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The Woman Suffrage Movement in West Virginia, 1867-1920

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN
WEST VIRGINIA, 1867-1920

Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate School

of

West Virginia University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts

by

Anne Wallace Effland, A.B.

Morgantown

West Virginia

1983

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INTRODUCTION

The woman suffrage movement in the United States has been a frequent topic for scholarship among both professional historians interested in the American women's movement and local historians concerned with recording the heritage of individual states and communities. Even as early as the days of the suffrage movement itself, documentation of the movement had begun. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) began an ongoing record of the movement, The History of the Woman Suffrage Movement, in 1881 to follow its progress as it moved toward victory. Other works like Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler's Woman Suffrage and Politics were written soon after the end of the movement in 1920. These early histories attempted to analyze the reasons for the various failures and successes of the movement and to describe it from a little greater distance than had NAWSA's History.

In more recent years, important studies like Eleanor Flexner's Century of Struggle, Aileen Kraditor's Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement and William O'Neill's Everyone Was Brave have documented and interpreted the national scene, again from a greater distance of years

and as part of a developing new women's movement. Books and articles that describe the events leading to the enfranchisement of women in individual states have also appeared in the years since 1920. An example of this is a series of studies of the suffrage movements in the southern states written by A. Elizabeth Taylor of Texas Woman's College in the 1950s. Other states, including South Dakota and Iowa, have been researched by local historians and former suffragists.

West Virginia's movement, however, has never been documented, except through the contemporary reports included in the NAWSA History and through the occasional notes about West Virginia's movement that have made their way into the national studies. An important reason for this may be the uncertainty exhibited in contemporary accounts and later national studies about West Virginia's place in the national scheme. It was a state whose movement began late and progressed slowly, yet it was one whose support of woman suffrage seemed almost taken for granted. It was not classed with the southern states, of which Tennessee became the great hero for breaking the solid South and becoming the thirty-sixth state to ratify the National Amendment. Neither was it included among the border states of Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware, whose sympathies were divided and hard to predict. West Virginia could

not be considered one of the states of the industrial northeast, which were also divided in their support, nor could it be counted among the states of the old Northwest Territory, which generally supported suffrage. This inability to type the state as part of a particular region or trend, which has always been problematical in West Virginia history, has tended to make the state difficult to handle in national studies and impossible to use as an example of particular trends in the various regions of the country. Additionally, the state was never a leader in the national movement and for that reason also, it has rarely appeared in the broader studies.

Why a local state history of the movement has never been produced is more difficult to ascertain. Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that the state's suffrage organization was never a large one, and it tended to coalesce and disband rapidly with the rise and fall of demands for action at particular moments. Most of the small core of active women involved were immediately carried on into other activities after suffrage was won in 1920, often in organizations with which they had been involved before the suffrage movement began and to which they had returned periodically during its lulls. No one apparently felt the need to stop and record the events of the previous twenty-five

years when the needs of the present day called so strongly.

Later studies were almost certainly hindered by the same problem that the researcher finds today: the scarcity of good primary source material. No records of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association, the statewide suffrage organization, seem to have survived, and neither have records of any of the local affiliates of this central body. The papers of individual women of the movement are difficult to find and those of men who took part often ignore the issue. The researcher is forced to depend on contemporary reports to the annual NAWSA conventions, records of West Virginia's activities among the archives of national suffrage organizations, coverage of West Virginia activities by the national pro and anti press, and local newspaper stories on suffrage events. As a result, although it is not impossible to piece together the story, it is sometimes difficult to see inside events, to understand the motives of individuals, the dynamics of the organizations, and the candid reactions to events on the local and national levels. The lack of biographical information and personal papers of individuals connected with the movement on both the pro and anti sides of the question lends a one-dimensional character to the story. It is unfortunate that

even a short record of the movement was not compiled twenty or thirty years ago when the memories of some of the participants, who were then still living, might have been tapped to fill these gaps.

Despite these difficulties, however, the story of the West Virginia suffrage movement does have a place in understanding the progress of suffrage on the national level. The loss of the state suffrage referendum in 1916 was a serious blow to NAWSA's state-by-state effort and an impetus to pursue suffrage by Federal Amendment. West Virginia's position as the thirty-fourth state of thirty-six to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment four years later placed it among the last crucial battles of the Federal ratification drive. Without West Virginia, ratification in time for the 1920 primaries was uncertain. With West Virginia, the anti-suffragists were greatly weakened as it became possible to expect ratification in 1920. Vacillating states like Tennessee could then be lured by the chance to become the thirty-sixth state to ratify, thereby securing a place of prominence in the victory of the movement to guarantee suffrage to American women through the Constitution.

In addition to rounding out the national picture, an understanding of the progress and dynamics of the West Virginia suffrage movement helps to com-

plete the record of West Virginia history during this period. Comprehension of the forces at work in the Progressive Era may provide insight into other aspects of the state's development, including, perhaps, the regional divisions that have characterized its attempts at progress in the 20th century.

CHAPTER I

"The Leaven Is Undoubtedly Working":

The Early Years, 1867-1914

West Virginia's experience with the woman suffrage movement through 1914 followed the general progress of the movement nationwide. A few of the western states achieved suffrage in the period from 1867 to 1896 and some unsuccessful referenda were launched, but the division of the movement's leadership in 1869 that resulted in the formation of two suffrage organizations, the American and the National Woman Suffrage Associations, diluted the power and influence of the movement until its reunification in 1890. Between 1890 and 1900, while an aging Susan B. Anthony led the united organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the traditional dual approach of state and national lobbying for suffrage practiced by Anthony's old National Woman Suffrage Association was slowly eroded by the pressure of younger suffragists for a commitment to the state referendum approach.¹

Carrie Chapman Catt took over as leader of the movement for the first time in 1900 and under her

strong hand a vigorous state-by-state campaign began, but most of the momentum achieved by Catt with this approach was dissipated under the leadership of the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, which lasted from 1904 to 1915. She continued state-by-state agitation, but she was unable to inspire the loyalty and unity that both Anthony and Catt had shared, and the movement entered a period of stagnation with little forward progress and a falling away of younger members from the association. A new impetus for action arose in 1910, when a second generation of active women, including Harriet Stanton Blatch, and Alice Paul, began a renewed agitation for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. First through a Congressional Committee within NAWSA, and later through the independent Congressional Union and National Woman's Party, these women reactivated the movement with a more militant approach, making use of the dramatic tactics of their English mentors, the Pankhursts, although with a good deal less violence.²

West Virginia's period of inactivity from 1869 to 1895, and a following period of slow growth between 1895 and 1915, with a marked increase of activity after 1910, neatly parallels developments on the national level. The West Virginia movement remained smaller than those in most other states throughout the entire seventy year struggle, and it never

assumed any position of leadership in the national movement, but its periods of inactivity and decline, as well as its periods of growth and activism, were a small reflection of the larger picture.

The beginning of the woman suffrage movement in the United States is often dated from the 1867 Kansas state woman suffrage referendum, the first organized attempt to have votes for women written into the constitution of an individual state. In response to the refusal of the Radical Republican element in the post-Civil War Congress to address the question of allowing women the vote while guaranteeing suffrage to the newly freed male slaves, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, among others, began to organize a national woman suffrage association and enlisted the aid of longtime friends of women's rights in that first, unsuccessful, state campaign.

The West Virginia woman suffrage movement can also be dated from that same year. On February 19, 1867, Samuel Young, a minister and State Senator from Pocahontas County, introduced a resolution calling for the enfranchisement of women in the new state of West Virginia. His motive for doing this is not recorded, although as a strong statehood supporter and activist, he may have been looking for the votes' of pro-Union women to offset the return of former

Confederate voters to West Virginia after the Civil War. Whatever his reasons, and despite the complete lack of interest among his fellow senators (the resolution was never taken up again in that session), he introduced another resolution in 1869, asking the West Virginia State Senate to call on the United States Congress to take up the question of woman suffrage on a national level. This resolution received somewhat more attention than the previous one, reaching the stage of a floor vote, but it was defeated, 12 to 8. West Virginia can take its place among the earliest states to consider the issue, and come up with a record no worse than most others.³

The state legislature's early consideration of the question, however, was no indication of the future for West Virginia's suffrage movement, unless the immediate defeat and general lack of interest among senators might be considered a premonition of the movement's slow pace for nearly fifty years. West Virginia did reach the national suffrage press in 1870, when a young Morgantown girl's school for freed slaves was noted in the Woman's Journal, official organ of NAWSA. The story appeared in a column called "What Women Are Doing," that regularly highlighted the work of individual women across the country.⁴ No further action on the woman suffrage question appears to have

taken place in West Virginia before 1895, however, when the national organization sent one of the members of its Organization Committee, Annie L. Diggs of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, into West Virginia, where she found "the question was too new to make any organization possible."⁵

Actually, the Proceedings of the 25th Annual Convention of the NAWSA in 1893 show that dues were paid by one West Virginia member, Marion K. Neil, in 1892, but there is no further indication of any activity in the state at that time. A different name, Cynthia S. Burnett, appears in the financial record for 1894, but once again, apart from this single membership, no work was apparently going on.⁶ Later in 1895, however, the Rev. Henrietta G. Moore of Ohio was engaged by NAWSA to speak at a series of meetings in the state and, as a result, nine clubs were formed in the northern section of West Virginia, at Wheeling, Benwood, Wellsburg, New Cumberland, New Manchester, Clarksburg, Grafton, Fairmont, and Mannington. A convention was called in Grafton that fall.⁷ An announcement of this meeting in the Grafton Weekly Sentinel noted:

There remain but two states without an organization to push the work for the enfranchisement of women. West Virginia is one of these. The progressive spirit of this state will not permit her to lag behind her neighbors in this line of march. The time to act is now.⁸

A full slate of officers was elected at this first convention and the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association (WVESA) was formed. Apparently committed to their new undertaking two of these new officers, Jessie G. Manley of Fairmont, President, and Annie Caldwell Boyd of Wheeling, Corresponding Secretary, attended the 1896 NAWSA Convention in Washington, DC. Three other members, Florence Post, Florence M. Post, and Fannie Wheat, of the state organization also attended, filling five of the six seats to which West Virginia was entitled.⁹ Jessie Manley submitted a report to that year's convention, describing the organizing efforts in West Virginia and the nine clubs that had been founded the year before. She reported as well that, "We have nothing at present in sight in our State to look forward to except the education of the minds of the people in this cause" but promised that she intended to keep the clubs interested and working, despite the long road ahead.¹⁰

The suffrage movement that began in the northern cities of West Virginia remained a northern phenomenon throughout this early period of suffrage work. It centered in two geographical areas: the Northern Panhandle and a three county section of the north-central area, including Harrison, Taylor and Marion counties. Both areas were commercial and transportation

centers, as well as centers of manufacturing and extractive industries. Their regular access and orientation to the northeast and northern mid-west may account in large part for their being the first sections of the state to become involved with woman suffrage. Other sections of West Virginia remained isolated by poor transportation and a general lack of economic development. It was nearly impossible for speakers and organizers to reach these areas, which tended to keep them from becoming interested or active in the rising social issues of the day, like woman suffrage.

A second state convention was held in Fairmont in 1897. Some new officers were elected, including a new president, Fannie Wheat of Wheeling, at the request of the first president, Jessie Manley, and other officers were returned for a second year.¹¹ The members resolved "to devote all the time and energy at our command for the attainment of . . . [woman suffrage]." They further resolved:

. . . we believe the claim for the extension of suffrage to women should not be based upon their views, or supposed views upon any one question, but upon the broad ground of their intelligence and ability to discharge the duties of good citizenship, their devotion to the principles of free government and loyalty to its institutions¹²

Carrie Chapman Catt, then chairwoman of the NAWSA national organizing committee, attended the meeting and according to Annie Caldwell Boyd, "Mrs.

Catt's visit was an inspiration to us West Virginia women. She gave us counsel, encouragement and advice as we needed, leaving us inspired to renewed work and hope."¹³ The West Virginia organization undoubtedly needed some encouragement and advice, as all but two of the original nine clubs had disbanded, only Fairmont and Wheeling remaining. Although there is no record of why this dissolution occurred, it very likely was the result of a lack of awareness of the suffrage issue in the state, which made suffrage work a cause with little immediate reward.

The Fairmont group, calling themselves the Political Equality Club, met monthly for study and discussion, but of the two, Wheeling was apparently more active. A delegation of women from the Wheeling club petitioned the Charter Commission of Wheeling to include a woman suffrage provision in a new charter under consideration. Annie Boyd, Fannie Wheat, and Dr. Harriet B. Jones, a popular local physician, "were the delegation that threw the bomb shell into the midst of the astonished commission," according to a story in the Woman's Tribune, a national suffrage newspaper. The petition and the suffrage question were "laid aside for future consideration" (which did not come until 1904), but the Woman's Tribune thanked the women on behalf of "all the suffrage forces" for "a splendid and courageous

stand."¹⁴ The Wheeling club also distributed "all the suffrage literature that we could obtain" at a booth at the State Fair and collected signatures for a petition supporting a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution. And they succeeded in persuading the public library to subscribe to both the Woman's Journal and the Woman's Tribune.¹⁵

None of the West Virginia members attended the 1897 national convention, and no West Virginia members were listed among delegates at the 1898 convention in Washington, DC, although Fannie Wheat, president of the West Virginia Association, was scheduled to make a short address. She apparently did not make her presentation after all, and she presented no report for the year, so there is little information on the activities of the West Virginia suffrage clubs for 1898.¹⁶

A state convention was held in Wheeling in April that year, however. Reaching out in a new direction for support, the local Wheeling suffrage club extended an invitation to the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly to attend the convention. There is no record of whether any of the Trades Assembly members actually appeared at the Carroll Club, where the convention was held, but the invitation was officially received and members were urged to attend if they could.¹⁷

Carrie Gatt and Anna Shaw, both national suffrage

leaders, attended the convention and made a number of speeches in order to help spur organizing in West Virginia. Fannie Wheat remembered in her report the following year "the eloquent utterances of Mrs. Catt and Miss Shaw," which she claimed had "made a lasting impression upon many outsiders of our little world of believers."¹⁸ Local journalists were indeed impressed, especially by Catt. According to the Wheeling Register, "Mrs. Catt impressed her audience as a woman of ability and was a polished and forceful speaker. Her arguments were well constructed and could not help but win adherents to the cause which she so ardently espoused."¹⁹ The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer wrote, "Mrs. Catt is an orator with charming delivery, and all who hear her are well repaid." The Intelligencer also noted that a local woman, Mrs. George E. (Annie Caldwell) Boyd, a member of the WVESA, delivered "a well-prepared and logical effort, and a strong plea for the enfranchisement of women."²⁰

The Fairmont suffrage club arranged for Shaw to return to West Virginia to speak in front of the state legislature in February 1899. Both Fannie Wheat's 1899 report to NAWSA and Annie Boyd's later report of state activities in the History of Woman Suffrage describe the attentive and favorable reception she received. She was unsuccessful in persuading the legislature

seriously to consider allowing woman suffrage in West Virginia, but Beulah Boyd Ritchie of Fairmont, who became president of the state association in 1900, believed that despite the lack of real action on the suffrage issue after the visit, the Senate had at least paid Shaw a high compliment by adjourning to the House to hear her address.²¹

Not only did the 1899 legislature refuse to pass a resolution for woman suffrage, but it also showed a similar lack of concern on other women's issues. Four bills in the state legislature concerned with the health and welfare of women were supported by the West Virginia suffragists that same year. These were a bill raising the age of consent for girls from twelve to sixteen, bills providing for a reform school for girls and for the protection of young girls and old women, and one requiring seats for saleswomen. All but the bill requiring seats for saleswomen failed, providing an important reinforcement to the West Virginia suffragists of the truth that without the power of the vote the interests of women could not be adequately protected.²²

Once again the Wheeling women distributed literature at the State Fair, and a Wheeling Methodist Episcopal churchwomen's group, the King's Daughters, allowed space for suffrage articles in a fundraising

magazine they produced at Easter that year to benefit their day nursery. Further propagandizing in the Wheeling area was assisted by the willingness of the local newspapers to publish the suffrage articles provided by the NAWSA Press Committee. West Virginia women, at least of the northern part of the state, were beginning to get their message into the public eye and were gaining the experience and the confidence to attack the problems of women through politics and legislation.²³

They were also showing an increased commitment to the national association. President Fannie Wheat attended the 1899 NAWSA Convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan to make a short address on the suffrage activities in West Virginia for that year, and West Virginia suffragists contributed over \$100 to the national general treasury and organization committee during 1898. This was a marked increase from previous years' donations, of which the high had been \$30, in 1896.²⁴

Among other new activities tried in 1899 were those aimed at reaching younger women. The Fairmont club subscribed to copies of the Woman's Journal for distribution to the state's university and normal schools, and prizes for essays on woman suffrage were offered to the same schools at the 1899 state convention.

