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THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN KANSAS

being

A thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the Fort Hays Kansas State College in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science

by

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ABSTRACT

Although the women of Kansas have had the right to vote for only about forty-five years, most women today take it for granted and look upon it as something which they have always had. This thesis shows the steps by which women received full suffrage from the very men whom they often antagonized by their methods, tactics, and attitudes. The author has also attempted to show that the right was not easily gained, but required the work of three intensive campaigns. In many instances, the greatest problem was the indifference of women themselves.

The data used in this thesis came from the newspaper files, books, and manuscript materials of the Kansas State Historical Society Library at Topeka, the newspaper files, books, and documents materials of the Forsyth Library at Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, and from personal interviews with people who remembered the last campaign.

In the appendix are tables and a map included to show the vote by counties on the proposed amendment in each election in which it was being considered.

Although it is impossible to equate the actual effect of woman suffrage on Kansas government, the author has pointed out some possible results of woman suffrage. Chief among these are an increased interest in government on the part of women as well as a responsible use of the suffrage.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history there have been many great movements of reform which have contributed to the world of the present day. From the first attempt in 1867 to the gaining of woman suffrage in Kansas in 1912, the story of the many campaigns for woman suffrage is of interest to the student of the history of human rights.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore some of the underlying factors which either helped or hindered the realization of woman's desire for enfranchisement. Among these are the many human strengths and weaknesses which are often at war with each other, not only in one individual, but in groups of individuals working together to achieve the same goal. The major emphasis is thus placed on the human factors in each campaign in Kansas and the effect of various methods on the proposed amendment to enfranchise women.

Method of Research

A study was made of the manuscript, book, and newspaper-clipping collections of the Kansas State Historical Society Library at Topeka. The newspaper files of this society were also examined.

A similar study was made of the newspaper files, magazines, and books of the Forsyth Library at Fort Hays Kansas State College.

A short interview with Miss Jessie Gemmel, Salina, Kansas, and many with Mrs. Corwin L. Smith, Gove, Kansas, were useful in defining many of woman's attitudes toward her political rights.

Letters were sent to individuals who might possess some information on the subject. These completed the research.

Related Research

Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper edited a series of books entitled The History of Woman Suffrage, which included chapters on the Kansas campaigns.

Inez Haynes Irwin wrote Angels and Amazons, in which she deals mainly with the national movement.

Doris Stevens wrote Jailed for Freedom, a book dealing chiefly with militant suffragists on the national level from 1913 to 1919, the period immediately following the gaining of suffrage by the women of Kansas.

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, in her book, Women in the Twentieth Century, includes a chapter entitled "Women As Voters."

Martha B. Caldwell wrote an article entitled "The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912," which appeared in The Kansas Historical Quarterly. Of course this article deals only with the final and successful campaign in Kansas.

In her master's thesis at the University of Kansas, entitled "A History of Woman Suffrage in Kansas," Mary O. Cowper gives the chronological order by which women of Kansas campaigned for and finally

gained suffrage. Since this was written in 1914, much of the manuscript material was not available to her.

Victory, How Women Won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840-1940, was prepared by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It is a somewhat condensed study of the movement and includes only brief references to Kansas.

Brief History of Woman Suffrage

The first expression of a desire for increased women's rights was in a letter written by Abigail Adams to John Adams, in 1776, when he was attending the Continental Congress. She wrote,

I long to hear that you have declared an independency, and, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire that you should remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors . . . If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation.¹

More than half a century passed before a formal declaration of women's rights was made, growing out of the unsuccessful attempts of several women to be admitted to the first World Anti-slavery convention held in London in 1840. Among these women, who were forced to sit in the gallery

¹Victory, How Women Won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840-1940 prepared by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1940), 3.

instead of taking part as legal delegates, were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, who resolved to hold a convention as soon as they returned home and form a society to advocate the rights of women.² For personal reasons, the plan of a convention was put aside until 1848, when they, along with Mrs. Martha Wright and Mary Ann McClintock, sent an unsigned notice to the Seneca County Courier of a Woman's Rights Convention to be held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19th and 20th.³ Several days prior to the meeting were spent in drawing up a declaration of women's rights and various resolutions to be presented to the convention.⁴

Although the call had invited only women to the convention, a large proportion of men appeared, mostly out of curiosity. The four who had called the meeting lacked the courage to organize or preside over it, and decided to make use of the men present. Thus James Mott was called upon to preside, Mary Ann McClintock was appointed secretary, and Lucretia Mott, accustomed to public speaking in the Society of Friends, stated the objects of the convention. All of the four ladies who had started the movement spoke, as did several of the men who were present.⁵

The declaration presented was the Declaration of Independence with the wording altered to suit the woman's cause. A few of its statements

²Ibid., 21.

³Ibid., 22-24.

⁴Ibid., 25.

⁵Ibid., 26.

follow:

We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men and women are created equal; . . . The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her . . .⁶

Foremost among the grievances listed was woman's inalienable right to the elective franchise. The document ended with these words:

Now in view of this entire disfranchisement of one half of the people of this country, their social and religious degradation, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States. In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object . . . We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions in every part of the country.⁷

Of the resolutions proposed after the Declaration, only one received opposition and that, championed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frederick Douglass, stated that it "is the duty of the women of the country to secure to themselves the sacred right of the franchise."⁸ Even Lucretia Mott objected, with the argument that it would make them ridiculous, but it was finally passed by a small majority.⁹ One hundred men and women signed the Declaration and resolutions, but on the following Sunday, there were denunciations from the pulpit and either ridicule or abuse from a

⁶Ibid., 27.

⁷Ibid., 27-28.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

large part of the press, and some of the signers withdrew their names, The meeting at Seneca Falls was adjourned and met two weeks later at Rochester, where the Declaration and resolutions were formally adopted.¹⁰

Two years later, at an Anti-slavery convention in Boston, word was passed around that those interested in having a national woman's rights convention would meet in an anteroom. Nine women met and planned for such a convention to be held in Worcester, Massachusetts, the following October.¹¹ Present at this first of the long series of national woman's rights conventions were two of the four women whose names were to become almost synonymous with the movement for women's rights. The two who did attend were Lucretia Mott and Lucy Stone. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was busy with her family and Susan B. Anthony was taking care of the family farm near Rochester. Much interested in the accounts of the convention, Miss Anthony was not yet convinced that equal rights included suffrage.¹² The uncertainty of a woman who was later to become one of the most persistent in her demand for suffrage is proof of how much had to be learned before the women's ambitions for rights were concentrated on the demand for the right to vote.

In her report to the Tenth National Woman's Rights Convention held at Cooper Union in New York, Susan B. Anthony said,

¹⁰Ibid., 30.

¹¹Ibid., 36-37.

¹²Ibid., 38.

Brave men and true . . . are now ready to help woman wherever she claims to stand. The press, too, has changed its tone. Instead of ridicule, we now have grave debate. And still more substantial praises of gold and silver have come to us . . . \$400,000 from Mr. Vassar of Poughkeepsie, to found a college for girls, equal in all respects to Yale and Harvard.¹³

She concluded with the declaration,

And from what is being done on all sides, we have reason to believe that, as the Northern states shall one by one remodel their constitutions, the right of suffrage will be granted to women.¹⁴

But Miss Anthony spoke too soon. Instead of an eleventh convention with reports of progress for the woman's cause, the following year found the nation embroiled in a Civil War which postponed the thoughts of woman suffrage. Although this put the woman's cause back, the work the women did during the Civil War, when new and varied responsibilities were forced upon them, and the courage and ability with which they discharged those responsibilities did more to shatter the old ideals of woman's sphere than centuries of agitation could have done. Men were surprised and grateful, and the women prepared to renew their campaign for the vote under what seemed happy auspices. To their dismay, their cause was mixed with the two controversial political questions of what to do with the freed Negro and how to keep the Republicans in control of the Southern states. In the Fourteenth Amendment, which indirectly

¹³Ibid., 43-44.

¹⁴Ibid., 44-45.

enfranchised the Negro, for the first time a voter was defined as a male.¹⁵

The women realized that if the Fourteenth Amendment passed in that form, their cause would be hindered. Therefore, the Women's Rights Convention, in 1866, voted to resolve itself into the American Equal Rights Association to work for suffrage for both women and Negroes. Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton stated that unless women were enfranchised when the question of suffrage was strongly before the country, public interest would turn to other things and women suffrage would be further delayed.¹⁶ But the men who had been their staunchest friends, Charles Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglas, stood against them with the argument, "This is the Negro's hour, the women's hour will come."¹⁷ Thus when the Fifteenth Amendment came before the country in 1869, the suffragists were divided. The abolitionists felt that the Negro should have first consideration; but a smaller group, led by Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton, stated they would back it if it included women, but otherwise they opposed it.¹⁸ This disagreement resulted in a split of the association. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton and their supporters organized the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869, with a membership of women only. They worked in the states

¹⁵Ibid., 49.

¹⁶Ibid., 50.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

when it seemed feasible, but they concentrated their main efforts on the Congress and introduced a woman suffrage amendment at every session. Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and their group later in the same year organized the American Woman Suffrage Association, with the emphasis placed on state work, since they felt that the Congress would not pay attention to women until there was a larger representation from states where women voted.¹⁹

The experiences of the suffragists working on a national level from 1848 to 1867 served as a pattern for those in the later Kansas movement. In addition, from 1867 to 1919, there was cooperation between the national organizations and the state organization working for woman suffrage.

The Woman Suffrage movement began in Kansas in 1859, when Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, Mother Armstrong, and Mary Tenney Gray sat in the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, unelected and uninvited, with their knitting in their hands, to try to have the word "male" left out of the franchise clause. Although they failed to accomplish this, the completed Kansas Constitution granted women many property rights, as well as equal control of common schools. School suffrage was extended to women by the first legislature, which met in 1861.²⁰

In 1867 the state legislature submitted a constitutional amendment for full suffrage for women. It had to divide honors with an amendment

¹⁹Ibid., 51.

²⁰Frank W. Blackmar (ed.), Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Etc. (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), II, 927.

for Negro suffrage, and the Impartial Suffrage Association was formed at Topeka on April 3, 1867, to work for both reforms. There was a hotly contested campaign but both amendments lost, woman suffrage being defeated by a vote of 19,857 to 9,070.²¹ The woman's amendment had received only 31% of the total vote.

The first strictly Kansas woman suffrage convention on record was held at Topeka on February 4, 1869, and an effort was made to revive the cause. But the women were disheartened by their defeat in 1867, and all organized effort died out for nearly ten years. The first organization preparatory for the second campaign was formed at Lincoln in Lincoln County, in 1879. It was called the Equal Suffrage Association, and began with three members, Mrs. Anna C. Wait, Mrs. Emily J. Biggs, and Mrs. Sarah E. Lutes. In 1884 the Lincoln County organization sent Helen M. Gougar to Washington, D. C., as a delegate from Kansas to work for a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution to allow women the ballot.²²

The Equal Suffrage Association became a state organization on June 25, 1884, with Mrs. Hetta P. Mansfield as president and Mrs. Anna C. Wait as vice-president at large. In 1885 a bill was introduced into the legislature to grant municipal suffrage. The women sent in petitions containing about 7,000 names, but the bill was defeated.²³

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., 928.

The second annual convention of the Equal Suffrage Association was held in October of 1885, and Mrs. Anna C. Wait was elected president. Miss Bertha Ellsworth was made state organizer, and preparation was made for another attempt to secure municipal suffrage, which was successful in 1887. At the next annual convention, Laura M. Johns was elected president of the association and held that office until after the campaign of 1893 and 1894. The suffrage amendment was submitted for the second time by the legislature of 1893 and came up for a vote at the general election in 1894. Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, Rachel Childs, Carrie Chapman Catt, Elizabeth Yates, Mary Ellen Lease, Mrs. Anna Diggs, Dr. Eva Harding, Laura M. Johns, and Mrs. Anna C. Wait were among the leaders of the campaign. With the threat of withdrawing their aid from the state, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Shaw forced the Kansas women, against their own judgment, to take the fatal step of asking the endorsement of the political parties. Since the Populist Party was the only one to endorse the amendment, the woman's cause depended on the fortunes of that party. The amendment was lost by a vote of 130,139 to 95,302.²⁴ The percentage of the total vote given the amendment for woman suffrage was 42, a gain of 11% since the first attempt in 1867.

Following the defeat, Mrs. Kate Addison was elected president and took up the cause of reconstructing the association and planning educational work on suffrage. The outlook was discouraging, and the women did not favor

²⁴Ibid.

asking for an amendment soon again, but some sort of suffrage bill was introduced by most of the following legislatures. In 1900 Mrs. Anna Diggs, Dr. Eva Harding, and Mrs. Frank Doster were sent to Washington, D. C., to assist in lobbying for a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution to enfranchise women.²⁵

In 1902 Helen Kimber became leader of the Kansas suffrage association. All that was accomplished during her administration was purely educational and preparatory. In 1905 Sadie P. Gresham became president. A presidential suffrage bill was introduced but defeated in the legislature of that year, as it was in 1907 and at the special session of 1908, when Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe was president of the association, and again in 1909.²⁶

It was then decided to introduce a bill to submit the suffrage amendment for the third time. Catherine Hoffman of Enterprise called a meeting of the executive board in December, 1909, to make plans for the work in the legislature. The suffrage headquarters in the state house were opened, with Lilla Day Monroe as chairman of the campaign committee, and the campaign was launched through the columns of the Club Member, which was the official organ of the Equal Suffrage Association.²⁷ At the convention in May, 1911, held in Topeka, Mrs. W. A. Johnston was elected president,

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

Mrs. W. R. Stubbs, first vice-president, Cora Bullard, second vice-president, Miss Helen Eacker, recording secretary, Mrs. S. A. Thurston, treasurer, and Mrs. William Allen White, auditor.²⁸ The executive board held a meeting in July of that year to plan for the complete organization of the state. The watchwords of the campaign were "Organization, Education, and Publicity."²⁹ In this movement, the Kansas women were determined to run their own campaign and they withdrew from the National association. They carried on a very extensive and successful campaign, and the amendment was adopted in the 1912 election by a vote of 175,246 to 159,197, with the woman's cause receiving over 52% of the total vote on the question.³⁰

After their success, the women of Kansas held a Jubilee Convention in May, 1913, at Lawrence. The constitution was revised and the name of the association was changed to The Good Citizenship League.³¹ In the months that followed, educational work and helpful interest in other states campaigning for woman suffrage was carried forward.³² At their annual meeting in December, 1915, in Topeka, resolutions were drawn up urging a congressional delegation to use all honorable means to put the federal suffrage amendment through. In 1916 the name of the association

²⁸ Mrs. W. A. Johnston, "History of Woman Suffrage," unpublished manuscript, "Woman Suffrage Files," Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka, 7. (Typewritten)

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ "Woman Suffrage Clippings," Vol. 4, Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (No pages are given for these clippings.)

³¹ Johnston, op. cit., 13.

³² Ibid., 14.

was changed back to the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, because they felt the other name led to confusion.³³ There had been several attempts to form a militant suffrage organization in Kansas under the name of The Congressional Union, but with little success.³⁴ The women seemed to be having difficulty deciding what name their organization should use, and when the national association changed its name to The League of Women Voters, the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association became the Kansas League of Women Voters, at their convention in 1919 at Wichita.³⁵

On June 4, 1919, Congress, after a fifty-three-years' fight, finally passed a joint resolution proposing a woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. Telegrams were sent by suffrage leaders to governors of states where ratification would require the calling of special legislative sessions, urging them to call such sessions. Governor Henry Allen of Kansas was one of the first to give a favorable response.³⁶ It was a matter of state pride that Kansas, which had seven years before granted the right of suffrage to the limit of its own powers, should ratify promptly and not wait until the next regular session, which would have been nearly two years later.³⁷ The approval of the legislatures of

³³Ibid., 16.

³⁴Ibid.,

³⁵Ibid., 19.

³⁶Victory, How Women Won It, 143.

³⁷William E. Connelley (compiler), History of Kansas: State and People (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1928), II, 754.

three-fourths of the states necessary for the ratification of an amendment to the Federal Constitution was secured when the Tennessee legislature voted approval in August, 1920. On August 26, 1920, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby signed the proclamation of the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution.³⁸ Women of the forty-eight states were thus voters on an equal basis with men.

³⁸Victory, How Women Won It, 151-153.

CHAPTER II

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

There were numerous arguments for woman suffrage presented by the men and women who took part in the movement in Kansas. They range from sound, logical reasons to what could only be termed ridiculous claims, and include reasons ranging from those based on the demand as a natural right to those based on the need for reform in the government.

Women's Arguments

In the first place, some women demanded the right to vote as a natural right which men were denying them. The movement was referred to as a part of the world's evolution of democracy, with the same reasons for existence as that of each preceding struggle for male suffrage, presenting no new arguments, but merely repeating the old.¹

A lady who actually voted at a general election more than thirty years before woman suffrage was extended by law possibly was able to do so because of her ability to quote extracts from the laws of Kansas in relation to her right to vote for school officers. She asked for the ballot in order to cast her vote for Sarah A. Brown, the Democratic candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1880. She concluded by saying,

¹Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Will of the People," The Forum, XLIII (June, 1910), 595.

Gentlemen of the election board, I do not ask to deposit this ballot I hold in my hand as a favor -- as a boon, but as an American citizen of lawful age and of legal attainments. I demand to deposit it as a right.²

She was permitted to vote, although in cases arising elsewhere in the state, women were not permitted to vote for any state officer, including Superintendent of Public Instruction, the court's decision being that school suffrage granted by the legislature did not extend to state officers.³

Probably the most sensible argument in favor of woman suffrage was that concerning the protection of their legal, property, education, and family rights. Many women, because of some bitter experience, had decided that men, who were supposedly protecting them, were not doing so well. The Kansas Constitution granted women equal control of common schools, equal educational rights and privileges in all the state schools and institutions of learning, equal right with the father to the control and custody of their children, and protection in person, property, and earnings for married women and widows the same as for men. These rights were far in advance of what the women of other states enjoyed, but they were not granted freely by the men who drew up the Kansas Constitution at Wyandotte in 1859. They were the result of the work of a few interested

²The Osawatomie Times, November 4, 1880, from "Woman Suffrage Clippings," III in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Clippings" No pages are given for these clippings.)

³C.F.W. Dassler, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the State of Kansas (Saint Paul: West Publishing Company, 1884), V, 133-134.

men and women who took the time to circulate petitions asking for a recognition of woman's rights. The objective of Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols and those who supported her was equal rights, including the right to vote. Although this was not accomplished at that time, it must be admitted that their efforts were not in vain, because they had at least made a beginning in the direction of their goal.⁴ There was some disagreement on whether or not the equal control of schools included the right to vote at school elections, but this was settled when the legislature, at its first session, passed a law granting that right to women.⁵ Mrs. Nichols, who is given credit for this generous treatment of the women of Kansas by its constitution, had come from Vermont, where she had suffered injustice under that state's laws because her first husband was a drunkard who failed to support her and their two sons, and there was no law to aid her. For that reason she had divorced him at a time when divorce was frowned upon by most people.⁶ Women who had been denied the right to higher education were also interested, as were those who had struggled for the right to enter such professions as the ministry, law, and medicine.

⁴Kansas Constitutional Convention, A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, Imri Zumwalt, State Printer, 1920), 72-76; 122; 698.

⁵General Laws of the State of Kansas passed at the First Session at the Capitol, March 26, 1861 (Lawrence: "Kansas State Journal" Steam Power Press Print, 1861), 261.

⁶Topeka Journal, March 2, 1939, from "Wyandotte County Clippings," (In the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.), VII, 9-10.

The old cry against taxation without representation was also used, as were references to government by the consent of the governed. In 1874, the Topeka Woman Suffrage Association passed a resolution suggesting that, since our forefathers had resisted taxation without representation by treating the British to cold tea in Boston harbor, the women of free America should protest against their husbands', fathers', and brothers' monopolizing the ballot box under penalty of being treated to cold coffee for the rest of their lives.⁷ Although this resolution was ridiculous, behind it was the claim that it was as unjust for women to be taxed when they had no vote as it was for our forefathers to be taxed with no representation in Parliament. Men's insisting that they were representing the women in government did nothing to lessen woman's demand for suffrage. In fact, the women's argument gained importance as more women went into various professions and fields of labor and as state laws gave them protection of property as well as the right to inherit a part of their husband's property.

The suffragists' insistence that woman needed moral protection eventually brought her the support of many ministers and prohibitionists. In the early years of the campaign, the dry agitators refused to permit women to work with them;⁸ but after the Civil War, the Kansas legislature

⁷Minutes of November 13, 1874 from "Woman Suffrage Association of Topeka Constitution, By-Laws and Minutes from November, 1867 to November, 1875," in files on Woman Suffrage in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Files").

⁸Inez Haynes Irwin, Angels and Amazons (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1933), 73.

granted women some control over the issuing of liquor licenses by a law of 1867 which required a prospective dealer to obtain the signatures of a majority of the citizens, both men and women, in the township or city, before he could secure a liquor license.⁹ Therefore the prohibitionists became more than willing to speak out for woman's rights as opposed to the liquor interests, which fought the movement. Women who felt it was necessary for woman to vote in order to protect the wives and children of heavy drinkers took part in the suffrage movement and at the same time were members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, because the two movements seemed aimed toward the same objective. It was pointed out that in the case of a husband and father who spent too much for drink, the woman could use her ballot in the interest of temperance laws which would help make it impossible for him to squander their money on liquor. It is no wonder that the liquor interests were willing to spend thousands of dollars against the movement. In the final campaign for an amendment to the Kansas Constitution giving women the right to vote, the Kansas Women's Christian Temperance Union pledged its support and voted to work for woman's suffrage as its main objective and to continue working for it until the right was granted.¹⁰

⁹The Laws of the State of Kansas Passed at the Seventh Session of the Legislature (Leavenworth: Printed at the Bulletin Book and Job Office, R. A. Barker, Sec. of State, 1867), 93.

¹⁰Minutes of January 28, 1910 from "Minutes of Kansas Equal Suffrage Association," "W. S. Files."

Thus a strong, going organization, with members experienced in campaigning for a cause, put all its influence on the side of the equal suffrage associations of the state.

While some people argued that women could do more for the country by bringing their children up to be good, moral citizens,¹¹ the suffragists argued that they could do more with the right to vote, because they could not only help get laws passed that would safeguard morals, but also learn more about the affairs of the government and then teach their children what they had learned by experience to prepare them for responsible citizenship.¹² It seemed strange indeed to many women given the responsibility of training young citizens at home and in school, that they were looked upon by so many as not being capable of casting an intelligent ballot.

Some women were very positive in the belief of their superiority to men. They argued that, if given the right to vote and take part in politics, they could definitely improve the government. With the right to vote, women would secure better laws, more honest politics, and a cleaner government. They pointed to the men's claim that the polls were not a decent place for women, as proof of the bungling job they had done in their control of the government. The women insisted that woman's presence would change that.¹³

¹¹Gove County Republican-Gazette, June 20, 1912.

