the next three days.

In his haste, however, Walker unwittingly gifted woman suffrage a constitutional majority, 50 of 99 total legislators. Tennessee had ratified the 19th Amendment.¹²⁵ The Antis would not concede defeat, however. Josephine Pearson and her vice president of the Tennessee anti association, Queenie Washington, called a meeting of all women interested in rejecting the amendment to be held in the assembly hall of the Hermitage Hotel.¹²⁶ The Antis also devised an elaborate scheme in which witnesses claimed Joe Hanover bribed Harry Burn for the deciding vote.

The Antis threatened to take to *The Banner* their affidavits implicating Burn with trading his vote for \$10,000, should he attend the next day's session, when legislators would have the opportunity to reconsider ratification. *The Tennessean* helped foil the scheme, printing the bogus affidavits along with statements from actual witnesses. The headline read "Bold Attempt to Intimidate Solon failed," generously applying the name of the Ancient Greek philosopher and political reformer, Solon, to the young Harry Burn. Katherine Warren called the complaint "absolutely false and without foundation."¹²⁷ Burn defended his vote, explaining his mother's influence, stating, "I know that a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow." He acknowledged the opportunity "to free 17,000,000 women from political slavery," claiming credit not for himself but the Republican party."¹²⁸

Joe Hanover was also targeted for his support for ratification. Hanover reported to *The Tennessean* that he had been threatened the evening following the vote to "get out of the way," pending the reconsideration session. He called the bribery charge a ridiculous and clumsy blackmail effort. Further, he turned the table on the failed saboteurs, pointing to Edward Stahlman, publisher of *The Banner* and traitor to suffrage, as the orchestrator of this and other blackmail attempts.¹²⁹ At the following Tuesday session of the House, Hanover demanded an

¹²³ Ibid., 76.

¹²⁴ Yellin and Sherman, 106-07.

¹²⁵ Sims, 1072.

¹²⁶ ANTI- SUFFRAGE FORCES CALLED TO MEET TODAY. (1920, Aug 26). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922)

Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919091433?accountid=33208>.

¹²⁷ Burn, H. T. (1920, Aug 19). BOLD ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE SOLON FOILED: ANTI-RATIFICATIONISTS TRY TO COERCE REP. BURN WITH THE CHARGE OF BRIBERY. *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/906853964?accountid=33208>.

¹²⁸ Harper, Vol. VI, 624.

¹²⁹ Burn, H. T. (1920, Aug 19). BOLD ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE SOLON FOILED.

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investigation of Stahlman as soon as a quorum was next assembled. Hanover expressed indignation for himself, his fellow House members voting for the amendment, and the “good women” who worked tirelessly to win their right to vote. Burn concurred, and a roll call confirmed the matter would be deferred, as there was no quorum. The strain of the last weeks was evident when House Representative Anderson moved that the “House adjourn never to meet any more.”¹³⁰

The reconsideration vote was called two days later, Saturday, August 21. The “Sterling 49” held fast and reiterated their vote in favor of the amendment. Several nay-voters had left town, hoping to deny a quorum, a tactic that failed. The ratified amendment was returned to the Senate and then sent to the Governor’s desk for certification before delivery to the U. S. Congress.¹³¹ Governor Roberts signed the certification of the vote in his office on August 24th and sent it to Washington.

At the Hermitage Hotel, congratulatory telegrams arrived for Carrie Catt from across the country. After her extended stay in Nashville, Catt commented on the brutal campaign in opposition of the suffrage movement: “Never in the history of politics has there been such a nefarious lobby labored to block the ratification as in Nashville. In the short time that I spent in the capital I was more maligned, more lied about, than in the thirty previous years I worked for suffrage. I was flooded with anonymous letters, vulgar, ignorant, insane. Strange men and groups of men sprang up, men we had never met before in the battle. Who were they? We were told, this is the railroad lobby, this is the steel lobby, these are the manufacturers’ lobbyists, this is the remnant of the old whiskey ring. Even tricksters from the U. S. Revenue Service were there operating against us, until the President of the United States called them off. ... They appropriated our telegrams, tapped our telephones, listened outside our windows and transoms. They attacked our private and public lives. I had heard of the ‘invisible government.’ Well, I have seen it work and I have seen it sent into oblivion.”¹³² On August 26, 1920, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby issued a proclamation declaring the 19th Amendment ratified and part of the United States Constitution.¹³³

AFTER RATIFICATION – THE HERMITAGE HOTEL THROUGH THE YEARS

The Hermitage Hotel prospered well into the mid-twentieth century as it continued to be one of the city’s most elite hotels. The hotel hosted many conventions during the 1920s and was also the scene for high school dances and sorority and fraternity dances from Vanderbilt University.¹³⁴ The hotel was a center for socializing among the city’s well-to-do residents and visitors as well as the favored location for state business when the legislature was in session. The construction of the War Memorial Building across Union Street from the hotel in 1925 finally provided state legislators with much needed office space but the Hermitage Hotel retained its reputation as the “Third House” of state government where elected officials, lobbyists and private citizens would gather.