The Fairmont club also raised money to pay an organizer and sent additional copies of the Woman's Journal to influential individuals around the state. Jessie Manley, the state press correspondent, also had some success in getting pro-suffrage articles published in state newspapers.²⁵

Yet despite this relative flurry of activity, Beulah Boyd Ritchie noted in her report that the annual convention had been held only at the urging of Carrie Catt and President Wheat made a plea for assistance from the national organization, stating, "Our most earnest need is for an Organizer, and for that we must throw ourselves upon the tender mercies of the National Association." She added, "School Boards turn a deaf ear, City Councils are oblivious, while legislators openly scoff at our claims. That everything comes to him who waits has become a truism. The practice of this virtue is our only resort just now, but we are resting firmly on the hope of a better day." With that summation of the situation in West Virginia, she closed her report for the year.²⁶ The West Virginia suffragists seemed to be losing momentum, perhaps dulled by years of hard work with little apparent progress.

The Fairmont club offered an essay prize again in 1900 but the Wheeling club, according to Ritchie's 1901 report, was not active.²⁷ A few women of Wheeling

joined with the Fairmont club to participate in a National Bazar [sic] put on by NAWSA. A booth displaying West Virginia products donated by sympathetic businessmen and artists raised \$133 for the national association. The state press correspondent continued to distribute nationally-produced suffrage articles to the state's newspapers for publication.²⁸

Legislative work again took an important place in the suffragists' activities in 1901. A resolution was introduced in the House of Delegates proposing a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution to be submitted to the voters in a referendum in 1902. The resolution was reported out of committee without recommendation and was defeated by a vote of 31 to 25, with 15 not voting.²⁹ The same resolution was presented in the Senate, but was tabled on the order of U.S. Senator Stephen B. Elkins, who had returned from Washington for the occasion.³⁰ Although the state's suffragists supported the measure in principle, state suffrage association members were apparently not involved in lobbying efforts, which must account in some part for its failure. It is difficult to discover to what extent the West Virginia suffragists had participated in earlier lobbying efforts, or why they were not involved on this occasion, but judging from the tone of President Ritchie's report, she recognized the difference

such an effort might have made. There were those in the state government, including the Attorney General, who believed, the measure would have passed had it made it to the referendum stage. Certainly it could have benefitted from active support by the state's organized suffragists, and perhaps this defeat served to remind them of the importance of active political involvement.³¹

By 1902, only one suffrage club, Fairmont, remained and for the third year in a row, no state convention was held. In the words of President Ritchie, as she reported the state's single activity for the year, a chicken supper netting \$50, "West Virginia is not really entitled to a report this year as she has not visibly progressed, although," she added faithfully, "the leaven is undoubtedly working."³²

The next two years produced similar reports, although in 1903 President Ritchie could add, "West Virginia has made some advance in numbers, in earnestness and learning how to work during the past year."³³

A Presidential suffrage bill was introduced in the West Virginia legislature and members were more active in lobbying, sending personal letters accompanied by suffrage literature to all of the state legislators.³⁴ The following year, Ritchie asserted, "West Virginia is still in the ranks of the workers for freedom," although she added that it had been an "off" year. Except for

a slight increase in membership (Ritchie did not include numbers), no effective suffrage work seems to have been accomplished. The Fairmont club, which Ritchie called "our 'Country Club'," held "an enjoyable meeting . . . in honor of Lucy Stone," and planned further celebrations for Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.³⁵

The West Virginia suffragists' work seemed not to be following any consistent plan. One year the women were lobbying for legislation, the next they were holding essentially social meetings. They realized their own difficulties and had called for help from the national association many times. A change seemed imminent, however, for Ritchie noted in closing her 1904 report, "we are also looking forward to have [sic] among us this spring our long-looked-for organizer."³⁶

A breakthrough in organizing for the West Virginia suffragists did occur in 1905, although whether it was a result of the long-awaited outside help or of a newly invigorated state leadership is uncertain. Four new clubs with twenty-five new members were begun through an active program of public addresses by the new president, M. Anna Hall. After a five year hiatus, a state convention was finally reinstated in Mounsville, with Laura Clay, a Kentucky suffrage leader, as the keynote speaker. A Suffrage Day was observed, the press work of Jessie Manley expanded and the suffragists were

active in legislative work that year, not only continuing lobbying to have state suffrage resolutions introduced in the legislature, but also resurrecting an old tactic, revision of city charters. As usual, though, most of their efforts were defeated.³⁷

City charters all over the nation were being revised during these years to reflect the new values of efficient and enlightened management that became popular in the "Progressive Era" of the early twentieth century and suffragists were quick to make efforts to have these new city charters include woman suffrage provisions. In West Virginia, this phenomenon centered, as did other Progressive reforms, in the northern part of the state, where the greatest interest in woman suffrage also lay. West Virginia suffragists worked for amendments to charters in their most active centers, Fairmont and Wheeling.

Two petitions carrying a total of nearly 200 signatures were presented by one of the House of Delegates members, requesting that the Fairmont city charter be amended to allow for woman suffrage. This was never acted upon, but clearly the public interest in woman suffrage was rising there. The more active legislative battle was waged over amending the proposed new city charter for Wheeling to provide for woman suffrage. Petitions were circulated by the Wheeling suffragists;

the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA, spent a week in Wheeling speaking for the amendment; and Kate Gordon, another national suffrage leader, spent three weeks there working for the measure's passage. A great deal of literature, much of it published by the local suffragists, was distributed. The question of woman suffrage was submitted to the voters on a separate ballot from that for the charter, and more votes were cast on the suffrage ballot, both pro and con, than were cast on the charter itself. Both questions lost, the suffrage amendment by 1,600, but a total of 2,500 votes out of 6,600, more than one-third of all votes cast, had been in favor of woman suffrage, and the heavy voting on the question indicated that the men of Wheeling had taken it seriously.³⁸

Seeking a somewhat untraditional source of support for what is generally considered to have been a middle-class movement, the women of the WVESA spoke before the annual convention of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor in 1906. M. Anna Hall and Fannie Wheat addressed the assembly briefly on the subject of woman suffrage and offered whatever small aid the suffragists might provide to the Federation. The following day the convention adopted a resolution in favor of woman suffrage.³⁹

According to Aileen Kraditor's important study,

Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, at about this time the women of the suffrage movement began to identify their cause with the cause of workingwomen and to note the importance of the vote for these women to protect themselves and their children. The legislative work of West Virginia suffragists on behalf of protective laws for working women and children illustrates their interest in these issues and may explain in part the willingness of the state's major labor organization to endorse their cause. The movement was still led by and primarily composed of white, middle-class women who enjoyed the leisure to campaign for the vote, but these women seemed to recognize the need for support from labor. A large number of male votes lay among the workingmen of the state. They also pointed out, however, the value of their cause to the advancement of women workers. Labor was not yet solidly committed on this issue, however, and woman suffrage did not appear among the Federation's legislative priorities again until 1914.⁴⁰

Three separate resolutions on woman suffrage were introduced in the state legislature in 1905, two in the House of Delegates and one in the Senate. The House resolutions never got beyond their introductions, and the Senate resolution was stopped after the second reading. Resolutions for amendments on woman suffrage

introduced in both Houses in 1907 were also tabled shortly after their introductions. At a special session of the state legislature the following year, however, new resolutions on woman suffrage were introduced, and received much greater attention than ever before. In both the House and the Senate, the resolutions survived the required three readings and in the final votes received more "ayes" than "noes," although in neither case were supporters able to garner the necessary two-thirds majority to achieve passage. Numerous petitions supporting the amendment originated from a wide variety of women's church groups and generally conservative groups like the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic. State legislative action continued to be unsuccessful, but the question could no longer be easily ignored.⁴¹

A potential new force in the suffrage question, one that would prove to be influential in future battles, was tapped in 1908, when the Woman Suffrage League of Wheeling affiliated with the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, and brought this group of active but largely more traditional women into association with women committed to suffrage. The Wheeling club's action was probably the result of a national move by the Federated Women's Clubs to begin to discuss the issue of woman suffrage. Up until this time, the

women's club movement had remained apart from political issues and concentrated on the cultural and charity interests of its member organizations. As the women of these affiliated clubs began to attempt social welfare work in their communities and to try to convince legislators to pass protective laws for women and children and measures for public health and general community improvement, however, they began to realize that these issues were often not considered important by the male political leaders, who remained unpersuaded by the arguments of voteless women. It became apparent that, if these improvements were to be made, women would need some real political power. Although not all members of the women's club movement favored woman suffrage, the state and local, as well as national, suffrage associations came to look at the Federated Women's Clubs as potentially powerful allies.⁴²

The Fairmont Political Equality Club also affiliated with the State Federation in 1909, and, by 1913, the Wheeling and Fairmont suffragists had convinced the State Federation to support the movement to allow women a vote on school issues and to permit women to serve on Boards of Education. In 1914 the organization endorsed full political equality for men and women. Both of these suffrage clubs remained active in the Federation until suffrage was won in 1920, when suffrage

clubs all over the nation disbanded, some to join the newly formed League of Women Voters, others to join the older political parties, and still others to concentrate on individual issues.⁴³

In 1909 a woman suffrage amendment introduced into the West Virginia House of Delegates received no consideration after its introduction, but the political climate of West Virginia was clearly changing. A related amendment, allowing women to hold appointed positions as notaries public, county clerks, probation officers, and board members for state institutions successfully passed the House and Senate and went to the voters in 1910. The State Bar Association assisted in printing and distributing all the literature on this amendment and the measure lost by only a very small margin. West Virginians may not yet have been prepared to see women in public positions, but opposition was certainly weakening, and the state's political leaders in the legislature and legal profession were openly supporting the women.⁴⁴

In the next few years the suffrage movement's gathering influence was undeniable, although still unsuccessful. In 1913 a woman suffrage amendment presented by Delegate Ellis A. Yost, husband of an active Morgantown suffragist, Lenna Lowe Yost, passed the House by a vote of 58 to 25, with only three members

not voting and with little attempt by the opposition to block it with damaging amendments and delays. In the Senate, however, attempts were made to weaken the House resolution with a series of amendments, including one to limit woman suffrage to school elections. Although a majority of Senators voted for the amendment, it failed to gather the two-thirds majority necessary to provide concurrence with the House vote and consequently never reached the voters. A petition carrying 200 signatures had been presented to the Senate in favor of the amendment, but opposition forces were still strong, and it would be two more years until public sentiment in favor of woman suffrage developed enough influence to bring the issue of suffrage directly to the voters.⁴⁵

Despite this setback, the West Virginia suffragists were maturing and growing stronger, as evidenced by the widening scope of their activities. West Virginia women were no longer limiting their activities to supporting the state constitutional amendments that were continually being defeated. In May 1913, a West Virginia delegation marched in the New York Woman Suffrage Parade and in 1914 the women of West Virginia, primarily in Wheeling and Parkersburg, where a new suffrage club had recently formed, took part in a state celebration of Suffrage Day, coinciding with a nationwide effort

organized by the Congressional Union, precursor of the National Woman's Party. At the Parkersburg celebration both West Virginia Gov. Henry D. Hatfield and U.S. Congressman Hunter H. Moss, Jr., representative for the congressional district of which Parkersburg was a part, presented addresses in favor of woman suffrage. Once again, important political leaders of the state were taking public stands in favor of woman suffrage, and although the Progressive Republicans were never very strong in West Virginia, some of their causes, which must have begun to appear inevitable, seem to have taken hold.⁴⁶

These national celebrations in which West Virginians were taking an active part were planned to draw attention to the need for a national solution to the woman suffrage question. The 1914 activities were intended to induce the U.S. Congress to pass the Bristow-Mondell Federal Woman Suffrage Resolution, the 1914 version of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment that had been a recurring order of business for Congress since the 1860s. The strong support by some West Virginia women for the work of the Congressional Union, the national group most fully committed to a Federal Constitutional Amendment, is reflected in the words of Ellen Douglas Hoge of Wheeling. In sending a donation of five dollars to that organization she wrote:

In my opinion, the Congressional Union is doing the only statesmanlike thing that has ever been done for the enfranchisement of all the women of this nation, and deserves the strongest possible support It is almost inconceivable that the Democratic Party is still so blind and stupid as to suppose it can escape its responsibility in this matter by using the ancient excuse of state's rights.⁴⁷

Not only were West Virginia women taking part in nationally organized activities and donating money to the national suffrage causes, but they were also personally taking part in lobbying efforts, with the help of sympathetic Representatives, in the halls of Congress. A description of a meeting of West Virginia suffragists with Congressional leaders on the question of a Federal Suffrage Amendment appeared in the Congressional Union's newspaper, the Suffragist, on June 13, 1914, and illustrates this. Four West Virginia women, Clarabel J. McNeilan, Press Chairman of the WVESA, and Mrs. Hunter H. Moss, Jr., both of Parkersburg, and Mrs. G. W. Lowe and Elizabeth Geary of Harpers Ferry, accompanied by pro-suffrage Representatives Hunter H. Moss, Jr., and Matthew M. Neely, confronted Chairman Henry of the House Rules Committee on the question of when the Rules Committee would report out the Bristow-Mondell Resolution for a vote. Henry's answer was non-committal, but of special significance in this particular incident is the fact that it was the women who did the talking and confronting, with the men of

the group simply arranging the meeting.⁴⁸

Interest continued, however, in state suffrage activity. In the fall of 1913, Charlotte Cecilia Sturgiss, wife of prominent lawyer and businessman, George C. Sturgiss, of Morgantown, spent four months in California, meeting and talking with enfranchised women of that state. She described with delight her impression of the interest of California women "about things that do count," in an October 1913 letter to the Woman's Journal. Hoping to share her enthusiasm for suffrage with the women of the WVESA at their upcoming convention and to renew their fervor for state work in pursuit of the ballot, she asked for literature on the effects of enfranchisement of women in the western states. Thirty-six Wheeling women also indicated their interest in state suffrage work by subscribing to the Woman's Journal, which generally supported the state referendum approach to equal suffrage, and in Parkersburg a new suffrage club affiliated with NAWSA, champion of the state-by-state approach, and attracted 150 members within three months.⁴⁹

Unlike the situation in other states there seems to have been little conflict between the advocates of the state and federal approaches. The women of West Virginia, in fact, appear to have found the two compatible and perhaps even complementary. A number of

important suffrage leaders in the state subscribed to the journals of both the National Woman's Party (and its predecessor, the Congressional Union) and NAWSA and made contributions in support of both groups. Perhaps some explanation for this lies in the late date of West Virginia's only state referendum on woman suffrage. Not until 1915 did an amendment on the question pass the state legislature and by that year the Federal Amendment agitation was beginning to show signs of real progress. A state loss at that time could only have encouraged West Virginia women to support the Federal effort. At the general election in November 1916, the state suffrage campaign reached its peak of activity, and in many ways the final chance it retained of real viability.