¹²"Woman Suffrage Leaflet," December 1, 1890, "W. S. Files."

¹³Mrs. Lottie Davis, Letter to the Gove County Republican-Gazette, June 27, 1912.

Some leaders of the suffrage movement insisted that it was degrading to woman to deny her the right to vote, because it placed her in a class with the undesirables of society. To emphasize this point, Mrs. Henrietta Briggs-Wall of Hutchinson made a painting of five figures and called it "American Woman and Her Political Peers." In the center of the painting, representing the typical American woman, was the face of Frances Willard; at upper left, an idiot; at upper right, a brutal-looking convict; at lower left, an Indian in chief's dress; and at lower right, an insane man. This picture was to be on exhibition in the Kansas building at the Chicago World's fair in 1893.¹⁴ Others felt it was humiliating because the ignorant slave race was granted the right to vote through no effort of their own, while women were denied the right in spite of all their efforts.¹⁵

Those interested in all types of social reform argued that women were more concerned with the welfare of children, labor, and the unfortunate. For them to be able to bring about legislation needed to improve conditions, women needed the ballot. Laws to regulate child labor and laws to give the women in the field of labor outside the home a better deal would come only with woman suffrage. As authorities, this group could point to the well-known and respected social reformer, Jane Addams,¹⁶ as well as to Margaret Hill McCarter, who predicted in a

¹⁴Topeka Daily Capital, (September 9, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," III.

¹⁵Mrs. W. A. Johnston, "History of Woman Suffrage" unpublished manuscript, "W. S. Files." (Typewritten.)

¹⁶Wichita Eagle, May 7, 1912, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

sermon that the time would come when the right to suffrage would be considered a simple Christian duty.¹⁷

Industrial labor at first opposed woman suffrage; but it changed sides in the argument when the laborers became convinced that woman's vote could be used to improve their condition. More women were in industry, and it was pointed out that low wages paid to women tended to keep men's wages down.¹⁸ This labor problem, however, was of little importance in the Kansas campaigns for woman suffrage, because Kansas had chiefly an agricultural economy.

Men's Arguments

There were some men who agreed with the ladies that suffrage was a natural right of adult citizens in a democracy.¹⁹ They were ashamed of the fact that, in a country which prided itself on being democratic, half of the population had no voice in the government -- a government based on the idea of the consent of the governed. These men also pointed out the inconsistency of taxing a woman's property, when she had nothing to say about the laws which levied the taxes.²⁰ To give this argument prestige, they used the following quotation from Abraham Lincoln's remarks

¹⁷The Topeka Daily Capital, April 22, 1894.

¹⁸Ida Husted Harper (ed.), History of Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, c. 1922,) V, 96.

¹⁹J. D. McClure, letter to S. N. Wood, corresponding secretary of the Impartial Suffrage Association, June 15, 1867, "W. S. Files."

²⁰Ottawa Journal, May 31, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

on suffrage, "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women."²¹ Some men, demanding equal rights for all, did not elaborate upon reasons that woman should be allowed to vote, but simply stated that the reasons were the same as those for which a man should be allowed that privilege.²² In a debate in the United States House of Representatives, a Kansas Republican declared that it was time man learned that woman was neither a slave nor an angel, but a human being entitled to be treated with ordinary common sense.²³

In reply to the argument that politics was a muddy pool in which woman should not dirty her skirts, some men argued that if such were the case, the men should be ashamed. They felt that giving woman the vote would purify the ballot and help bring men out of the mire of politics. Woman's vote would be for peace, good laws, good order, and good government.²⁴ Woman's attendance at church was pointed to as proof that she had higher ideals than man. Her good influence would be shown in the enactment of laws which would settle the liquor question in the right way,

²¹Lucy Browne Johnston, "Woman Suffrage in Kansas," Scrapbook of unsorted clippings in Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.

²²Thomas Garner, letter to Gove County Republican-Gazette, June 20, 1912.

²³Doris Stevens, Jailed for Freedom (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), 256.

²⁴Major Harrison, "Why You Should Vote for It," The Topeka Mail, October 5, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," III.

improve the position of labor, and protect the children.

Although most ministers had opposed woman suffrage in the early campaign, chiefly because they objected to woman's speaking in public, it wasn't long before they apparently noticed that a majority of their congregations were women and felt assured that their votes would be for good government and Christian laws, especially concerning the liquor problem. At three of the four Methodist conferences in the state in 1894, the bishops endorsed woman suffrage. The fourth bishop completely avoided the question.²⁵ During the campaign of 1912, many ministers preached sermons in favor of woman suffrage. The chief reason they presented for favoring the reform was that it would provide a moral uplift.²⁶ At least one minister looked upon it as the "logical and inevitable outcome of our democratic principles of government."²⁷ It is easy to see what help a minister could render to the cause when he was willing to inject into his sermons a plea to the men to vote for woman suffrage.

Some of the leaders in Kansas education also favored the ballot for women. At the National Education Association meeting in Denver in 1909, John McDonald, editor of the Western School Journal of Topeka, referred to the fact that 55 out of 100 county superintendents in Kansas

²⁵The Topeka Daily Capital, April 22, 1894.

²⁶The Topeka Daily Capital, November 4, 1912.

²⁷Wichita Eagle, June, 1912, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

were women, yet women couldn't vote for them. He felt this was an inconsistency which should be corrected.²⁸ In a speech at a banquet in 1910, Professor W. H. Carruth of Kansas University said that there were no arguments against it, only prejudices and attitudes. He referred to the two attitudes of pride and fear - pride that prevented giving woman the vote to make her man's equal, fear that it would change her feminine nature.²⁹ Chancellor Frank Strong, also of Kansas University, felt that if women were in the legislature, the state schools would be improved, because the women would realize the importance of the care of educational institutions.³⁰ Other educators who supported woman suffrage included Joseph H. Hill, president of the State Normal School and H. J. Waters, president of the Kansas State Agricultural College.³¹

It was also argued that it was because of woman's weaknesses that she should have the right to vote. It was claimed that woman, lacking the physical strength to protect herself, should have the ballot to make up for the deficiency. As their idol, John Stuart Mill, had stated

²⁸The Topeka Daily Capital, July 6, 1909.

²⁹Topeka Journal, 1910, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

³⁰Lawrence World, March 16, 1911, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

³¹"Headquarters Bulletin," April 15, 1912, Woman Equal Suffrage Association, "W. S. Files."

All human beings have the same interest in good government: the welfare of all is affected by it, and they have equal need of a voice in it, to secure their share of its benefits. If there is any difference women require it more than men, since, being physically weaker, they are more dependent on law and society for protection.³²

Some men were undoubtedly looking at woman through rose colored glasses and expecting miraculous results from woman suffrage. An example of man's opinion along this line can be seen in a letter written during the campaign of 1867 to the corresponding secretary of the Impartial Suffrage Association. He stated that his heart was in the work because, "I see sin abroad in the land which only woman can stop. Unfetter her hands and her soul and she will correct the evils which affect her."³³ A more realistic view of the reform can be seen in the following quote from a Topeka man in 1894, "Full suffrage to women would not work any great revolution in existing laws, but it would encourage and strengthen the better enforcement of all laws for morality, sobriety and good government."³⁴

³²Mrs. J. O. Henry, paper submitted to Matron's Department, The (Johnson County) Patron, December 31, 1885, "W. S. Clippings," III.

³³Joel Moody, letter to S. N. Wood, April 8, 1867, "W. S. Files."

³⁴Harrison, loc. cit.

CHAPTER III

ARGUMENTS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Many people of today do not realize what a controversial subject woman suffrage was in this state from 1859 to 1912. Women have been voting in Kansas for more than forty years, and a majority of our citizens regard woman suffrage as something we have always had. But the fact remains that there were many and varied arguments presented by the men and women who were opposed to the movement. Although a few of those arguments may still appear sensible to some people, most of them are more likely to be looked upon as ridiculous.

Women's Arguments

Some women insisted that to give woman the right to vote would be taking her out of her sphere. They believed that woman's place was in the home, and if she gained the right to vote she would neglect the home and spend her time electioneering and in other ways meddling in the troubled, dirty pool of politics.¹ Even though they had not been near a polling place on election day, they were positive it was not the place for a lady, for the men had told them so. It seems strange that such women would marry, for they certainly didn't think that their husbands, when they returned from the polls, could wash off the filth of politics

¹The Kansas City Times, November 30, 1894, from "Woman Suffrage Clippings," III, in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Clippings." No pages are given for these clippings.)

simply by taking a bath. Surely their close association with them at home would contaminate them as much as going to the polls with their husbands to mark a ballot and drop it in the ballot box. But perhaps the examples they had seen of some club women who did neglect their homes and families were enough to convince them of the danger involved in such a drastic change as permitting women to take part in politics.

Others argued that woman was not suited for a part in politics because of her natural weaknesses. These weaknesses included such things as emotionalism and sentimentalism, as well as a physical inferiority to man. Woman was pointed to as a fragile, dainty creature who objected to being thrust into politics. It would unsex woman to put her into activities hitherto monopolized by man.²

Another argument used by the anti-suffragist was that if woman gained the right to vote, she would lose all of the little courtesies that men were accustomed to extending to her, such as opening doors, picking up dropped handkerchiefs, and tipping their hats.³ Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols replied to such arguments by stating that she was not satisfied with the chivalry which honored and protected women

²Hattie McCoy North, "Weaknesses of Women," The Kansas Magazine, (February, 1872), 135-138.

³Gove County Republican-Gazette, October 17, 1912.

. . . by taking off its hat, giving its seat, or carrying a feather-fan for the ladies of its set, but leaving the poor, over-whelmed, ill-clad laboring women to contend with the drunkard-maker and his backers for bread and shelter.⁴

One lady who was afraid of losing these courtesies from men by voting apparently did not think it applied to holding office, since she said that although she did not believe in woman suffrage, she felt that it was right for a woman to be elected to such offices as was befitting to her knowledge. She also stated that it would do no good to give woman the right to vote because the women who could cast an intelligent ballot would stay home in many places because they would be outnumbered by those who could not have the right to enter the booth. She obviously had little faith in her own sex. She further expressed a desire to see a means of keeping men of ill-fame from voting for the "upbuilding of mankind."⁵ Perhaps she too was a reformer at heart.

Some anti-suffragists warned that it would be a grave mistake to grant woman suffrage because the foreign-born women would not vote against immigration, that German women would vote for beer, and Irish women would vote for whiskey.⁶ This group apparently believed in their own superiority, not on the basis of sex, but on the basis of nationality. Yet they apparently saw no inconsistency in the law which permitted an alien man to vote shortly after his arrival simply by declaring his intention of becoming a citizen.

⁴Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, letter to the editor, The (Topeka) Commonwealth, September 10, 1869, "W. S. Clippings," III.

⁵Gove County Republican-Gazette, May 9, 1912.

⁶Ottawa Journal, July 19, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

Another fear of some who opposed the movement was that concerning its effect on marriage and home life. They were certain that giving women the right to vote would be harmful because it would increase the number of divorces.⁷ Obviously this group felt that politics would prove to be just another point over which husbands and wives would have bitter disagreements.

Some women, probably those of wealthy families, who had all of their wants satisfied, felt that they would lose by being given equal political rights because it would bring them down from the pedestals to which they had become accustomed.⁸ Of course this reason would not be given by a woman of the laboring class who was being taxed and otherwise governed without her consent or representation, in addition to being paid less than a man for the same work.⁹ But some of the anti-suffragists felt this was only right, because they believed that men excelled women in all branches of work.¹⁰ The belief that woman and man lived in completely different spheres, woman's sphere being above and apart from man's sphere, thus kept many women from wanting the right to vote, for they were convinced that giving woman equal rights would pull her down on

⁷Gove County Republican-Gazette, October 17, 1912.

⁸Atchison Globe, February 9, 1911, "W. S. Clippings," IV, and Gove County Republican-Gazette, May 9, 1912.

⁹The (Atchison) Daily Champion, November 8, 1884, from Clippings on "Social Science Club Kansas and Western Missouri, 1881-1885, 228, in Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "S. S. Club Clippings.")

¹⁰ Ibid.

a par with man. Some men, whether they believed in the superiority of woman or not, used this as an excuse to keep her out of such a filthy thing as politics. Women of today should be thankful that not all men were willing to swallow such arguments.

Men's Arguments

There were many arguments against woman suffrage presented by the men who fought the movement. Some of their arguments seem logical, but others only appear ridiculous. This may have been intentional, since some men believed that they could ridicule the women until they were willing to give up the demand for the right to vote. There were man suffrage associations organized in some states for the purpose of preventing woman suffrage. In Kansas there was no such organization, although it was reported that Mr. E. V. Eskridge of Emporia was talking about starting one.¹¹ However, many of the arguments used by the men of Kansas came from the numerous pamphlets and other materials published by these associations and such groups as the liquor interests and the employers of labor.¹² In some isolated cases, an argument presented was simply the opinion and ideas of a single man.

In the first place, it was argued that only man should have the

¹¹H. B. Norton, letter to S. N. Wood, corresponding secretary of the Impartial Suffrage Association, August 14, 1867, in files on Woman Suffrage in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Files.")

¹²Ida Husted Harper (ed.), History of Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, C. 1922), V, xviii.

right to vote because of his natural superiority to woman, coming from the fact that Adam was created, then Eve was made from his rib. This seemed proof enough that man was more important, that he should be lord and master of the home, and that woman should be subject to him in all things. After all, "God did not make man for woman, but woman for man, and bid her be obedient to him," wrote a man from Gove County.¹³

Since woman's place was in the home, where her only purpose was to look after the comfort of her husband and their children, to give her the right to vote would be to take her out of her sphere. As warning of the dangers of an excitable and emotional suffrage, men who used this argument declared that the areas in which the heart should be supreme belonged to woman -- the realm of sentiment, of love, and of holier and kindlier attributes that made the name of "wife, mother and sister next to the name of God himself, but it is not in harmony with suffrage and has no place in government."¹⁴ This implied that there was no place in government for Christian principles. In fact, one gentleman expressed the fear that woman suffrage would result in clerical rule, because the clergy had more control over women than their husbands. He claimed to fear the result because he felt that the clergy was impractical.¹⁵ Thus some men appeared to imply that woman's sphere was superior to man's sphere in some ways. The committee which reported on the petitions presented

¹³N. L. Nelson, letter, Gove County Republican-Gazette, June 20, 1912.

¹⁴Ida Husted Harper (ed.), History of Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, c. 1922), VI, 874.

¹⁵Atchison Globe, February 9, 1911, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

to the Wyandotte Convention by Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols and others said that woman had greater and more complicated responsibilities than man, therefore she had no time to spend on politics.¹⁶ Perhaps they actually believed what they said, but it seems more likely that they were trying to pacify woman by flattering her and giving her a false feeling of importance. Elizabeth Cady Stanton objected to having men tell her what was woman's sphere. She argued that it was man's own doing if women were unreasonable, for the men had been governing them, and educating them for six thousand years. By stating that there was no reasoning with a woman, they admitted their failure. Mrs. Stanton felt the time had come for woman to mark out her own sphere.¹⁷

In reply to the claim that woman needed the ballot to protect her rights, some men stated that woman was not to worry about that, because her rights were safe in the hands of the men. For examples of man's generosity, they pointed to the increasing number of legislatures which had been enacting laws for the protection of woman's property and other rights.¹⁸ On the contrary, some men argued, it was for woman's own protection that she was being kept out of politics, which was an unpleasant part of man's sphere. They contended that it would lower the standing of women to mingle with "the rude and unscrupulous element around earnest

¹⁶Kansas Constitutional Convention, A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention which framed the Constitution at Wyandotte in July, 1859 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, Imri Zumwalt, State Printer, 1920), 169.

¹⁷Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Manuscript of the first Speech delivered by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in Kansas, 1867," "W. S. Files".

¹⁸Kansas Constitutional Convention, loc. cit.

and exciting elections."¹⁹ John Bunyan Adams stated that, although in theory we had a government by the people, those who were realistic admitted that our government was not run by people, but by political parties. He also insisted that woman could not reform politics, because she did not have time to attend caucuses and primaries.²⁰

A more practical argument presented by men was that if woman was permitted to exercise political rights, she would do so to the detriment of her home and family. They feared that she would become so interested in the field of politics that it would take all of her time and keep her out of the home, causing her to neglect her husband and children. For proof, they spoke of the "local Cady Stantons who thought more of galaruping about than of home duties," and the "Lucy Stone stripe of political and business mixers whose husbands and children had no real homes."²¹ References were also made to woman's natural tendency to gad, as shown in their club activities, pointing out the "problem of Mary Lease and Annie Diggs as being abnormal developments of club rights' wives."²² Some men seemed to believe that the time

¹⁹Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1902), IV, 653.

²⁰Topeka Journal, February 12, 1903, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

²¹The (Junction City) Union, August 26, 1882, "W. S. Clippings," III.

²²Wichita Eagle, n.d. from Clippings on Kansas State Social Science Federation, 1895-1904, 127-128, in Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "Clippings, Social Science Federation").

required to cast a ballot was too lengthy for a woman to be away from her home duties. Undoubtedly they expected a woman voter to spend all day at the polls as many men were doing.

The double fear of an increase in the number of divorces and a decrease in the number of marriages was expressed by some men. They were afraid that not only would the married woman neglect the home, but that also the single woman would refuse to marry, because of her increased independence.²³ They also warned of trouble which would result if a woman held political views different from those of her husband.²⁴ It was taken for granted by this group that men and women would not be able to agree on politics because they could not agree on many matters of less importance. There must have been a great number of bickering husbands and wives in Kansas from 1867 to 1912 if the fear of just another topic for disagreement was as great as it seemed to be. One man boldly stated that whenever he saw a woman demanding the right to vote, he knew that there was trouble in that home.²⁵

Some men insisted that giving woman the right to vote in order to reform politics would do no good, because the vote of the bad woman would only neutralize the vote of the good woman.²⁶ Woman suffrage was

²³Ibid.

²⁴N. L. Nelson, loc. cit.

²⁵Reminiscences of Mrs. Corwin L. Smith, Gove, personal interview.

²⁶Ottawa Journal, May 31, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

unnecessary also because a woman would simply vote as her husband did; it would only double the number of votes, entailing more expense for ballots and counting boards, therefore it would double the cost of elections, which already cost too much.²⁷ The women could easily retort that a man who argued this way was more intent on the cost of government in a democracy than on its justness.

It was also argued that woman was unfit to rule. Some men believed that if women were permitted to vote, they would also want to run for office and the first thing the men knew, women would have taken over. They argued that the demand for female suffrage was largely confined to the ambitious, office-seeking class and warned if it were granted it would make these women unfit for the duties of domestic life and transform them into dangerous politicians.²⁸ Thus it would result in unequal suffrage, because if women's votes made the laws different, men would be ruled by women.²⁹ Female rulers in history and literature were pointed to as horrible examples of what to expect when women ran the government.³⁰ And yet, at this time, a majority of men in many counties were electing women to the offices of county superintendent of public instruction, county clerk, and register of deeds, as well as others. Some men were obviously willing

²⁷Smith, loc. cit.

²⁸Anthony and Harper, loc. cit., IV, 653.

²⁹The Topeka Daily Capital, November 4, 1893.

³⁰Doris Stevens, Jailed for Freedom (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), 256.

to concede woman's ability to conduct the affairs of government, even if they were denying her fitness for suffrage.

It was also stated that woman had vague ideas of the limitations of government, of business, and financial matters. Some men feared that because of her desire for reform, woman would attempt to make sweeping changes, not taking into consideration the practical attitude which admitted that such changes would cost too much. They felt that woman, who sometimes had difficulty in balancing her household budget, would certainly get the government finances into difficulty. In addition, they argued, woman knew nothing about the workings of politics.³¹ They failed to mention that those failings were undoubtedly due to the fact they had not permitted woman to learn anything about such matters. Because they feared its effect on the government, some men of the legal profession opposed woman suffrage. Many of them claimed that they were in favor of woman, but they refused to support her demand for the right to vote because the reforms which woman demanded, "being fundamental, would destroy the harmony of the statutes."³²

Perhaps one of the most ridiculous arguments presented by the men was that it would unsex woman to give her the right to vote. They pointed to the masculinity of some of the leaders in the movement as examples of

³¹Ottawa Journal and Triumph, April 19, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

³²Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (second edition, Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1889), I, 193.

what to expect. C. K. Overman of Leavenworth stated that he agreed with Senator John J. Ingalls when he said that woman suffrage was generally advocated by "long-haired men and short-haired women, the unsexed of both sexes."³³ In the case of some suffrage speakers, the men couldn't say that all strong-minded women were examples of masculinity, so they inconsistently argued that "Lucy Stone is too masculine and Miss (Olympia) Brown too effeminate."³⁴ Closely related to this argument was the claim of some men that they were opposed to woman suffrage on the grounds of propriety. One gentleman favored giving woman the right to vote, but he felt it was not becoming to female modesty to insist and contend for it.³⁵ He thus implied that if women would quit asking for the ballot, he would be in favor of giving it to them. Some men opposed with what might be termed passive resistance. For example, when a gentleman from Junction City was asked to take part in the campaign of 1867, he refused, stating that if Lucy Stone came to his city he would hear the lecture but would in no way "give her further aid and comfort."³⁶ He was only one of the many who listened to the speeches and applauded the speakers at suffrage meetings, then went to the polls and voted against woman suffrage.

Taking it upon themselves to speak for the women, some men stated that they opposed woman suffrage because most of the women did not want

³³The Topeka Daily Capital, May 10, 1890, "W. S. Clippings," III.

³⁴George Roberts, letter to S. N. Wood, July 26, 1867, "W. S. Files."

³⁵W. H. McClure, letter to S. N. Wood, June 21, 1867, "W. S. Files."

³⁶S. M. Strickler, letter to S. N. Wood, April 7, 1867, "W. S. Files."

for suffrage and one which not all men could meet. A man from Wichita warned that woman's rights, woman suffrage, and woman's clubs were just steps tending toward Socialism or a communistic equality.⁴¹

The final argument against woman suffrage which men used was that suffrage was a privilege extended by the government, not a natural right. As such, they believed that the privilege or right should be granted only to those strong enough to defend it. Senator John J. Ingalls said that all governments were based on force, no matter what was said about the consent of the governed.⁴² The group which argued this way felt that, since only men served in the armies to defend the country, only men should be permitted to decide how the government should be run. It would seem that these gentlemen felt that might makes right and that brawn counts more than brain. As could be expected, women were quick to take up this argument and refer to the many animals which are stronger than man, yet certainly not better qualified than man to govern.

⁴¹Wichita Eagle, n.d., "Clippings, Social Science Federation," 127-128.

⁴²The (Topeka) Commonwealth, September 2, 1887.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE SUFFRAGISTS

There were so many obstacles which had to be overcome by the workers in the movement for woman suffrage that it seems almost miraculous that the reform was ever gained. These obstacles ranged from the indifference of some of the women to the disagreement among the leaders of the movement concerning the tactics which should be employed to further their efforts. Some writers on the subject have exclaimed over the fact that it took more than fifty years to gain woman suffrage. After considering all of the handicaps of the movement, perhaps they should have expressed astonishment over the fact that it required only a little over fifty years to succeed in Kansas.