The decade of the 1920s witnessed Nashville’s population growing by almost a third to 153,866 residents by 1930. The city’s service economy boomed in these years as it became a regional center for banking, insurance and securities leading it to be dubbed the “Wall Street of the South.”¹³⁵ The city also referred to itself as the

¹³⁰ HANOVER SCORES STAHLMAN FOR BRIBERY CHARGE: WILL DEMAND CITATION BEFORE HOUSE WHEN QUORUM AGAIN ASSEMBLES THERE. (1920, Aug 25). *Nashville Tennessean* (1920-1922) Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/919090981?accountid=33208>.

¹³¹ Yellin and Sherman, 108.

¹³² Harper, *Vol. VI*, 621.

¹³³ Sims, 1072.

¹³⁴ Wills, *The Hermitage at 100 Nashville’s First Million Dollar Hotel*, 64.

¹³⁵ Doyle, *Nashville in the New South*, 183.

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“Athens of the South” due to the presence of Peabody, Vanderbilt, Fisk and other universities. New industries opened in Nashville such as the DuPont Plant in nearby Old Hickory in 1923, the Jarman Shoe Company in 1924 and the Werthan Bag Company in 1928. The boundaries of the city expanded in all directions as automobiles supplanted streetcars and new suburbs were platted and developed. This growth and prosperity brought more visitors and overnight guests to the city and the market for new hotels.

While maintaining prominence, the Hermitage Hotel found itself with new competition throughout this decade with the construction of several new hotels. The Pritchett-Thomas Company built three new hotels in the 1920s several blocks from the Hermitage. The Memorial Apartment Hotel was completed in 1925 followed by the Sam Davis Hotel in 1927 and the James Robertson Hotel in 1929. All of these were high-rise steel, concrete and brick buildings containing over 175 rooms each.¹³⁶ The construction of the Andrew Jackson Hotel in 1925, one block north at Deaderick Street and Sixth Avenue, North was the most visible competition to the Hermitage. Boasting a sumptuous lobby, the Andrew Jackson was twelve stories in height, had 400 rooms and competed for conventions and social gatherings. A final addition to downtown was the Noel Hotel which was completed in 1930 at the corner of Church Street and Fourth Avenue, North. The sleek hotel was thirteen stories in height, had 220 rooms and came with its own five-story garage. Its opening came as the effects of the Great Depression were being felt and no more hotels would be built downtown for several decades.

The Hermitage Hotel maintained a steady clientele and was a mainstay of downtown’s social scene well into the mid-twentieth century. The hotel hosted such notables as President Franklin Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor Roosevelt in 1938 as well as numerous United States senators and governors. Music and dancing were provided by the Francis Craig Orchestra, which was a fixture in the hotel from the 1920s to the 1940s. Bandleader Francis Craig wrote numerous hits during these years, including the 1947 tune “Near You”, which became the first hit song out of Nashville, and also broadcasted concerts over WSM radio. During World War II, the Hermitage Hotel operated an officers’ club, and the hotel remained a popular social venue through the 1950s.

The Hermitage Hotel continued to be managed by the Meyer Hotel Company which maintained and updated the rooms and furnishings as tastes changed. In 1930, the company installed new Art Deco style light fixtures in the major public spaces.¹³⁷ It is believed that the men’s bathroom on the ground floor also dates from this period when it was remodeled with new fixtures and black and green Vitrolite, also known as Carrara glass. Another major renovation took place beginning in 1950 when \$450,000 was spent on new furnishings, remodeled bathrooms and the addition of television sets.¹³⁸

Ownership of the Hermitage Hotel changed in 1956 when it was sold by the Meyer Hotels Company to the Nashville Hotel Company, a subsidiary of the Alsonett Hotels Company.¹³⁹ The Alsonett Hotels Company owned dozens of hotels across the country and considered the Hermitage one of the leading hotels in the South. That same year, Nashville’s Tulane Hotel was razed. The Hermitage Hotel continued to provide live music during this era and in 1958, American Airlines re-opened a newly remodeled ticket counter, first opened in 1932, in the corner storefront of the hotel. This was the space that had been occupied by the Nashville Equal Suffrage League from 1915 to 1917, prior to being used by the Navy as a recruiting office during World War I.

As in the case with many American cities, downtown Nashville began to lose business and prestige by the early

¹³⁶ Wills, *Lest We Forget*, 120.

¹³⁷ Wills, *The Hermitage at 100 Nashville’s First Million Dollar Hotel*, 72.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 121.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 122.

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1960s as new shopping centers in the suburbs increasingly attracted shoppers and commerce. The major downtown department stores such as Cain-Sloan, Castner-Knott and Harvey's saw business slipping away to the suburbs and opened branch stores in these areas. The decline in commerce affected the downtown hotels as vacancies increased and expenditures on upkeep were limited. A symbol of downtown's decline was the loss of the Maxwell House which burned on December 25, 1961. The oldest hotel in the city, the Maxwell House was replaced by a sleek new skyscraper during the decade.