CHAPTER II

The West Virginia Suffragists' First Campaign: The State Woman Suffrage Referendum, 1915-1916

The state suffrage movement in West Virginia climaxed in the years 1915 and 1916, when the question of woman suffrage was submitted to the voters in a referendum. Altogether eight states considered referenda from 1916 to 1919: New York, Maine, Michigan, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Louisiana, Texas and West Virginia. Four of these eight state referenda were successful: New York in 1917 and South Dakota, Michigan and Oklahoma in 1918. Of the four that were lost, West Virginia suffered the most severe defeat, losing its amendment fight by nearly 100,000 votes.¹

In his opening address to the 1915 legislature, West Virginia's Gov. Henry D. Hatfield called for a bill to put woman suffrage before the voters of the state.² Hatfield had spoken in favor of suffrage the year before at a Suffrage Day rally in Parkersburg and would continue to support it throughout the next two years of the referendum campaign. Six days after Hatfield's opening address, the bill was introduced in the House of Delegates by Michael K. Duty of Ritchie County as House Joint Resolution No. 1, and in the

Senate by N. G. Keim of Randolph County as Senate Joint Resolution No. 5. The identical resolutions were immediately referred to their respective Committees on the Judiciary for consideration.³

In the two days following the introduction of S.J.R. No. 5, the Senate received three petitions, each with 200 signatures, calling for the submission of a state woman suffrage amendment to the voters. Within three days, the resolution was reported out of committee "with the recommendation that [it] . . . do pass."⁴ Immediately after that report, a fourth petition with another 200 signatures and a fifth carrying 300 were presented. The resolution passed its first reading the next day; two days later three more petitions arrived bearing a total of 2,000 names requesting a referendum, and the resolution passed its second reading. Seven more petitions, from all over the state, were presented the following day.⁵

A new awareness of the suffrage issue is apparent in the origins of these petitions, for no longer were the Northern Panhandle and north-central areas the only areas represented. Some of the earlier active counties still appeared, of course, among them Harrison, Taylor and Ohio, but newly active counties also voiced support. Some, like Lewis and Upshur, were adjacent to the older centers of suffrage work, but others were in entirely

new, some quite isolated, sections of the west and south, including Webster, Wood and Mingo. Kanawha County, where Charleston and the state legislature are located, also appears among the petitions, an important addition to the suffrage cause, since suffragists in Kanawha County were likely to be useful for lobbying. The majority of these petitions called only for the suffrage question to be presented to the voters in a referendum, without proclaiming support for woman suffrage directly, but the number of citizens requesting that the issue be put to a referendum vote clearly indicates that the citizens of the state were beginning to recognize the importance and timeliness of the issue and wanted to have the chance to express their opinions directly.⁶

The Senate resolution finally reached its third reading January 26, 1915, and was adopted by a vote of 28 to 1, with only one member, James A. Strother of McDowell County, absent and not voting. The negative vote was cast by R. Dennis Steed of Lincoln County. The pro-suffrage Hampshire Review called him "an honest-to-goodness woman-hater," but he claimed that sentiment in his district was against it.⁷ The Senate Journal records only G. K. Kump's thoughts on the question; in explaining his yes vote in the roll call, he concluded a rather lengthy comment with:

But, Mr. President, woman is after all a mystery, the great conundrum of the twentieth century, and if we cannot in this chamber solve this question, we can safely leave it to the wisdom, chivalry and manhood of West Virginia.⁸

The entire progress of the Senate resolution from introduction to adoption took only seven days. Just two years earlier in 1913, a woman suffrage amendment had spent nearly twice as long in the Senate before being rejected for lack of two-thirds majority in favor.⁹

Kump's view seems to have been representative of many of his colleagues. Senator Ben L. Rosenbloom of Ohio County made similar remarks, although he went on to declare his personal opposition to woman suffrage and his plans to help defeat the referendum. The Hampshire Review reported that he voted for the amendment "to please the girls."¹⁰ Kump was among the four Senators listed as having spoken in favor of the resolution in an article in the Suffragist, newspaper of the Congressional Union and later National Woman's Party; if the other three pro-suffrage Senators, John L. Hatfield, Fred L. Fox and N.G. Keim, took a stronger stand than he, it was not recorded.¹¹

The House Judiciary Committee reported its resolution out within three days, recommending its passage. It passed through all the necessary stages as quickly as the Senate resolution had, but failed to come to a final vote before the Senate resolution was

presented to the House for concurrence. The House resolution, identical to that of the Senate, was dropped and the Senate resolution received concurrence from the House within two days, the minimum amount of time required for the necessary preliminary readings. The House vote was 77 to 6 in favor of the amendment. In total the woman suffrage referendum spent only nine days before the state legislature before becoming a question for the state's voters to decide.¹²

The only member of the House of Delegates to explain his vote, according to the Suffragist report, declared that he personally opposed woman suffrage, but being a loyal Democrat (the Democrats declared in favor of the referendum in the summer of 1914) he was supporting the resolution.¹³ The National Democratic party, looking forward to the 1916 Presidential elections, was trying to develop a more progressive image, and one of the measures it was moving to support was the state referendum approach to woman suffrage. This endorsement put some pressure on state Democratic parties to support referenda on woman suffrage to lend credence to the national platform. There was also increased pressure from within West Virginia to bring the issue to the people. Only one petition on woman suffrage was presented in the state legislature during the two weeks it took in 1913 to consider a woman suffrage amendment;

in 1915, 15 petitions were presented within the one week of consideration.¹⁴

Despite the overwhelming victory in the legislature in actual numbers of votes for a woman suffrage amendment, the support for woman suffrage itself seems to have been tentative at best. A resolution calling for a referendum vote on woman suffrage had finally succeeded in West Virginia, but the reasoning behind the support it received hardly boded well for the upcoming vote.

Newspaper reports of the passage of a woman suffrage amendment by the state legislature were generally enthusiastic, however. If the legislators were uncertain of public support for the measure, some of the state's newspapers did their best to convince them of it. The Wheeling Register reported the victory with great fanfare, saying "Opposition to woman's suffrage, if much there was, crumbled away today in the face of the onslaught of the women of West Virginia, who crowded the galleries and floors of both the house and senate" ¹⁵ The Wheeling Intelligencer also supported the passage of the amendment, but perhaps gave a more tempered picture of the real situation, concluding that "the wide margin by which the resolution passed both houses . . . surprised even the most ardent supporters of the measure."¹⁶

In other parts of the state equally favorable coverage was given the amendment. The Shepherdstown Register expressed the hope that the suffragists might be as successful in winning over the voters as they had been in winning the legislature, and "that every woman who desires the opportunity of expressing her sentiments at the polls may have that privilege."¹⁷ The Grafton Daily Sentinel reprinted a telegram from Mrs. Gene W. Ford announcing the victory, including the remarks, "Big suffrage victory Floor packed with cheering men and women."¹⁸ The Fairmont Times echoed the attitude of the Hampshire Review, quoted above, in which Senator Steed was characterized as a "woman-hater" and Senator Rosenbloom's position as a vote "to please the girls."¹⁹

But in Fairmont the suffrage victory took second place to other legislative news, and in the Charleston Mail the report carried a disinterested tone. And in Union, Monroe County, the report was actually negative, claiming the bill was "designed to upset all the theories of government and the relations of the sexes as known since the dawn of human history."²⁰ The pro-suffragists may finally have been given a chance to achieve woman suffrage in West Virginia, but the battle was not going to be easy.

Suffrage activity in the state increased markedly with the passage of this resolution to submit a woman

suffrage amendment to the state's voters in November 1916. Help from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was forthcoming immediately. Ida Craft of New York led a suffrage school in Charleston from January 28 to February 3. With the cooperation of local women, she educated local voters on the woman suffrage issue and prepared the state's suffragists for the long campaign ahead. Craft returned again in May to speak in other locations around the state. Many other women of the National Association arrived in West Virginia to promote the suffrage cause through speaking tours across the state. Mary E. Craigie, NAWSA's chairman of church work, and Deborah Knox Livingston, head of the Franchise Department of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, concentrated on organized religion in the state. State suffrage leaders Harriet Taylor Upton and Elizabeth J. Hauser of Ohio and Madeleine McDowell Breckenridge of Kentucky made wide-ranging speaking tours, hitting the county court houses in isolated districts like Logan and Boone counties, as well as the well-organized centers like Wheeling and Parkersburg.²¹

Important endorsements of woman suffrage by such groups as the West Virginia Methodist Episcopal Conference and the State Educational Association came as a result of the efforts of these out-of-state suffra-

gists, and organizing activities also increased among the women of the state. The West Virginia women who had already organized before the 1915 success continued their work with renewed enthusiasm. Dr. Harriet B. Jones, a Wheeling physician and one of the West Virginia suffrage movement's few independent, professional women, made the arrangements for many of these outside speakers' tours, and sent questionnaires on woman suffrage to 150 of the state's newspaper editors in response to which she received 53 positive replies.²² Cora Ebert, president of the WVESA for 1914 and 1915, wrote to the state's clergymen, urging them to use a pro-suffrage text for Mother's Day sermons in 1915 and 1916; she also appeared with Gov. Hatfield at a Governor's Day celebration in Middlebourne, Tyler County, where she and the Governor spoke for woman suffrage to a reported crowd of thousands.²³

In addition to these writing and speaking activities aimed at the leaders among West Virginia men, West Virginia suffragists made attempts to get the suffrage message directly to the people. At Parkersburg, local suffragists attending the Barnum and Bailey circus "were seized with a sudden inspiration which led to one of their number addressing the huge circus crowd while they were waiting for the performance to begin."²⁴ In Huntington, suffragists produced a

Votes for Women float in yellow and white for the annual Fall Festival parade. Designed by Elsie Venable of the local suffrage club, it featured a ten-foot-high wheel in the center labeled "West Virginia Wheel of Progress." The Huntington women also distributed literature at a booth at Festival Hall.²⁵ Many local suffrage clubs arranged window displays advertising the suffrage issue, with especially elaborate ones in Wheeling, Parkersburg and Huntington noted in NAWSA's History of Woman Suffrage.²⁶

The WVESA sponsored a "dollar day" in October of 1915, in which individuals were urged to either give a dollar of their own or to earn an extra dollar to donate to the suffrage campaign. Cora Ebert, in announcing the day, noted that "All the suffragists of the state are expected either to give a dollar, beg a dollar or earn a dollar on that day." The money would be used "in procuring and furnishing literature and defraying the other necessary expenses of a campaign such as it is the intention of the state organization to wage" ²⁷

The West Virginia suffragists received in May 1915 a NAWSA "Kampaign Kit" produced as part of a Woman's Journal subscription drive and undoubtedly used its suggestions in their campaign. The Kit was sent first to Parkersburg and then was to be passed on to other clubs around the state. It contained several sections, including: "Convincing Facts," "Answers to Anti-

Suffragists," "How to Raise Money," "Suggestions for Suffrage Programs," "Suffrage Meetings," "Outline for Suffrage Debate," "Outline of Suffrage Speech," "To Sell Literature," and "Exhibits." A brief reading of any of these sections helps one to imagine what detailed planning went into the campaign by those who offered tips for how and on what to speak, facts that may be marshalled to answer anti-suffragists in debates, details on how to arrange meetings and secure speakers, the importance of press work and suggestions for other publicity strategies, and helpful hints on money raising and selling literature at meetings, on the street and in any location where new converts might be made.²⁸

Part of the increased activity of the referendum years was reflected in the formation of new suffrage clubs. One of these was in Huntington, started in 1915 by Irene Broh who had moved to Huntington with her husband, Ephraim Broh, from Cincinnati, Ohio in 1909. Her mother, Sara Tobias Drukker, had been an ardent Ohio suffragist and a friend of Susan B. Anthony. Irene grew up attending suffrage meetings with her mother and followed the family tradition by taking one of her three sons with her to suffrage meetings in Huntington. Mrs. Broh held the first meeting of the Huntington suffrage club in her home where eight women, including one from as far away as Catlettsburg, Kentucky,

gathered in response to a newspaper notice. Other active early members were Opal Mann and Elsie Venable, who designed the suffrage float for that year's Fall Festival parade in Huntington.²⁹ Irene Broh noted a dearth of awareness in Huntington and all over the state in those early months of 1915. "They didn't know what suffrage was in West Virginia," she recalled. Broh continued, "In 1915 we would go around and talk about voting for women and people thought we were cranks and crazies."³⁰ This situation would undergo a dramatic change over the two year referendum campaign period, but Irene Broh's observations might have foreshadowed the difficulties the suffragists would have in winning a favorable referendum vote.

Huntington, located at the southwestern tip of West Virginia, along the Ohio River, directly opposite Ashland, Kentucky, was a railroad center laid out in 1873 by Collis P. Huntington as a western terminus for his Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. It was still a young city in 1915 and was developing as a commercial and transportation center along lines similar to the northern centers of suffrage interest, having its roots in the plans of a New York industrialist, which gave it a northeastern orientation, and drawing a large population from Ohio, which tied it to the Progressive northern mid-west.

Parkersburg, another Ohio River city, still fairly far north but not a part of the long-active Northern Panhandle, produced a strong suffrage club in 1914. In the first year of their organization they provided a state president, Cora Ebert, and two of their members made a trip to Washington, DC, to lobby for a Federal Amendment. Only two years earlier, in 1912, a suffrage club had been formed in Charleston, the state capital, and in 1913 a new club was organized at Morgantown. Although there was continued activity in the older centers, a great deal of new energy entered the movement during the referendum years and the years immediately preceding them through these newer clubs forming in heretofore inactive sections of the state.

The significance of this trend, and perhaps the value placed on it by the state suffrage organization, may be evidenced by the holding of the 1915 meeting in Huntington. Until this year, state conventions had been held alternately in Wheeling and Fairmont, the only exceptions being the first convention held in Grafton in 1895 and the 1905 convention held in Moundsville, both of which were still in that part of the state that had always been the center of suffrage and other Progressive activity in West Virginia. State conventions brought the suffrage cause into the public eye in the cities where they were held but they required

great effort and support on the part of the local clubs and the cities which hosted them. Choosing to hold a convention in a newly organized city at this crucial point indicates the confidence the WVESA had in its newly formed affiliates and also the need it saw for expanding its base of support in the state.

The Huntington convention opened with the first-ever suffrage parade in West Virginia. The Huntington Herald-Dispatch announced that it would be "one of the big features of the week, the . . . [automobiles] being decorated with suffrage banners and streamers, while every detail will be indicative of the great campaign of persuasive education which the suffrage advocates propose to wage in West Virginia between this convention and the November election in 1916" ³¹ The parade was a success and brought the new energy and enthusiasm of the suffragists into public view in downtown Huntington, helping to kick off the official referendum campaign.