Indifference of Some Women

One of the chief handicaps to the suffrage movement seems to have been the indifference and apathy of many women. It was often difficult to persuade them to work for the cause; also it was impossible to get some to as much as sign their names to a petition or an enrollment book. As an example of the latter, the suffrage enrollment books of the Topeka society are remarkable for the few signatures which they contain.¹ When questioned on the matter, many claimed to favor woman suffrage and said they felt it was a right; but when asked to take some part in the campaign,

¹"Suffrage Enrollment" books, from files on Woman Suffrage in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Files.")

they excused themselves on the grounds of its being unladylike to take any active part for the cause. Mrs. Cora M. Downs expressed the hope that women would not petition for their rights. She felt that the system of co-education, the avenues of labor opened up to women, their advancement in the arts and sciences, and their influence over sons and brothers who represented them in suffrage would serve as levers which would gradually bring the right to vote.² Her attitude seemed to be that, since suffrage was a right of woman, if she just waited long enough, men would recognize it and extend it of their own free will. Concerning the petitions of 1867, some ladies refused to sign because they objected to the wording. A man from Osawatomie who was circulating the petitions in his community reported that some objected to the word "earnestly." They were willing to ask for suffrage but not too insistently. Some women also claimed they didn't care for the vote for themselves but would sign to help those who did, if the word would be stricken from the petition.³ Some favored a policy of education and preparation for the ballot so that when men finally granted them the right to vote they would be ready to use that right intelligently. Of course they expected the suffrage associations to continue working for the cause until it was successful.⁴ This attitude

²Mrs. Cora M. Downs, "The women of America," The Topeka Daily Capital, November 11, 1882.

³Updegraff, letter to S. N. Wood, corresponding secretary of the Impartial Suffrage Association, May 28, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁴Ottawa Journal, May 10, 1894, from "Woman Suffrage Clippings," I, in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Clippings." No pages are given for these clippings.)

infuriated some of the leaders of the movement and did a great deal to hamper their efforts. In the eyes of the truly dedicated women who realized that the right to vote would never be granted if women themselves did not ask for it, these indifferent and complacent women were traitors to their own sex. Too often the ladies in a position of leadership hurt the cause by letting their tempers flare, saying things which only tended to antagonize other women. In some instances, a speech would be made, or an article or a letter would be written in which women who did not take part in the campaign were accused of being lazy, or worse, of being selfish in their indifference.⁵ It was further stated that the greatest difficulty in the way of woman's legal status was her own ignorance of the law.⁶ Although this was probably true, such statements did little to attract indifferent women to the movement. They should have remembered the old saying that sugar attracts more flies than vinegar.

It was disheartening to the leaders of the movement to be told by men that the right to vote would be extended to women when a majority of them expressed a desire for it, not before. When only a small minority of the women in a community were willing to speak out, the local politicians who opposed had more ammunition. They pointed to the lack of interest as

⁵Laura M. Johns, letter to ????, December 28, 1903, "W. S. Files."

⁶Topeka Daily Commonwealth, November 9, 1883, from Clippings on "Social Science Club of Kansas and Western Missouri, 1881-1885," no page, in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "S. S. Club Clippings.")

proof that a majority of the women did not really want the right to vote and said that they did not believe in complying with the wishes of the minority to force something upon the majority which they did not want. In the History of Woman Suffrage it was stated that the women of Kansas were too apathetic to exercise the many civil rights granted to them by the state's constitution and legislature.⁷ Perhaps the men felt that the same would be true concerning any further political rights. Although suffrage workers in the later campaigns liked to refer to their steps toward full suffrage, this was sometimes used against them because too often less than half of the qualified ladies in a community took the time to make use of their limited suffrage.⁸ The opposition cited this as proof that only a few women wanted to vote. Two examples of the men's attitude concerning this came from distinguished Kansans. First, Mr. T. A. McNeal, in a speech to the suffrage association in Topeka, chided the ladies for not working harder and told them it was the fault of the women, not the men, that women had not succeeded in this effort. The attendance at this meeting numbered only forty people, which seemed to substantiate his statement.⁹ Senator John J. Ingalls also stated

⁷Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (second edition, Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1889) I, 171.

⁸F. G. Adams, "Municipal Suffrage," manuscript copies, "W. S. Files."

⁹Minutes of December 10, 1909 for 26th Annual Convention of Kansas Suffrage Association, Topeka, from "Minutes of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, "W. S. Files." (Hereafter referred to as "Minutes, K.E.S.A.")

that women had not gained the right to vote because not enough of them wanted it. Refusing to commit himself on woman suffrage as a national issue, he wrote,

In my judgement the principal obstacle to the cause which you represent will ultimately be found to exist rather in the indifference of women than in the hostility of men."¹⁰

Lesser politicians were quick to use the ideas of the senator for their own purposes.

Among those who were active workers for the reform there were also women who lost their nerve at the last minute. The suffrage associations had some difficulty in keeping a full slate of officers for this reason. It is interesting to study the minutes of their meetings and discover how often it was necessary for the association to turn its attention to the election of officers to replace those who declined the honor, or who had accepted the honor and then resigned, thus declining the responsibility it placed upon them. In one instance, of four suffrage meetings held in 1868, the main business of three of them was the election of officers. At the meeting on February 28, "Miss E. Morris was elected President for the unexpired term."¹¹ On November 18, the president and vice-president refused to serve, Miss E. Morris was elected president pro tem, and D. H. Johnston was chosen for that office, but he refused to

¹⁰John J. Ingalls, U. S. Senator, letter to L. A. Walker, Mayor of Independence, Kansas, December 18, 1886, "W. S. Files."

¹¹Minutes for 1868 from "Woman Suffrage Association of Topeka, Constitution, By-Laws and Minutes from November 1867 to November, 1875, "W. S. Files."

serve. The association voted again and elected Miss E. Morris. She apparently did not consider her office to be a great honor, since she was absent when the next meeting was held on November 27, and it again became necessary for the ladies to choose a president pro tem.¹² Sometimes an excuse was given, but usually the new election was held simply because a lady had exercised the privilege of changing her mind without explanation.

Many times this need to elect new officers arose because of the lack of planning before the election. It was considered to be correct to choose as officers the ladies from the more prominent families in the city or community. This was an advantage if those in charge remembered to approach the lady in question before the election to see if she would be interested in working with the organization. It was disastrous if they failed to get her consent beforehand, because ladies had been known to decline publicly, perhaps by way of the newspaper, and hurt the cause by denouncing woman suffrage and saying they would have no part of such a movement. Describing such an incident, George J. Martin of Atchison wrote to the secretary of the state suffrage association, telling of his unfortunate experience concerning the early attempts of organizing a suffrage society in the community. He had nominated two women suggested by his co-worker, a Mr. Hubbard. The next day one of

¹²Ibid.

them declined through the newspaper in unpleasant terms and said that she had not been consulted before the meeting.¹³ He was probably right in his opinion that it would hinder their organization because women who were social climbers and wished to be considered a part of the elite of the city were likely to follow the first lady's example and refuse to have any part of the association or its work. Also, the politicians could point to her as a shining example of womanhood and say that she was a true lady who recognized the woman's sphere of activities.

Financing the Suffrage Movement

A major problem of the suffrage movement was that of financing its many activities. It was essential to success to contact as many people as possible and convince them of the soundness of the arguments in favor of extending the right to vote to women. One of the most common methods of advertising the cause was through special suffrage meetings for which they needed not only a speaker but also suffrage literature for distribution. Newspaper items as well as special suffrage columns were also important. But regardless of the method used, money was necessary to cover expenses.

For the campaign of 1867, most of the money came from voluntary contributions by men and women, as well as small amounts supplied by

¹³George J. Martin, letter to S. N. Wood, June 7, 1867, "W. S. Files."

the national suffrage association and the associations of the other states. The Kansas associations returned the favor in the years between campaigns by donating to other states in which an attempt was being made to secure an amendment for woman suffrage.¹⁴ Many speakers and other workers gave their time freely without any thought of reimbursement but women without funds could not take an active part unless someone else paid their expenses. The Homestead law, which included a provision by which a widow could take a homestead in her name, must have helped the financial position of some women, but apparently not enough of those were interested in the suffrage movement.¹⁵ Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, one of the most earnest suffrage workers in Kansas, wrote that she could not travel and make speeches over the state without assistance from the state organization because of her family responsibilities.¹⁶ For most women even a small contribution required a great deal of extra effort; for others it was impossible. A married woman usually had to have her husband's approval of the cause before she could make even a small donation, while a single woman was rarely in a financial position to give anything but her time. Therefore

¹⁴Minutes for January 16, 1890, "Minutes of Topeka Auxiliary of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association," "W. S. Files." (Hereafter referred to as "Topeka Auxiliary").

¹⁵Circular from the General Land Office, September 5, 1841, from "Kansas Territorial Clippings, 1854-1860," Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.

¹⁶Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, letter to S. N. Wood, July 18, 1867, "W. S. Files."

the women were forced to ask the group which had kept them from voting for money to be used for the purpose of securing woman suffrage. Although many were undoubtedly aware of the irony of the situation, they realized that contributions could not be obtained without asking for them. In the words of one writer, "The big public is much like the Lord, who helps those who help themselves."¹⁷

Although much of the suffrage literature was printed by the national association and donated to the individual states, there was still the problem of distributing it over the state. For the first campaign in Kansas, 60,000 suffrage tracts containing quotations from famous people, excerpts from speeches on the subject, and articles written by suffrage workers, were sent to voters of the state under the franking privilege of Senators Edmund G. Ross and Samuel C. Pomeroy, who supported the movement.¹⁸ It was a definite advantage to have men with such privileges friendly to woman suffrage. The saving in postage alone was quite a large sum. Editors friendly to the cause also helped by giving the ladies free printing as well as free space in their newspapers for advertising.¹⁹

¹⁷Ida Husted Harper, (ed.), History of Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, c. 1922), VI, 197.

¹⁸Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others, (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1881), II, 239.

¹⁹Minutes for January 28, 1910, "Minutes, K.E.S.A, W. S. Files."

In contrast to the gentlemen who were willing to help with money, there were those who hindered the cause by wild promises which they could, or did, not keep. George F. Train, who joined Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the campaign of 1867, promoted a newspaper for the suffrage cause, promising to back it with \$100,000 of his own money. Either he promised what he didn't have or he changed his mind, since he later neglected to give any support and left Susan B. Anthony with a debt of \$10,000 which she paid off herself.²⁰

For the first campaign, local suffrage associations looked^{to} the state Impartial Suffrage Association, for financial assistance to cover expenses of special speakers. It seemed to be impossible to get enough in a small community to keep the movement going. Numerous letters were written to state headquarters in Topeka inquiring if there was any money in the treasury. They had offers from speakers or writers to work for the cause, but these, unfortunately, expected to be paid for their services.²¹

To help out on their cost of transportation, some of the suffrage leaders from the East persuaded railroad companies to give them free passes. Susan B. Anthony had done so and apparently another worker borrowed her pass and failed to return it when she needed it. Miss Anthony wrote

²⁰Inez Haynes Irwin, Angels and Amazons (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1933), 250.

²¹George J. Martin, letter to S. N. Wood, June 2, 1867; John W. Hutchinson, letter to S. N. Wood, July 23, 1867; Susan B. Anthony to S. N. Wood, June 12, 1867, "W. S. Files."

numerous letters attempting to trace the lost article, which she needed urgently.²²

Between campaigns, it was often difficult to keep alive an interest in woman suffrage, but the state association continued its work chiefly through literature sent over the state. Mrs. Anna C. Wait of Lincoln believed that the inaction of women resulted not so much from apathy and indifference as from a lack of means and opportunity. She wrote, in 1885, that she knew of just one woman of leisure -- one who did not have to make a personal sacrifice of some kind every time she paid a dollar into the treasury.²³ In the minutes of suffrage meetings there was evidence that this lack of money was felt even in Topeka, which had the strongest local suffrage association in the state. For example, at one meeting it was recorded that there was a gain of nine members to the organization, but only five paid their dues at that time.²⁴ More proof of their problem was found in the records of a discussion centered around the search for a meeting place, limited by the available funds. It was reported that the Music Hall could be rented for five dollars, but that was considered to be too much. A committee was appointed to secure the

²²Susan B. Anthony, letter to S. N. Wood, August 9, 1867, "W. S. Files."

²³Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1886), III, 704.

²⁴Minutes for March 5, 1890, "Topeka Auxiliary," "W. S. Files."

G.A.R. hall or some other "sensible place, providing the expense does not exceed 2 dollars."²⁵ In the minutes for the next month's meeting there is the information that the treasury now contained \$3.25 and that the Lincoln Post hall had been rented for \$2.00 and perhaps could be obtained cheaper for subsequent meetings.²⁶

The Lincoln Suffrage Association was quite active in money-raising activities to cover, not only its own expenses, but also to donate to the state organization. In 1885, they held a fair for the benefit of the state association.²⁷ In 1892, the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, perhaps following the earlier example, held a three-day fair in Topeka. Suggested articles to be donated by the ladies were fruit, jelly, cake, confectionery, fancy work, painting, and other useful and ornamental articles.²⁸ The ladies were urged by the president of the association to bring not only fancy work but any other article that would prove that voting in municipal elections had not unsexed them and that they could do

²⁵Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, January 16, 1890, "Topeka Auxiliary," "W. S. Files."

²⁶Minutes for February 26, 1890, "Topeka Auxiliary," "W. S. Files."

²⁷Stanton and others, *op. cit.*, III, 708.

²⁸The Lakin Index, July 20, 1892, Clippings on Kansas Equal Suffrage Association Fair, "W. S. Files."

those substantial things considered a part of the proper occupation of the woman.²⁹

The campaign of 1894 was not as difficult to finance as that of 1867, partly because the suffrage workers were better organized and had learned from experience. Also, there were more women in a position to give financial aid to the cause. The few women who had entered the various professions were now able to make donations. In addition, there were more women who held property in their own names and did not have to ask a husband, father, or brother for money. Even so, the problem of financing the movement was not an easy one to solve, and in 1894 Mrs. Laura Johns attended the National Suffrage Convention in Washington and made an appeal for assistance in the way of speakers and funds, both of which were promised.³⁰

In the years between the campaigns of 1894 and 1912, women of the state showed further ingenuity. Miss Helen Kimber, president of the state association in 1900, was successful in obtaining donations for the national bazaar. She secured a carload of flour from the Kansas Millers' Association and 200 pounds of butter from the Continental Creamery Company of Topeka, to name two sizable contributions.³¹ When Miss Kimber

²⁹Mrs. S. A. Thurston, president of executive board, "To the members of the Board of Directors of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association Fair, Topeka, February 2, 1892," memorandum, "W. S. Files."

³⁰Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1902), IV, 644.

³¹Mrs. W. A. Johnston, "History of Woman Suffrage," unpublished manuscript, "W. S. Files," (Typewritten), 1.

could not obtain funds for the organization from others, she often advanced her own money. Mrs. Laura Johns made a specific reference to this fact in a letter written in 1903. She added that she too had advanced money by the hundreds, but she was more able to do so because she had a husband to back her. In her opinion, this was not the proper basis for the finances, because it was not fair for the few to sacrifice "to help women get into the kingdom who are too lazy or selfish, or both, to help themselves."³²

A common method of obtaining funds throughout the movement was by taking collections at suffrage meetings. A lecturer from Chicago gave the Kansas ladies a valuable tip on how to get a crowd for such a meeting. She warned them not to advertise it as a suffrage rally, but as something else. Since everyone was interested in traveling, she advised the ladies to announce that she would lecture on the Grand Canyon of Arizona, one of her best lectures. At the close, before the audience had a chance to realize that the lecture was over, she would state that she had been requested to give her views on suffrage. She would then give a ten or fifteen minute suffrage talk, followed by the leading local suffrage speakers and perhaps the taking up of a collection for the cause.³³ In this, too the women had learned by experience, and became quite sly at keeping the tin cups

³²Mrs. Laura M. Johns, letter to ???, December 28, 1903, "W.S. Files."

³³Anna Delony Martin, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 28, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage," from files in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage.")

concealed until just the right moment for their use. The value of their strategy was shown in the sizable collections they sometimes made after a particularly good speaker had concluded her remarks.³⁴

In the final campaign, there was a wide variety of ways of financing the cause. As entertainment for which they could charge admission, the ladies presented theatrical performances. Minstrel shows were particularly popular at that time. The most popular suffrage play was entitled "How the Vote Was won." It was presented in numerous communities including Goodland, where it was a high school play.³⁵ Films on woman suffrage were also available for use throughout the state. The film "Votes for Women" could be secured from the Western Film Exchange in Kansas City, Missouri.³⁶

As proof of their womanliness, the ladies not only held bazaars, food sales, and fancy goods sales, but also arranged booths and furnished meals for such gatherings as fairs and picnics. Those who were from the upper economic groups sometimes justified their contributions by doing their own housework, thus saving servant's hire. The less fortunate made money by making dresses or putting up fruit for their neighbors and themselves. Others reported that they were gardening and selling the vegetables to themselves at market price for home use.³⁷ They undoubtedly

³⁴Johnston, loc. cit.

³⁵"Headquarters Bulletin," 1912, Woman Equal Suffrage Association, "W. S. Files."

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Kansas City Star, September 1, 1912, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

had their husbands' permission for such activities.

Combining profit with advertising, postal cards of Kansas scenes and people as well as suffrage balloons and pennants were sold. To cut down on the cost of speakers, the officers of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association requested public speakers for other associations to put in a good word for woman suffrage.³⁸ If a speaker could be persuaded to do this small favor, it meant free advertising for the suffragists, as well as making it possible to keep the subject alive to a wider audience. The ladies sometimes took advantage of their positions on a particular program. For example, Mrs. Anna C. Wait and three other ladies of Lincoln secured permission to take part in the celebration of July 4, 1880. Mrs. Wait was to read the Declaration of Independence, and in her own words, "I embraced the opportunity of interspersing a few remarks not found in that honored document, to the delight of our friends and the disgust of our foes."³⁹

Because of a wider variety of money-raising projects used, the campaign of 1912 was more easily financed than earlier attempts had been. But perhaps an even more important factor in this campaign was the improved financial position of women. Many were substantial property holders as a result of favorable property rights granted to them. Also, more unmarried women were able to make contributions because they were now self-supporting as a result of new laws and attitudes which permitted

³⁸Minutes for July 10 and 11, 1911, "Minutes of Executive Board of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association," "W. S. Files."

³⁹Stanton and others, op. cit., III, 701.

them to enter the various fields of work. The fact that they were permitted to work with the men but were paid less also served as an incentive for many laboring women to donate to the cause with the hope that they could change the unfair wage situation by use of the ballot.⁴⁰ Because of their better financial position, suffrage associations were thus able to pay speakers to spend all their time traveling over the state in behalf of their cause. In addition they paid a full-time secretary, who had her headquarters in Topeka.

Private contributions were sometimes secured by using flattery and playing on a woman's desire for social prestige. It was fortunate for the cause that Governor W. R. Stubbs' wife favored the movement, since some wealthy women became suffragists because they were influenced by those in a high position. A woman from Harper wrote about such a lady in her own community who owned twenty quarters of wheat land. She thought they might be able to "put the bite on her."⁴¹ Another suffrage worker wrote of a lady in Anthony who had pledged fifty cents per month. This was to be only the beginning for her, and Mrs. Lucy Johnston was advised to try a letter from Mrs. Stubbs to secure a more generous donation. It was suggested that they "pat her on the shoulder and ask her for \$200."⁴²

⁴⁰Irwin, op. cit., 184.

⁴¹Maggie Neff, letter to Mrs. Johnston, July 29, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁴²Helen B. Owens, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, November 24, 1911, "Johnston Collection Woman Suffrage."

Lack of Transportation Facilities

The difficulties of transportation throughout the suffrage movement were very closely related to the problems of finance, particularly in the last campaign. In the campaign of 1867, the horse and buggy and the railroad were the chief means of transportation. The fact that the railroads ran from east to west necessitated the securing of some other conveyance for transportation north and south between railroads. The North Missouri Pacific Railroad provided at least one free pass for the suffrage workers. This pass apparently had been secured by Susan B. Anthony, who later made it available to a co-worker, Bessie Bisbee. Miss Anthony regretted the fact that she had let it get out of her own hands and feared that she would never see it again.⁴³ Others who attempted to get free passes were disappointed that they could not obtain so much as a reduction in fare from the railroads.⁴⁴

When speakers were sent to help, some leaders of the community were asked to convey them from place to place for their engagements. In some instances, headquarters at Topeka were informed that the only type of transportation available was an open, plain spring wagon. In such a case, a gentleman from Twin Mound feared that Lucy Stone and her husband might not like to ride in such a vehicle. In addition, he stated that

⁴³Susan B. Anthony, letter to Kansas Canvass, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁴⁴Thomas Moonlight, letter to S. N. Wood, August 5, 1867, "W. S. Files."

he had rented his two horses with his farm and could not claim the use of them instantly since the farming season had begun.⁴⁵ Another gentleman from Cottonwood Falls regretted that he could not help in the campaign because one of his horses was in poor condition.⁴⁶ The replies to requests for transportation were usually more favorable than the above, making it clear that many times the availability depended upon a person's interest in the movement. For example, a man from Monrovia offered his open two-horse buggy and went on to say that his latch string was out to those of the suffrage movement.⁴⁷

Transportation difficulties were made even worse by poor planning on the part of those in charge of the campaign, evidenced in their scheduling of meetings for a speaker at points too far apart to be reached by the appointed time. As a result, some engagements had to be omitted, leading to disappointment of some assembled crowds and perhaps a loss of interest in the movement.⁴⁸ Some of the effectiveness of Olympia Brown's speaking tour may have been lost from making her appointments too close together in time and too far apart in distance. One man who was helping to take her from place to place complained that it was difficult to meet the schedule. He realized the danger of being twelve hours late on appointments and felt it was the result of poor

⁴⁵Henry Hiatt, letter to S. N. Wood, April 8, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁴⁶L. M. Hill, letter to S. N. Wood, April 12, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁴⁷B. W. Williams, letter to S. N. Wood, April 28, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁴⁸Charles Robinson, letter to S. N. Wood, April 15, 1867, "W. S. Files."

planning.⁴⁹ Some of the errors in scheduling may have occurred because those planning a tour were in the eastern part of the state and did not realize the difficulties of transportation in the western part, where roads were, many times, nothing more than trails. A suggestion from a Burlington gentleman could have done much to avoid above-mentioned incidents. His plan was to let each county handle its own canvass, with speakers provided by the state organization, and notice of when they were available sent out in plenty of time for all arrangements to be made.⁵⁰

The campaign of 1894 suffered from the same transportation difficulties experienced in the campaign of 1867. But the campaign of 1911-1912 showed a marked change for the better. The automobile was now in use and the problem, instead of being one concerning the meeting of a schedule, was one of securing the support of those who owned the automobiles. This was sometimes solved by persuading a dealer to lend an automobile for a county tour.⁵¹ Perhaps such a dealer felt that he would obtain some advertising for his business in return from the suffrage workers. It was impossible to miss the suffrage group, as it arrived in a car decorated with signs, bunting, and flags.⁵²

⁴⁹ Joel Moody, letter to ?? Crawford, August 2, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁵⁰ S. S. Prouty, letter to S. N. Wood, May 13, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁵¹ ~~Mag~~ Madalen B. Munson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁵² Ibid.