The 1960s and 1970s were difficult years for the Hermitage Hotel as managers came and went and some tenants moved out of the storefronts. The hotel attracted more working-class guests who rented rooms long-term to be close to the businesses downtown. An article in the *Nashville Tennessean* in 1974 described the hotel as "somewhat seedy and run-down."¹⁴⁰ The air of age and decay also affected other older hotels downtown. The Andrew Jackson Hotel was closed in 1970 and imploded in 1971 to make way for a new state office building, and the James Robertson Hotel was converted to elderly housing. The construction of the Hyatt Regency Hotel in 1974 on the adjacent block also served as a modern contrast to the aging Hermitage.

Concerns over the condition and future of the hotel led Nashville's Metropolitan Historical Commission to prepare a National Register nomination for the property. Completed in 1975, the nomination highlighted the architectural and historical significance of the hotel. The listing of the Hermitage Hotel on the National Register was followed in 1976 by the Alsonett Company's announcement that they would spend three million dollars in the hotel's renovation. This money, however, did not materialize, and code violations led to the city's closing of the hotel on July 1, 1977. All tenants were forced to relocate, and the doors were locked. Mayor Richard Fulton was instrumental in developing a restoration plan for the building.

Over the next several years various plans were proposed for the future of the building including its conversion into offices or other business uses. The Metropolitan Historical Commission, the city's non-profit preservation group Historic Nashville Inc., and many citizens advocated for the continued use of the building as a hotel. After several false starts Nashville's Metro Industrial Development Board issued almost \$8 million in bonds to finance the rehabilitation of the building into a luxury hotel spearheaded by the Brock Hotel Corporation of Topeka, Kansas.¹⁴¹ Work began on the rehabilitation of the hotel in June of 1980 and continued into the next year.

The grand opening of the rehabilitated hotel took place on March 6, 1981 when hundreds of guests attended a cocktail reception in the dining room. During the 1980s the owners struggled to make the expensive rehabilitation project profitable and there were a series of financial and legal maneuvers to keep the hotel open. In 1992, the hotel's cornice was found to be in poor condition with extensive rusting of the anchoring system. This was deemed to be a safety hazard and the terra cotta was removed and replaced by a more modest glass reinforced concrete cornice. The original terra cotta pieces were obtained by Historic Nashville Inc. and sold to support other preservation efforts; although one of the original signature lion's heads that were a part of this ornate cornice is on display in the hotel's lobby.

Financial difficulties of the Brock Hotel Corporation resulted in the sale of the hotel on April 11, 1994 to the Cooper Companies of Memphis. This company embarked on a \$3.5 million-dollar project to upgrade the rooms and furnishings and complete additional renovation to the original features. After the hotel reopened, occupancy

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 155.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 177-178.

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improved and the hotel was renamed the “Hermitage Suites Hotel.”¹⁴² Also in 1995 the Metro Historical Commission erected a marker in honor of the “War of the Roses” and the Hermitage Hotel, which stands on the street corner of Union and Anne Dallas Dudley Boulevard today.¹⁴³

After improving the financial condition of the hotel, the Cooper Companies sold the property in 1997 to the Starwood Lodging Trust which operated the hotel as part of the Westin Hotel chain. The current owner, Historic Hotels of Nashville, LLC, purchased the property on June 14, 2000 for \$14 million and spent an additional \$19 million in upgrades.

In recent decades the owners of the Hermitage Hotel have recognized the significance of the role the hotel played in the Woman suffrage movement. In March of 1995, Tennessee Governor Don Sundquist celebrated the 75th anniversary of the passage of the 19th Amendment in front of a crowd of 200 at the hotel.¹⁴⁴ The next year the play “The Perfect 36” which told the story of the suffrage battle in Tennessee opened at the Tennessee Performing Arts Center. The play highlighted the role the hotel played in the approval of the amendment in Tennessee. In 2009, the hotel published a lavishly illustrated coffee table book *The Hermitage at 100 – Nashville’s First Million Dollar Hotel* by Nashville historian Ridley Willis II. In 2011, the hotel sponsored a reception for Historic Nashville Inc. in honor of National Women’s History Month and a presentation titled “Woman Suffrage Times at The Hermitage Hotel – 1920.” The hotel was a donor for the 2016 Marching Women’s monument dedicated at Nashville’s Centennial Park. The hotel is also a donor for the permanent “Votes for Women” exhibit in the Nashville Room of the Nashville Public Library opening in June 2020. The hotel has been the location for documentaries by Nashville Public Television and Iowa Public Television within the past year, as well. In 2019 the hotel created an exhibit in the lobby with numerous photographs and artifacts telling the story of the Woman suffrage movement in Tennessee and the prominence of the hotel during the summer of 1920. The preparation of the National Historic Landmark nomination was also sponsored by the hotel’s management. On January 30, 2020, the hotel hosted the annual meeting of Historic Nashville Inc. with a program detailing the significance of the hotel in the Woman suffrage movement. Additional events and programs in coordination with the Metro Nashville Historical Commission are planned during the rest of the year to mark the 100th anniversary of the 19th Amendment.