As this convention was the official opening of the referendum campaign, many political leaders of the state attended to express their support of the WVESA and the referendum and to give advice to the women on effective campaigning. ³² The suffragists were told to concentrate on the rural districts where, unlike the situation in many states, the greatest opposition would

lie. They were urged to make clear their anti-liquor stand, for that would be to their advantage in a dry state like West Virginia, And they were warned that good organization and strong finances would be essential to their success.³³

Taking the advice of these seasoned politicians, the WVESA planned a budget of \$25,000 for the referendum campaign, toward which the Huntington and Charleston clubs pledged \$1,000 each. A pledge of \$400 was made by the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, some of whose members were present as speakers. Although these sums barely began to fill the needs of the suffrage campaign in the state, they are remarkable when compared with amounts the West Virginia suffragists had been able to contribute in the past. Only five years earlier in 1910 their entire year's contribution to the NAWSA treasury was \$61.³⁴

These preliminary activities of 1915 were followed by even more active campaigning in the new year. Cora Ebert gave up her two-year presidency of WVESA and passed on the leadership to Lenna Lowe Yost, a capable and energetic organizer who had already proven herself as a leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in West Virginia. Yost had been president of that organization for West Virginia since 1908. This was the first occasion for the presidencies of these two

powerful organizations to coincide in any state, and it was especially significant that it occurred at the time of a referendum campaign on the suffrage question. Carrie Chapman Catt called the West Virginia campaign, in retrospect, the WCTU's suffrage opportunity, claiming that the WCTU women, who had maintained a suffrage department nationally since 1882, had always felt that, given the opportunity, they could lead the church vote and other generally conservative elements into woman suffrage on the temperance issue. They had been involved in a successful prohibition campaign in West Virginia only three years earlier, and this suffrage campaign was their chance to prove, or at least test, their predictions.³⁵

Yost opened headquarters for the referendum campaign in 1916 in her home in Morgantown, transferring the center of activities from the recently more active Ohio Valley area to an older center in north-central West Virginia. The literature department also moved to Morgantown under the charge of Mrs. P. McBee and Lillie Hagans, and about \$2,000 was invested in literature for the campaign. Throughout the rest of the campaign over 200,000 copies of Congressional speeches on woman suffrage were mailed out to voters and in the last weeks of the campaign, 10,000 posters were sent out for use on election day. Personal appeals were also mailed

to individuals around the state.³⁶

A publicity department was formed in February and in September NAWSA sent Rose L. Geyer of Iowa, who had conducted publicity for the Iowa state referendum campaign to help in West Virginia. Regular bulletins were sent to 200 newspapers and to all daily papers in the state in the last month of the campaign, and 110 newspapers received free plate service, which provided them not only with ready-written copy, but also with typeset plates ready to print. Copy was provided to local papers about public meetings being held in their areas by special speakers and organizers, city organizations carried advertisements in their daily papers, and answers to anti-suffrage articles were provided. A special edition on woman suffrage was prepared for the Wheeling Intelligencer in June and two-page special supplements on the question were provided to many papers in the last week. The majority of the state's editors favored woman suffrage, according to the report in the History of Woman Suffrage, although judging from the results of the election in November, that claim may have been somewhat exaggerated.³⁷

The state's editors were not the only prominent leaders who supported the suffrage cause. A group of ten West Virginia men and women formed what was called the "Flying Squadron" and spoke in groups at thirty

different locations, occasionally joined by NAWSA supported speakers. The members of the "Flying Squadron" were primarily attorneys, judges, politicians and religious leaders. In addition, other West Virginia men and women spoke at their own expense around the state, including Rabbi Hill Silver of Wheeling, whose address at Huntington Irene Broh especially remembered; the Hon. Harvey Harmer, a state legislator from Clarksburg who had been a member of pro-suffrage organizations since the 1890s; and ex-Governor William E. Glasscock, who had supported suffrage during his term of office from 1908 to 1912.³⁸

These speaking engagements were not always in large towns or in front of statewide organizations, and they were not always initiated by the suffrage associations. G.K. Kump, for example, who had spoken in the State Senate in favor of the suffrage resolution was invited by a debating society in the small town of Weaver, West Virginia, to speak on behalf of woman suffrage against his senatorial opponent Earl Maxwell. Quite clearly the question of woman suffrage was gathering attention from a variety of the state's voters and through channels not always controlled by the organized suffrage movement.³⁹

Carrie Catt, the national suffrage leader, addressed the state Democratic Convention where a pro-

woman suffrage plank was voted into the party platform, despite the acknowledged speaking success of Mrs. O. C. Oliphant, an anti-suffragist of Trenton, New Jersey. Antoinette Funk of Chicago, also a NAWSA leader, spoke before the State Republican Convention of that year, opposed by the same Mrs. Oliphant for the anti-suffrage cause. The West Virginia Republicans also included a woman suffrage plank in their platform for 1916, although once again acknowledging the power of the opposition speaker.⁴⁰ Both candidates for governor, John J. Cornwell, the successful Democratic candidate, and the Republican, Judge Ira E. Robinson, also declared their support for woman suffrage. Anna Howard Shaw of the National Association made thirteen addresses to groups of the state's leaders, and Katharine Devereux Blake, a New York teacher and NAWSA officer, spoke at three weeks of Teachers' Institutes.⁴¹

Labor support was seen as fundamental in obtaining passage of the state suffrage referendum. The National Association sent at least one organizer, Josephine Casey, specifically to work for labor support and a delegation from the WVESA, headed by Alice J. McChesney, assistant to the West Virginia Labor Commissioner, addressed the 1915 convention of the State Labor Federation, whose endorsement they received. The suffragists approached the Federation again in 1916,

sending Eudora Ramsey, a field secretary of the WVESA, to address their convention with answers to anti arguments. Also in 1916, Katherine B. Mills, a suffragist of Ohio County, spoke to the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly on the question of woman suffrage and received from the assembly a grant of the use of the Assembly Hall for meetings free of charge.⁴²

West Virginia's political, labor, educational and religious leadership was clearly behind the amendment. With these endorsements the suffragists had every right to feel encouraged. There was vocal opposition from all of these groups, but the pro-suffrage element seemed the stronger. As with the support from the majority of newspaper editors, however, these endorsements may have been exaggerated or were simply misleading. They were apparently not representative of the opinions of the many men these leaders claimed to stand for. If they had been, the referendum could not have been lost by such a large majority. Either the male leadership of the state misunderstood the desires of the men they represented or they overestimated the influence their enlightened leadership could have on this issue.

The state and national organizations began to bring in paid outside organizers in 1916. The WVESA paid the salary for one, the National paid for

two others, and a fourth was supported by a gift from the Allegheny County, Pennsylvania suffrage association.⁴³ By March, the National had sent Hannah Patterson, its Chairman of Organization, to coordinate the organizers' efforts in the campaign. She moved the headquarters out of Lenna Yost's home and into downtown Morgantown and brought in Alice Curtis of Iowa to provide office assistance to Yost for the length of the campaign. Patterson recommended ten additional organizers to spread around the large number of counties, so that each could be responsible for groups of five or six counties, and suggested a National officer visit once each month to keep close touch with the campaign's progress. Eventually, 28 organizers were working in the state and a total of 400 organizations were formed. Patterson visited the state three times and Carrie Chapman Catt visited once with her, in August, to hold an organizers' conference, at which plans for various aspects of the last months' campaign were discussed.⁴⁴

Eleanore Raoul of Atlanta, Georgia was an organizer brought to the Wheeling area in 1916 to work in the six counties of the Northern Panhandle--Brooke, Hancock, Ohio, Marshall, Wetzels, and Tyler. Her letters to her mother and sister during the seven months she worked on the West Virginia campaign record her candid reactions to the campaign and provide useful contemporary

perceptions of the progress of woman suffrage in West Virginia.

Raoul arrived in Wheeling in April 1916 and stayed with the Cummins sisters, Ann and Elizabeth, long-time active suffragists who often offered hospitality to outside speakers. Eleanore had previous campaign experience in Georgia and New Jersey with which to compare the situation in Wheeling. Her perceptions are unexpected, given the accounts of Wheeling as one of the most active centers of suffrage work in the state as far back as the 1890s. Eleanore Raoul felt that the rural districts in her territory were more interested in suffrage than Wheeling was. After visiting Bethany and West Liberty, in Brooke and northern Ohio counties, she wrote to her sister, "Since I left Wheeling I have found more interest in suffrage & am somewhat encouraged. I believe if we work the rural districts well we can carry the state."⁴⁵

Raoul's observations may be something of a misinterpretation on her part of the character of these "rural" districts. The rural districts of Ohio and Brooke counties, and of the other Northern Panhandle counties, were prosperous farming areas and much more like their close Ohio neighbors in their heritage and outlook than they were like their fellow West Virginia counties. Brooke and Hancock counties, in fact, would

be the only two counties of the state to provide a majority vote for the suffrage amendment. Perhaps this success may be attributed to the active campaign Raoul eventually directed in this section of the state, but very likely, she simply was ignorant of the character of the area in which she was working. It is interesting to note, then, that despite the city of Wheeling's reputation as a suffrage center, it was in many cases the outlying Northern Panhandle areas that provided the stronger support for the woman suffrage amendment.

Raoul had other more specific reservations about the suffrage situation in Wheeling, however, apparently based on what she had experienced as the elements' of success for suffrage in other campaigns. About Wheeling she wrote again in June:

I really think suffrage is very difficult up in this part. It was certainly started wrong in Wheeling--I mean the fashionable, rich people did not take it up and the people who did had to [sic] much of the reformer spirit to make much of a go of it. That certainly has had its effect through this whole section.⁴⁶

In this observation she may have been quite correct, for raising money remained a problem throughout the suffrage campaign in West Virginia. Wheeling did develop an active, well-financed anti-suffrage group in 1916, and although Ohio County showed one of the smaller majorities against suffrage in the state, still the amendment lost.

Raoul's insights on the West Virginia suffrage movement in general are also revealing and suggest that the reports in NAWSA's History of Woman Suffrage were more optimistic about the support for suffrage in the state during the 1916 campaign than perhaps they should have been. At least these reports suggest there was a great deal more work and dedication among the West Virginia women than Eleanore Raoul observed. In a July letter to her "boss," Hannah Patterson, she noted:

I have been in six counties since I came to W.Va. and have formed organizations in almost all of the districts I have visited but often under difficulties and not much enthusiasm was shown. In some I know a month elapsed before a meeting was called. In most place[s] there was no interest until I had a meeting and an absolute ignorance of the suffrage question. The people, even the "leading citizens" ar[e] mostly a very plain class of people and if they take an interest they feel at a loss about what to do or how to do it and are discouraged the minute they meet indifference or ridicule

. . . In a state where the women have to be converted to suffrage and gotten to work all in a few months the only ray of hope, to my mind, is for one worker to have definite territory so that she can lay out plans and see that they are carried out and encourage the lagging spirits.⁴⁷

A few weeks later she wrote to her mother:

The National is concentrating in W.Va. & it looks as if we might . . . carry in spite of the indifference on the part of the local women--There is no getting around the fact that the state was woefully unprepared for a campaign but I expect we shall win if a state can win now without being prepared for work beforehand.⁴⁸

Eleanore Raoul seems to have been a relatively

young and inexperienced organizer, and a little tactless, judging by some of her comments, but she had already been active in two other big campaigns and had seen the work in two other states. She is hard on the West Virginia women and although some of her attitude was perhaps the result of professional self-importance and impatience with the work of volunteers and amateurs, and partly a result of big-city and upper-class elitism, still she had apparently seen better local work in other campaigns. Madèleine Breckenridge, the Kentucky suffrage leader who spoke at several places in West Virginia in 1915, made similar comments after her whirlwind week of appearances, during which she addressed meetings in Boone and Logan counties, Charleston, Huntington, Parkersburg and Wheeling. She wrote to Cora Ebert, then leader of the West Virginia movement, "I am very hopeful of your state's going right; my only fear is that the women generally won't wake up and go to work in time."⁴⁹ More charitable than Eleanore Raoul, she recognized the problem as similar to that in her own state of Kentucky, "where in most communities a very small group of women are carrying the whole burden."⁵⁰ Both of these comments may be helpful in understanding the failure of the referendum.

Raoul had concluded her July letter to her mother saying, "They cannot even raise money in the

state," echoing a concern she had voiced months before in Wheeling. At one point she had confided to her sister:

I want to offer a certain amount [of money] if certain other women do the same. As I am not a W. Virginian that is a good way to shame them into giving. For if I stay in this part of the state I am determined to carry Ohio Co. and it will take money.⁵¹

Eleanore Raoul's estimation of the crucial part money played in the West Virginia situation was apparently not too far off the mark and might have been shared by other members of the National staff. Of the original budget for the work of \$25,000, NAWSA had offered to pay \$5,000. The National also paid the salaries and expenses of twenty of the organizers and all outside speakers, provided a car to the state organization, paid for some of the literature and newspaper expenses, and underwrote the cost of sending copies of the Woman's Journal to 1,600 clergymen for the four months leading up to the election. In the final days, the National Association sent its own chairman of publicity, Charles T. Heaslip, to direct the last efforts in that area and paid his full salary and expenses. The Massachusetts state association also donated money to the cause. Eleanore Raoul even requested her sister to send any money she raised in Georgia to the West Virginia suffrage campaign. And in the end, the

West Virginia state association raised only \$9,000 of the \$20,000 it had hoped to provide for the campaign, while NAWSA spent over \$17,000.⁵²

Expenses were high for other state referendum campaigns--the Maine campaign cost NAWSA \$15,000 and a total of \$30,000 was spent in South Dakota, Michigan, and Oklahoma--but the overwhelming loss in West Virginia, unmatched in any other state campaign, must have, in retrospect, made covering the cost of the West Virginia campaign more burdensome and caused NAWSA leaders to question the wisdom of a referendum campaign in such a recently organized state.⁵³

The final vote on November 7, 1916 was 161,607 to 63,540, a huge majority of 98,000, nearly 75%, against woman suffrage.⁵⁴ The results were overwhelming to most observers. Victory had not been taken for granted, but the depth of the defeat was entirely unexpected. An article in the Suffragist in late September had reported "the suffrage referendum campaign in West Virginia has a strong favorable sentiment behind it." Their report noted that the amendment had "been endorsed . . . by the leading editors, clergymen, and prominent citizens all over the state,"⁵⁵ with the assurance that this heralded success. Raoul's own discouraging observations do not seem to have lessened her optimism for the campaign. Even with her low opinion of the state

suffrage workers, she expected success, as did Madeleine Breckenridge. Others clearly had a more generous opinion of the work the West Virginia women were doing, so it is not surprising that most of the leaders had great hope for the 1916 referendum and were astonished at its failure. After such high expectations, the bitterness of the loss to the West Virginia suffragists, and to the National suffrage leaders who had invested so much time and money in the campaign, must have been great. Perhaps the clearest expression of this feeling may be found in Carrie Chapman Catt's assessment of the loss in her analysis of the American suffrage movement, Woman Suffrage and Politics:

No State campaign ever quite so completely rallied the "drunks" and the "ne'er do weels [sic]" of all kinds on election day as did West Virginia's.⁵⁶

The truth of this allegation requires investigation, but there can be no denial of the disillusionment apparent in the statement, caused by such an unparalleled defeat at a time of rising expectations for the ultimate triumph of woman suffrage.

CHAPTER III

Defeating A Woman Suffrage Referendum:

The Anti-Suffragists in West Virginia, 1915-1916

The West Virginia woman suffrage referendum, in which a state constitutional amendment extending the vote to women was considered, suffered a resounding defeat in the November 1916 election. After the intense work the suffragists had put into the campaign, the overwhelming majority against woman suffrage was difficult for observers to understand or explain. What caused the defeat? Were the anti-suffrage forces better organized or more active? Were the liquor interests responsible? Was the state's business community involved? Or was the defeat the result of something more endemic in the culture, the ideals, the beliefs, or perhaps the theology of West Virginians at that time?

Perhaps the best place to begin the search is in the views of the state's legislators, whose votes on the amendment in the Senate and House of Delegates determined the course of the suffrage movement in West Virginia for the years 1915 and 1916. Very few legislators voted against the suffrage referendum, but some who voted for it claimed not to be supporters of woman suffrage, only supporters of the referendum.