Some state officials gave the use of their automobiles because their wives were interested in the suffrage movement. One such gentleman was Governor Stubbs, who furnished his car and the expenses involved for the last months of the campaign.⁵³ During this last campaign, auto tours were arranged in many cities and counties. In Hays, a house-to-house canvass was conducted in automobiles decorated with balloons. The driver stopped in front of a house, tooted the horn, and when the people came out to see what was taking place, suffrage literature was handed out.⁵⁴ Mrs. H. P. Pomeroy planned an auto tour every Saturday to the different towns in Phillips County. These meetings were held in the open air, with Reverend H. M. Hunter of Phillipsburg as speaker. About fifteen decorated autos were in line at these outdoor meetings.⁵⁵ In the eastern part of the state, an auto trip from Topeka to Kansas City was conducted to distribute information. A suffrage flyer and a congressional speech were placed in each mail box between Lawrence and Topeka. The car was decorated with balloons and stopped at every house so that literature could be handed out.⁵⁶

⁵³The Topeka Daily Capital, September 9, 1912.

⁵⁴Headquarters Bulletin, Topeka, July 29, 1912, Woman Equal Suffrage Association Headquarters Bulletins, 1912, April to October, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage.

⁵⁵Headquarters Bulletin, September 9, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁵⁶Mrs. P. M. Clark, letter to co-workers, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

There was a plan proposed for a special boosters' train to make a whirlwind tour in October of 1912.⁵⁷ This plan failed to materialize, probably because of the lack of money.⁵⁸ There was another attempt to get aid from railroads for the campaign, but it met with no success. A woman from Chicago went to the Santa Fe railroad office, where

I was greeted by a very gracious gentleman who listened politely to what I had to say, but assured me it was out of the question to expect either transportation or other aid from the company. Such arrangements are a thing of the past.⁵⁹

Some women were willing to use any means of transportation to carry on their work. For example, Mrs. Helen B. Owens, one of the most tireless workers of the movement, went by freight from Greensburg to Liberal.⁶⁰ But many of the workers of the last campaign were either more particular or made of less sturdy material than their predecessors who had undergone the hardships of the early campaign, considering themselves lucky if horse and buggy were available.

⁵⁷Mildred Peck, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, May 31, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁵⁸Mary E. Haines, State Superintendent of Kansas W. C. T. U., letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, August 13, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁵⁹Anna Delony Martin, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, July 12, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage "

⁶⁰Helen B. Owens, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, December 1, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

Attitude toward Women Speakers

At the beginning of the suffrage movement, women who wished to take an active part were hampered by the attitude of many people concerning woman's right and ability to give public speeches, to write anything worth reading, or to conduct a business meeting successfully. The lack of experience in conducting meetings led to their inviting men to help them in getting organized. To the dismay of the ladies, the men promptly took over and informed them that they could attend the meetings, but that it was not seemly for ladies to conduct meetings; therefore the men would help them by running things, usually to suit themselves.⁶¹ The men constantly reminded the women that they were not educated, not taking into consideration the fact that it was, in most cases, the fault of the men in keeping the doors of many schools closed to them. Preventing their participation in their own meetings was simply adding insult to injury in not giving the women a chance to learn by experience.⁶²

Through work in the W.C.T.U., women gradually learned how to organize for a purpose. A few other women's clubs had existed before the Civil War; many more were organized afterward. Many of these later clubs were of a cultural nature, possibly a result of woman's yearning

⁶¹Irwin, op. cit., 204.

⁶²Ida Husted Harper (ed.), History of woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, c. 1922), V, xv.

for education.⁶³ The most outstanding of this type in Kansas was the Social Science Club of Kansas and Western Missouri, later organized as the Kansas State Social Science Federation. In such organizations as the Order of the Eastern Star, Rebecca Lodges, and the Woman's Relief Corps, the members gained valuable experience in teamwork, in rudimentary politics, and also in parliamentary law, which prepared them for the successful conducting of suffrage meetings.⁶⁴

The objection to letting women speak in public had been fostered by the church. Basing their arguments on the scriptures, men thus did not permit women to expound their views or plead their cause on the public platform.⁶⁵ Some men who opposed woman suffrage were quite sarcastic in their comments. In a newspaper article, the proposed amendment was referred to as the female plank and suffrage meetings were spoken of with ridicule. "The crow of the hen no longer fruitful will soon be heard in the land, augmented by the cackle of many an ancient and unmated pullet."⁶⁶ But this attitude was the exception rather than the rule in Kansas. One of the early suffrage workers and daughter of a minister, Helen Ekin Starret, wrote that religious denominations in Kansas from the first gave their help to the movement.⁶⁷ As early as 1869, many prominent ministers

⁶³Irwin, op. cit., 204-211.

⁶⁴Ibid., 222.

⁶⁵Harper, V, loc. cit.

⁶⁶The Junction City Union, August 26, 1882, "W. S. Clippings," III.

⁶⁷Stanton and others, op. cit., II, 251.

in Topeka took part in a woman suffrage convention, definite proof of their approval⁶⁸ The stage for women speakers had been set in Kansas at the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention in 1859. Mrs. Clarinda I. Nichols petitioned the convention for permission to speak for woman suffrage. After several hours' debate, it was decided that she might use the hall for her speech, but that the convention would be adjourned for that time. The men who wished to hear her speech could do so, but not while in the official capacity of delegates.⁶⁹ From that time on, a woman speaker was usually accepted without argument. Although the men's attitude sometimes hindered the movement in Kansas, it more often helped it. In many communities there had never been a female speaker before and the gentlemen came to the meetings, in part, out of curiosity. As a result, even in the campaign of 1867, such speakers as Olympia Brown and Lucy Stone attracted larger crowds than any kind of entertainment the place had offered before. Suffrage workers in some communities realized that the men would come to hear a woman speaker for the novelty of it and made many converts to the cause as a result.⁷⁰

In the later campaigns, women speakers in street meetings were very effective. As one author stated, "In the days of trailing skirts

⁶⁸Clara H. Hazelrigg, A New History of Kansas (Topeka: Crane and Company, Printers, 1895), 152.

⁶⁹Kansas Constitutional Convention: A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, Imri Zumwalt, State Printer, 1920), 71-77.

⁷⁰A. Venard, letter to S. N. Wood, July 20, 1867, "W. S. Files."

and picture hats to see a woman mount a soap box on a street corner, or stand on the back seat of an automobile, and begin to orate, was so startling that men could not help but stop and listen."⁷¹

Disagreements among Leaders Concerning Tactics

To add to the difficulties which hampered the woman suffrage movement from the outside, those working for the cause sometimes wasted energy and time in disagreements among themselves concerning tactics and methods of campaigning. Some arguments were results of personal jealousies, while others were basic differences of opinion. Both were poor advertising for the movement.

During the first campaign, a suffrage worker from Atchison objected to having literature sent to someone other than himself or some other officer of the local association. He stated that someone must have told headquarters that he was not popular in his own community. Practically admitting the truth of such information, he proclaimed that he was willing to take a bold, manly, and independent stand for justice and right, regardless of public opinion.⁷²

Susan B. Anthony chided the Kansas workers for stating that John

⁷¹Victory, How Women Won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840-1940 prepared by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1940), 110.

⁷²George J. Martin, letter to S. N. Wood, June 7, 1867, "W. S. Files."

Stuart Mill's letter in favor of woman suffrage was unsolicited. She warned them against such falsehood, not because she feared it would harm the movement in Kansas, but because she feared what Mr. Mill would think of their truthfulness.⁷³

In the years between the first and second campaigns, there were some rivalries among the ladies' clubs as to their chief objective. Even on the national level, the suffrage forces were split. To remedy this situation, at the National Council of Women in 1887, one lady suggested an international association of women's clubs, formed under the auspices of the suffragists. She had no success with her plan, since many ladies in cultural clubs were not interested in the right to vote. As the suffragists phrased it, these women were interested only in their own leadership in their own clubs. Gradually the clubs with a definite purpose outnumbered the merely cultural ones, probably because by then most of the young women had gone to high school, some to college, and they wanted to take part in affairs of the nation rather than just study about them.⁷⁴

During the second campaign, some of the leading suffrage workers were accused of working in the interests of the Republican party, while others worked openly for the Populist party. Mrs. Laura Johns, president of the Equal Suffrage Association and also president of the Woman's Republican Club of Kansas, was accused of entering into an agreement

⁷³Susan B. Anthony, letter to Kansas Canvass, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁷⁴Irwin, op. cit., 229-235.

with the Republican politicians whereby the prohibition question was not to be mentioned in the suffrage campaign throughout the state. Mrs. Johns supposedly would keep prohibition speakers off the suffrage platform as her part of the bargain. Mrs. Helen Gougar, a suffragist and prohibitionist from Indiana who was billed to talk in twenty Kansas towns, insisted that she would fill the appointments.⁷⁵ Some critics went so far as to accuse Mrs. Johns of spending suffrage money in the interest of the Republican party, but this was probably untrue, since Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, a staunch Populist, came to her defense and denied the truth of such a claim.⁷⁶

Following the defeat of the suffrage amendment in 1894, the women seemed to concentrate on quarrels over leadership in the state organization and the meeting places of suffrage conventions. Much of the criticism of Mrs. Johns had come from Topeka. Therefore, when it was time for the annual meeting in 1894, she used her influence to prevent the meeting's being held there. Her stated objection to Topeka as a meeting place was the friction and squabbling among Topeka women. She was very outspoken in the criticism of her opponents, going so far as to say that she really thought Dr. Eva Harding was not quite sane or well-balanced. She went on to say that she seemed to have a mania for fighting somebody and was a notoriety seeker who made a business of getting her name in the papers

⁷⁵Kansas City Times, September 8, 1893, "W. S. Clippings," III.

⁷⁶Ottawa Journal, September 20, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

whenever she could get free advertising. Mrs. Johns had heard that the Topeka women planned to put a Mrs. Lease in as state president. As she expressed it, she did not want to be president, but she would accept the office rather than see Mrs. Lease take over.⁷⁷ This squabbling among the women must have been publicized, at least in the Topeka papers, because a suffrage worker reported that she had read in the Journal about the Johns' faction wanting to take the convention to Minneapolis so her enemies in Topeka could not defeat her. She felt that Minneapolis should hold the convention to avoid trouble.⁷⁸

The following year, Mrs. Johns again expressed the wish to retire from the presidency, but again she feared that the wrong woman would succeed her. The woman being considered for her position was a Populist who had proposed that the state suffrage association pledge its support to the People's party for two years in exchange for their pledge to enfranchise women. Naturally, Mrs. Johns, a faithful Republican, objected to such a proposal.⁷⁹

In preparing for the final campaign, suffrage leaders looked back to the earlier attempts, to discover the mistakes made, hoping to avoid them and thus achieve their objective. Since some men had voiced an

⁷⁷Laura M. Johns, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, November 11, 1894, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁷⁸Mrs. S. A. Thurston, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, November 12, 1894, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁷⁹Laura M. Johns, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, July 21, 1895, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

objection to out-of-state speakers, the Kansas women were determined to run things themselves. They had encouragement for this plan from the ladies in western states which had gained suffrage. Mrs. Laura Johns, who had moved to California, warned against letting the national association dominate the campaign, because she felt that was what had defeated them in 1894.⁸⁰ The same advice came from a Washington woman who gave her formula for winning. She stated that the Washington association had withdrawn from the national, had none of their lecturers, none of their organizers, and only literature they could not get from the states that had already won. Their idea was to take advice from the states where women voted, believing that women who had waged a successful battle knew more of effectual methods than those who had never won a victory. To make her argument stronger, she emphasized the fact that the women had been far more successful in the West than in the East in the matter of equal suffrage.⁸¹

The women of Kansas followed the above advice, withdrawing from the national association and asking national headquarters not to send any workers unless they were requested. One of the Kansas leaders wrote at great length to Anna Shaw, national president, explaining why Kansas wanted only outside speakers of its own choosing. She had heard some men say that they objected to having help brought in from the outside to coerce them into

⁸⁰Laura M. Johns, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 13, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸¹Mrs. Berthe Knatvold Kittilson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, May 6, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

giving women the ballot. She also pointed out that speakers from other states had no way of knowing local political conditions and often offended the men whose support was needed. Such an incident had just occurred and the author of the above-mentioned letter requested that the woman be recalled from Kansas.⁸² In later references to this letter, Anna Shaw stated that the national association had no intention of interfering with the Kansas work, and that its leaders had not begun with the suggestions until they were asked for.⁸³ She stated her willingness to overlook the letter as a part of the antagonistic forces and the work of unprincipled people, urging the Kansas workers to call upon the national association for any help needed.⁸⁴ Other letters made it apparent that she still felt bitter resentment toward some Kansas women. She warned that if Kansas failed to accept the amendment, it would be the fault of the Kansas women themselves and a blow to suffrage over the whole United States. She made the gloomy prophecy that "It looks very much as if Kansas is going to act as S. Dakota did, spend the first year in quarreling for the glory and the last year in finding there was no glory to quarrel over."⁸⁵ She felt that if, after having municipal woman suffrage for several years, the men of Kansas voted down full

⁸²Lilla Day Monroe, letter to Anna Shaw, February 25, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸³Anna Shaw, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, March 8, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸⁴Anna Shaw, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, March 21, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸⁵Anna Shaw, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, March 25, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

suffrage, it would be a national calamity and a reflection upon the Kansas women. In her opinion, if the Kansas women were not willing to forget their differences and work for the measure in a wholehearted way, they should not have persuaded the legislature to pass the measure.⁸⁶

The squabble among workers of the movement was not confined to the state, but reached to the national association as well. Helen Kimber, one of the Kansas delegates to the national convention in 1900, wrote of disagreements among national leaders. The following excerpts from her letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston was enlightening:

I am glad Mrs. Johns did not come. This will surprise you. Yes, but the truth is Miss Anthony, Mrs. Avery and Miss Shaw are fighting Mrs. Catt just as they fought Mrs. Johns and they are still fighting me because of what I said in '94. If you hear of the East and the West knocking at each other's heads you just know that I have taken all I can or will take. Lucy Anthony, Anna Shaw's private Sec'y, it seems is only waiting to annihilate me. Well, there will be a grease spot when she is through. I shall be on my good behavior for Kansas' sake and for Mrs. Catt but let me get some of those women off and I'll quietly and deliberately tell them the whole truth. I'll even tell them that D. R. Anthony said in my presence, 'Susan you're a damn fool -- go home, etc.' I am not sorry for a word I said in '94. I only wish I could have said it strong enough & in time to have prevented the disaster. Poor Mrs. Catt! She is thin and gray. They fight and fuss and complain -- find fault but offer no new plans. They can tear down -- they are like the Democratic party -- but they can't build up.

This fight makes me want to be Pres. of Kan's E.S.A. If I once get into the National Executive Comm. I bet you I'll sit on Anna Shaw until she won't want to be resurrected. Why, she was only allowed to speak at Emporia because Mrs. Johns fought for it after the date was made and I shielded her that day. She knows this. She fights Mrs. Johns and I because she knows that we know why Emporia fought her. She won't be here, but Lucy A., Mrs. Av-- and Mrs. H. T. Upton also Mrs. Ida Husted Harper are laying for me. You watch in the paper for four bloody nosed women!!!

⁸⁶Anna Shaw, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, April 20, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

I am in this fight to stay. Seriously I am now convinced that I want to be State Pres. of E.S.A . . . ⁸⁷

The women also disagreed on methods of publicity. Some favored more newspaper advertising as the chief means of keeping the question before the men. One woman in this group made slighting remarks about the ineffectiveness of "pink teas."⁸⁸ Others made wide use of suffrage teas to which they invited the women of prestige, calling for them in carriages and returning them to their homes after the meeting. In their opinion, this was the correct way to keep the question before the people in a position to help the movement.⁸⁹ In many communities, the ladies attempted to secure at least one day of the chautauqua for the suffrage cause. Sometimes they were given permission to send speakers, but were not permitted to charge admission.⁹⁰ This method of advertising was sometimes a failure if the purpose was announced ahead of time. At least one lady warned that to advertise a suffrage day was a good way to keep people away from the chautauqua.⁹¹

⁸⁷Helen Kimber, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, November 27, 1900, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸⁸Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 31, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸⁹Mrs. Matie E. Kimball, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 21, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁹⁰J. S. White, Midland Lyceum Bureau, Kansas City, Missouri, letter to Mrs. Hoffman, June 20, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁹¹Mamie Bardwell, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 3, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

With all of its internal disagreements and bickering among the workers, the suffrage movement was no different from other reform movements. In any undertaking of that size, it was inevitable that, although the workers agreed on their ultimate objective, they did not always agree on how to achieve their goal.

Opposition of Some Foreign Groups

Most foreign settlements in Kansas were in opposition to the movement for woman suffrage from the very beginning. In the campaign of 1867, suffrage workers spoke in particular of those of German background, Leavenworth County had a large German population, living in a section known as Kickapoo Township, which was not in favor of impartial suffrage.⁹² Also, at Muscatah, a gentleman working for the cause reported that he knew enough of the Germans to know that they could not be changed that fall in time for the election.⁹³ Writing of her meetings at Ottawa, Miss Olympia Brown stated that there was a "codfish aristocracy here that don't think it ladylike to wish to vote."⁹⁴ The people referred to were probably German Catholics. Another worker stated that the people in a German settlement at Alma opposed impartial suffrage because they feared the effect on the

⁹²Thomas Moonlight, letter to S. N. Wood, August 5, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁹³George Storch, letter to S. N. Wood, September 24, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁹⁴Olympia Brown, letter to S. N. Wood, August 19, 1867, "W. S. Files."

temperance question. He felt that this might be overcome if headquarters could get a good German speaker to go to that community.⁹⁵

At the state suffrage convention in 1884, Mrs. Anna C. Wait stated that it would do no good to get an amendment proposal through the state legislature because it would only be defeated by the foreigners who constantly came to Kansas, adding to the population which had not been enlightened.⁹⁶

The campaign of 1911-1912 brought opposition from new foreign groups, but the Germans were still in the majority. A gentleman from Munden wrote that he was willing to help in the movement, but that he was in a community of Bohemians who were very much opposed to giving women the right to vote.⁹⁷ Mrs. Minnie Grinstead, a W.C.T.U. woman and suffragist, felt that the western part of the state would support the amendment, except for the foreign element.⁹⁸ An Ellsworth County suffrage worker was quite discouraging concerning her own community, stating that the foreign vote held the balance of power, and they were against the amendment.⁹⁹ Riley County's voters were 25% foreign, 60% of that being Swede. The leader of

⁹⁵W. Mitchell, letter to S. N. Wood, September 1, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁹⁶Stanton and others, op. cit., III, 698.

⁹⁷P. D. George, letter to The Ladies, April 18, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁹⁸Minnie Grinstead, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 29, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁹⁹Mary E. Alden, letter to Mrs ?? Smith, July 11, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

that county's movement, from Manhattan, warned that the Catholics were very strong and suggested literature along Catholic lines to convert them.¹⁰⁰ Wherever it was possible, prominent persons of foreign descent were persuaded to take part in the campaign with the hope that others would follow their example. At Lawrence, the wife of the former mayor, a German who was prominent among business men, was considered to be quite a help for the cause.¹⁰¹

Mrs. Lucy Johnston, president of the state association during the final campaign, said that as many foreigners would vote for the amendment as any other. A man who had taken part in the campaign of 1894 warned her against taking it for granted. He remembered that the settlement of foreigners in Lincoln County, with the exception of the Danes, gave a decided majority against the amendment. He warned further that the Catholic foreigners would vote solidly against it.¹⁰² His prediction was correct and in the vote of 1912, Ellis, Ellsworth, Leavenworth, and Lincoln, four of the counties with a large foreign population, gave a majority against the amendment.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰Matie Kimball, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 27, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁰¹Alberta Corbin, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, n.d. 1911, "Johnston Collection, woman Suffrage."

¹⁰²A. H. Wait, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, August 18, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁰³"Woman Suffrage Clippings," IV.

Some Workers Were A Hindrance to the Cause

In any great movement, there were people who were often more of a hindrance than a help. Such people could be divided into three categories -- those who took part for selfish reasons, those who were well-meaning but not responsible, and those sometimes referred to as belonging to the lunatic fringe. Concerning some workers, it was difficult to decide into what classification they should be placed.

Some men and women took part because they hoped to make a profit for themselves. A newspaper editor from Ottawa asked the suffrage organization for money because he was in financial difficulty. He was careful to remind them that his paper had been a staunch advocate of woman suffrage since it started eleven years before. Although he assured them that it would continue to support them, there was a possibility that he would not be able to without their help.¹⁰⁴ A joint stock company, selling shares at \$25 each, with the hope of raising \$1,000 to buy a new press, was proposed in 1867. The state suffrage association was asked to help pay, with the promise that the newspaper would be run for the interests of impartial suffrage.¹⁰⁵ It remained in doubt as to whether the gentleman making such a proposition was actually interested in the movement or had hit on a scheme through which to set himself up

¹⁰⁴C. V. Robb, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, December 21, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁰⁵J. T. Haughey, letter to S. N. Wood, August 19, 1867, "W. S. Files."

in the newspaper business. Some asked nothing for themselves, but put in a good word for a friend or relative. For example, a gentleman from Garnett wrote that he had a brother in Ohio who was a good lecturer and believed in women's rights. His help could be secured if terms could be agreed on. To add weight to his suggestion, the gentleman from Garnett mentioned that he was editor of a newspaper and planned to use it to support woman suffrage.¹⁰⁶

Although most of the women workers gave their time freely, there were also women who attached themselves to the movement for their own gains. The secretary of the National Women's Trade Union League of America wrote that she could provide a lecturer to speak on the subject of the working woman in America. The charge was \$25 for each lecture, which obviously provided for more than expenses.¹⁰⁷

One out-of-state worker, Mrs Bessie Bisbee, who was being paid a salary of \$100 per month for lecturing over the state, possibly did more harm than good.¹⁰⁸ Although she was probably a firm believer in the cause, her actions brought much criticism which cast reflections on the movement for which she worked. Mr. Henry Blackwell, the husband of Lucy Stone Blackwell, who was one of the national suffrage leaders,

¹⁰⁶George W. Cooper, letter to S. N. Wood, May 6, 1867, "W. S. Files."