THE HERMITAGE HOTEL AND PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Numerous sites associated with the suffrage movement, most in the Northeast, have been recognized through listing in the National Register of Historic Places and/or designated as National Historic Landmarks. For the most part, these properties were the homes of significant individuals working to give women the vote. The Hermitage Hotel is one of only a few currently identified locations connected with a pivotal event in the woman suffrage movement. The property is not only associated with a significant event, but it is also representative of the efforts of the numerous advocates and opponents of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The hotel is where women for and against ratification of the amendment worked alongside politicians, lobbyists, media, and the opposing faction. The Hermitage Hotel is nationally significant as a property associated with a penultimate moment in the woman suffrage movement.

¹⁴² Wills, *The Hermitage at 100 Nashville’s First Million Dollar Hotel*, 221.

¹⁴³ The MHC historical marker is titled “Votes For Women” with the following text: On August 18, 1920, Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, thereby giving all American women the right to vote. After weeks of intense lobbying by national leaders, Tennessee passed the measure by one vote. The headquarters for both suffragists, wearing yellow roses, and anti-suffragists, wearing red roses, were in the Hermitage Hotel.

¹⁴⁴ *Nashville Tennessean*, 16 March, 1995.

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Other buildings and sites currently associated with the Woman's Suffrage movement:

The **Wesleyan Chapel** in Seneca Falls, New York, was the site of the first woman suffrage convention. Organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Mary Ann M'Clintoc, and Jane Hunt, the July 19-20, 1848 convention represents the formal beginning of the woman suffrage movement. Built in 1843, the Wesleyan Chapel was a venue for political events, free speech rallies, and abolition meetings. When the National Park Service purchased the property in 1985, "very little original fabric remained." Due to the extensive alterations, the building was not listed in the National Register nor designated as a National Historic Landmark, though it has been renovated as the centerpiece of the Women's Rights National Historical Park, administered by the National Park Service.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) resided in Seneca Falls at the time of the 1848 convention. Stanton advocated for abolition, property rights for wives, and suffrage, working closely with Susan B. Anthony. The **Elizabeth Cady Stanton House** at 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, New York, was home to the Stanton family from 1847 to 1862. From this dwelling, Stanton launched the suffrage movement, organizing annual conferences and agitating for women's rights, including suffrage. The property was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1965. Both this house and the Chapel are nationally significant for their association with the early suffrage movement and one of its prime proponents.

A second property associated with Stanton, the **Elizabeth Cady Stanton House** of Tenafly, New Jersey, was built by Stanton in 1868 and she lived here until 1887. During her residence, the house became a place of genesis for key milestones in the women's movement, drawing leading activists of the period. It was here that Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage wrote the first volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*; Stanton launched the newspaper, *Revolution*, with Anthony in New York City in 1868; founded the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869; and composed the Woman's Declaration of Rights, read by Susan B. Anthony at the 1876 Centennial Fair in Philadelphia. The house was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1975 for its connection with the later activities of one of the early leaders of the suffrage movement.

There are three properties associated with Susan B. Anthony, another nationally significant early woman suffrage leader. The **Susan B. Anthony House** at 17 Madison Street in Rochester, New York, was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1965, for its national significance as the home of Susan B. Anthony for forty years, until her death in 1906, during the time she was a leading figure in the suffrage movement. When she wasn't traveling on behalf of the cause, the dwelling was Anthony's home base for planning her next activity. The **Susan B. Anthony Childhood House** in Battenville, New York, was built in 1832, and the Anthony family moved here in 1833. This was Ms. Anthony's home during her formative teen years between the ages of 13 and 19, and it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2007. Before moving to New York in 1827, the Anthony family resided at 67 East Road in Adams, Massachusetts. Stanton's father, Daniel, built the dwelling in 1818 and Stanton was born in the house in 1820. The house is now the **Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum**, a historic house-museum administered by a private non-profit organization. The property was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1985.

As the suffrage movement continued, Anthony, Stanton, and their contemporaries passed the torch to the next generation. Foremost among the second wave of suffragists were Carrie Chapman Catt, leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Alice Paul, leader of the militant wing of the movement, the National Women's Party. The **Carrie Lane Chapman Catt Girlhood Home** is a house-museum in her hometown of Charles City, Iowa. This farmhouse was constructed between 1865 and 1875 by Carrie's father, Lucius Lane. It was at this property that a young Carrie Lane first became aware of suffrage inequality, when in

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1872 she questioned why her mother was not voting in the presidential election. Then 13 years old, she later marked the occasion as a turning point in her life. Officially known as the Lucius and Maria Clinton Lane House and also as the Carrie Lane Chapman Family Home, the property was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on June 25, 1998. The **Carrie Chapman Catt House, Juniper Ledge**, at 20 Ryder Road in Briarcliff Manor, New York, was built in 1897 and was listed in the National Register in 2006. Catt bought the property in 1919 at the height of the fight for woman suffrage, after being twice widowed. During her nine years in the house, Catt led the struggle for ratification of the 19th Amendment and helped organize the League of Women Voters. An apartment in New York City associated with Catt was identified by the NHL Program in the early 1990s, but the integrity of the property was a concern. Since that time the Girlhood Home and Juniper Ledge have also been identified in connection to Carrie Chapman Catt, so another consideration of an NHL property for her could be undertaken in the future. (Because of Catt's role in the fight for Tennessee's ratification of the 19th Amendment, the Hermitage Hotel could also be studied for its potential national significance under Criterion 2 for Catt.)