Senator Ben L. Rosenbloom, a Republican of Wheeling, was one of these. In the House of Delegates, G. W. McCauley, Democrat of Hardy County, made it clear that he did not favor woman suffrage but voted for the amendment only as a loyal Democrat. Other legislators who approved the amendment, like Senator G. K. Kump of Romney, indicated at least indecision in their stands on suffrage. One anti-suffrage legislator, however, took a strong stand on the floor of the Senate. The Suffragist, newspaper of the pro-suffrage Congressional Union, reported that the comments of Senator R. Dennis Steed, Republican of Lincoln County, in the final debate were so offensive to pro-suffrage women present as observers that he was loudly hissed by these women in the middle of his address.¹

The anti-suffrage Senators and Delegates represented many different sections of the state, and there seems to be little correlation between the referendum vote and the position of legislators on the issue. The party breakdown among Senators and Delegates opposed to woman suffrage is more interesting, however. In the Senate, Republicans held a little more than twice as many seats as Democrats yet all three of the Senators expressing opposition to the woman suffrage amendment were Republicans. Similarly, in the House of Delegates the division of seats between Republicans and Democrats

avored the Republicans a little better than two to one, but four of the five Delegates opposing the amendment were Republican and three of the four absent were Republicans. The National Republican Party had already endorsed woman suffrage and generally stood for the Progressive trends of that period. Democratic endorsement of the question on the state level had come more slowly and yet the Democrats in the state legislature were more loyal to their party's position than were the Republicans. Their support of the amendment and referendum were not necessarily a recognition of the justice of woman suffrage, but they were proportionally more willing to allow it to be considered by the state's voters than were Republicans.²

Perhaps the Democrats, as the minority party in West Virginia during this period, felt a stronger need to maintain party discipline and loyalty to their platform, as well as loyalty to the national party interest in seeing woman suffrage decided by the states. The Republican Party in West Virginia had consistently maintained a more conservative approach than that associated with the national party through its Progressive phase. The Republican Party in West Virginia retained a significant portion of conservative pro-business politicians who had never wholeheartedly accepted Progressive reforms and platforms. Perhaps these were

the men who refused to follow the party line on woman suffrage.³

West Virginia men outside the legislature also joined the anti-suffrage cause. W. W. Brannon of Weston, Lewis County, published a pamphlet containing a letter written to a friend, John Collins, a Weston lawyer, on the suffrage question. In his introduction, Brannon insisted "that its presentation is 'with malice toward none and good for all,' including especially our suffragist and suffragette friends."⁴ His letter recites the standard arguments against woman suffrage: the government is good enough already with men running it; political disagreements would disrupt family life if women could vote; women already have better benefits and protections under the law than men, which they would have to give up if they gained political rights; and woman would be forced to serve on juries and be elected judges if they received the vote, thereby being subjected to hearing "disagreeable" cases. "These considerations alone," Brannon wrote, "are sufficient . . . to excuse and release 'woman, lovely woman,' from the onerous and responsible, and sometimes disagreeable, burdens of citizenship."⁵

Brannon then answered the main pro-suffrage arguments. The claim of "taxation without representation" was faulty because women were represented by the men of

their families, who were bound by nature, rather than politics, to protect women's best interests. Besides, he added, many other classes of people are taxed without representation, most notably nonresident property owners. Woman suffrage, contrary to suffragist claims, had been unsuccessful in the suffrage states, according to Brannon. In Colorado, especially, women's votes had not raised moral standards as they should have, and two of the woman suffrage states, Utah and Idaho, were Mormon and therefore further examples of the inability of woman suffrage to improve morality. Two more important reasons not to grant women suffrage concluded Brannon's arguments. Women should not vote because they could not enforce the laws with physical power if necessary, and, most importantly in Brannon's view, most women did not really want to vote.⁶

After stating confidently that "certainly it can not be said that the writer of this letter . . . has any bias of prejudice on this subject," Brannon's last page becomes quite sentimental in its description of woman's "devotion to her home," climaxing in this final quotation from James Cardinal Gibbons: "'The greatest political triumphs she would achieve in public life fade into insignificance compared with the serene glory which radiates from the domestic shrine, and which she illuminates and warms by her conjugal and motherly

virtues.'" Brannon ended his letter with an assurance to the reader the "all I have said is for woman and in her interest" and a prayer that "our county [Lewis] will overwhelmingly defeat . . . [the] amendment," which it did.⁷

Harry F. Temple of Pendleton County, in his essay "Woman's Suffrage," provides additional insight into the male anti-suffrage attitude. Temple's main arguments are similar to Brannon's but more deeply conservative in their approach. Where Brannon made much of the protections women received at the hands of men, Temple emphasized women's inherent inability to exercise the vote properly. After calling the vote "a privilege and power" which should be granted only to those with the "capacity to serve the state, in whatever kind of service the state may require of its citizens," Temple recognized that these demands might well disqualify many men from holding the franchise, and he would gladly see that happen.⁸ But women, as a class, were a special case:

. . . Woman is, by her very nature, constitutionally and organically disqualified for the service of the state. She has not the cerebral organization adapted to the close, protracted, and harassing study of state affairs, nor a nervous organization equal to the sustained exertion and endurance demanded by judicial and legislative duties, nor a muscular organization fitted for the police or military service; and the functions of maternity, or if she be single, the physiological conditions that provide for maternity as the normal function of

womanhood, incapacitate for a kind of service that must either repress her nature, or destroy her health.⁹

Temple's expressed concern was not only with the effects of voting on the health of women individually, but also with the effects of women voting on the health of society as a whole. Temple asserted that "women's participating in political life . . . would . . . work a practical obliteration of sex" ¹⁰ He concluded, "To force women into the sphere of men, by rotating at once the physiological laws of her being and the etherial delicacy of her sex, is to degrade the state and to disorganize society."¹¹

Aileen Kraditor, in her study Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, called this point of view the biological argument against suffrage. She described it as "designed to appeal to people who needed a scientific sanction for their beliefs." It was one of the three primary arguments she identified among those used by the anti-suffragists nationwide. The other two she called the theological and sociological, which also appear in the writings of West Virginia anti-suffragists.¹²

Two examples cannot fully represent the variety of male anti-suffrage opinion that undoubtedly existed, but both Brannon and Temple touched on most of the arguments commonly advanced against woman suffrage by male anti-suffragists and may be presumed to show

something of the male anti-suffrage view. Remarkably similar to the men's arguments, especially Mr. Brannon's, are those outlined in a circular letter sent by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, to U.S. Senator Howard Sutherland of West Virginia. Mrs. Dodge represented the official views of women anti-suffragists through her position in this national organization.¹³ This letter was intended to sway Congressmen from voting for a Federal Amendment for woman suffrage and so includes the states' rights argument against the Federal Amendment as its primary focus. But enclosed with the letter, written December 26, 1914, was an 18-point appeal against woman suffrage that detailed these women's reasons for opposing votes for women. Mrs. Dodge argued: it would be undemocratic, "unamerican," in fact, to force suffrage on women without their consent; the majority of women did not wish to vote (90% by anti-suffrage calculations);¹⁴ women felt well-represented by the men of their families; men and women had different spheres and the vote was part of the men's; it would be a mistake to release men from their "natural" duties of protector and defender of women and children; voting rights would require women to serve on juries and in the police and military; to hold office, and undertake political party work; woman suffrage had provided no better laws where it was

allowed than man-suffrage provided in other states; social and moral conditions were no better in suffrage states than in non-suffrage states; laws already provided better protections and benefits for women than men, so women did not need to vote; and women were no more bound by morals in politics than men, as evidenced by the militant suffrage tactics.

She continued: 80% of women over 24 were married--if they voted with their husbands, they merely doubled the present vote and if they voted against them, they nullified their votes and the family lost all representation; only urban women could vote because rural women could not take their children to the polls or leave them at home, so their voices would be unheard while the city women would vote in their own interests; taxation without the vote was not the same thing as taxation without representation; voting was not a right but a duty to be delegated by the state; "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," therefore women should not be burdened with the duties of government without their consent; the U.S. had never before imposed the vote on a group in society that did not want it, which is what would happen if woman suffrage were passed; women and children were better protected by leaving government to men than by allowing women to vote; women's votes could only weaken government

since they were not capable of physically enforcing the laws they supported; and finally, men were already doing a good job of governing.¹⁵

Organized anti-suffrage activity in West Virginia began much later than that of the pro-suffragists, perhaps because until the woman suffrage amendment passed the state legislature and neared a referendum vote, the pro-suffrage movement was not viewed as enough of a threat to raise organized opposition. News of anti-suffrage activism in the state did not reach the national anti-suffrage journal, the Woman's Protest, until January 1916; and the first official statewide association, the West Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, was not formed until June or July of that year.¹⁶ The Woman's Journal first mentions anti-suffrage activity in West Virginia in June 1916, claiming then that the only organized opposition to suffrage came from outside the state.¹⁷

State anti-suffrage activities are difficult to trace because, unlike the pro-suffragists, the anti-suffrage associations did not prepare a history of their movement. Articles in the Woman's Protest emphasized arguments against suffrage rather than reports of local activities. The West Virginia organization developed so late and disbanded so quickly after the decisive victory in 1916 that a closely organized group that

could develop a clear identity was never created. Nor was this inactivity unique to West Virginia; the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, organized in 1911, did not hold its second convention until 1918.¹⁸

The bulk of the public speaking, a large part of the anti-suffrage campaign in West Virginia, was carried on by outside organizers. The most prominent of these women in the West Virginia campaign was Mrs. Oliver D. Oliphant of Trenton, New Jersey, who arrived in West Virginia in April 1916. Her greatest triumph among the apparently countless addresses she made was on August 2, 1916, at the state Democratic Convention in Parkersburg. The pro-suffrage cause was represented by Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), who was in the state to attend a conference. Although Catt garnered great applause, Mrs. Oliphant was more effective as a speaker, according to local news sources. The Parkersburg Sentinel called her a "magnetic speaker" and detailed the points she made, which were very close to those outlined in Mrs. Dodge's circular letter of two years earlier.¹⁹ Despite the "unquestioned advantage"²⁰ the antis claimed Mrs. Oliphant had over Catt, however, the convention included a pro-suffrage plank in its platform.²¹

Mrs. Oliphant spoke in many places in West Virginia, reportedly impressing most crowds with her rhetorical ability. She appeared opposite Antoinette Funk of Chicago at the state Republican convention and apparently received a courteous reception, although as had happened earlier at the Democratic convention, the party adopted a pro-suffrage plank. After an address in Morgantown, the Morgantown Post-Chronicle reported, "It is safe to say that 75 per cent of the audience was not in sympathy with her side of the subject but gave her a most attentive hearing" ²² The Post-Chronicle; a pro-suffrage newspaper, understandably was not as impressed by Oliphant as was the anti-suffrage press so to determine the actual quality and effectiveness of her addresses is difficult, but at least it seems clear that she worked almost singlehandedly against the large numbers of pro-suffrage speakers touring the state. Having arrived in West Virginia in April, she was still filling engagements during the week of the November 7th elections. The Post-Chronicle noted that she complained that her throat was bothering her and wrote "[she] impressed one as being worn out with the arduous campaign which she is conducting." ²³

It is not clear why Mrs. Oliphant was nearly alone in her anti-suffrage speaking work, but perhaps it was because the anti-suffragists' ideals of woman's

sphere allowed for public speaking only as an emergency measure against a dreaded evil. Only a few leaders might make the sacrifice of their proper place and fight publicly against woman suffrage. The average anti-suffrage woman would let these leaders and the male anti-suffragists do their talking.

In March 1916, the Woman's Protest reported that prominent women of West Virginia were beginning to work quietly against suffrage while anti-suffrage literature was being distributed actively in Charleston, Huntington and "other cities." By April the Wheeling anti-suffrage association had elected officers, and the anti-suffrage women planned a state convention as soon as organizational activity could support one. The strength of the West Virginia organization was in Charleston and Wheeling. All of the state association's officers were from these two cities throughout the 1916 campaign. Of the four or five officers (the number varied from month to month as honorary positions were added and dropped) all but one, in fact, were from Charleston.²⁴

The West Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage promoted the principles of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in their 1916 campaign propaganda. In three handbills produced by the state association the arguments outlined by Mrs. Dodge were

repeated, with some additions. One of the three played up the idea that only a minority of women desired woman suffrage. Headlined "Don't Say 'Let Them Vote If They Want To,'" the handbill provided a calculation that showed over 20 million women against the vote.²⁵

Another of the handbills appealed to "Mr. Voter!" to "remember" various facts about woman suffrage and to "Vote Against Woman Suffrage, November 7, 1916."

Among these facts were the assertions that conditions were no better on any account in woman suffrage states than in man suffrage ones, that woman suffrage was only an experiment that cannot be afforded "under present conditions," that "the average woman is no better than the average man," that most women did not want to vote, and two "facts" apparently designed to appeal to the voter's fear of some of the unsavory elements in modern society; that "woman suffrage means suffrage for every woman and not only for your own female relatives, friends, and acquaintances" and that "every Socialist and every Feminist is a Woman Suffragist."²⁶

The West Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage used a variety of approaches to reach a wide spectrum of voters, including those who, although not completely convinced by anti-suffrage arguments, might still be unsure about supporting the woman suffrage amendment in 1916. One of these approaches can be seen

in the third handbill, which displayed the prominent headline "We Oppose Woman Suffrage," focused on the experimental character of woman suffrage, and concluded with the following plea: "Unless you are convinced of the desirability of woman suffrage, it is highly important that you vote against it."²⁷

Another technique to gain sympathy among West Virginians seems to have been to accuse the pro-suffrage speakers of misrepresenting the antis and their arguments. The most common accusation made by the suffragists, according to the antis, was that the anti-suffrage campaign was almost entirely supported by the liquor interests. The anti-suffragists' response to this assertion was simply that West Virginia was already dry, through men's votes, so there was no reason for the liquor interests to have any influence on men who supported prohibition. They claimed, in fact, that the liquor interests might better support woman suffrage, since the "woman who wants all kinds of freedom is not usually an advocate of prohibition. And she is the woman who would do the most voting and office holding."²⁸

Another pro-suffrage argument that the anti-suffragists claimed had no application to West Virginia was the assertion that working women needed the vote to protect themselves. The opponents of suffrage pro-

duced figures showing that only 12% of all West Virginia women were employed outside the home, and that of these, 58% were employed in unregulated occupations, including domestic service and agricultural work. One-third of the remaining group would be too young to vote. As a result the women (calculated to be 4%) who worked in industries where the vote might help were such a tiny number that their own votes could never have any influence. In any case, the antis argued, West Virginia working women were already being well-protected by men's votes, as were the wives of workingmen. The vote was obviously not needed by women of the working class.²⁹

Mrs. Oliphant, in an address at Morgantown, "used the same arguments that have been used by the anti-for years," according to the pro-suffrage Morgantown Post-Chronicle report. She claimed "that the majority of women do not want to vote and that women can have more influence for good without the ballot than with it and then cited that the most beneficial legislation for women has been passed in states having only male suffrage and that in states having equal suffrage the women have not had a good influence on either morals or on legislation."³⁰

West Virginia suffragists were accused of more serious offenses against anti-suffrage speakers than just misrepresentation and their antagonistic tactics were cited by antis as the very reason in many cases

that they lost the sympathy of voters. At a meeting in Beckley, West Virginia, the suffragists were accused of trying to block anti-suffrage use of the courthouse and, failing that, to limit their use of it to one hour. When that attempt also failed, the handbills advertising the event were stolen from the office of an anti-suffrage attorney. The suffragists then reportedly disrupted the meeting many times throughout and announced a rival pro-suffrage meeting to begin during the middle of the anti meeting. After the continual disruptions, when the pro-suffragists left for their own meeting, an unidentified "gentleman of great local prominence" according to the Woman's Protest report of the incident, rose to speak:

Mrs. Oliphant, I ask you to let me make an announcement. I had intended to vote in favor of woman suffrage, but the discourteous treatment of women exhibited here tonight leads me to announce that now I shall vote against woman suffrage.³¹

A few days later at a meeting in Welch, the suffragists were accused of cutting the light wires to end a meeting. The antis continued, however, using candlelight, which reportedly made their arguments all the more dramatic.³² After the victory in November, the antis claimed these offensive tactics as the most effective anti-suffrage work undertaken. In the state president, Elizabeth Gallaher's, report on the election in the Woman's Protest, November 1916, she wrote, "There is [some] . . . opinion

[that] . . . the voters would have utterly defeated suffrage owing alone to the tactics of its supporters."³³

The real reasons behind the overwhelming defeat of the woman suffrage referendum probably lie in altogether different circumstances than the antis, or the pro-suffragists, liked to claim. Carrie Chapman Catt's analysis of the anti-suffrage strength in 1916 was that the measure was lost because of money and pressure from liquor interests, especially in the larger cities of Wheeling, Huntington and Charleston, where opposition to prohibition had also been strong in the 1914 state referendum on that issue. The prohibition referendum, however, had been overwhelmingly successful statewide. Why then were the liquor interests so powerful two years later on this related question? The antis, in fact, claimed that the same parts of the state that voted most heavily for prohibition carried the greatest majorities against suffrage.