¹⁰⁷Miss S. E. Franklin, letter to Helen N. Eacker, September 23, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁰⁸Bessie Bisbee (perhaps Bisher), letter to S. N. Wood, August 28, 1867, "W. S. Files."

warned the Kansas headquarters that the lady referred to above had no ability to manage business and would have to be taken care of, but that he hoped she would be a help for the cause.¹⁰⁹ Also, Miss Bisbee apparently liked to flirt, but did not like the results of such action. Several letters were written concerning her experiences, particularly with bachelors. Of one incident, she wrote that she started off on her journey with a bachelor escort whom she feared would forget himself and do something wrong. Her fear seemed to be ungrounded and "we reached town in safety."¹¹⁰ On the same tour, she made another mistake which possibly injured the cause. After arriving in town, she stopped at the home of a doctor who was looked upon as an infidel, and made the error of asking him to help her in speaking. At the meeting, the doctor introduced her. Before she could begin her remarks, a minister rose and asked the doctor to read what the apostle Paul said against women's speaking in public. The doctor did as he was asked, but since he did not believe in the inspiration of Paul, he gave no satisfactory reply. Miss Bisbee then rose and said all she could in defense, but the meeting broke into confusion, with many people talking and arguing the point. She realized that the incident was the result of her poor judgment

¹⁰⁹H. B. Blackwell, letter to S. N. Wood, July 25, 1867, "W. S. Files."

¹¹⁰Bessie Bisbee (perhaps Bisher), letter to S. N. Wood, August 25, 1867, "W. S. Files."

and urged S. N. Wood, leader of the Impartial Suffrage Association, to try to undo the damage she had caused.¹¹¹ Mr. Wood must have had a great deal of patience, as he was constantly being called upon to correct the mistakes of his fellow workers. Miss Bisbee thanked him for the interest he had taken in her success and the "frank fearless manner in which you explain to me my faults as a woman and as a speaker, be sure I shall take heed to advice coming from one whom I can trust for integrity as well as shrewdness."¹¹² Mr. Wood's suggestions were not taken kindly by a gentleman from Topeka whom he had accused not only of flirting with some of the ladies of the movement, but also of talking about one of them. The man replied in no uncertain terms that he had not flirted with and spoken ill of the lady. He reported that when the subject of her flirting came up, he defended her, but could not deny that she did flirt. Referring to Mr. Wood's suggestion, he wrote "When you give advice give it to those who need it and not to one whose character is above reproach."¹¹³ As for Miss Bisbee, she soon became exasperated and wrote that she was leaving the state, since the more important out-of-state suffragists had arrived. She concluded that the opposition told the "most outrageous lies on all 'imported stock.'"¹¹⁴

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Bisbee, loc. cit.

¹¹³H. Henry, letter to S. N. Wood, August 17, 1867, "W. S. Files."

¹¹⁴Bessie Bisbee (perhaps Bisher), letter to S. N. Wood, September 22, 1867, "W. S. Files."

In the opinion of some of the Kansas suffragists, insufficient checking sometimes resulted in placing in a position of leadership women who hurt their cause. Complaining about the choice for district president, a critic from Pittsburg wrote that the woman, Mrs. M. B. Munson, was an egotist who had no diplomacy or common sense, and was as unpopular with men as she was with women. According to the report, merchants complained of her threatening them if they did not contribute, while others wondered how their women could be expected to follow the lead of a woman who had so much trouble with her own husband.¹¹⁵ The field secretary of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association warned the Kansas association against Mrs. Anna Laskey, who was supposed to come to help. She stated that if they needed someone to do petition work, Mrs. Laskey would be all right, but not for any other work, because "She is illiterate, tactless and tremendously ambitious" and needed constant watching, since she had been a loan shark in Oklahoma City.¹¹⁶

Even more damaging to the cause they purported to help were those people who belonged to what might be called the lunatic fringe. Some of these were sincere suffragists, but others appeared to be taking part for the publicity they could gain for themselves. One who belonged in the latter group was a man named George Francis Train. He took part in the

¹¹⁵Elizabeth Callen, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, December 4, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹¹⁶Ida Porter-Boyer, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, September 17, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

campaign of 1867 and certainly was no help. Many people felt that he hurt the cause with his attacks on the Republican party, his clowning, and his constant use of his own name. He was a Democrat who had the unfounded hope of becoming President. It seemed strange for such a man to use the suffrage movement for his own purposes in a predominantly Republican state. One newspaper reported that Mr. Train "occasionally touched upon the question of female suffrage, just enough to convince Miss Anthony that he had not forgotten the subject."¹¹⁷

Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, who also wanted to be President, helped publish a newspaper called Woodhull and Claflins' Weekly. Mrs. Woodhull came out for woman suffrage in 1870 and probably hurt the cause, since she favored free love. The linking of her name with the suffrage movement gave the opposition much ammunition for criticism.¹¹⁸ An out-of-state family, John Hutchinson, his son Henry and daughter Viola, who toured the state during the campaign of 1867, appearing on suffrage programs as singers, were thought to have been detrimental to the cause.¹¹⁹ On election day in 1867, they visited several polling booths in Leavenworth, singing suffrage songs and making short speeches to the voters.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷"Woman Suffrage Pamphlets," I, Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.

¹¹⁸Irwin, op. cit., 252.

¹¹⁹Stanton and others, op. cit., II, 262.

¹²⁰Ibid.

Their performance throughout the campaign was suspected of weakening the cause they supported.¹²¹

During the campaign of 1894, a group of suffragists in Topeka threatened to come out in reform dress after the election if the amendment should be defeated. Perhaps they hoped to scare the men into voting for the amendment in order to avoid such a catastrophe, since the costume consisted of Turkish trousers covered by a shirt reaching to the fold of the trousers, a tight or loose waist as the wearer preferred, and cloth leggings to match the trousers.¹²² Perhaps their threat also weakened the cause, since the men of Kansas did not object to the ladies' attempts to convince them of the justness of their cause with arguments, but doubtless did object to such ridiculous suggestions.

¹²¹William E. Coffin, letter to S. N. Wood, August 27, 1867, "W. S. Files."

¹²²Ottawa Journal, October 18, 1894, "W. S. Clippings."

CHAPTER V

FACTORS WHICH MAY HAVE DELAYED SUCCESS

During the woman suffrage movement in Kansas, the suffragists unwittingly delayed the achievement of their cause by linking their interests with other unpopular reforms, such as Negro suffrage and prohibition. The attempt on the part of some suffragists to make their suggested reform a political issue was also a mistake. Another error which may have hindered the cause was found in the lack of diplomacy of some of the reformers, which antagonized men, some of whom were newspaper editors. It is easy to see how much damage an unfriendly newspaper editor could do in influencing the results of an election. Although women's clubs were often a great help to the movement, they, too, sometimes proved to be a hindrance.

Linking Woman Suffrage with the Demand for Negro Suffrage in 1867

In the first campaign for the woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution there was also an amendment proposed to enfranchise the Negro. This amendment was looked upon by some Republicans as the natural result of the Civil War and although they could see the need of extending equal political rights, regardless of race, they could not see any reason for extending those rights to the opposite sex.

Even before the amendments were proposed by the legislature, some men who favored both reforms tried to persuade the women not to push their interests at the same time, for fear it would divide the support of

the voters. One of the leading reformers in this group was Wendell Phillips, a minister from the East. His attitude was expressed in the following. "It is not the woman's but the Negro's hour: After the slave, then the woman . . ." ¹ Refusing to heed this warning, the woman suffragists continued with their work. From their standpoint, both proposals were important aspects of the trend toward a more democratic society, and a part of reconstruction. ² A Negro suffrage worker, C. H. Langston of Leavenworth, shared the views of Wendell Phillips. He was glad to speak for Negro suffrage and promised not to speak against woman suffrage and to speak for it when he thought best, but he realized that as long as the word "white" was in the constitution, striking out the word "male" would do him and his race no good. ³ In fact, he felt that those who wished to defeat Negro suffrage had passed both propositions at the same time, hoping that the woman suffrage question would defeat the other. ⁴ In support of his opinion, a gentleman from Franklin County wrote that nearly every voter in his community would have favored Negro suffrage "had not the Legislature so unwisely and foolishly submitted female

¹George Lowell Austin, The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1888), 168.

²Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Manuscript of the first speech delivered by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in Kansas, 1867," from files on Woman Suffrage in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Files.")

³C. H. Langston, letter to S. N. Wood, June 20, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁴C. H. Langston, letter to S. N. Wood, April 7, 1867, "W. S. Files."

Suffrage with it."⁵ Men who favored both woman suffrage and Negro suffrage also objected to the linking of the two reforms. One man said he intended to vote against Negro suffrage because nine-tenths of the Negroes opposed woman suffrage and he feared if they were granted the right to vote, they would postpone the granting of the woman's right. Because of his belief, he favored giving woman the right first, then the Negro.⁶ A man who was definitely prejudiced against the Negro expressed his objection in no uncertain terms. He could not see that the right of the intelligent, moral, high-minded, patriotic women to vote was the same as for the ignorant, immoral, dirty, filthy Negro. To this prejudiced opinion he added, "The one adds moral strength and power to our political system: The other adds degradation and filth and dirt to a system already degraded and corrupt."⁷ People with such biased opinions as that expressed by this gentleman probably brought more criticism to the woman's cause than they could overcome.

During the fourth month of the campaign of 1867, a woman of Lawrence wrote that a gentleman from her city who had favored both reforms feared that the impartial suffrage cause was in danger of defeat. To avoid complete disaster, he proposed that they drop the question of woman suffrage

⁵P. P. Elder, letter to S. N. Wood, April 27, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁶John S. Brown, letter to S. N. Wood, June 26, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁷R. W. Massey, letter to S. N. Wood, May 16, 1867, "W. S. Files."

and concentrate on the idea that all men were free and equal. Naturally, she was not in favor of his suggestion.⁸ The fact that the suffrage workers did not agree even among themselves to work wholeheartedly for both proposals tended to weaken the movement since both were being considered at once by the voters. The attempt to get the two proposed changes in the constitution adopted in the same election ended in total defeat. The final vote on the two questions was a total of 10,483 for Negro suffrage and 9,070 for woman suffrage, which did not prove that one cause, hurt the other.⁹ But the results were humiliating to the women who had worked so hard for their cause while Negroes had done very little to gain the suffrage.¹⁰ The truth of this seemed to indicate that the male voters were not to be persuaded by the pleas and threats of the women but that they must be convinced of the soundness and justness of extending to women the right to vote.

Cooperation with the W. C. T. U.

The Kansas W.C.T.U., one of the first women's organization in the state, both helped and hindered the suffrage cause. In the first place, it served as a training school in the methods of organizing and working for a definite purpose. Also, many of the women who were members of temperance clubs were also members of suffrage organizations, making it

⁸Jane B. Archibald, letter to S. N. Wood, February 17, 1867, "W. S. Files."

⁹Daniel Webster Wilder, The Annals of Kansas (new edition; Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Pub. House, 1886), 463.

¹⁰Mrs. W. A. Johnston, "History of Woman Suffrage," unpublished manuscript, "W. S. Files." (Typewritten.)

possible for them to work for both reforms in two different capacities. It was easily recognized that women could do more to control the use of alcoholic beverages if they had the right to vote. As early as 1859, the territorial legislature passed a dram shop law which, if enforced, gave the women some control over drinking husbands. It also showed that Kansas had some temperance followers in the law-making body. Section 6 of the law stated

That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons, by agent or otherwise, to sell intoxicating liquors to persons intoxicated or who are in the habit of getting intoxicated, or any married man, against the known wishes of his wife.¹¹

In 1867 the state legislature passed a temperance law which should have given the women even more control over the sale of liquor, requiring dealers to get the signature of one-half of the women, as well as the men, to their petitions before the authorities could grant them a license.¹² Such laws undoubtedly were the reason for the liquor interests' opposition to woman suffrage.

As early as 1884, the W. C. T. U. of Kansas had adopted a strong suffrage resolution.¹³ Therefore, it was not surprising that they

¹¹William E. Connelley (compiler), History of Kansas: State and People (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1928), II, 684.

¹²Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others, (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1881), II, 231.

¹³Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1886), III, 702.

cooperated with the suffrage association during the 1886 campaign for the municipal suffrage law.¹⁴ At Susan B. Anthony's request, they temporarily gave up their plan of asking for an amendment, hoping to secure the same results with the right to vote in city elections.¹⁵ Later, there was a bill proposed in the legislature to take away the right, but it was not reported from the committee, possibly because so many letters of protest had been written by the women, a great many of whom were members of the state W.C.T.U.¹⁶ It would certainly have been a blow to the suffrage movement if the women had lost a part of what they had gained at that point.

At their convention in 1910, the W.C.T.U. voted to make equal suffrage the principal work of the entire organization until it should be won in Kansas.¹⁷ But during the campaign of 1911-1912, some members of the temperance organization felt that they should not be too prominent in suffrage work, possibly thinking that it would detract from their own cause.¹⁸ It had been suggested that the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association

¹⁴Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1902), IV, 639.

¹⁵Ibid., 649.

¹⁶Mrs. Etta W. Gilmore, letter to John Chaney (state senator), January 24, 1901, "W. S. Files."

¹⁷Frank W. Blackmar (ed.), Kansas: A Cyclopedic of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Etc. (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), II, 930.

¹⁸Helen Eacker, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, September 7, 1911, from files in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage.")

and the Kansas W.C.T.U. be joined for the campaign, but some who were members of both organizations felt that they should remain separate, since the W.C.T.U. had a suffrage department of its own.¹⁹ Even though the W.C.T.U. remained apart from the suffrage organization, it cooperated in the sending of over one hundred petitions with a total of 25,000 names to the legislature in 1911.²⁰

Since the W.C.T.U. was giving the suffrage movement its support, one suffrage leader from Lawrence suggested that work through the chautauquas be left to them while the suffrage association concentrated on organization and raising money.²¹

The chief disadvantage to the cooperation of the W.C.T.U. was the opposition it brought from the liquor interests. Liquor dealers and their customers could see the handwriting on the wall, and took it for granted that many women who voted would be against them. The liquor interests apparently placed large sums of money at the disposal of the anti-suffrage workers. For example, it was reported that the St. Louis Globe Democrat claimed that the National Brewers Association had

¹⁹Minnie J. Grinstead, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, September 11, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

²⁰Blackmar, op. cit., 928.

²¹Helen Eacker, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 22, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

appropriated \$1,000,000 for an anti-suffrage campaign in Kansas. The lady who reported this felt sure that some of it was being used to subsidize newspapers in Crawford County. She felt that the W.C.T.U. could do little to help the cause in Crawford and Cherokee counties, because they were anti-temperance in belief as a result of the majority of foreign voters. Her advice was to keep out temperance speakers for fear they would hurt the cause in that section of the state.²²

From other sections of the state came reports that the liquor interests were at work. An example of this was a letter from Ella Wilson who reported that the opposition was well supplied with funds from some outside source, since she knew that the men involved could not put up any great amount of money individually.²³

In the last month of the campaign of 1911-1912, the Kansas women were warned that the state would be flooded with anti-suffrage literature during the last days before the election. It was reportedly to be sent out by the liquor interests under the misleading titles of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' League, State Business Men's League, and Progressive Protective League, to name a few. In an attempt to counteract the effect of this literature, the suffrage association requested the

²²Magdalen B. Munson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, n. d.
"Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

²³Ella Wilson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, September 26, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

cooperation of the newspapers of the state in printing a letter exposing the scheme.²⁴

In a report on the successful campaign of 1911-1912, Mrs. Lucy Johnston stated that one thing that entered more largely than any other into the success was the fact that Kansas had been a prohibition state for thirty-two years. Having no saloons, the liquor interests were deprived of centers where they could congregate their forces for action. Although they didn't give up at this, the men and women of Kansas, having had so many years' experience in keeping the hirelings of the brewers and distillers out of the state, knew how to meet them and circumvent their activities.²⁵

But it was impossible to determine whether the cooperation of the W.C.T.U. did more to help or to hinder the cause of woman suffrage. Its help came chiefly in the form of helping keep the subject before the public, while it possibly hindered in some areas by aligning all those opposed to temperance against the cause.

Attitude of Political Parties

Major political parties have always avoided getting involved with unpopular causes, for their own protection. Thus the Republicans in Kansas refused to give full support to the woman suffrage movement from the beginning. They adopted Negro suffrage as a party issue in the

²⁴Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, letter to editors of papers, October 26, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

²⁵Mrs. Lucy Johnston, "Report of the Kansas Campaign for Political Liberty, 1911-1912," unpublished manuscript, November 21, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage." (Typewritten.)

campaign of 1867. This reform was simply related to the reconstruction program after the Civil War. But the women could not get the same endorsement for their cause. Although the amendment had been proposed by a Republican legislature, as the election drew near, political leaders who had been relied upon as friends of the cause were silent; others were active in their opposition.²⁶ In fact, the enemies of Impartial Suffrage accused the men and women in the movement of trying to split the Republican Party.²⁷

This opposition may have resulted from the tactics of such men as George Francis Train, an ardent Democrat, who undoubtedly hurt the cause. The very fact that Democrats were speaking in favor of the reform could have led many Republicans to take the opposite stand.

In 1874 the Prohibition Party came out in favor of woman suffrage but it gave the cause little help to have the support of a minor party of the state.²⁸

The Democratic Party was the first in Kansas to nominate a woman for a state office, when they selected Miss Sarah A. Brown of Douglas County as their candidate for superintendent of public instruction in 1880.²⁹ In an attempt to get support from Republican voters also, there

²⁶Stanton and others, op. cit., II, 259.

²⁷W. H. McClure, letter to S. N. Wood, June 21, 1867, "W. S. Files."

²⁸Blackmar, op. cit., II, 927.

²⁹Stanton and others, op. cit., III, 705.

was an appeal signed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony for support, not for the Democratic Party, but for a qualified woman whose election would be "an honor to Kansas, a blessing to the children of the state, and would inspire the women of the nation with renewed hope that the glorious day of their enfranchisement had already dawned."³⁰ But Miss Brown was defeated with a smaller minority than that of the regular Democratic ticket.³¹

In the state conventions of 1882, the Greenback party supported woman suffrage by stating,

We are opposed to all monopolies and in favor of equal rights, equal burdens, equal taxation, and equal benefits for all, with special privileges to none; and we hold that it is the best government wherein an injury to one is the concern of all.³²

The Republican party hedged by stating it was "resolved to ask the next legislature to submit an amendment to the constitution in favor of woman suffrage."³³ The Democrats flatly opposed woman suffrage at this time.³⁴

By 1884 the Republicans withdrew their lukewarm support of woman suffrage and ignored the question at their convention. The Greenback party remained faithful and demanded that woman be given equal pay for

³⁰The (Topeka) Daily Capital, October 29, 1880, American Woman Suffrage Association, Clippings, II, in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.

³¹Stanton and others, op. cit., III, 705.

³²Clara H. Hazelrigg, A New History of Kansas (Topeka: Crane and Company, Printers, 1895), 201.

³³Ibid., 202.

³⁴Ibid.

equal work, equal laws with man to secure her equal rights, and the right to vote.³⁵ In its state convention the Prohibition party endorsed the Greenback party's nominee for state superintendent of public instruction, Miss Fanny Randolph of Emporia.³⁶

In 1891 the Populist party gained control of the House of Representatives. Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, a suffragist, had been appointed by the Farmers Alliance on their state legislative committee, and she began a vigorous campaign to secure suffrage for women by statutory enactment.³⁷ But much to the disappointment of Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Diggs campaigned as a Populist in 1892 and did not insist on the suffrage plank.³⁸

The state suffrage organization, in order to preserve the non-partisan attitude of the organization, selected the Populist Mrs. Diggs as vice-president and the Republican Mrs. Laura Johns as president.³⁹

Again making a bid for political support, the women asked the parties at their state conventions in 1894 to adopt a suffrage plank. The Kansas women felt that this would be a mistake, but Susan B. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw forced them into it by threatening to withdraw their

³⁵Stanton and others, op. cit., III, 707.

³⁶Hazelrigg, op. cit., 209.

³⁷Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 652.

³⁸Connelley, op. cit., II, 1178.

³⁹Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 643.

aid from the state.⁴⁰ In reply to this request, the Democrats adopted a resolution saying they opposed woman suffrage "as tending to destroy the home and family . . ."⁴¹ The Republicans did not take a definite stand against the reform, but they did refuse to endorse it as a party measure. The Prohibition Party followed its usual policy of endorsement, and the Populists, who had become quite strong in Kansas, adopted a suffrage plank.⁴²

Since most of the leaders in the suffrage movement were not Populists and hoped for votes from other parties, the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association decided to run an independent, non-artisan campaign. If any suffrage speakers made political speeches, they were instructed to make them under the auspices and by arrangement of the state central committee of their respective parties.⁴³ But it was too late for a non-artisan campaign. The woman's cause was already linked to the Populist Party in the eyes of the Kansas voter and the success of the amendment depended on the fortunes of that party. The Republican women formed a Republican club and seemed to be more interested in their party than in their demand for women suffrage.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Blackmar, op. cit., II, 928.

⁴¹Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 644.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ottawa Journal, July 26, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

⁴⁴Blackmar, loc. cit.

On several occasions, suffrage workers possibly injured their cause by political squabbles. For example, a July Fourth celebration was arranged by all parties in 1893 at Kingman. It was to be a moral and patriotic meeting, not political, and the women were told they could talk all the suffrage they wanted to, but no politics. Mrs. Laura M. Johns, president of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, was so instructed by the Republican chairman of the celebration and followed his orders. But Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, the Populist suffragist, made a Populist speech and Mrs. Johns had to listen to it, much to her disgust. According to Mrs. Johns, Mrs. Diggs was not to blame, because she had been kept at a Populist's house until time for the meeting and had not been properly instructed. However, her political speech aroused considerable resentment among the Republicans and Mrs. Johns planned to go back at a later date in an attempt to undo the damage.⁴⁵ She felt the Populists were attempting to carry the amendment and claim all the credit. This would have been very distasteful to such a strong Republican as she, even one who was working for woman suffrage and who should have been thankful for any support.

The Populist women of Topeka informed Mrs. Johns that there was a great deal of resentment against her political attitudes and activity for the Republicans. Although she did not find any antagonism when among the Populists, she did agree to put more Populist women in the field to speak for the cause.⁴⁶ Although Mrs. Annie L. Diggs felt that very few

⁴⁵Laura M. Johns, letter to Judge W. A. Johnston, July 15, 1893, "W. A. Johnston Papers," "W. S. Files."

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ottawa Journal, August 2, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

Republicans would vote against woman suffrage because it was endorsed by the Populists,⁴⁷ too many voted against it for some reason and the amendment was defeated. Many women felt that having their cause identified with the Populists had definitely been detrimental to them, and after the state had gone strongly Republican in the election of 1900, Mrs. Annie L. Diggs resigned as president of the state suffrage association, since she did not wish to be responsible for any opposition to their cause.⁴⁸

The women's cause was helped by the progressive wave of the early 1900's, demanding changes in the laws and the federal constitution. Jane Addams, a Progressive Party supporter who spoke at a convention in Topeka in 1912, stated that woman needed the ballot in order to carry on humanitarian work.⁴⁹ Possibly as a result of her stand as a Progressive, the National Woman Suffrage Association decided to allow its members to take part in partisan politics, and some Kansas women worked for the Progressive Party.⁵⁰ But this decision was opposed by some of the Kansas leaders, who felt that women should have the right to vote before they pushed any particular party.⁵¹

As one author stated, to maintain a non-partisan stand, the women

⁴⁸Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 648.