Alice Paul (1885-1977) split from the conservative NAWSA to carry on more extreme activities including protests that led to her arrest. Her Congressional Union evolved into the National Woman's Party (NWP) in 1916. The following year, the group began picketing the White House, leading to arrests for obstructing traffic. Alice Paul's birthplace, known as **Paulsdale**, in Mt. Laurel Township, Burlington County, New Jersey, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on July 5, 1989 and designated a National Historic Landmark on December 4, 1991. This farmhouse was Ms. Paul's home from her birth in 1885 until 1905. Over the following 15 years, as she immersed herself in radical demonstrations for suffrage, the family home served as her home base and retreat. While active in protesting in Washington, Paul had no permanent address. The Paul farmstead is the only extant property closely associated with her nationally significant involvement in the suffrage movement during this period. Alice Paul remained at the National Women's Party headquarters in Washington, DC in the summer of 1920 and was not directly involved with the Tennessee ratification fight in Nashville.

The **Wyoming State Capitol** in Cheyenne was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1987 for its association with woman suffrage. At the 1869 Assembly of Wyoming Territory, laws were enacted giving women unprecedented rights. Women's voting rights were written into the territorial constitution. Additionally, married women could retain separate control of their property as well as their own earnings from work in trades or businesses. The legislature also prohibited discrimination on gender in pay of equally qualified schoolteachers. When the territory applied for statehood, the U.S. Congress attempted to repeal its woman suffrage. The bill for admission as a state was hotly debated, and the Wyoming legislature reportedly sent word, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage." The bill to admit the state with its suffrage clause intact overcame great opposition, and in 1890, Wyoming became the first state where women could vote. The state forged the path for universal suffrage without the bitter opposition and unsavory politics that characterized the fight for women's voting rights elsewhere. While this building is significant for its ability to tell the story of one of the earliest states to enact woman suffrage and provide an example for the rest of the nation, the Hermitage Hotel's association is with the larger effort to enact the amendment giving all women the vote.

The **Tennessee State Capitol** in Nashville was listed in the National Register on July 8, 1970 and as a National Historic Landmark on November 11, 1971. The NHL nomination primarily cited its national significance for its Greek Revival design and association with prominent architect William S. Strickland. Since the 1970s the research and scholarship of the Woman's Suffrage movement has identified the significance of both the Tennessee State Capitol and the Hermitage Hotel for the final passage of the 19th Amendment. The actual vote

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in the Tennessee House and Senate chambers for the ratification of the amendment, as well as the Governor's office where the bill was signed into law, took place in the Tennessee State Capitol. Any future revisions of the Tennessee State Capitol's National Register and National Historic Landmark nominations should highlight this history and significance and the capitol's relationship with the Hermitage Hotel. However, while the capitol building was where the legislation was enacted, the hotel was where the lobbying, meetings, and strategy sessions took place for both the pro- and anti-suffragists. The Hermitage Hotel is nationally significant for its association with the struggles both for and against the ratification of the amendment in Tennessee, the final state needed, and illustrates the complicated nationwide battle, and ultimate victory, for woman's voting rights.

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6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property

Private: X
Public-Local:
Public-State:
Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s): X
District:
Site:
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing

Buildings: 1
Sites: 0
Structures: 0
Objects: 0
Total: 1

Noncontributing

Buildings: 0
Sites: 0
Structures: 0
Objects: 0
Total: 0

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated)

The Hermitage Hotel is a ten-story, Beaux-Arts style building completed in 1910. Constructed of concrete and steel, the exterior is of stretcher bond brick and glazed terra cotta. The building was designed with a ground floor level, a large lobby, dining room and loggia on the first floor and eight floors of hotel rooms. The hotel enjoyed decades of prominence as one of the Nashville's most ornate and preferred hotels. By the 1970s its occupancy waned as many businesses moved from downtown. The hotel closed in 1977 and was vacant for several years. Sold in 1980, the property underwent an extensive rehabilitation utilizing the federal tax credit program and thus adhering to the Secretary of the Interior Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. The undertaking included the cleaning and repointing of the exterior of the building; restoration of the lobby, loggia, ballroom and other public spaces; reconfiguration of the hotel rooms with some original walls removed to make larger suites; and new bathrooms added. In 1994, another major rehabilitation occurred which also utilized the federal investment tax credit. The current owners of the hotel undertook another extensive rehabilitation of the hotel in 2002-2003.

The architectural style of the Hermitage Hotel is Beaux Arts Classicism and it was designed by the architectural firm of Carpenter and Blair which had offices in New York and Nashville. The primary architect was James E.R. Carpenter who was also a major investor in the hotel's construction. Carpenter's assistant architect, Russell E. Hart, moved to Nashville to serve as the on-site architect as the hotel was built. The hotel exemplifies the Beaux-Arts style through its arched openings that are situated between paired columns, the articulated five level composition and the extensive use of detailing influenced by the French Renaissance-style. Above the lobby the hotel rooms are arranged in a "U" shape around a central light well which allows natural light into the interior of the building and illuminates the stained-glass lobby skylight.