The West Virginia suffragists' report of the defeat in West Virginia claimed the "wet" vote of Charleston, Huntington and Wheeling had been instrumental in the amendment's defeat. That report would indicate that the vote of those three cities was remarkably heavy against the amendment relative to the other sections of the state.³⁴ This was simply not the case in 1916. Election returns for twenty-five of West Virginia's

fifty-five counties show the average percentage of votes against suffrage was 75.1%. In Kanawha County, where Charleston is located, the percentage of votes against woman suffrage was 74.2%; in Cabell County, where Huntington is located, the percentage was 73.4%; and in Ohio County, where Wheeling is the county seat, only 57.2% of the voters cast their ballots against woman suffrage. Without prohibition amendment election returns it is hard to show any correlation between the two votes, but Ohio County is repeatedly referred to by the suffragists as the only county that went against prohibition in 1914. If there were any correlation indicating that the "wet" vote was against suffrage, Ohio County should have shown one of the largest votes against suffrage. On the contrary, it showed one of the smallest and the votes in the counties where the other two cities supposedly responsible for the defeat of woman suffrage are located were very close to the statewide average. With no other solid evidence on either side, it is hard to conclude that the liquor interests had any significant effect on the outcome of the election.³⁵

Blaming suffrage losses on the liquor interests became increasingly popular after 1918, when a U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee investigating brewing industry connections with German and Bolshevik interests

during World War I, discovered minutes of a brewers' strategy conference on October 13, 1913 that provided undeniable evidence of strategic links between the liquor industry and anti-suffrage organizations. This evidence confirmed suspicions that had been held for years. Anti-suffragists had spent a great deal of time before 1918 denying the close relationship with liquor interests of which they were regularly accused by pro-suffrage speakers. After this date their denials became more difficult and suffragist accusations more insistent. But for all the reasons already discussed, this connection does not seem to be the key to understanding West Virginia's vote against suffrage.³⁶

Corporate business interests were also generally considered by suffragists to be opposed to woman suffrage, according to Eleanor Flexner in her classic study of the women's rights movement, Century of Struggle. These interests were, however, the "most difficult of all to link with the opposition to woman suffrage."³⁷ It is difficult to discover the extent of business interest in the anti-suffrage organization in West Virginia, and thereby to link anti-suffragists with corporate business, because it is so hard to find biographical information on the few individuals whose names appear in reports of anti-suffrage activity. Two examples of business connections among women of the anti-suffrage

movement in West Virginia, however, are Hallie Davis (Mrs. Stephen B.) Elkins and Carrie Watson (Mrs. Aretas Brooks) Fleming. Mrs. Elkins was the daughter of the powerful West Virginia industrialist Henry G. Davis, whose railroad and lumber interests were among the earliest of the industrial empires in West Virginia. His political influence mirrored his economic power and he controlled the Democratic party in West Virginia for decades. Mrs. Elkins' husband, Stephen B. Elkins, was as successful in business as his father-in-law. He moved to West Virginia from New Mexico and held oil and gas lands in the Southwest, as well as railroad, lumber, and oil and gas interests in West Virginia. He held political leadership in the Republican party in West Virginia and served as U.S. Senator from West Virginia for many years. Davis died before suffrage became an important issue, but Elkins opposed it actively until his death in 1911. Hallie Elkins became involved in the national and state anti-suffrage movements after her husband's death.³⁸

Carrie Watson Fleming was a daughter of the Watson family of Fairmont, early and very successful coal operators of the Fairmont region. The Watsons' operations eventually became part of Consolidation Coal Company. Mrs. Fleming's husband, Aretas Brooks Fleming of Fairmont, was an attorney who served as counsel to

Johnson Newlon Camden, West Virginia oil and gas industrialist. Camden's operations became part of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.'s Standard Oil empire and placed Camden on top among oil men of West Virginia.³⁹

The position of these women in the anti-suffrage movement serves as an indicator of the general attitudes of the business class of West Virginia society of which they were a part. These relationships, however, do not necessarily prove any larger influence of corporate business on the suffrage referendum vote. Neither do the voting patterns in West Virginia support this idea. The more industrialized parts of the state voted more heavily for suffrage than the rural areas. Ohio County and the other Northern Panhandle counties had some of the heaviest voting for suffrage, while rural areas like Hardy, Hampshire and Lincoln counties voted between 80% and 90% against suffrage. These figures do not tell the whole story of business in West Virginia, however, since the interests of many of its wealthy owners were in these rural counties, in the mineral and lumber industries. Whether the overwhelming majorities in rural areas can in part be attributed to the influence of these interests on their employees in the coal and lumber camps and the oil boom towns is a question that would be difficult to answer and that would certainly require further investigation.⁴⁰

An influence suggested only in pro-suffrage literature was the fear of the Black vote. In the West Virginia report to NAWSA's History of Woman Suffrage, fear of the Black vote held almost as prominent a place in their explanations of their loss as the "wet" vote. The anti-suffragists "told the negroes that white women would take the vote away from them and also establish a 'Jim-Crow' system and they told the white women that the negro women outnumbered them and would get the balance of power."⁴¹ According to the suffragists' own figures, however, cited in a September 2, 1916 article in the Woman's Journal, there were only 15,114 Black women in West Virginia who would be enfranchised as compared to 265,000 white women, so the threat to whites of the increased Black vote was almost non-existent. On the other hand, the threat to Black male voters of the increase in white votes that woman suffrage might bring may well have been a consideration. But their total possible vote of about 22,000 was nowhere near the majority by which suffrage lost, and since it is very likely a great many fewer than the full 22,000 were able to vote, and some of those who did probably favored woman suffrage, the influence of the Black vote on the defeat of woman suffrage must have been negligible.⁴²

Objective logic was not always decisive in

influencing people's attitudes on the suffrage question, however. Since the Black population of the state had been increasing in the southern coal counties since 1900, there may very well have been some fear among whites in that part of the state that woman suffrage would dangerously increase the power of Black voters by increasing their numbers. These counties in West Virginia were already southern in character, subscribing to other ideals and values of southern culture that probably affected their attitudes on woman suffrage as much as fear of the Black vote. These ideals and values were most clearly characterized in extreme visions of the sacredness of women's domestic sphere, as were expressed in W. W. Brannon's letter and in the remarks of State Senator G. K. Kump in explanation of his vote for the holding of a referendum on woman suffrage. These sentiments regarding woman's sphere were not exclusive to the South, but they were more entrenched in southern ideology and in the tight grip southerners tried to maintain on the genteel and chivalrous tradition they felt set them off from the Northern states and helped them maintain their separate identity. Changes in these time-honored patterns were threatening to the survival of the remnants of the Old South.

Many parts of West Virginia had been southern in their sympathies during the Civil War, and, continued

by the same old families that had settled in those sections before the war, these areas retained their southern outlook. Counties in the South Branch Valley and the Greenbrier Valley that had been Confederate strongholds in the Civil War carried the largest margins against suffrage in the state. Conversely, sections of the state that were most staunchly Union during the war, especially the Northern Panhandle counties, had much smaller majorities against suffrage, with two of these counties, Brooke and Hancock in the northernmost section of the Panhandle, actually showing a majority for the suffrage amendment.⁴³

None of these explanations, however, adequately accounts for the defeat of the amendment in all but two counties and the overwhelming total majority against woman suffrage. Anti-suffrage organizing and propagan-
dizing, from all accounts, never equalled the activity of the pro-suffragists. Very large majorities in both the State Senate and House of Delegates passed the amendment on to the voters. The liquor interests apparently cannot account for much of the majority against suffrage and the corporate business influence is almost impossible to identify--if the business leaders of the state were concerned about the suffrage question, it does not show in their remaining personal papers. The fear of the Black vote does not seem to have been likely to motivate

voters in most parts of the state and the southern ideals of womanhood can account for votes in only a few areas of the state. However, two other related influences against woman suffrage that were probably more widespread than any of these other more specialized interests may account, in combination with some of these more narrow influences, for the overwhelming number of votes cast against the amendment.

Carrie Chapman Catt noted in her analysis that in addition to the liquor interests arrayed against woman suffrage there were "the many church dries who still adhered to ideas of woman's sphere" ⁴⁴ One of the cornerstones of the woman's sphere concept, according to Aileen Kraditor's Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, was the theological argument that God had ordained the separate functions of the sexes, proof of which was available in the Bible, especially in Genesis and the Epistles of St. Paul. St. Paul had clearly stated that obedience and submission to husband and father was part of a woman's duty to God. A woman who did not obey her husband would not obey God. ⁴⁵ In a generally conservative and rural state like West Virginia, these Biblical admonitions must have retained a great deal of influence.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) women had expected to be able to carry the church pro-

hibition forces behind them in supporting woman suffrage. But in addition to its contradiction of the notion of woman's sphere as ordained by God, it was a progressive reform. Prohibition had been a conservative reform. The same male voters who supported prohibition, which limited individual freedoms, were not necessarily going to support woman suffrage, which promised to increase the freedoms of an entire class of society, with completely unpredictable results. Perhaps if it had been possible to enfranchise only such respectable women as those of the WCTU, woman suffrage might have been more appealing to these voters. But obviously that kind of limit was impossible, so to avoid the greater evil of providing all women with the vote, conservative men chose not to allow it to any.

West Virginia remained a primarily rural and conservative Republican and southern Democratic state throughout the Progressive era. Many parts of the state were never touched by the primarily urban and Northern movement for liberal reforms. Suffrage organization had always been most successful and active in the northern and more urban sections of the state and the referendum vote shows that those are just the areas that provided the higher percentages of votes for suffrage. When compared with the slow movement of other Progressive reforms in West Virginia, the woman suffrage question

did not fare so badly.⁴⁶

The defeat was discouraging, especially because of its severity, but as the West Virginia suffragists reminded their sisters in the National organization, "one must consider that it was the first attempt."⁴⁷ West Virginia would not get another chance at a state referendum, but by the time the ratification battle for the Federal Amendment began in 1918, the West Virginia suffragists were ready again, and this time their efforts would be rewarded.

CHAPTER IV

"Suffrage Is Won": Ratification of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, 1917-1920

After the decisive defeat of the state woman suffrage amendment, the West Virginia suffrage movement was in a state of disarray. Julia M. Ruhl of Clarksburg took over leadership of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association (WVESA) from Lenna Yost, who claimed, undoubtedly with little exaggeration, that the referendum campaign had taken all her energy for suffrage and that she needed to return to her work for the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Washington. She remained a part of the suffrage movement, however, serving as West Virginia's member on the National Executive Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).¹

Julia Ruhl was a native of Connecticut and graduate of Mount Holyoke College, one of the earliest colleges for women in the United States. She came to West Virginia as a teacher in 1881, then married and became a permanent resident. Of her work for the WVESA she wrote:

In 1917, I was made president of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association, as a forlorn hope, after the campaign in 1916 It was a dis-

couraging situation, but the work was interesting, and it was most gratifying to be able in the next three years to win a majority of our representatives in the Congress to the support of the Suffrage Amendment and to secure ratification by the State Legislature of that amendment²

An Annual convention was held in November 1917 at Fairmont, but the only activity preserved was the group's determination to maintain an organization for future efforts.³ No more than twenty delegates attended, according to Ruhl, and "it was practically impossible to get women to act as state chairmen of our committees, for the reason that they had assumed responsibilities in other organizations."⁴ With the entry of the United States into World War I, the energies of most of the state's women had turned to war work. As late as May 1918, Ruhl found the West Virginia suffrage movement in a state of disrepair. When asked to report on the Red Cross work of the West Virginia suffragists, she felt obliged to begin her answer with an apology, writing, "we are not advertising the fact that our organization is in a demoralized condition, but it may as well be known by those who naturally expect us to do effective team work."⁵ Although West Virginia suffragists were leaders in Red Cross war work, they did not serve as members of suffrage organizations, most of which had ceased to hold meetings.⁶

Suffrage remained an issue of concern to many

of the state's women, however, and their attention turned to the passage of a Federal Amendment that would grant suffrage to all the nation's women. The 1917 convention of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, in which Julia Ruhl was also very active, endorsed the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage and called on the West Virginia members in Congress to support it in the 1918 session, when it was scheduled to be discussed.⁷

West Virginia suffragists had been involved before in efforts to have a Federal Amendment on woman suffrage pass the Congress. The Bristow-Mondell Resolution of 1914 received attention from West Virginia women, some of whom travelled to Washington to lobby for its passage. They were aided in their lobbying and support of the Amendment by a number of West Virginia Congressmen, principally Hunter H. Moss, Jr., Matthew M. Neely and Howard Sutherland.

Among Representative Sutherland's constituent mail are letters from West Virginia women requesting his support for the Resolution. He received letters from official suffrage clubs, including the Berkeley County Equal Suffrage League, the Equal Suffrage League of Kanawha County, and from the WVESA as a whole. In a letter written by a male member of the Berkeley County Equal Suffrage League, Sutherland was told, "if they [women] are good enough to educate our children, they

should, also have enough sence [sic] to help us make the conditions under which these children have to live."⁸

Sutherland also received letters from individual women, one of whom, Mrs. R. M. Marple of Grafton, reminded Sutherland, "My men have helped you in the past and may have occasion to help you again in the future," as she asked him to vote for the Bristow-Mondell Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.⁹ Sutherland voted for the Amendment, as did Neely and Moss, but the resolution did not receive the majority it needed to pass.

In 1918 another Federal Suffrage Amendment was under consideration, now called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, as it had been before 1914. Much had changed in the previous four years. Many state referenda had been held, and except for the West Virginia loss, most losses had been very close, and some very significant states had been won, including New York. In addition, women's wholehearted effort to help the United States during World War I was widely recognized. President Woodrow Wilson, who had consistently supported woman suffrage by the state referenda approach, changed his position. He proposed that woman suffrage be passed by Federal Amendment to reward the war work of American women. Other allied nations, including England, France and Russia, had given their women suffrage in various forms, and the war slogan "To Make the World Safe for Democracy,"

had a hollow ring when it was pointed out that American democracy continued to keep half its adult population without the vote.