⁴⁹Kansas City Journal, November 5, 1912, "w. S. Clippings," IV.

⁵⁰The Topeka Daily Capital, November 24, 1912.

⁵¹Alberta Corbin, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 23, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

were obliged to balance support by one party with some corresponding testimonial from the others. No party wanted a rival to have the monopoly of women's gratitude if and when the amendment went through. For this reason, in the campaign of 1911-1912, political parties of Kansas were getting on the band wagon and insisting they had always been for woman suffrage.

The editor of The Coming Nation, a Socialist newspaper at Girard, claimed that his party was making a fight for it long before any other party had heard of Woman Suffrage. In fact, he stated that "a Socialist who would not vote for Woman Suffrage would be practically a political impossibility."⁵² Some Republicans accused the Socialists of using the suffrage cause to further their own ambitions, but a gentleman from Gove County replied that the Socialists voted for woman suffrage because they believed in it, not because they expected to gain favor.⁵³ The Socialists of Columbus offered their services to the campaign, reminding the women that there was no sex distinction in their party organization. Boasting a little, the secretary of the Socialist organization at Columbus stated that the local Socialists had quite a reputation for getting good crowds together.⁵⁴ But most of the women felt that it was risky to become linked

⁵²A. H. Simons, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 30, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁵³Gove County Republican Gazette, November 21, 1912, letter to editor from "A Socialist."

⁵⁴George W. Snyder, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 14, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

with the Socialists' cause, because they were only a minor party in Kansas. For example, a worker in the 1894 campaign who had moved to California hesitated to return to help in the 1912 campaign because she had become a strong Socialist and felt she would not be welcome.⁵⁵ A suffrage leader from Pittsburg wrote that she was almost afraid to get in touch with suffragists by correspondence because in one instance she discovered the woman contacted to be a Socialist in a community very strong in their opposition to the Socialists. Realizing the threat to the movement, she went to other leading women in the community and persuaded them to take all of the offices to prevent the Socialist lady from taking an active part. To avoid any hitch, she also primed other ladies to nominate the chosen few for their offices.⁵⁶ This was definitely proof that the ladies were catching on to some of the tactics used in machine politics.

Although the Democratic Party's attitude ranged from lukewarm support to open opposition in earlier campaigns, it had been of little importance because that party was a minority one in Kansas politics. But even so, in the final campaign, at Democratic rallies that party's members were favorable and in some instances went to great lengths to explain why they were formerly against equal suffrage. As they stated it, they were

⁵⁵Anna H. Shaw, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, September 21, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁵⁶Magdalen B. Munson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 10, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

not personally against it, but they had all sorts of other good reasons for their opposition. One suffrage worker felt that the politicians could see what was coming and wanted their past sins forgiven.⁵⁷

The most definite proof that no political party deserves either the blame or the credit for the fate of the suffrage amendment in any of the campaigns lies in the fact that the majority party had never taken a stand against it in Kansas. Although their support had often been lukewarm and they sometimes simply ignored the question in their platform, they at least had never had a plank against it. In the earliest campaign it had been a party measure not supported by party members, because with the majority the Republicans had at that time, they could have carried it in the election if all members had been favorable. Therefore, it seemed that the women were successful in 1912, not simply because all the parties endorsed the measure, but because the voters had either been convinced of the justness of it as a part of the progressive reform sweeping the nation or they realized the granting of suffrage was the least the women would settle for.

Tactics Which Antagonized Many Men

Still another hindrance to the cause of woman suffrage lay in the tactics and thoughtless statements of the women leaders, which antagonized many men. Sometimes forgetting that only men could grant

⁵⁷Laura R. Yaggy, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, September 14, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

the right to vote, the women appeared to be starting a battle of the sexes by their belligerent attitude. Setting the stage for the struggle, the following warning was issued to young women:

We would point for them the moral of our experiences: that woman must lead the way to her own enfranchisement, and work out her own salvation with a hopeful courage and determination that knows no fear nor trembling. She must not put her trust in man in this transition period, since, while regarded as his subject, his inferior, his slave, their interests must be antagonistic.⁵⁸

In the campaign of 1867, a Kansas politician had asserted to Miss Susan Anthony that every woman should be married, hinting that if she were, she would not be taking part in crusades. Miss Anthony retorted that to do such, it was essential to find some decent man, and that could not be found among the Kansas politicians who had forsaken woman's cause.⁵⁹ This scathing remark may have given vent to the steam of Miss Anthony's feelings, but it could not have persuaded any Kansas voter to favor her cause.

Some suffragists made the mistake of antagonizing newspaper editors, who had a tool with which they could reach many voters. In one such instance, a group of women selected as their target for ridicule an editor who was an outspoken opponent to the suffrage movement. At one of their suffrage meetings, they commented on the errors in the newspaper, a total of 147 misspelled words, mistakes in grammatical construction,

⁵⁸Stanton and Others, op. cit. II, 268.

⁵⁹Ibid., 245.

punctuation, etc. A resolution was made to present him with a copy of some standard English spelling-book and English language lessons for his especial use, and he was informed of their decision by letter. Needless to say, the following week, he published a tirade of abuse consisting, in their opinion, of brazen falsehoods.⁶⁰

In 1880 G. W. Anderson, an anti-suffragist, announced himself as a candidate for the legislature. The suffrage society of his community adopted a resolution to do everything to defeat him. They were not successful, as was to be expected, and their opposition to his election undoubtedly added another in a position to help them who would never do so.⁶¹

The women could have profited from a bit of advice printed in the Ottawa Journal, which suggested that the way for women to gain suffrage was to use tact and kindness to their husbands, not go over the past nor treat them with abuse.⁶² But as late as the campaign of 1911-1912, some women failed to heed the warning and hindered the cause they professed to help by their thoughtless statements. Elizabeth N. Barr, who issued a suffrage publication called Current Topics, called some newspapermen grafters, a very poor policy concerning the group which could do much to either help or hinder the women's cause.⁶³ In January of 1912, Miss Barr,

⁶⁰Stanton, and others, op. cit., III, 699.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ottawa Journal, June 7, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

⁶³Current Topics, April, 1911, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

in an editorial, stated that if the amendment did not pass, many women would leave Kansas and go to a state where the suffrage had been granted.⁶⁴ This threat could have won no votes, since men who opposed woman suffrage would undoubtedly have been glad to see all the suffragists leave the state.

Fortunately, most of the leaders of the suffrage movement in the final campaign were wise enough to avoid tactics which would antagonize the men. Part of their success lay in their decision to run the campaign without interference from the national association. The men seemed to take criticism from Kansas women with less resentment than that from an outsider. A woman who had taken part in the successful campaign for suffrage in Washington warned the women of Kansas that if they used speakers from outside, to be sure they understood the local situation.

Do not allow any woman speaker to abuse any man, even if he is the veriest blackguard in existence. You are asking something of them, and while I know it is gall and wormwood to be compelled to ask some of the specimens whose only claim to manhood is that they wear trousers, yet remember always, that they have the vote.⁶⁵

A suffrage worker had been told by a woman from Winfield about an address she had heard Anna Howard Shaw present after getting out of humor at another place. Miss Shaw had made some unfortunate remarks and after the meeting a prominent man who was in favor of suffrage said the women should consider themselves fortunate that the weather had prevented a larger audience.⁶⁶ The lady reporting the incident stated that from the

⁶⁴ Kansas City Journal, January 2, 1912, "W. D. Clippings," IV.

⁶⁵ Mrs. M. A. Hutton, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, February 12, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁶⁶ Magdalen B. Munson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, December, 1911, Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

opinions of prominent men and women expressed at various times, she thought the speakers should be women with a sense of humor, but that they should be logical and reasonable, since they had to please the voters, who did not want to be found fault with or reminded of their shortcomings. "We must have speakers to plead our cause, and not make a demand for justice. Men will grant us anything as a favor if its justice has been proven, but they will not be commanded to do even justice."⁶⁷

Another bit of valuable advice from a woman who had taken part in the campaign in Washington was to avoid such topics as temperance and the eight-hour day for women. She described their method in the following words:

We did not argue with men in conversation -- we waited until we got on the platform where they could not "sass back." We were never spectacular -- never spoke on the street corner -- never had a parade. All of these things tended to arouse our enemies. We tried to put our enemies to sleep and arouse our friends to action . . . We did not fight for suffrage, we worked for it, Therein lies a great secret . . .⁶⁸

Final proof that the ladies had learned that it did not pay to antagonize the men was found in a letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, president of the Equal Suffrage Association during the final campaign. The writer, in telling of the district convention to be held in Wichita, stated that they intended to ask the men to help with the meeting because

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Emma Smith DeVoe, Racine, Wisconsin, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 21, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

they realized they needed their votes.⁶⁹ Still another tactic was divulged when she requested that Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. Stubbs, the Governor's wife, come to the convention. Their presence would undoubtedly increase the attendance at the meeting. She further asked Mrs. Johnston to have her stenographer write an advertisement of the two ladies, telling how good-looking they were, so people would come out to see them.⁷⁰ The leaders of the suffrage movement had indeed learned how to run a successful campaign.

Women's Clubs

Although women's activities in clubs sometimes antagonized the men as well as some women opposed to club work, much credit for the women's successful work in suffrage organizations was due to their experience in women's clubs.

At the time of the first campaign for suffrage, Kansas had no effective organizations for women. Even the Impartial Suffrage Association was dominated by men, many with the attitude that women should not take an active part in any attempt to enfranchise themselves.

The first significant woman's club was organized at Leavenworth in July, 1881, under the name of The Ladies Social Science Club of Kansas and Western Missouri. The first president was Mrs. Mary T. Gray of Wyandotte, whose name appeared on one of the petitions presented to the

⁶⁹Nannie K. Garrett, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, January 7, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁷⁰Ibid.

Wyandotte Convention in 1859 asking that woman suffrage be provided by the Kansas Constitution.⁷¹ Among the papers presented and topics discussed by this club during its first year of existence were "The Legal Status of Women in Kansas," "Woman: Her Past, Present and Future,"⁷² and "Kansas Laws for Married Women." The latter was prepared by Mrs. J. M. Kellog of Emporia, a successful lawyer and one of the three female lawyers in Kansas at that time. In this paper, Mrs. Kellog referred to the rights of women in regard to voting and holding office connected with the schools; the disabilities which she had to overcome before depositing her ballot; common law provisions with regard to married women; property rights of married women; women's right to practice any profession in her own name, and her protection under the Kansas homestead act.⁷³ Such topics seemed to indicate that this group of women would definitely favor woman suffrage, but at the annual meeting held in Leavenworth in 1882, there was no mention of women's rights and their attitude was expressed as follows:

Since our difficulties all started with the first woman, it is of course entirely appropriate, not to say obligatory, for later women to do what they can to untangle the snarl and set things to rights, even though the task imply the turning of State's evidence and the confession of weaknesses and blunders into which the sex has stumbled on its own account and without reference to the primal misfortune that made it necessary for Adam and Eve to go West and grow up with the country.⁷⁴

⁷¹The Home Record, July, 1881, Social Science Club, Kansas and Western Missouri, 1881-1885, Clippings, 1-5, Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "S. S. Club Clippings.")

⁷²The Home Record, 1881, n.d. "S. S. Club Clippings", 6-11.

⁷³The (Atchison) Weekly Champion, November 12, 1881, S. S. Club Clippings," No page.

⁷⁴The Topeka Daily Capital, May 28, 1882.

The women of this club seemed to be interested in improving woman's status in the business world without reference to politics of any kind, and at the semi-annual meeting of 1882, the emphasis was on changing public opinion which prevented women from working to earn money because of their dread of losing social caste.⁷⁵ And yet, although the ladies did not speak openly in favor of woman suffrage, the suggestion seemed to be barely beneath the surface in papers reviewing woman's political and social status. For example, Mrs. Cora M. Downs expressed the hope that woman would not petition for her rights, but instead would study and prepare herself for the day that she would "accomplish the manifest destiny of dropping a folded paper in the ballot box, which will after all be only a different form of expressing her opinion from that which she has been accustomed to."⁷⁶ Mrs. Downs went on to say that the women of Kansas could bear testimony to the generous legislation in their behalf⁷⁷ a remark which showed her understanding of psychology in using praise instead of criticism for the group which could extend the vote to women. The truth could have been that most of these club women favored suffrage but were afraid to say so because of the unpopularity of the very reform they would like to accomplish.

At the sixth semi-annual meeting in November, 1883, the ladies'

⁷⁵The (Lawrence) Daily Journal, November 3, 1882, "S. S. Club Clippings," 54-74.

⁷⁶The Topeka Daily Capital, November 11, 1882.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

attention was again focused on the legal status of women, with the chief paper presented emphasizing the change of women's status from that of no rights to their present position in Kansas.⁷⁸

In its early years, the chief accomplishment of the Social Science Club in the cause of woman suffrage was in its effect in changing the public attitude toward woman's ability to exercise political rights. The leading newspapers of the state watched the club's conventions and reported their proceedings, sometimes expressing satisfaction in the fact that "There was no shrieking for suffrage, . . . although the fitness of these women to vote, as contrasted with that of the average masculine elector, was conspicuously demonstrated."⁷⁹ In 1884, a Topeka paper printed extracts from an article by a Presbyterian minister from Kansas City who had attended the Social Science Club's meeting in his city. He mentioned in particular the increase in the number and worth of women's clubs.⁸⁰

Ten years later, the Topeka Daily Capital ran an article by a gentleman in support of woman suffrage. His proof of woman's ability to assume political rights was contained in a comparison of men's and women's clubs. He stated that men formed clubs principally for the purpose of enjoyment, entertainment, and to a great extent for the purpose of a larger

⁷⁸The Topeka Daily Capital, November 9, 1883.

⁷⁹The Topeka Daily Capital, November 6, 1881.

⁸⁰The Topeka Daily Capital, July 13, 1884.

indulgence in the sensual pleasures of eating, drinking, and smoking, with mutual improvement sometimes as a corollary, but often subordinate, if present at all. On the other hand, he said that women formed clubs for education, the advancement of the interest of home and society, and so far the advancement of the highest interests of the nation.⁸¹

There was a noticeable change over the years in the public attitude toward women's clubs, reflected in the heading of newspaper stories. For example, in 1888, there was a report containing a comment on woman's changing status and the remark that the present might well be celebrated as the Age of Woman. This was a report of a meeting of the Social Science Club under the heading, "The Brainy Women of the Twin States Meet to Contemplate and Discuss Social Problems."⁸² A 1903 report of a similar meeting in Wichita contained comments on how women ran the meeting, with members primed to make motions and get them passed. The heading of this report was "Just Like Men, Kansas Club Women at Wichita Fighting for Offices."⁸³ Here was evidence that club women were certainly getting valuable experience for their future gain in political status.

The first step toward a federation of women's clubs in Kansas was made in 1888 when Mrs. Laura M. Johns, president of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Fanny H. Kastall, president of the

⁸¹The Topeka Daily Capital, April 22, 1894.

⁸²The (Topeka) Journal, May 11, 1888, "S. S. Club Clippings," 137-152.

⁸³The Topeka Journal, May 7, 1903, Kansas State Social Science Federation, Clippings, Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "Clippings, Social Science Federation.")

Kansas W.C.T.U., issued a call to all state organizations of women to send representatives to Emporia during the annual session of the State Equal Suffrage Association, for the purpose of forming a Kansas Council of Women. Some clubs which sent delegates to this meeting were the Women's Relief Corps, Home Missionary Society, Women's society of the Presbyterian Church, Home of the Friendless, State Teachers' Association, Medical Society, Ladies' Circle, G.A.R., Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist church, Eastern Star, and Legal Fraternity, in addition to the two organizations sponsoring the assembly. The organization was completed by this group.⁸⁴

At their meeting in 1888 at Kansas City, Mrs. M. P. Davis of Junction City presented a paper entitled "Our Homes," in which she referred to a recent international council meeting at Washington. She commented on the battles women had fought earlier to make it possible for women to hold such meetings without being derided as "blue stockings", or "crowing hens." Mrs. Davis remarked that the names of Livermore, Stanton, Howe, and Willard would be revered by future generations as the Washingtons of equal liberty.⁸⁵ An example of the worthwhile purposes of the Social Science Club was her mention of the need for women on state boards of charity.⁸⁶

In 1894, the Federated Clubs held a meeting at Kansas City, Missouri,

⁸⁴The Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, November 17, 1888.

⁸⁵The Topeka Capital, May 12, 1888.

⁸⁶Ibid.

and adopted a resolution stating "that this federation most heartily sympathizes with the women of Kansas in their earnest efforts to secure universal suffrage."⁸⁷ Although they were not taking active part in the campaign as a club, they were lending moral support which was needed.

Sometimes a women's club was able to influence the outcome of a local election. For example, in 1898, the Twentieth Century Club of Stockton was instrumental in nominating a law-and-order ticket which was later elected.⁸⁸

Three years after Kansas women gained full suffrage, the women of the federated clubs at Parsons started a campaign for the election of candidates at city elections who would put into effect measures the women had endorsed, such as increased taxes for the public library, cooperation by the city government in a plan to clean and beautify the city, and the providing of new markers for the streets.⁸⁹

At the Emporia Convention of the State Social Science Federation in 1927, the ladies voted to form a legislative council to assist in endorsing legislative measures of interest to the women and children of Kansas.⁹⁰ On the national level, it was reported in 1928 that seven bills endorsed

⁸⁷Ottawa Journal, May 10, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

⁸⁸(Topeka) Mail and breeze, April 28, 1898, "Clippings, Social Science Federation," 133.

⁸⁹The Topeka Daily Capital, March 11, 1915.

⁹⁰The Topeka Daily Capital, April 22, 1927.

by the federation were passed by the Seventieth Congress.⁹¹ Although the women were quite pleased about this, it was not possible to say how far their responsibility for the bills' success might have gone.

But in some communities of Kansas, the participation of women's clubs in suffrage may have hampered the cause. In Kansas City, for example, it was reported that there seemed to be a strong feeling among certain classes of the women against the council of clubs.⁹² And in Salina, some women refused to work for suffrage because the movement seemed to be dominated by club women such as Mrs. Laura Johns and others.⁹³ In addition, the attitude of some men was expressed in the statement that "A woman's club sometimes reminds a man of a hammer."⁹⁴

⁹¹The Topeka Daily Capital, July 22, 1928.

⁹²Mrs. Ella Baldwin, letter to Mrs. W. T. Johnston, February 12, 1901, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage!"

⁹³Miss Jessie Gemmil, Salina, personal interview, July, 1956.

⁹⁴Gove County Republican Gazette, March 16, 1911.

CHAPTER VI

NEWSPAPERS AND THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The newspapers of Kansas played a minor part in the suffrage campaign of 1867. Some large eastern newspapers of the nation watched the movement, but offered no helping hand. But when both Negro and woman suffrage were defeated on election day, these same eastern newspapers reproached the women who had spoken in the campaign for having defeated Negro suffrage.¹

As a result of their need for space fillers, many Kansas newspapers began carrying columns devoted to arguments for and against woman suffrage. The printed column "Concerning Women" was sent out weekly, in 1862, by Lucy Stone from the office of the Woman's Journal in Boston to all newspapers that would publish it.² Some columns were of a local nature, written by some suffrage worker under another name. There were also eastern editors who sent articles to Kansas editors warning of the dangers involved in granting women the right to vote.³

¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1881), II, 265.

²Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1886), III, 700.

³Ottawa Journal and Triumph, April 19, 1894, from "Woman Suffrage Clippings," I, in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Clippings." No pages are given for these clippings.)

During the campaign of 1894, there were two Kansas newspapers which carried on a battle over the question. The Topeka Capital favored the reform, while the Wichita Eagle was very much opposed, and the two exchanged insults over their attitudes. Editorials in the Topeka paper were particularly critical of the Wichita Eagle's opposition, as shown in the following:

If the Wichita Eagle's method of fighting the woman-suffrage principle is personal abuse and scurrilous attacks upon the women from abroad who are agitating the suffrage cause in the state; if dignity, ability in argument, control of temper and good breeding are a part of the qualification for the ballot, it would be difficult for the Eagle to prove itself better qualified to vote than the women who are speaking in favor of the amendment.⁴

In a later reply to an article in the Eagle against suffrage, the Capital claimed that the reason the editor of the Wichita newspaper feared the effect of the women's vote was that it might close the Wichita joint.⁵

In the final campaign for woman suffrage, few newspapers remained silent. The women were well organized and had learned from past experience just how they could secure space for the printing of their views. The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association had organized a press department, with a president in each district of the state. The chief method used was to send a circular letter to all editors who had replied favorably to their inquiries. In addition, many suffragists persuaded their local

⁴Ottawa Journal, May 31, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

⁵The Topeka Daily Capital, May 31, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," III.

newspapers to publish a suffrage column.⁶

Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, who was head of the press department, expressed the feeling early in the final campaign that the newspapers of the state were going to be friendly.⁷ The one exception which she mentioned was the Kansas City Star and she was trying to find the editor's name so that her friends in Kansas City could convert him.⁸ The leader of the women's press association at Lawrence also wrote that the Kansas City Star had not committed itself either way, and urged the president of the suffrage association to see the editor as quickly as possible.⁹

Magdalen B. Munson from Pittsburg wrote that her city's newspaper grudgingly gave a little space on the back page. She continued that the women were gradually discovering the mailed fist in the Headlight, which pretended friendship and administered a blow at every opportunity.¹⁰

One woman who had served as president of the state suffrage association wrote a column for Arthur Capper's newspaper, The Topeka Daily Capital which she used for her own purposes. She had hoped to continue as president but was defeated by Mrs. Lucy Johnston, who had not been one of the leaders of the movement until her election. It was even suggested

⁶Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, June 14, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage," from files in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage.")

⁷Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, May 25, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

⁸Ibid.

⁹Alberta Corbin, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, August 11, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁰Magdalen B. Munson, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, August 28, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

that the columnist might go so far in seeking revenge that she would help defeat the amendment.¹¹

The newspapers in and around Wellington simply ignored the ladies' requests to publish suffrage items and columns. Mildred Peck, the lady in charge of the press association in that district, complained that the editors hadn't so much as answered her letters although she had enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope in each case.¹²

The Wichita Eagle had bitterly opposed woman suffrage in the campaign of 1894 and as late as 1912, an editorial appeared assailing the English suffragists. But in the same year, a Wichita woman had a conference with the managing editor and won the promise that if Mrs. Lucy Johnston would write a half-column about the matter, he would be glad to publish it, although he was on the fence about woman suffrage. He claimed that he did not even know the amendment was being considered.¹³

Perhaps the Wichita Eagle's changing attitude was the result of the Wichita Daily Beacon's stand in support of woman suffrage. The latter made a feature of the convention by running pictures of the association's officers and women of the state who were foremost in supporting equal

¹¹Mrs. C. A. Hoffman, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, n.d. "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹²Mildred Peck, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, December 11, 1911, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹³May J. Johnston, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, March 4, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

suffrage.¹⁴ However, the Wichita Eagle did not offer the use of its columns to the women's cause until after the amendment had been accepted in Kansas. Commenting on this fact, the president of the State Equal Suffrage Association remarked that she hated that newspaper's editor, Marsh Murdock, without ever seeing him, because he was so unfair to women.