The building's east (primary) façade faces Sixth Avenue North and has secondary elevations facing Union Street on the north and Anne Dallas Dudley Boulevard on the west. The ground floor of the building on the east façade has six bays. The main entrance has wood and metal double-leaf doors with sidelights which were rebuilt

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in 2002. Above the entrance is a metal canopy inscribed with the hotel's logo and this canopy was added in 2002 to replace a canopy added in the 1940s. The 2002 canopy was built to closely resemble the original design and it was approved by Historic Nashville Inc. which owns an exterior facade easement on the building. The remaining storefront bays on either side of the entrance have single-light glass and wood doors added in 2002 and original display windows. Dividing the storefront bays are stuccoed concrete piers with quoins designed to resemble rusticated cut stone. These piers serve as bases for the paired Ionic columns on the first floor.

The primary façade is sheathed in glazed terra cotta and displays six window bays each framed by engaged Ionic columns of glazed terra cotta. The bays are arched and feature paired, original eight-light double-leaf doors with multi-light sidelights. Above the openings are eight-light transoms topped by a half-round transom with egg and dart molding. At the top of each arch is an acanthus leaf keystone. Within the intrados of the arches are recessed blue glazed panels with bas-relief sculpted faces and the initial "H." In the corners, spandrels of each arch are cartouches. Terra cotta balustrades span the width of each window bay. Flanking the openings are paired marble Corinthian columns with an entablature of green glazed terra cotta featuring garland and swag designs, floral decoration, recessed panels and a continuous row of dentils.

Above the primary floor the building appears as a rhythm of three primary bays with each of the three containing two larger windows separated by two smaller windows. At the second-floor level of the primary facade, the fenestration treatment changes to rectangular two-over-two wood sash windows added in 2002. Situated in a brick inlaid panel the windows are framed by glazed panels with urns and wreaths. Between each primary window bay are two narrow, single-light windows. These windows are set within brick panels outlined by terra cotta bands with egg and dart molding. The third floor of the primary façade has six double-leaf, two-light glass and wood doors and two-light transoms. Each door has a balcony with a cast iron railing and terra cotta surround with architrave molding. Acanthus leaf brackets support the balcony and tie into a terra cotta belt course.

The fourth through seventh floors of the primary façade are identical and have window bays with glazed terra cotta sills and surrounds. Each window has a two-over-two wood sash window added in 2002. Between each window bay are paired narrow single-light windows with terra cotta sills. Above the seventh-floor windows is a terra cotta belt course.

The eighth floor has six window bays each with two-over-two rectangular wood sash windows. These windows are framed by terra cotta engaged Ionic columns and have simple entablatures and pediments. Each window features a balconette with a cast iron railing supported by acanthus leaf brackets. A terra cotta belt course connects with each balconette. Between the window bays on the eighth floor are diamond shaped brick panels and two small single-light windows.

The tenth or attic story has six bays of two-over-two wood sash windows with small cast iron rounded balconettes set within a continuous terra cotta belt course. Between the window bays are terra cotta panels with diamond-shaped inserts and small, narrow single-light windows. At the roofline is a terra cotta cornice with dentils and leaf and dart molding. This cornice originally featured projecting terra cotta panels of lion heads but these were deemed structurally unsound and removed in 1997. This cornice was replaced with a plain glass reinforced concrete cornice.

The north, or Union Street elevation, consists of a sloping ground floor with an exterior of stuccoed concrete on the ground floor and stretcher bond brick on the upper floors. This ground floor level has an entrance with solid wood double-leaf doors and at the northeast corner an original storefront display window. There are seven large

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arched window bays on the primary floor of this elevation with original multi-light windows, arched transoms and sidelights. The window at the northeast corner of this elevation carries on the balustrade treatment similar to that of the Sixth Street elevation. The window is framed by terra cotta panels and there are glazed panels in the intrados. The central four window bays are identical and are set within soldier course brick arches. These windows are multi-light glass and steel design with arched transoms and sidelights. The two window bays at the northwest corner of the building are rectangular in design with terra cotta surrounds and cornices. Above the windows are original blind brick arches with patterned brickwork and terra cotta plaques.

Dividing the primary and second floor is a terra cotta belt course with dentils and a Greek fret band. Windows on the second floor are rectangular, two-over-two wood sash. There are seven primary window bays on this floor with two bays of small two-over-two sash and two bays of narrow single-light paired windows. Above the second-floor windows is a terra cotta belt course.

Above the primary floor the building appears as a rhythm of four primary bays with each of the four containing three sash windows separated by two smaller single-light windows. Each primary window is two-over-two sash design with terra cotta surrounds and sills. Between the primary windows are small two-over-two sash windows with jack arches. The one notable exception is the bay at the northeast corner of the third floor which has paired double doors, a two-light transom and cast-iron balcony. This bay has a terra cotta surround and architrave molding.

The eighth floor of this elevation is similar to that of the Sixth Street façade and has two-over-two rectangular wood sash windows. These windows are framed by terra cotta engaged Ionic columns and have simple entablatures and pediments. Each window displays a small balcony with a cast iron railing and the balconies are supported by acanthus leaf brackets. A terra cotta belt course connects with each balcony and extends across the width of the façade. Between the window bays on the eighth floor are diamond shaped brick panels.