All of these points were given national attention through the militant picketing tactics of National Woman's Party members and the sensational press coverage of their subsequent arrests and poor treatment in prison. Although many Americans were unhappy with the tactics of the militant suffragists, and NAWSA and its affiliates took pains to dissociate their groups from the National Woman's Party activities, their media attention certainly brought the suffrage movement into the national limelight at a time when it might well have been buried under war-related issues. The anti-suffragists tried to use the distaste with which many viewed the picketing and so-called harassment of the President by these women against all suffragists, undoubtedly winning some converts by this method. But the government's treatment of the militant suffragists was also distasteful to many. Their jailing on exaggerated charges and their treatment in prison, including the brutal force-feeding with which the government reacted to their hunger strikes, must have won as many converts to the suffrage side.¹⁰

Whatever the reasons, the Federal Suffrage Amendment received a new impetus and was once again

being considered seriously by early 1918. West Virginia's representatives in Congress were generally supportive of the measure. The House of Representatives passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment by a close margin on January 10, 1918. The Senate, however, held back on consideration of the measure. Its vote on the amendment was not scheduled until October 1, 1918. Despite great effort on the part of pro-suffragists, the amendment lost on that day by only two votes. Suffragists responded by becoming active in the congressional campaigns of four key anti-suffrage Senators. Two of these, Senator John W. Weeks of Massachusetts and Senator Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, lost their seats, and the other two won their seats back with much decreased majorities. The two losses by anti-suffrage Senators guaranteed the success of the Suffrage Amendment in the new session in 1919. The question was brought up once more, however, before the end of the lame-duck session in February 1919. It lost again, although this time by only one vote. The gain was the result of the appointment of a pro-suffrage Senator to fill a vacancy for South Carolina. No Senators had been persuaded to change their votes.¹¹

In May 1919, President Wilson called a special session of the new Congress and urged it to pass the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. The House passed

the amendment almost immediately, with an increased majority of 304 to 89. Several days later the Senate also passed the amendment, by exactly the margin needed, made possible by the replacement of the two anti-suffrage Senators, Weeks and Saulsbury. The amendment was finally ready to go to the states for ratification.¹²

West Virginia men were active in the effort to have the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment passed. The state's politicians who were committed to woman suffrage spoke out in favor of the Amendment. During the election campaigns of 1918, Major Davis Elkins, son of former Senator Stephen Elkins and a Republican candidate for Senator from West Virginia, declared in favor of woman suffrage by the Federal Amendment. As there was no scheduled Democratic Party convention for West Virginia in 1918, the Party held a special conference of executive officers and candidates to endorse woman suffrage, among other issues supported by President Wilson. Both Elkins and the Democratic leaders of the state explained their support of woman suffrage as a reaction to the efforts women were making to support the war effort.¹³ In announcing Elkins' support of woman suffrage, the Morgantown Post noted that Elkins was among "many men of West Virginia who, two years ago, were against the suffrage proposition, [but] are now strongly for it."¹⁴

A very wide range of people were coming to see the value and perhaps inevitability of woman suffrage. The West Virginia Dental Association endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment during their convention in April 1919, calling for Congress to pass on it as soon as possible. Their expressed reason for so doing, however, was not only the war work of women, but also the fact that women do not yell as loudly as men during tooth extractions.¹⁵ Undoubtedly that reason was intended for comic relief. However, such an endorsement from an entire profession, in addition to those of political parties and other groups more often interested in political questions is significant.

At the 1918 convention of the WVESA in Fairmont, the women suffragists of the state also pledged themselves to the Federal Suffrage campaign and urged their representatives to do the same. West Virginia women also began to work more closely with the National Woman's Party towards a Federal Amendment. Annie Caldwell Boyd, a long-time leader in the NAWSA-affiliated WVESA, from its early organization in the 1890s, wrote to the National Woman's Party in June 1917, commending them on their militant activities aimed at pressuring the Federal government and sending money to help in their efforts. Throughout 1917 the National Woman's Party was actively recruiting in West Virginia. In September

an organizer worked in the Northern Panhandle and the following April meetings were held in Kingwood, Preston County, at the request of Izetta Jewell Brown, wife of U.S. Representative William Gay Brown of Preston County. Ten new subscriptions to the Suffragist, the party's newspaper, were secured in 1917. West Virginia was the last state to begin to organize a chapter of the National Woman's Party, and according to the report of organizing in the Suffragist, a great deal of the impetus for support of the party, finally, came from the 1916 referendum defeat. Yet in spite of initial optimism, by June 1918 West Virginia still had no National Woman's Party state chapter. It remained part of the National Woman's Party only through the interest of a handful of leaders who also maintained their activism in the NAWSA affiliate.¹⁶

If some West Virginia suffragists were impatient with the NAWSA approach and wished to speed the progress toward Federal suffrage by supporting the National Woman's Party's direct action, the majority of West Virginia suffragists chose to follow the older ways of NAWSA. The NAWSA-affiliated WVESA was anxious to separate itself from the taint of militant action with which the National Woman's Party was associated. The state president of WVESA, Julia Ruhl, wrote a concerned letter to now U.S. Senator Howard Sutherland in August 1918,

during the days leading up to the first Senate vote on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, She earnestly assured him that:

The Woman's Party has almost no representatives in our State. I personally know of only one woman who has ever been active in suffrage work in W. Va. who is connected with it. The women of your state who are urging you to vote for the Federal Amendment . . . are not notoriety seekers, nor could they be induced at this time to add to the perplexities and burdens of the hour by acts which are both illegal and unbecoming.¹⁷

Mrs. Ruhl continued:

But while we deplore the unwise action of a few women, we see no reason why their lack of judgment should cause any rational man to class all women with them, or to vote against what is fundamentally right and just, because of any disgust or impatience aroused by their proceedings.

We are, with our sons, in the great struggle for the triumph of democratic ideals. We urge you to cast your vote for, not against those ideals when the Suffrage Amendment comes . . . for the final vote¹⁸

As Julia Ruhl's letter indicates, however, although the WVESA suffragists did not want to be associated with the direct action tactics of the National Woman's Party women, they were sincerely interested in achieving suffrage by Federal Amendment.

While the Amendment was pending in 1918, many women wrote to Senator Sutherland to express their feelings about the Federal Amendment and to present Senator Sutherland with arguments to allay his concerns about voting for the Amendment after the defeat of the 1916 referendum. One of these letters, from Blanche

Wheatley of Bolivar, West Virginia, in the Eastern Panhandle, tried to anticipate and forestall reasons Sutherland might not vote for the Amendment. She explained the 1916 vote as the result of "ignorance of the real merits of the question, and the suspicious attitude assumed by most men toward anything new and untried in regulating affairs of home, state and nation."¹⁹ She claimed there had not been time to educate all the voters on the question and that in any case there had been a marked change in the Nation's sentiments toward women since 1916. She also claimed that women's patriotic war work made it imperative for the government to provide women with the full rights of citizenship.

In every way possible to us we are helping to win the war for World Freedom Yet we mothers do not enjoy the full rights and privileges which a democracy should bestow upon its own citizens (from whom the Government expects, and receives, loyal support) before it seeks to democratize the world.²⁰

She urged Sutherland to support the Amendment on the basis of simple justice, for the right that men received to vote was given to them "not . . . because they are moral, intelligent or sound in judgment, but because they are men."²¹ She asserted "because we are women--the other necessary half of Humanity--we want the voting privilege . . . --as a simple matter of justice."²²

Another woman's letter, much shorter, listed

no arguments for Sutherland but told him she attended the session of the Senate at which the suffrage resolution was scheduled to be voted on and "was very much disappointed that it was passed over for a later date.

I am not a suffragette, but believe in woman's rights."²³

Men also wrote to Sutherland on the question. Some men had supported woman suffrage during the 1916 referendum and continued to support it by the Federal route. Others wrote to tell Senator Sutherland that they had voted against woman suffrage in 1916 but had changed their minds, usually as a result of the war work women had taken on so energetically. W. O. McCluskey, a merchant of Wheeling, wrote, "I voted against Women's Suffrage, but the splendid work the Women of this Country are doing, to help win this War, has . . . changed my Views."²⁴ W. B. Irvine, a banker, also of Wheeling, wrote:

I was somewhat slow in making up my mind with regard to Women's Suffrage, but I am convinced now, that it is coming sooner or later The more I analyze my attitude towards the question the more convinced I become that my opposition in the past was due more to sentiment than logic, hence I am ready to give the ballot to the women of this country, believing that they will make good use of it.²⁵

Thomas C. Miller, principal of Shepherd College, in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, felt:

While the vote in West Virginia was adverse two years ago, there has been a wonderful change in the sentiment of the people since that time, and,

anyhow, Woman Suffrage is sure to come
The great service the women of the United States
are rendering in these strenuous times, I think,
merits such recognition.²⁶

Religious leaders, attorneys, and other West Virginia men also wrote to Sutherland on the issue. A large group of letters came from organized labor around the state. The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly passed a resolution and sent a copy to Sutherland. Their major point was the same as that made by other supporters of the Federal Amendment: "any further delay in the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment . . . [is] an affront to the women of the entire Nation and to the ideals of Democracy."²⁷ Telegrams from the Charleston local of the Typographical Union and the West Virginia State Federation of Labor were sent in support of the Amendment, and a large group of Huntington unions, including those of the carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, Junior Mechanics, plasterers, and pottery workers and the Trade Assemblies Union of Huntington, also endorsed woman suffrage by the Federal Amendment.²⁸

Not all of the letters Senator Sutherland received were in favor of the Suffrage Amendment, of course. The letters he received against suffrage were from a variety of men and women, both inside and outside the state. While the anti-letters were far outnumbered by the pro-suffragists' among Sutherland's

constituent mail on this issue, what the antis lacked in numbers they made up for in intensity. A letter from Alice Wadsworth, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, outlined for Senator Sutherland the main objections the antis of this organization identified in the Federal Amendment. First and foremost among arguments of the various anti-suffrage groups was that a Federal Amendment violated the principle of states' rights. Second, Wadsworth's letter claimed the amendment "involves the preservation or destruction in large measure of white civilization in the South."²⁹ And third she claimed "it involves the survival of the Democratic and Republican parties against the rising tide of Socialism and Radicalism."³⁰ This last appears to have been her greatest concern, as the rest of the letter detailed the "facts" of the Socialist threat of woman suffrage, "that the radical woman, the politically ambitious woman, the Socialist woman, is more free from family responsibilities than the conservative woman, more willing and able to take an active part in politics" and "that the radicals can more readily organize their women and get a larger proportion of them to vote, than the Democrats and Republicans can."³¹ The concluding plea to Sutherland asked "for your support in our crusade against Suffrage, Socialism and Sabotage."³²

A letter from the president of the Pittsburgh Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Eliza D. Armstrong, reiterated Mrs. Wadsworth's concerns. She asked for Sutherland's vote against the Amendment and emphasized the importance of the defeat by the following analysis of its support:

I need not call your attention to the fact that it is a minority movement, championed largely by restless and ambitious women and weak-kneed politicians, also . . . by Socialists, pacifists, Pro-Germans, conscientious (?) [sic] objectors, and agitators of all kinds.³³

The male opposition, however, seems to have been less concerned with socialists and more worried about the threat of women, as women, voting. Grant Deahl, a mine foreman of Hiorra, West Virginia, expressed his fears as follows:

I hope you have made a careful study of the history of the past if you have I am shure you can see that every time womeman got to prominent in state, church or home it was the cause of its downfall . . . I believe I can trace the present war to too much womeman all through out this section every home where the womeman are suffergets and the men are not in sythy with their movement it is a home of torement.³⁴

He was also concerned about the increase of ignorant voters:

I feel satisfied that half of the votes that are poled at presant should not be cast on the account of ignorance and to add to that many more of that kind of votes would make things worse than they are at presant.³⁵

Perhaps the most persistent spokesman for the West Virginia anti-suffragists was Waitman H. Conaway,

a corporation lawyer of Fairmont. He wrote twice to Sutherland regarding the vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment and produced a pamphlet on the subject entitled The Subjugation of Man Through Woman Suffrage, in which he outlined, in thirty pages, twenty-seven arguments against woman suffrage. These ranged from the religious (What Saint Paul Says) through the patriotic (New Suffrage League Un-American . . .) to the political (Suffrage Not a Natural or Inherent Right). Conaway employed the arguments of states' rights (Right of Suffrage Exclusively a State Question) and of woman's sphere (Domestic Tranquility of the Home Disturbed) and of male superiority in affairs of state (Foundation of Political Government--Man Power).³⁶

His first letter to Sutherland placed great emphasis on the 1916 referendum vote and appealed to Sutherland to protect "the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln" by voting against the Amendment.³⁷ After receiving an answer from Sutherland that was not unequivocally against the Amendment, Conaway abandoned all attempts at refined requests that Sutherland vote against woman suffrage and accused him of "surrendering every primary fundamental principle of government to the undemocratic, unrepublican and socialistic movement." He continued:

I have now come to the conclusion that the rustle of a skirt, by a militant suffraget [sic], is the

dominating influence controlling Congress, and that the halls of both branches should be turned into a Kindergarten School for the teaching of elementary principles of Civil Government.³⁸

The arguments of the anti-suffragists had not changed a great deal since the 1916 campaign, except that they seemed to have grown in intensity. The most apparent example of their increased fear of the consequences of woman suffrage is in the frequency with which their arguments connected the threat of radicalism on the left with woman suffrage. Two events of 1917 can probably account for this change. The Russian Revolution had occurred in 1917 and, thus, fear of the left was seemingly grounded in a frightening reality that had been almost unthinkable in 1916. Also in 1917, the state of New York had passed woman suffrage through a referendum that had quite clearly won through the influence of socialist support for woman suffrage among New York City voters. The rest of the state had voted against woman suffrage, but New York City's vote, for which major credit was given to an intense campaign of support for woman suffrage by the city's socialist leaders, won the day for the suffragists. The combination of these two events, one increasing the threat of socialist power in the world and the other clearly linking socialism with woman suffrage, would have been enough to convince conservative anti-suffragists, who had already noted socialist-suffragist links among their arguments in

1916, that there was a very real threat of radicalism in the woman suffrage movement.³⁹

The only other new argument of the 1918-1920 campaign that had not appeared in 1916 was the states' rights concern which had had no place in a state referendum. It had been used many times before, however, in combatting earlier attempts at a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. The most recent example of that was the campaign against the Bristow-Mondell Resolution in 1914. Otherwise the antis, in much the same way as the pro-suffragists, simply repeated their arguments of 1916, applying them to the new circumstances. And of course, the anti-suffragists could add the statistics of the 1916 referendum vote to their long-time claim that West Virginians did not want woman suffrage.

In his responses to men like Conaway, Sutherland appeared to favor the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and in the end he did support it, but in his responses to pro-suffragists he appeared quite unsure of what to do. He weighed constantly his own personal support of suffrage, which he evidenced by his vote for the Bristow-Mondell Resolution as a U.S. Representative in 1915 and by his vote for suffrage in the 1916 state referendum, against the substantial majority against woman suffrage in the 1916 referendum. In fact, he received a letter from Nathan B. Scott, a former U.S. Senator from West

Virginia, warning him against voting for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in light of the 1916 state majority against it. It was undoubtedly a difficult decision for him. But five of the state's six members of the House of Representatives preceded him with favorable votes on the Amendment, and his own fellow Senator from West Virginia, Davis Elkins, also favored the Amendment. It was again an example, as in the state legislature of 1915, of the political leadership of West Virginia holding the progressive political and social views in opposition to the majority of the state's citizens. And this time the leaders would be successful in carrying the state for woman suffrage.⁴⁰

After the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment successfully passed the U.S. Congress, it began its long journey towards ratification through the individual state legislatures. A number of state legislatures in session at the passage of the Amendment in May 1919 ratified immediately and others ratified soon after in special sessions called by their governors. There were other states, however, whose regular sessions were not scheduled to be held again until after the 1920 elections and whose governors hesitated or refused to call special sessions. West Virginia was among these states.