We used to hold indignation meetings over the scurrilous things that appeared in the Eagle; so you may imagine -- for I cannot tell you -- how surprised I was when both his sons told me they were for woman suffrage and said we were welcome to use the columns of the Eagle.¹⁵

It was indeed generous of the newspaper to favor woman suffrage after it had been gained in the state from which most of its subscriptions came!

Near the close of the final campaign, the Kansas City newspapers which had either opposed the movement or remained silent on the matter had a change in attitude. Fred Trigg of the Kansas City Star came out strongly for woman suffrage while the Kansas City Times also carried an editorial in favor.¹⁶

In Reno County, the suffragists were given permission to put out a special twenty-four page issue of the Hutchinson Daily Gazette. Copies were made available to the workers all over the state at two cents each.

¹⁴Edna L. Shaw, club editor of the Wichita Daily Beacon, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, April 25, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁵Mrs. Lucy Johnston, letter to J. L. Bristow, March 5, 1914, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

¹⁶Bulletin, undated, Equal Suffrage Bulletins, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

It could have been that this was made possible as the result of a suffragist's connection with the newspaper.¹⁷

Mr. Henry Allen acted much as had the editor of the Wichita Eagle. He had been asked in 1911 to give support to suffrage, but replied that he could not help them because he was on the fence. "I would not fight it because you have so much argument in your favor, but I could not engage in the campaign." He did assure the ladies that he would not object to the campaign. After the reform had been gained, he claimed to have favored suffrage for women, perhaps using the claim that silence gives assent.¹⁸

During the campaign, many people were asking what the women would do with the ballot if they got it. A small Kansas newspaper, The Florence Bulletin, was given the credit for the most ingenious answer when it stated "Some will use it for a hair curler, and some may have it framed and hang a drape over it, but the great majority will use it to swat nuisances."¹⁹

¹⁷Mrs. Roscoe Layman, letter to Mrs. Lucy Johnston, October 19, 1912, "Johnston Collection, woman Suffrage."

¹⁸The Topeka Daily Capital, October 17, 1914.

¹⁹Bulletin, October 21, 1912, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage."

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The results of woman suffrage have been many and varied. Neither those who fought for the movement nor those who bitterly opposed it were entirely right in their forecasts, since granting women the right to vote did not immediately cure all the evils in American society, nor did it bring down the nation about their ears. Nevertheless, possible results can be shown of each gain made by the women as they gradually secured full political rights.

The women of Kansas gained the right to vote in school elections as a result of their right to share the control of common schools, although a test case was required to include school suffrage as a part of the law.¹

In 1886 a Kansas newspaper carried an article which included claims that women not only made good use of school suffrage but also got out the vote to provide buildings, supplies, etc. which had been postponed by the men.²

Mr. F. G. Adams, the Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, made a study of the results of school suffrage in the state in 1887-88.

¹C. F. W. Dassler, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1886), Lawrence R. Wheeler vs. John T. Brady, Vol. 15, 30. (See Appendix).

²The Topeka Daily Capital, August 21, 1886.

He concluded that women in general voted in school district meetings, were elected as school board members, and voted on questions of the issue of school district bonds. In chartered cities they did not generally vote for school officers, although, under the constitution, it was believed that they had the right to do so and in one or two instances had done so. This was because school officers in cities were elected at general elections of the city officers for which women were not permitted to vote, and as they could not vote for all, they generally did not choose to vote for any. Neither did they vote for city, county, or state superintendents of schools because it was not considered under the constitution that they had the right to do so.³

It was further pointed out that in 1884 there were 4,915 women teaching in the state, and 1,936 men. The average monthly wage for women was \$32.85 and for men it was \$40.70. There were twelve women serving as county superintendents, and seventy-two men. Mr. Adams felt that the participation of women in school elections and their election to membership on school district boards was resulting in a steady growth of sentiment in favor of full woman suffrage. Women were proving their ability and if they erred in judgment, it was because of lack of experience which they as non-voters had had little opportunity to acquire. It was seen that the reasons which made it right and expedient for women to vote on questions pertaining to the education of their children could also

³Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, (eds.), History of woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1886), III, 710.

be given for their right to vote on all questions affecting the public welfare. It seemed that their voting in school elections had thus had the effect of helping to increase the sentiment in favor of full suffrage.⁴

The next step in woman suffrage was made in 1887 when the Kansas legislature passed a law granting women the right to vote in any first, second or third class city for election of any city or school officers, for the purpose of authorizing issuance of any bonds for school purposes; also any woman possessing the qualifications of a voter under this act was to be eligible for any such city or school office.⁵ Thus it was necessary for still another law to enable women to vote in bond elections for public improvements other than schools. Such a law was passed in 1903.⁶

In 1888 Professor W. H. Carruth of Kansas University and Mr. F.G. Adams, Secretary of the State Historical Society, made a study of the municipal elections as told by the newspapers of the state. The varying reports could be seen in the headlines of various newspapers as follows:

The Best Women Vote; Suffrage a Success; More Women Voted than Was Expected; Women Voted As Their Husbands Did; Women Did Not Vote As Their Husbands Did; Women's Vote Did Not Affect the Results; Women Voted for Law and Order; Women Neglected Their Families; More Women Voted Than Men; Women Scratched Tickets; and Women Are Independent.⁷

⁴Ibid., 710-711.

⁵State of Kansas: Session Laws of 1887 (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1887), 324-325.

⁶State of Kansas: Session Laws, 1903, Passed at the Thirtieth Regular Session - the Same being the Thirteenth Biennial Session - of the Legislature of the State of Kansas (Topeka: W. Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1903), 180.

⁷F. G. Adams and W.H.Carruth, Woman Suffrage in Kansas. An Account of the Municipal Elections in Kansas in 1887, as Told by the Newspapers of the State with a Brief Account of the Suffrage Movement of the State, and Statistical Tables of the Women's Votes in 1887-8 (Topeka: The Geo. W. Crane Publishing Company, 1888), 17-22.

The statistics included showed that in the election of 1887, from the 253 Kansas towns sending complete returns, the total vote was 105,216. Of these, 76,629 were votes of men, 28,587 were votes of women. The vote cast by women was thus 37% of that cast by men. In the 1888 election, 198 cities sent complete results showing a total vote of 64,318. Of these 49,090 were votes of men, 15,228 were votes of women. In this election, the women's vote was 31% of the men's vote, a loss in one year of 6%.⁸ It was quite possible that the reason more women did not vote was that there was still a feeling of not wanting to be associated with a cause that had been quite unpopular. For example, several ladies in one city became angry and declared they would not vote if they had to give their names, for they feared the election judges wanted them for publication.⁹

Although the women's vote was only about one-third of the men's vote, both those who opposed and those who favored woman suffrage made elaborate claims about the results. Those who favored claimed the presence of the women led to more orderly and quiet elections. A Wyandotte County newspaper attributed the order and gentlemanly conduct to the fifty-foot law and the presence of the ladies, together with efficient police service, giving the ladies at least part of the credit.¹⁰ But

⁸Ibid.

⁹M. S. Copies, Municipal Suffrage, 1887 -- Newspaper Manuscript, Leon, Kansas, from files on Woman Suffrage in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "W. S. Files.").

¹⁰M. S. Copies, Municipal Suffrage, 1887 -- Newspaper Manuscript, Wyandotte County, "W. S. Files."

naturally the ladies wanted all of the credit for any improvements, and claimed that after women gained municipal suffrage, the ward managers were careful to bring out clean, upright men as candidates.¹¹ A similar opinion was expressed in the Topeka Daily Capital concerning the city election of 1903. The following showed their opinion of the effect of the women's vote:

Nothing but the power of the women in municipal matters stands between the city and the adoption of the Wichita and Atchison policy, but with the women enfranchised it is difficult to see how the supporters of this policy expect even to get a majority for it. The women in two municipal campaigns have shown their sense of responsibility and their capacity for organization and electioneering. They are a factor to be permanently reckoned with if this issue is to be kept alive in successful municipal contests.¹²

Judge S. S. King, Commissioner of elections in Kansas City for the election of 1899, reported on a study of woman's part in that election. More than 3000 women voted of the 4,800 registered, and one-third of the voters registered were women. He attributed this fact to the activity of women's clubs of the town. His study showed that women from all walks of life voted.¹³

¹¹Mrs. W. A. Johnston, "Woman Suffrage," unpublished manuscript, "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage," from files in Archives of Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as "Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage.")

¹²Ibid.

¹³(Topeka) Mail and Breeze, April 12, 1899, from Woman Suffrage Clippings," III, in the Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka. (Hereafter referred to as W. S. Clippings." No pages are given for these clippings.)

A Kansas City newspaper reported that the women's vote increased each year until they became an important factor in municipal elections in that city. It was also claimed that in numerous contests, the women's vote had proven to be the balance of power and several public officers owed their positions to the women voters of the city. In 1901, the women had taken a more active part than at any previous election, due to the fact that the city central committee of the Republican Party allowed female political clubs of the city to name the members of the organizations for judges and clerks of the election.¹⁴ This was probably the first time in the history of politics that women were thus recognized by any political party. The women's presence in this capacity must have been a good influence, since it was reported that there was a disturbance at only one precinct in the city and it was the only one at which the judges and clerks were all men.¹⁵ This should, indeed, have given the ladies something to point to with pride.

In the Topeka elections from 1899 to 1907, the total of women's votes varied from one-half to one-fourth of the total of men's votes with the exception of the election of 1903, in which women's total vote was 4190 to the men's total vote of 3949.¹⁶ The ladies' interest in

¹⁴Kansas City Journal, February 17, 1901, "W. S. Clippings," IV.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Johnston, loc. cit.

city elections seemed to depend on the matters up for consideration, in the same way that the men's interest varied.

The opponents of woman suffrage frequently asked why, since the women could vote in city elections, they did not compel enforcement of the prohibition law. But in the same year that the women were granted municipal suffrage, the state legislature, for whom the women could not vote, passed a law authorizing the governor, for whom women could not vote, to appoint a board of public commissioners for each first class city with power to appoint the police judge, city marshal and police, and absolute control of the organization, government, and discipline of the police force and all station houses. This board was abolished by the legislature in 1897, as it had been made "a scapegoat for city and county officers who were too cowardly or too unfriendly to enforce the liquor ordinances, and it did not effect the hoped-for reforms."¹⁷ Also, the women could not vote for sheriff or county attorney, making it difficult for them to bring any direct political pressure on the enforcement of the prohibition law.¹⁸

The election of an undesirable candidate when women had been among the voters, no matter how small the percentage, supplied a pretext for claiming that woman suffrage was harmful. In fact, women voters, however

¹⁷Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (eds.), History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, c. 1902), IV, 662.

¹⁸Ibid., 663.

few, made a convenient scapegoat when anything went wrong.¹⁹

Many newspapers of the state pointed out the fact that the liquor interests paid for articles in some Kansas newspapers ridiculing women voters and trying to talk down their effect and influence on elections. In some instances, false reports were printed about disturbances, which were later refuted by the press in the towns concerned.²⁰

The report of an interview with C. K. Overman of Leavenworth left no doubt about that gentleman's attitude toward municipal suffrage. In his opinion, respectable women stayed home and only the lower class of women voted. He claimed that, in smaller towns and cities, women's vote had little effect, since there were seldom important issues involved, but in larger cities, the women's vote had turned the scale and perpetuated ring rule. In conclusion, Mr. Overman stated there was a strong prospect that the next legislature would repeal municipal suffrage, and such a measure would receive his blessing.²¹

Although the next legislature did not make any such proposal, at two different later sessions, such a bill was introduced. The first attempt to deprive women of municipal suffrage was introduced by Representative J. A. Butler of Kansas City in January, 1901. Numerous

¹⁹Victory, How Women won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840-1940 prepared by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1940), 74.

²⁰Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 660.

²¹The Topeka Daily Capital, May 10, 1890, "W. S. Clippings," III.

letters against the proposal were sent to legislators by suffrage associations, representatives of the W.C.T.U., and the Kansas Historical Society, as well as some individuals.²² The bill was killed in committee and received less than ten votes when its author tried to have it placed on the calendar.²³ There was a similar bill, introduced by Senator Hackney in 1905, which had no more success than the first attempt.²⁴

Such attempts may have resulted from the effect of the women's vote on the schemes of politicians. Some women went so far as to suggest that municipal suffrage would have the effect of delaying full suffrage, since the men had seen that women did influence politics in a manner which hampered the activities of party machines and the liquor interests.²⁵

The influence of the women's vote after the granting of municipal suffrage convinced some men of the state that it would be wise to extend the privilege still further. An example of the changing attitude of men was seen in the remarks of Judge W. C. Webb, who stated that he had opposed woman suffrage in 1867 because he felt it was degrading to women. "But the experience of the last decade, and especially since

²²Mrs. Etta W. Gilmore, Corres. sec., W.C.T.U., letter to Senator John Cheney, January 24, 1901; Mrs. O.P. Bray, Pres., W.C.T.U., letter to Senator John Cheney, n.d.; Zu Adams, Margaret L. Adams, Gertrude E. Payne and Harriet E. Adams, Kansas Historical Society, letter to Senator John Cheney, January 24, 1901, "W. S. Files."

²³Ida Husted Harper (ed.), History of Woman Suffrage (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association c. 1922), VI, 204.

²⁴The Topeka Daily Capital, January 28, 1905.

²⁵Anthony and Harper, op. cit., IV, 663.

the passage of the 'municipal suffrage act,' so-called, has led to a change of views." He concluded with the statement that he would cast his ballot for the amendment for conferring full suffrage upon women.²⁶ At this time, men of his opinion were still in the minority and the amendment was defeated.

After full suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas in 1912, the women's influence was felt on the state and national level. Again the women looked at the good results and pointed out that women now took a wider interest in state and national problems. They were interested in humanitarian progress and this interest prompted legislative bodies and platform-makers to inject more of these subjects into their measures and creeds. Arthur Capper, United States Senator from Kansas, was often quoted by the ladies. He felt that greater care was exercised by the political parties in putting forward as their nominees clean, high-minded, honorable men. He also gave the women credit for legislation such as a mother's pension law, a child hygiene bureau to promote the health of boys and girls, and an industrial welfare commission which brought improved conditions for labor.²⁷

Although the women's ballots went into the box with the men's ballots, it was possible to compare the women's vote with the men's by studying the registration books. Mrs. E. E. Roudebush, deputy city clerk of Topeka,

²⁶Ottawa Journal, May 24, 1894, "W. S. Clippings," I.

²⁷Mrs. W. A. Johnston, "Woman Suffrage," unpublished manuscript, "W. S. Files."

reported on the vote in the three elections of 1914, 1916, and 1918, in her city. Statistics which she collected showed that the number of women registered increased for each election until 1918, when it dropped. But this could not be attributed to lack of interest on the part of women alone, because the number of men registered fell also.²⁸

After women gained full suffrage, a few men who hated to give up their objections searched for excuses to criticize. One such instance occurred in relation to the first primary election at Topeka at which women voted. A man stated that he did not get to vote because there were too many women in line ahead of him and the polls closed before he could reach the place. Another man claimed that it took him two hours and a half to vote, and others around him left without voting. The ladies were equal to the challenge and a few days before the general election, a request was published asking all the homekeepers and men not employed to go to the polls anytime from eight to twelve o'clock or from one to five o'clock, leaving the early morning hours, the midday, and the evening for the business men and women.²⁹ The women had worked too hard for suffrage to lose it on the charge that they were responsible for preventing the stronger sex from voting.

Undoubtedly deciding it was the only sensible course of action, most

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

men of the state praised the results of woman suffrage. In 1915 the state legislature passed a point resolution stating that the granting of suffrage to women was not only an act of justice to a disfranchised class, but that it had also proven to be a great good to the state and the women themselves.³⁰

It is impossible to determine the effect of woman suffrage on national issues and policies. Although some women have pointed to each reform since the federal amendment was ratified as part of their influence, it is not possible to say conclusively whether these changes have been brought about by woman suffrage or as a result of a great progressive movement throughout the nation. On the other hand, it is not fair to blame woman suffrage for such things as the increased juvenile delinquency and an increased divorce rate.

Women's continuing interest and success in politics is evidenced in their number serving with distinction in important offices. There has been a gradual increase in the number of women elected to public offices on the local, state, and national level. But the success of women as citizens should not be measured by the number of political offices to which they are elected or appointed. It has even been claimed that women's interest and influence in politics is probably proportionately

³⁰Ibid.

greater than men's.

It is well to remember that we sought the franchise primarily as a human, not a divine right. Our claim was that we were people, not paragons. We wanted to share the duties and privileges of citizenship in proportion to our abilities, interests, and opportunities.³¹

³¹Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Women in the Twentieth Century (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), 338.

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Victory, How Women Won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840-1940, prepared by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1940.

A somewhat condensed version of the suffrage movement, including some references to the Kansas scene.

B. Government Publications

Dassler, C. F. W. Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas. St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1886. Vols V. and XV.

Case of Lawrence R. Wheeler vs. John T. Brady, July Term, 1875. A case in Nemaha County concerning school election in which women had voted. Also, case of Carrie B. Winans vs. E. B. Williams and others, September, 1869; attempt of a woman to vote for county superintendent of Shawnee County and State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, 1911-12. Topeka: State Printing Office, 1912.

Contains the proposed woman suffrage amendment and the final vote on it.

General Laws of the State of Kansas passed at the First Session at the Capital, March 26, 1861. Lawrence, Kansas: "Kansas State Journal" Steam Power Press Print, 1861.

Chapter 76, Article 3, Section 2, clause 2 - act passed by the first session of the Kansas legislature, granting women right to vote in common school elections.

Kansas Constitutional Convention, A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859. Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plan, Imri Zumalt, State Printer, 1920.

Reports of petitions presented to the convention, as well as Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols' request to address the convention and the resulting debate among delegates.

Ninth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, 1893-194. Topeka: Press of the Hamilton Printing Company, Edwin H. Snow, State Printer, 1894.

Contains the proposed woman suffrage amendment voted on in the election of 1894.

State of Kansas: Session Laws of 1887. Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1887.

Chapter 230, pages 324-325 - act conferring upon women the right to vote at city elections and to hold city offices.

State of Kansas: Session Laws, 1903, Passed at the Thirtieth Regular Session - The Same being the Thirteenth Biennial Session - of the Legislature of the State of Kansas. Topeka: W. Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1903.

Chapter 122, Article 3, Section 14 - act providing for municipal bond suffrage for women.

State of Kansas: Session Laws of 1911. Topeka: State Printing Office, 1911.

Chapter 337 contains resolution of equal suffrage proposition to amend constitution of Kansas, giving women the franchise.

The Laws of the State of Kansas Passed at the Seventh Session of the Legislature. Leavenworth: Printed at the Bulletin Book and Job Office, R. A. Barker, Sec. of State, 1867.

Contains the resolution passed by the legislature proposing an amendment to enfranchise women.

Webb, W. C. (compiler). General Statutes of the State of Kansas, 1897, Containing All Laws of a General Nature, from the Admission of the State in 1861 to the Eighth Day of May, 1897. 2 Vols. Topeka: W. C. Webb, Publisher, 1897.

An aid in tracing laws concerning women's rights in the state.

Wilder, D. W. The Annals of Kansas. New edition. 1541-1885. Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886.

Contains the vote by counties on the amendments to enfranchise women and the Negroes in the election of 1867.

C. Periodicals

Caldwell, Martha B. "The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XII (August, 1943), 300-318.

An article on the final campaign in the woman suffrage movement in Kansas.

Catt, Carrie Chapman. "The Will of the People," The Forum, XLIII (June, 1910), 595.

An article presenting arguments for woman suffrage.

North, Hattie McCoy. "A Plea for Housekeepers," The Kansas Magazine, (January, 1872), 55-56.

An article presenting arguments against woman suffrage.

_____. "The American Woman," The Kansas Magazine, (October, 1873), 371-374.

Opposing woman suffrage.

_____. "Weaknesses of Women," The Kansas Magazine, (February, 1872) 135-138.

Points out that woman, because of her weaknesses, was not capable of exercising the right to vote.

Phillips, William A. "The Wyandotte Convention," The Kansas Magazine, (January, 1872), 1-5.

Makes brief references to activities of women at the constitutional convention in 1859.

Stone, Lucy, Frances E. Willard, Rose Terry Cooke, and Josephine Henderson. "A Symposium - Woman's Suffrage," The Chautauquan, XIII (April, 1891, to September, 1891), 72-77.

A debate on why women should or should not vote.

Tarbell, Ida M. "The American Woman," American Magazine, (January-February, 1909), Chapters 4 - 5.

In this article, anti-slavery women were called on "not only to fight what they believed a great wrong, but to fight for the right of fighting the wrong."

D. Newspapers

Gove County Republican Gazette, February 23, 1911; March 16, 1911; April 25, 1912; May 9, 1912; June 6, 20, 27, 1912; October 17, 1912; November 21, 1912.

Includes letters to the editor, from both men and women, for and against woman suffrage.

The Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, November 17, 1888.

Report on the meeting at which the Kansas Council for Women was organized.

The (Topeka) Commonwealth, September 2, 1887.

An argument against woman suffrage with quotations from Senator John J. Ingalls.

The Topeka Capital, May 12, 1888.

Report of the Social Science Club's meeting, including a paper entitled "Our Homes," by Mrs. M. P. Davis of Junction City.

The Topeka Daily Capital, November 6, 1881.

An editorial about the Social Science Club's convention, with comments on how well the women conducted their meetings.

_____, May 28, 1882.

Report of the annual meeting of the Social Science Club in Leavenworth.

_____, November 11, 1882.

Report of the Social Science Club Convention, including a paper entitled "The Women of America," by Mrs. Cora M. Downs.

_____, November 9, 1883.

Report of the sixth semi-annual meeting of the Social Science Club, including a paper on the legal status of women.

_____, July 13, 1884.

Extracts from an article by a Presbyterian minister from Kansas City, containing comments on the increase in number and worth of women's clubs.

_____, August 21, 1886.

An item concerning woman suffrage with a special reference to the excellent use which women made of school suffrage.

_____, November 4, 1893.

An article against woman suffrage.

_____, April 22, 1894.

A sermon given by Margaret Hill McCarter pointing out the need for woman suffrage. Also an argument for suffrage, pointing out the attitude of the Methodist Church.

_____, January 28, 1905.

Report of the proceedings of the state legislative session at which Senator Hackney introduced a bill to take municipal suffrage from women.

_____, July 6, 1909.

The report of the National Education Association meeting in Denver at which John McDonald, editor of the Western School Journal of Topeka, spoke in favor of woman suffrage.

_____, September 9, 1912.

An item concerning automobile tours in the suffrage campaign with a mention of the use of Governor Stubbs' automobile.

_____, November 4, 1912.

The report of a sermon in favor of woman suffrage shortly before election day.

_____, November 24, 1912.

A report of the suffrage convention in Kansas at which Jane Addams was speaker.