The tenth or attic story is also similar to the Sixth Street façade and has two-over-two wood sash windows with small cast iron elliptical balconies. The balconies are set within a continuous terra cotta belt course. Between the window bays are inset terra cotta diamond shaped panels and small, narrow single-light windows. At the roofline is a terra cotta cornice with dentils and leaf and dart molding. This cornice originally featured projecting terra cotta panels of lion heads but these were deemed structurally unsound and removed in 1997.

The west facade faces Anne Dallas Dudley Boulevard and is of stretcher bond brick with minimal terra cotta detailing. The first floor originally consisted of five arched window bays and an arched entrance bay at the southwest corner of the building. Four of the window bays remain intact but one was infilled with metal exhaust vents for the kitchen in 2002. The four window bays consist of original eight-over-eight wood sash windows with four-light transoms and terra cotta sills. Above the windows are soldier course lintels and the arches have round blind brick panels with inlaid herringbone patterns. The entrance bay at the southwest corner has glass and wood double doors added in 2002.

Dividing the first and second floors is a brick belt course. The upper floors have six bays of windows which are two-over-two rectangular sash design with terra cotta sills. Between the primary windows are narrow, single-light paired windows. Between the eighth and ninth stories is a brick belt course.

The south facade of the building abuts a parking garage built in 1981. This garage obscures the first four floors of the building. Above this level are two-over-two wood sash windows similar to those on the west elevation.

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The ground floor interior consists of the entrance vestibule and staircase which leads to the lobby. The walls along the grand staircase are clad in Sienna marble, while the staircase floor and that of the lobby consist of three types of distinctive Tennessee marble. The marble floor is patterned in a stair shape with contrasting shades of marble and a central panel with the "HH" logo. A large meeting room and gift shop flank this vestibule. A short hallway leads from the vestibule to two staircases which connect with the lower ground floor dining room (Capitol Grille), bar, kitchen and men's and women's restrooms. The wood staircase leading to the dining room was rebuilt in 2002. The dining room has a restored vaulted plaster ceiling, oak wood paneling, and oak hardwood floor. The men's restroom retains its original appearance from ca. 1930 and is located just off the dining room and bar area. Next to the men's restroom is a ladies restroom that was installed in 1980, replacing what was originally a barbershop in that space.

The first floor contains the major public spaces of the lobby and elevator lobby. A short flight of stairs on the west side of the lobby leads to the ballroom which was originally used as the hotel's main dining room. Two staircases on the east side of the lobby lead to the loggia level. The lobby, loggia, ballroom and elevator lobby were all restored to their original appearance as closely as possible during the 2002-2003 renovation.

The lobby has a floor to ceiling height of thirty feet and has a marble floor now covered with carpet and restored plaster walls and ceiling. The focal point of the lobby is its large, recessed painted glass skylight which has smaller painted-glass panels around its border. Separation between the skylight glass panels is made by plaster bound leaf moldings that have sculpted bosses at the intersections. Egg and dart and dentil moldings, cherubs seated on either side of a cartouche, and fruits and vegetables comprise the fascia which is formed by the recessed skylight. A guilloche motif band, with sculpted bosses situated at the column lines bounds the skylight. The lobby walls have rectilinear columns and pilasters faced with restored marble. Although the column capitals are square, the molding details reflect the exterior column capital treatment with egg and dart, dentils and leaf and dart molding. On the west wall is a fireplace with an original wood mantel and marble surround. On the north wall of the lobby is a staircase leading to the mezzanine level and the front desk. Just off the main lobby is the elevator lobby which has marble walls and pilasters. The passenger elevators are framed by brass surrounds.

Above the north wall of the lobby is the mezzanine level which has three open arches with brass balustrades. The intrados of the arches are adorned with ornamented coffers and plaques. The mezzanine level contains a series of offices, a meeting room, fitness center and restrooms.

The loggia is accessed by two staircases from the lobby which lead through arched doorways. These doors are original paired, eight-light design with multi-light arched transoms and sidelights. The loggia is distinguished by its vaulted ceiling between the Doric marble pilasters. The ceilings are cross-vaulted, and the groins of the barrel vaults and the cross vaults have restored plaster molding consisting of bound fruits and vegetables. In the spaces between the barrel vaults and above the column capitals there is profuse terra cotta ornamentation. Rectangular, triangular and octagonal coffers with egg and dart enrichment, fleur-de-lis designs, a cartouche with the initial "H," and leaf enrichment embellish this space. The pendant Art Deco-style light fixtures in the loggia were installed during the 2002 renovation, suspended from the ceiling at the locations of the original fixtures. Leading to the six balconies from the loggia are original multi-light doors with arched transoms and sidelights.

The Ballroom has a wood floor covered with carpet and extensive plaster ceiling ornamentation. The walls are of Circassian walnut panels to a height of twelve feet with plaster above. The recessed ceiling panels consist of modillions divided by coffered panels, dentils and egg and dart molding. Greek cross shaped coffers and smaller

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rectilinear coffers with ornate moldings and metal flowers surround the larger recessed panels. The varying panels are separated by Greek fret bands and metal bosses. The walnut panels are flanked by fluted Ionic wood pilasters. The door leading to the lobby has a wood cornice with egg and dart molding and dentils and a surround with a guilloche and rosettes.