_____, October 17, 1914.

An item concerning Henry Allen's change in attitude toward woman suffrage after it had been secured in the state, when he was running for governor of the state.

_____, March 11, 1915.

A report of federated club women's activities in the campaign before city elections at Parsons, Kansas.

_____, April 22, 1927.

Report of the proceedings of the Emporia Convention of the State Social Science Federation, with reference to their forming a legislative council.

_____, July 22, 1928.

A report of the State Social Science Federation's influence on national legislation.

E. Collections of the Kansas State Historical
Society, Topeka, Kansas

Archives, Kansas State Historical Society Library

Files (2) "History of Woman Suffrage."

Folders:

Correspondence about portrait of Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols, 1880-1881.

Correspondence, Campaign of 1867.

Johnston, Mrs. Lucy, "History of Woman Suffrage," unpublished manuscript. (Typewritten.)

Kansas Equal Suffrage Association Fair, 1892.

Minutes of Meetings; Miscellaneous Correspondence.

Municipal Suffrage, 1887.

Speech by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1867 (manuscript.)

Suffrage Enrolment, Topeka, 1893.

Topeka Woman Suffrage Society, 1867-1875.

Woman Suffrage Association of Topeka -- Constitution, By-Laws and Minutes from November, 1867 to November, 1875.

File "J. K. Hudson Papers."

- Files (6) Johnston, Lucy Brown, 1846-1937
 "Woman Suffrage Addresses and Articles; Headquarters
 Bulletins; Minutes of Meetings, Constitutions,
 etc.; Miscellaneous papers."
- Johnston, Lucy Brown, 1846-1937
 "Woman Suffrage Correspondence, 1886-1911; undated."
- Johnston, Lucy Brown, 1846-1937
 "Woman Suffrage Correspondence, 1912, January-May."
- Johnston, Lucy Brown, 1846-1937
 "Woman Suffrage Correspondence, 1912, June-September."
- Johnston, Lucy Brown, 1846-1937
 "Woman Suffrage Correspondence, 1912, October-December;
 Undated; Carbon Copies, 1912, February-September;
 Men's League for Woman Suffrage Correspondence, 1912,
 April-October; Miscellaneous papers."
- Johnston, Lucy Brown, 1846-1937
 "Woman Suffrage Correspondence, 1913-1930."

Clippings, Kansas State Historical Society Library

- Johnston, Lucy Brown. "Woman Suffrage in Kansas."
 Scrapbook of unsorted clippings.
- "Kansas State Social Science Federation, 1895-1900, Clippings."
 Information on club women of the state.
- _____, 1895-1904.
 Shows the interest of club women in government.
- "Kansas Territorial Clippings, 1854-1856," Vol. I.
 Includes letter from Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols to a
 Boston newspaper from Lawrence, Kansas Territory,
 January 9, 1855.
- _____, 1855-1860, Vol. III.
 Includes a circular from the General Land Office,
 September 5, 1841 on Kansas homesteads.
- "Social Science Club, Kansas and western Missouri, 1881-1885,
 Clippings."
 Report of the organizing of the first important woman's
 club in the state. This club later became the Kansas State
 Social Science Federation.

_____, 1885-1893.

Reports of meetings and conventions of the club. Shows an interest of some club women in suffrage.

"Woman Suffrage and League of Women Voters, Clippings," Vol. VI.
Information relating to the suffrage organization after women gained the right to vote.

"Woman Suffrage Clippings of National American Woman's Suffrage Association," 2 vols.
Valuable clippings for their information concerning suffrage conventions and the attitude of state newspapers.

Miscellaneous collections

"Kansas Scrap-Book, Biography," Vol.V, 59-62.

Includes a paper read by Mary Tenney Gray in 1896 before the Wyandotte County Historical Society. Refers to Mrs. Nichols' attendance at Wyandotte Constitutional Convention in 1859.

"Woman Suffrage Pamphlets."

Report on municipal elections in 1887 and 1888; speeches by George Francis Train in campaign of 1867; a suffrage song book and other miscellaneous materials.

F. Unpublished Theses

Cowper, Mary O. "A History of Woman Suffrage in Kansas." Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1914.

This thesis covers the period from territorial days in Kansas to 1914. Much of the material in it is taken from the History of Woman Suffrage. It was written before much of the manuscript material now at the Kansas State Historical Society Library and Archives was available.

Marple, Robert P. "An Historical Atlas of Kansas." Unpublished Master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, 1949.

An aid in determining when counties were organized in Kansas.

G. Personal Interviews

Gemmil, Jessie, June, 1956, Salina, Kansas.

Miss Gemmil, a former librarian of the Salina Public Library, recalled some of the attitudes of women in Salina who opposed activities of club women.

Smith, Mrs. Corwin L., June-August, 1956, Gove, Kansas.

Mrs. Smith recalled discussions in which she was involved during the last campaign for woman suffrage in Kansas.

APPENDIX A.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE SONGS

JUST AS WELL AS HE

(Air: Comin' Through the Rye)

If a body pays the taxes,
 Surely you'll agree
 That a body earns a franchise,
 Whether he or she.

Refrain: Every man now has the ballot:
 None, you know, have we,
 But we have brains and we can use them
 Just as well as he.

If a city's just a household
 As it is, they say,
 Then every city needs housecleaning,
 Needs it right away.

Every city has its fathers,
 Honors them, I ween,
 But every city must have mothers
 That the house be clean.

If a home that has a father
 Needs a mother, too,
 Then every state that has men voters
 Needs its women, too.¹

¹Burlingame Enterprise, October 3, 1912, Women Suffrage and League of Women Voters, Clippings, Vol. 6, Kansas Historical Library, Topeka.

WOMAN'S RIGHT
(Air: John Brown)

It's the right of every woman
To make out her path in life,
And to be a saint or soldier,
Or a true and loving wife;
To fill the soul with gladness,
And recall the world from strife,
As she goes marching on.

Chorus: Glory, glory, halleluijah!
Glory, glory, halleluijah!
Glory, glory, halleluijah!
As she goes marching on.

It's her right to serve the nation
In its every hour of need,
Her right to sit in judgment
On her country's faith and creed,
And show the world her courage
By some high, heroic deed,
As she goes marching on.

Chorus:

It's her right to train the children
In the home and in the school,
To help in framing statutes
And determining who shall rule,
And like man, to cast her ballot
For a statesman or a fool,
As she goes marching on.

Chorus: Glory, glory, halleluijah!
Glory, glory, halleluijah!
Glory, glory, halleluijah!²
As she goes marching on.

²Henry W. Roby, The Suffrage Song Book (Topeka: Crane and Company, 1909), (Found in Woman Suffrage Pamphlets, Vol. I, Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.)

MADMEN OR FOOLS
(Air: Auld Lang Syne)

Some things that wear the shapes of men
Have never known their place;
They think that God has given them
All wisdom, power, and grace.

Chorus: All wisdom, power, and grace alone,
All wisdom, power, and grace;
They think that God has given them
All wisdom, power, and grace.

They boast the right to rule the world,
And claim the crown and throne,
And hold that justice is a myth
And righteousness unknown.

Chorus: And righteousness unknown, alas!
And righteousness unknown;
They claim that justice is a myth,
And righteousness unknown;

The rank conceit these wise ones show,
Concerning who should rule,
Makes each and every one of them
A madman or a fool.

Chorus: A madman or a fool, or both,
A madman or a fool;
Makes each and every one of them
A madman or a fool.³

³Ibid.

THREE BLIND MEN
 (Air: Three Blind Mice)

Three blind men,
 Three blind men,
 See how they stare,
 See how they stare;
 They each ran off with a woman's right.
 And they each went blind in a single night.
 Did you ever behold such a gruesome sight
 As these blind men?

Three blind men,
 Three blind men, --
 The man who won't ,
 The man who can't,
 And then the coward who dares not try;
 Did you ever see such a three-cornered lie
 As these blind men?⁴

⁴Ibid.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I

VOTE BY COUNTIES in 1867

County	Woman Suffrage		Negro Suffrage	
	For	Against	For	Against
Allen	243	303	324	266
Anderson	218	275	258	259
Atchison	345	1235	412	1161
Bourbon	464	736	550	725
Brown	248	341	265	346
Butler	28	76	33	70
Chase	118	125	120	123
Clay	39	58	47	53
Crawford	45	150	50	199
Cherokee	249	239	200	186
Coffey	299	350	239	434
Davis	167	364	183	383
Dickinson	34	140	89	95
Doniphan	355	1390	338	1425
Douglas	652	1464	1017	1147
Franklin	120	709	280	539
Greenwood	99	198	133	198
Jackson	162	387	173	445
Jefferson	335	1158	392	1159
Johnson	325	866	400	852
Labette	95	217	115	213
Leavenworth	1588	1775	890	2703
Linn	253	791	340	798
Lyon	209	565	503	273
Marion	16	59	13	58
Marshall	160	410	167	427
Miami	243	970	486	865
Morris	66	203	48	212
Nemaha	227	427	251	421
Neosho	101	367	151	322
Osage	121	238	207	143
Ottawa	34	32	44	27

TABLE I (Continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1867

County	Woman Suffrage		Negro Suffrage	
	For	Against	For	Against
Pottawatomie	155	501	226	456
Riley	218	378	351	277
Shawnee	439	731	494	670
Saline	132	233	162	219
Wabaunsee	114	152	149	108
Washington	19	143	39	118
Wilson	43	170	36	138
Woodson	94	141	88	149
Wyandotte	168	798	159	826
Total	9070	19857	10483	19421

NOTE: Both Amendments were defeated.

Information taken from D. W. Wilder, The Annals of Kansas. New Edition. 1541-1885. (Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886), 463.

TABLE III

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1894

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Allen	1028	1236
Anderson	1124	1373
Atchison	778	2479
Barber	326	387
Barton	674	1731
Bourbon	1498	2427
Brown	1402	2021
Butler	2034	2227
Chase	512	925
Chautauqua	818	887
Cherokee	2124	2508
Cheyenne	272	335
Clark	147	127
Clay	1169	1724
Cloud	1516	1831
Coffey	1138	1741
Comanche	107	88
Cowley	2547	1996
Crawford	2722	2797
Decatur	568	760
Dickinson	1015	2012
Doniphan	862	1668
Douglas	2004	2177
Edwards	318	284
Elk	972	875
Ellis	322	924
Ellsworth	425	1177
Finney	320	266
Ford	407	492
Franklin	1394	1548
Geary	524	895
Gove	184	148
Graham	405	275
Grant	76	35
Gray	136	142
Greeley	109	56

TABLE III (continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1894

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Greenwood	1109	1413
Hamilton	172	96
Harper	664	922
Harvey	1104	1680
Haskell	65	56
Hodgeman	161	165
Jackson	923	1493
Jefferson	1054	1488
Jewell	1806	1599
Johnson	1509	1825
Kearny	147	114
Kingman	702	915
Kiowa	215	198
Labette	1824	2350
Lane	168	104
Leavenworth	1453	3251
Lincoln	618	1021
Linn	1298	1427
Logan	205	149
Lyon	1793	2807
Marion	1202	1536
Marshall	1240	2272
McPherson	826	1750
Meade	165	143
Miami	1342	2108
Mitchell	1012	1392
Montgomery	2065	2323
Morris	791	1222
Morton	36	38
Nemaha	1323	2245
Neosho	1407	1769
Ness	447	325
Norton	858	867
Osage	2121	2443
Osborne	900	1040
Ottawa	1006	1019

TABLE III (continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1894

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Pawnee	472	485
Phillips	1139	1044
Pottawatomie	939	1907
Pratt	797	545
Rawlins	393	702
Reno	2222	2430
Republic	1281	1732
Rice	1211	1249
Riley	683	1336
Rooks	836	622
Rush	330	611
Russell	457	949
Saline	1058	2166
Scptt	180	57
Sedgwick	1994	4496
Seward	73	33
Shawnee	3620	4970
Sheridan	249	265
Sherman	376	281
Smith	1288	1372
Stafford	830	729
Stanton	64	45
Stevens	90	43
Sumner	1700	2396
Thomas	352	348
Trego	163	193
Wabaunsee	719	1448
Wallace	192	118
Washington	1328	2579
Wichita	166	157
Wilson	1047	1387

TABLE III (continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1894

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Woodson	592	779
Wyandotte	2753	4516
Total	95302	130139

NOTE: The proposed amendment lost by a majority of 34837.

Information taken from Ninth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, 1893-'94 (Topeka: Press of the Hamilton Printing Company, Edwin H. Snow, State Printer, 1894) 64-65.

TABLE IV

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1912

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Allen	2324	2285
Anderson	1664	1306
Atchison	1694	2805
Barber	1185	975
Barton	1591	2292
Bourbon	2665	1796
Brown	2159	2159
Butler	2613	2369
Chase	771	1007
Chautauqua	1294	1071
Cherokee	3614	2804
Cheyenne	499	351
Clark	496	467
Clay	1703	1808
Cloud	1821	1983
Coffey	1571	1726
Comanche	589	460
Cowley	4290	2467
Crawford	5494	3990
Decatur	893	767
Dickinson	2510	2576
Doniphan	1286	1639
Douglas	2331	1989
Edwards	895	800
Elk	1409	920
Ellis	648	1407
Ellsworth	877	1328
Finney	927	522
Ford	1593	1055
Franklin	2486	2101
Geary	965	1113
Gove	428	436
Graham	947	565
Grant	143	107
Gray	434	234
Greeley	134	115

TABLE IV (continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1912

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Greenwood	2102	1203
Hamilton	370	239
Harper	1504	1556
Harvey	1894	1860
Haskell	126	103
Hodgeman	387	332
Jackson	1884	1765
Jefferson	1824	1850
Jewel	2624	1446
Johnson	2089	1855
Kearny	420	257
Kingman	1513	1423
Kiowa	747	585
Labette	3625	2759
Lane	328	264
Leavenworth	2666	3589
Lincoln	1068	1184
Linn	2000	1359
Logan	548	232
Lyon	2999	2326
Marion	1807	2232
Marshall	2159	3054
McPherson	2065	2327
Meade	631	372
Miami	1852	2016
Mitchell	1673	1478
Montgomery	4380	3205
Morris	1313	1351
Morton	196	174
Nemaha	1869	2134
Neosho	2494	2044
Ness	718	539
Norton	1344	991
Osage	2339	2145
Osborne	1408	1314
Ottawa	1375	1157

TABLE IV (continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES IN 1912

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Pawnee	1196	871
Phillips	1614	1387
Pottawatomie	1665	2094
Pratt	1333	897
Rawlins	682	575
Reno	4288	3352
Republic	1844	2085
Rice	1746	1406
Riley	1883	1724
Rooks	1276	873
Rush	652	1093
Russell	964	1367
Saline	2004	2500
Scott	361	204
Sedgwick	7512	6800
Seward	545	401
Shawnee	6936	5539
Sheridan	583	458
Sherman	660	296
Smith	1959	1623
Stafford	1343	1152
Stanton	156	92
Stevens	313	219
Sumner	3242	2632
Thomas	557	316
Trego	544	538
Wabaunsee	1177	1540
Wallace	305	187
Washington	1691	2608
Wichita	179	187
Wilson	2171	1659

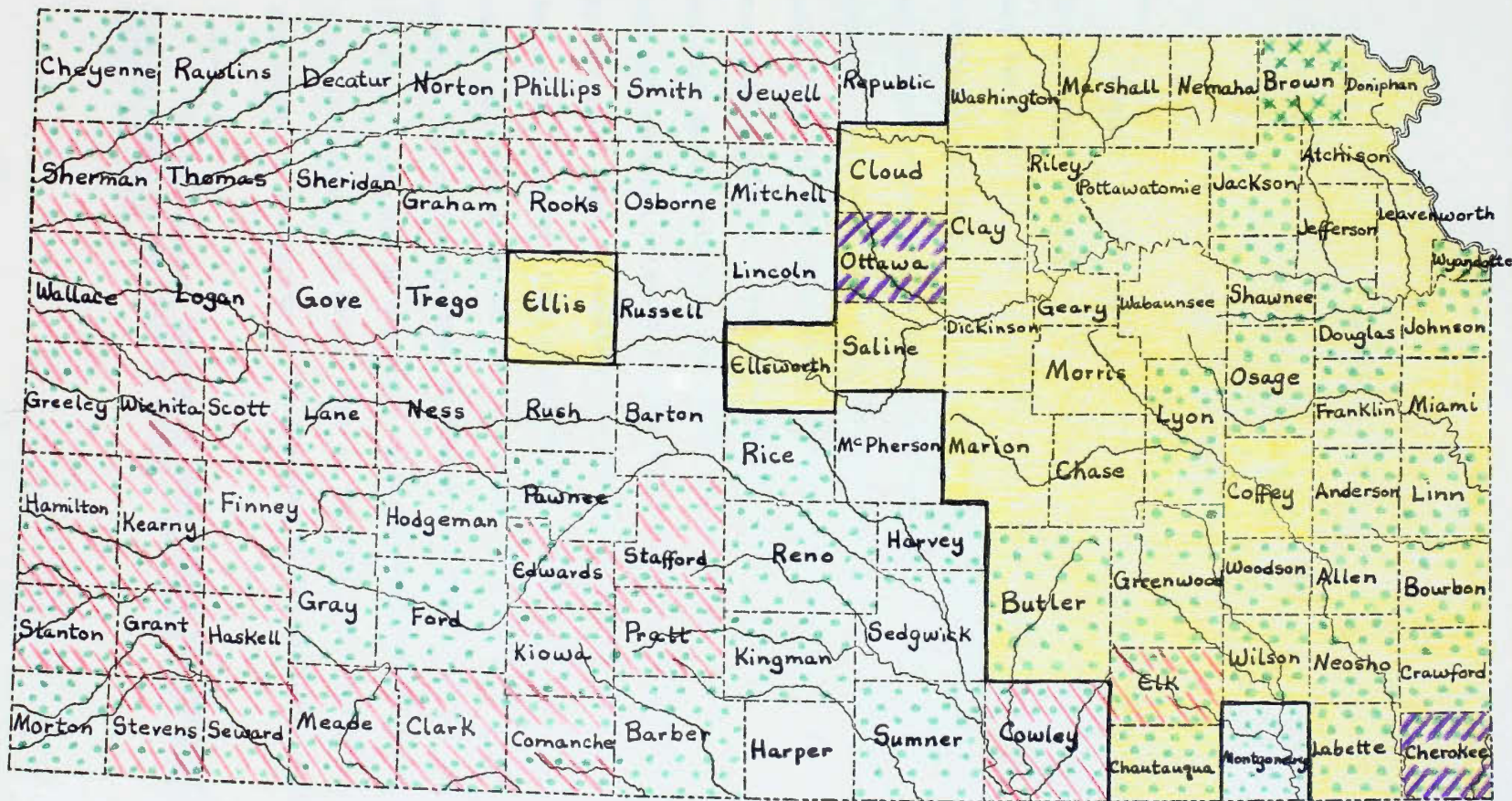
TABLE IV (continued)

VOTE BY COUNTIES in 1912

County	For Amendment	Against Amendment
Woodson	1177	1036
Wyandotte	7506	6968
Total	175246	159197

NOTE: The amendment won with a majority of 16,049 votes.

Information taken from Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, 1911-'12 (Topeka: State Printing 1912.) 86-87



KANSAS

SCALE 0 20 40 MILES

- Kansas in 1867
- Counties for in 1867
- Counties for in 1894
- Counties for in 1912
- County in which a tie vote resulted in 1912

Results of Votes on the Women Suffrage Amendment in Kansas

APPENDIX C

SUPREME COURT CASES

Wheeler vs. Brady¹

Women's right to vote at school elections went unchallenged until 1873 in Nemaha County. At the annual meeting in March, 140 votes were cast for school district treasurer. Of these, Lawrence R. Wheeler received 70 and George H. Adams received 70. Of Wheeler's, 60 were men and 10 were women; of Adams', 50 were men and 20 were women. The election board held that there was no election and adjourned the election until April 5. The election was further postponed until April 19. In the meantime, a call for a special election was signed by 60 of the electors and such special election was called for April 19. On that day, electors met and proceeded to elect a treasurer. Sixty votes were cast, all for Mr. Wheeler. When he demanded the treasurer's books from the former treasurer, they were refused and Wheeler brought suit. The district court held that women had the legal right to vote at school district meetings for officers; that as Wheeler and Adams had each received 70 votes, there was no election; that the adjournments of the election were unauthorized and void; that as the call for a special election was not signed by a majority of the electors of the district, such special

¹C.F.W. Dassler, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1886), XV, 30-32.

election was illegal and void and Wheeler had no right to the office.

The question to be decided by the supreme court was whether or not women were legal voters in school district elections. The lawyer for the plaintiff argued that since the constitution limited political power to males, the section concerning the control of common schools did not include the right to vote for women. The lawyers for the defendant claimed that since the provision stated that women should have equal rights in the control of common schools, they must have the right to vote in school elections, because they could not have the same rights without the right to vote in the school meeting.

The supreme court agreed that women were legal voters at school elections, and the election of April 19 was illegal, thus the judgment of the lower court was affirmed.

Carrie B. Winans vs. E. B. Williams and others²

The defendants were judges of a general election at which county superintendent for Shawnee County and a Superintendent of Public Instruction were legally to be elected. The plaintiff in error, a woman, but otherwise possessing all the qualifications of an elector, went to the polls and offered to vote, tendering a ticket for a regular candidate at the election, but the judges refused her the right to vote. Carrie B.

²Ibid., V, 133-134.

Winans brought her action against the defendants in the district court of Shawnee County, and brought this proceeding in 1869 to reverse the judgment rendered there.

J. Valentine, one of the judges, stated that the only question presented in the case was whether the plaintiff in error had a legal right to vote for state and county Superintendent of Public Instruction. She had all the legal qualifications for an elector, except that she was a female, and not a male. The constitution of the state provided for the election of a state Superintendent of Public Instruction to be chosen by the electors of the state and also provided for the election of a county superintendent. The constitution also provided for a general election at which these officers were to be elected. The constitution stated who should be electors as follows:

Every white male person, of twenty-one years and upwards, belonging to either of the following classes, who shall have resided in Kansas six months next preceding any election, and in the township or ward in which he offers to vote at least thirty days next preceding such election, shall be deemed a qualified elector: First, citizens of the United States; second, persons of foreign birth who shall have declared their intention to become citizens, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization.

The judge pointed out that neither the constitution nor the statutes provided, by express words, for females to vote for either state or county Superintendent of Public Instruction. The whole claim for such a right was founded upon section 23 of article 2 of the constitution, which it was claimed, implied that females could vote for school officers. Article 2 of the constitution, devoted to the legislative branch of the government,

provided that "the legislature, in providing for the formation and regulation of schools, shall make no distinction between the rights of males and females." The judge stated further that no lawyer in the state, whatever his opinion might be on the general question of woman suffrage, seriously thought that women had a legal right to vote for either state or county Superintendent of Public Instruction. Therefore, the supreme court agreed that women could not vote for county or state Superintendent of Public Instruction, thus the judgment of the lower court was affirmed.