The second to the ninth floors contain hotel rooms on each floor. Most floors have fifteen rooms, but the number varies depending on which floors have larger suites. The rooms are arranged around the central light well and are connected by a central corridor. The hotel originally contained 21 to 28 rooms on each floor. This floor plan was altered in the first rehabilitation of the building in 1980. Most original walls were removed and larger rooms and bathrooms, added. Each floor has a guest and service elevator lobby as well as two connecting staircases. The hotel rooms were reconfigured into their present design and with floor, wall and ceiling finishes in 2002-2003.

The Hermitage Hotel and Integrity Evaluation

Built in 1910, the Hermitage Hotel retains the integrity for National Historic Landmark designation. From its opening in 1910 until 1980, few major alterations occurred to the building. The most significant of these was the addition of Art Deco light fixtures in 1930 and the remodeling of the men's restroom in the lower level of the ground floor which is believed to have occurred the same year. The original glass and metal canopy over the Sixth Avenue, North entrance was removed in the 1940s and a new canopy and sign added. From the 1950s to the 1970s there were changes to the doors and some display window configurations along Sixth Avenue, North.

The 1980 rehabilitation project was completed in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*. This included repair and repointing of exterior brick and terra cotta, the removal of the entrance marquee, the replacement of the original windows with new wood windows to match, removal of added acoustical tile ceilings and floor surfaces and repair and refinishing of the interior wall surfaces and plaster. The project also included the retention and restoration of the men's restroom on the lower ground floor. All the hotel rooms were reconfigured with new ceiling, wall and floor finishes and all the original bathrooms were also removed and rebuilt with new finishes and fixtures.¹⁴⁵

A second rehabilitation project occurred in 1994-1995 and was also completed in compliance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*. Most of this work involved adding new mechanical systems, remodeling of the hotel rooms, some exterior repointing and repainting and restoration of interior features as needed.¹⁴⁶

The third rehabilitation was undertaken in 2002 and completed in 2003. This project did not utilize the historic tax credits but was the most substantial and costly project to date. Research was conducted to determine original paint colors and finishes. The rehabilitation included all new guest rooms and bathrooms, new wood windows to match the original, all new mechanical systems and restoration of the skylight, woodwork and plasterwork to their original finishes. New doors to match the original and a new glass and metal canopy based largely on the original design were added at the Sixth Avenue entrance. Since the 2003 rehabilitation, there have been no major changes or alterations to the hotel.

¹⁴⁵ Hermitage Park Suite (Hermitage Hotel), "Historic Preservation Certification Application, Part 2." Application on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, 1980.

¹⁴⁶ The Hermitage Hotel, "Historic Preservation Certification Application, Part 2." Application on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, 1995.

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The evaluation of the seven aspects of integrity is as follows:

- Location:* The location of the hotel has not changed since its construction in 1910.
- Design:* The hotel retains integrity of its original Beaux-Arts design including its exterior brick and terra cotta decoration, retention of original window and door openings and overall form and plan. The ornate interior design has been retained and restored in the primary public spaces. The hotel rooms have been reconfigured but continue to be accessed from a central corridor around a light well. The only major change to the original exterior design was the removal of the terra cotta cornice in 1997 due to its poor condition and safety considerations. Despite the loss of the cornice the overall original design of the building is evident.
- Setting:* The hotel retains its downtown commercial setting on Sixth Avenue North and Union Street.
- Materials:* The majority of the exterior materials of the building including the brick surface and terra cotta have been retained. The original windows were replaced in 1980 and 2002-2003 with new wood windows to match the original as closely as possible. The materials in the primary public spaces including marble, tile, plasterwork, and woodwork were restored in 2002-2003. In 1980, retention of the upper floor guest rooms was not economically viable, and they were removed, reconfigures, and replaced with new materials. The exterior and public spaces are considered the most significant features of the hotel and these materials have been preserved and restored.
- Workmanship:* The hotel's rehabilitations in 1980, 1995 and 2002-2003 retained the exterior brick and terra cotta features and their workmanship. The 2002-2003 rehabilitation was based on research of the original designs, finishes and colors of the interior public spaces and the original workmanship was retained and enhanced during the project.
- Feeling:* The hotel retains its feeling as an early twentieth century commercial hotel.
- Association:* The hotel retains its association with the city's commercial hotel history as well as efforts to ratify the 19th Amendment in the state of Tennessee, the last state needed for the Amendment to go into effect.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☒ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)
☐ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 75001749
2. Date of listing: June 30, 1975
3. Level of significance: Local
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A ☒ B ☐ C ☒ D ☐
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E ☐ F ☐ G ☐
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture and Politics/Government

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: | Date of determination: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Designated a National Historic Landmark: | Date of designation: |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: | HABS No. TN-271 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: | HAER No. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: | HALS No. |

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office: Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, TN
Other State Agency:
Federal Agency:
Local Government: Metropolitan Nashville Historical Commission, Nashville, TN
University:
Other (Specify Repository):

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