At first the West Virginia suffragists did not think it wise to attempt to get a special session in

West Virginia. Julia Ruhl outlined the reasons that she recommended against campaigning for a special session in a letter to Carrie Chapman Catt soon after the Amendment passed the Congress. Her three reasons were that, since one special session had already been called in 1919, the expense of a second special session would be objected to by many citizens and might reflect badly on the suffrage cause; that Governor Cornwell, although a supporter of woman suffrage in the past, had been shying away from public identification as a suffragist and would probably not want to call a special session to consider ratification; and that the Republican majority, even if a special session were called, might hold up ratification in fear that President Wilson and the Democrats would receive the gratitude of the new women voters to the detriment of the Republican Party in the 1920 elections.⁴¹ And, indeed, only two weeks later, Governor Cornwell sent a telegram to Catt stating clearly his hesitation to call a special session so soon after a special session had already been held on another question.⁴²

The West Virginia suffragists did not give up immediately, however, urged on as they were by Catt and NAWSA's ratification master plan. It soon became apparent that Cornwell might be persuaded to call the special session if enough other states ratified the

Amendment to make West Virginia's ratification instrumental in giving women the vote in time for the 1920 elections. By mid-June the Governor had pledged to the WVESA that he would not let West Virginia be the cause of women not voting in 1920. Ruhl was concerned that this pledge should remain quiet, however, as the anti-suffragists did not expect Cornwell to call a session and if they suspected, they might begin to gear up their forces.⁴³

Lenna Yost became actively involved in mid-summer as Chairman of the Ratification Committee of the WVESA and her letters detail her lobbying with various West Virginia political leaders, feeling out their thoughts on West Virginia ratification and attempting to garner their influence for a special session of the legislature to consider the Amendment. In addition, while continuing to press quietly for a special session, Yost began organizing the support network that would be needed when the ratification struggle began. By July, petition campaigns were being organized, and in August polls were being taken of state legislators to determine where ratification would stand if and when a special session were finally called.⁴⁴ Julia Ruhl reported in September that there was a good majority in the House of Delegates and a small one in the Senate, and that pressure was continuing on some uncommitted

members whose votes were expected eventually. She observed that the Republican Party was already securing women organizers and determined that "they must expect ratification, and if they expect it hard enough they will get it."⁴⁵

Ruhl continued to advise Catt against pressing for a special session, but by December, Catt began to feel more strongly the necessity of West Virginia's ratification in her national plan. After leaving the lobbying to the West Virginia suffragists for over eight months, she finally wrote a letter to Governor Cornwell herself, outlining the West Virginia situation in light of the national state of affairs. She asked the Governor to publicly announce his intentions of calling a special session, and hoped he would call it for January, in order to make it possible for women to vote in the 1920 primary elections. She hoped that by persuading those governors, like Cornwell, who were already privately committed to calling special sessions, to make their intentions public, other uncommitted governors might be swung over.⁴⁶

Cornwell answered Catt promptly, explaining again his hesitation to call a special session to deal with the Federal Suffrage Amendment. He did, however, explain that a special session was very likely on a tax question and that he hoped to bring the ratification

issue up in that session, thereby avoiding the necessity of identifying the Suffrage Amendment as the primary cause for the expense of a second special session. He feared calling a second special session on suffrage in January, before the tax question could be considered (it was pending in court), and then being placed in the predicament of having to call a third special session a month later on this tax question. In addition, because of the large majority against state suffrage in 1916, he felt it would be difficult to defend a special session to consider ratifying a Federal Suffrage Amendment only four years later, but if he could hold off on the ratification question until it could be slipped into an unquestionably necessary special session, it would avoid these problems.⁴⁷

In the end this is just what Cornwell was able to do. The special session on the tax question was called for February 27, 1920, and among the business scheduled for the special session was ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Although Governor Cornwell had not wanted to call a session principally to consider ratification of the Federal Amendment, resolutions calling for the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment were the first to be presented in both the House of Delegates and the Senate. Petitions poured into the House and Senate, with numbers of signatures

that made the 1915 suffrage campaign look almost without support. Harrison County women presented a petition of 1,700 signatures and Kanawha County women presented petitions totaling 11,500 signatures. Cabell County women collected 2,000 signatures, Ohio County, 6,000, and 4,100 signatures arrived from Wood County. Smaller petitions were represented from Marion, Taylor, Monongalia, Summers, Berkeley, Nicholas, Tucker, Greenbrier, Mingo, Webster, Fayette, Grant, Morgan, Braxton, Upshur, Barbour, Brooke and Preston counties, as well as telegrams from individuals and small groups of women in these and other parts of the state. The West Virginia State Federation of Labor sent a telegram supporting woman suffrage, as did the West Virginia Association of Graduate Nurses of Wheeling, 500 members of the United Brethren Church in West Virginia, and members of various chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and affiliates of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs.⁴⁸

Not only the number of signatures but also the number of counties represented had increased dramatically since 1915. In that year only nine counties were listed among the places where petitions originated, compared with twenty-three in 1920. Equally, or perhaps more, significant was the increase in representation from the southern mountain counties like Fayette, Nicholas, and Summers, and the southeastern and Eastern Panhandle

counties like Greenbrier, Tucker, Grant, Morgan and Berkeley. These areas all had registered large majorities against woman suffrage in 1916, and although none of these was among the counties that showed thousands of signatures, this is additional evidence of increased organization among suffragists of those regions; perhaps it is an indication of some change in sentiment.

Telegrams, letters and petitions also arrived from anti-suffragists throughout the state, although they were much fewer in number than the pro-suffrage pleas. A memorial from the West Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, signed by Mrs. Stephen B. Elkins, Mrs. A. B. Fleming, and Mrs. D. C. Gallaher and their twelve-member Legislative Committee was presented twice by two different members of the House of Delegates and telegrams from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and from the Woman Patriot, successor to the earlier anti-suffrage newspaper the Woman's Protest, supported their objections. A petition from Princeton, Mercer County, of 170 signatures arrived early in the session, and letters from individuals in Huntington, Maxwelton and Josephs Mills followed. A petition was presented in the Senate signed by thirty-four Clarksburg women in their hope for rejection of the Amendment, but the pro-suffragists countered the following day with a petition favoring the Suffrage

Amendment signed by 1,709 Clarksburg women.⁴⁹

Not all of the communications with state legislators appeared in the West Virginia House and Senate Journals. Among Senator Harvey W. Harmer's papers may be found several examples of such material, on both sides of the question. Edna H. Law of Clarksburg, sent Senator Harmer, a pro-suffragist representing the Clarksburg district, copies of letters she had written to Senator Wallace B. Gribble and Delegate A. F. Wysong after hearing that they were opposing woman suffrage and were claiming to do so on behalf of the state's "intelligent women" who did not want to vote. To Senator Gribble, who based a great deal of his opposition on the 1916 referendum vote, she sent a letter arguing that changes had occurred in public sentiment since then, that women had matured under the pressures of a world war, and that it should be clear to him that this was so from the evidence of the sentiments of over 1,000 women who signed the Clarksburg pro-suffrage petition, as opposed to the 30 or 40 who signed the anti-suffrage telegram from the same city.⁵⁰

Edna Law's other letter went to Senator A. F. Wysong, who claimed to be "convinced that the intelligent women of West Virginia did not want suffrage."⁵¹ In response, Law defended the intelligence of the women of Harrison County and pointed out to him that over 1,000

intelligent women of the county favored suffrage. In both letters Law made the point that she was a conservative woman and had never been identified with a suffrage organization, presumably to defend her respectability to these two staunchly anti-suffrage senators, and to emphasize the sincerity of her concern that the opinions of West Virginia women not be misrepresented.⁵²

Senator Harmer also received anti-suffrage letters which he did not choose to introduce into the Senate Journal. One of these was from W. O. Musgrove of Clarksburg. Musgrove's main argument; that West Virginia voters had given a clear indication of their sentiments on the suffrage issue through the referendum of 1916, was further supported by some of the same anti-suffrage arguments Senator Sutherland had received two years earlier when the suffrage amendment was under consideration by the U.S. Senate. Musgrove claimed to have cemented his anti-suffrage conviction while living in two of the western suffrage states for several years, where he found that:

. . . it has a degrading and demoralizing effect on the home life and moral status of those under it in that home ties are less binding and less thought of than without it. It surely makes almost impossible the matter of ideal relations between male and female.⁵³

Musgrove's arguments to Senator Harmer summarize the majority of the arguments used by anti-suffrage Delegates and Senators in explaining their votes against

the Federal Suffrage Amendment on the floor. If the number of pro-suffrage petitions and letters entered in the House and Senate Journals greatly outnumbered those of anti-suffragists, the exact opposite was true of explanations of votes by members of the legislature. A far greater number of those legislators opposed to the Suffrage Amendment felt compelled to explain their votes than did those who voted for ratification. In addition to arguing the mandate of the 1916 referendum, the principle of states' rights, the damage to society of removing woman from her sphere, and the conviction that the majority of women did not want the vote, all of these senators opposed to ratification included traditional chivalrous bows to the grace and purity of womanhood, which they wished to protect from additional burdens. Delegate J. S. Thurmond's version stated:

No man can have greater respect, love and esteem for a woman than I, and were some great calamity about to befall her or some disaster approach her, no man would be quicker to risk his life to rescue her from the impending danger, than I, and the purpose of my few remarks shall be to enlist your support and sympathies, gentlemen, in the laudable undertaking of maintaining the womanhood of our country upon that high plane which she has occupied so long and which was prepared for her from the beginning.⁵⁴

Senator W. F. Burgess presented similar sentiments to announce his vote in the Senate:

Mrs. President, I now cast my vote for the womanhood of West Virginia. I want to vote for the babies of West Virginia, the boys and the

girls of West Virginia. I want to vote for the wives and the mothers of West Virginia, and Mr. President, I want to vote for the homes and fire-sides of this great nation. I now have the honor and the privilege and right to vote and do vote, "No," [on ratification of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment].⁵⁵

In contrast, pro-suffrage legislators seemed to concentrate on political considerations. U.S. Senator Davis Elkins sent a letter urging Republican legislators to ratify the Suffrage Amendment as loyal members of a party that had formally expressed the support of woman suffrage. West Virginia Senator G. K. Kump voted "Aye" on the Suffrage Amendment and urged fellow Democrats to follow him, on the grounds that the Democratic leader of West Virginia, Governor Cornwell, favored ratification of the Amendment, and that loyal West Virginia Democrats were obligated to follow his example. Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, Simeon D. Fess, sent telegrams to numerous Republican legislators and political leaders, urging their support for ratification on the grounds of national Republican Party interests. Democrats in the State Senate received similar communications from their party leaders.⁵⁶

Within a week of the introduction of the resolution in the House of Delegates to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the work was complete. Several attempts had been made to pass a resolution to reject the Amendment or to resolve to put the question before

the voters of the state in a referendum, but all failed and, on March 3, 1920, the House of Delegates ratified the Federal Amendment with a vote of 47 to 40. The proceedings in the Senate did not go so smoothly. Attempts to reject the Amendment or to bypass it with the submission of a referendum to the voters on the question failed as in the House of Delegates, but the resolution to ratify the Suffrage Amendment was deadlocked at a tie vote of 14 to 14, which could not be broken.⁵⁷

At the outset of the session, West Virginia's ratification was almost taken for granted. A majority of the legislators in both houses had pledged favorable votes and the session was expected to ratify the Amendment immediately. An impressive number of the state's leaders, including "state officials, former governors, editors, judges, ministers of all denominations, educators, women representing many organizations, representatives of the federation of labor, prominent professional and business men," were reportedly behind ratification.⁵⁸ The Legislative Committee of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs had discovered "a distinctly favorable attitude towards ratification of the amendment . . . among members of the legislature."⁵⁹

The National Woman's Party, whose members fought very hard in each state to secure ratification

of the Federal Amendment, had initially included West Virginia on its list of "states which are counted upon to ratify," but discovered nearly as soon as the legislature convened in special session that the expected majority in favor "were dropping away from ratification as ripe cherries drop from a tree."⁶⁰ A wide variety of anti-suffrage forces seemed to have gathered in Charleston to counter any momentum toward ratification. Antisuffragists from surrounding states, including Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and Ohio, sent delegations to work on pliable legislators.⁶¹ The National Woman's Party organizers in West Virginia called it "the worst state we have worked in so far" and claimed "the entire brewing connection of the United States had centered on that particular legislature in order to prevent women from going to the polls next November."⁶² Another Woman's Party worker claimed he had "never seen so much corruption, so much money spent in legislatures in his life."⁶³ The National Woman's Party leadership's conclusion about the unexpected appearance of such an active and well-funded opposition was that the anti-suffragists were becoming desperate and determined in their attempt to hold onto thirteen states and that West Virginia had come under such pressure because the ratification campaign was nearing success.⁶⁴

A group of pro-suffrage West Virginia politicians

noted a similar situation, writing to Carrie Catt of NAWSA after the victory, "anti-suffrage leaders from all over the United States appeared as if by magic"; but they also described another dimension to the battle, one of strictly local origin. The ratification question had gotten tied up in a nasty fight for the 1920 gubernatorial nominations, involving legislators in both inter and intra-party partisanship struggles that came to involve legislators' positions on ratification of the Suffrage Amendment. It was an unfortunate complication that made a difficult situation even worse than it might have been.⁶⁵

Whatever the cause of the change in sentiments of many Senators, after the tie vote in the Senate and the inability of either side to effect any changes in that vote in the next day's reconsideration, an effort began on both sides to bring in the tie-breaking vote. The anti-suffragists tried to reinstate Archibald R. Montgomery, a West Virginia Senator who had resigned the previous summer to move to Illinois, and the pro-suffragists attempted to reach Senator Jesse A. Bloch of Wheeling, who was vacationing in California. Meanwhile it was necessary to maintain the legislature in session. The Senate deadlock essentially guaranteed that they would not begin to break up, since neither side wished to give the other a chance at victory, but members of

the House of Delegates began to leave for various reasons. Suffragists were able to keep enough favorable members present, however, to hold off all attempts at reconsideration of the House's ratification, and the pro-suffrage Senators were able to hold the line against attempt by the anti-suffrage Senators to move an adjournment.⁶⁶

The attempt to seat former Senator Montgomery failed rather quickly. Governor Cornwell was able to produce Montgomery's letter of resignation and documentary evidence that he had officially accepted it. There was also clear evidence that Montgomery had left the state and been settled in Illinois for over six months and had returned to West Virginia to reclaim his Senate seat with no intention of remaining after the ratification vote. He also received telegrams from his national Democratic Party leaders urging him to give up his attempt to regain his seat in the interests of the Democratic Party's reputation on woman suffrage. Montgomery did not give up his attempt at such urging, but his claim to a Senate seat was denied by a strong majority, leaving the last hope of the antis that something would prevent Senator Bloch's return from California.⁶⁷

Senator Bloch of Wheeling, partner in the Bloch Brothers Tobacco Company that produced Mail Pouch Tobacco, among other brands, was urged by repeated messages to return to West Virginia to vote for woman suffrage

and break the tie in the Senate. He had tried to arrange a pair with an anti-suffrage Senator, but the stakes were too high--none of the anti-suffragists could be persuaded to be the cause of a suffrage victory. So Senator Bloch made a three-day cross-country dash to vote for suffrage on the floor of the Senate. Attempts were made by anti-suffragists to change his vote, one telegram even suggesting to him that supporting woman suffrage would damage his tobacco business because women would vote in anti-tobacco laws, but these were unsuccessful. He arrived in Charleston the evening of March 9 and broke the tie vote in favor of ratification on March 10, making West Virginia the thirty-fourth state to ratify the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.⁶⁸

Lenna Yost had cabled confidently to NAWSA headquarters on the 10th, wiring "This morning we expect desperate efforts in both House and Senate . . . to defeat us but all our forces are in good shape and our friends are confident."⁶⁹ That evening she was able to cable "We have won state senate ratified amendment by vote fifteen to fourteen number W Va as the thirty fourth state exciting battle and dramatic finish."⁷⁰

Anti-suffrage forces began an attempt to have the West Virginia ratification ruled unconstitutional, on grounds that the measure could not legally be reconsidered in the same special session in which re-

consideration had already once been defeated. But no injunctions were requested finally, and the certificate of the state's ratification was filed by the West Virginia Secretary of State in Washington soon after.⁷¹ West Virginia became the thirty-fourth state of thirty-six needed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment.

In a telegram to Lenna Yost after the victory, Carrie Catt conveyed the emotion with which the West Virginia victory was received by the national leadership:

Suffrage is won. The words are simple but thrill as few words can do. The people who have followed the course of woman's suffrage from outside with indifference or small understanding of what has been at stake will have no comprehension of the real message which the West Virginia victory carries to women. Thus it means that the nation is won, that the seventy year struggle is over, that the women are enfranchised American Women.⁷²

The West Virginia and National suffragists rejoiced for a very short while and then moved on to battle with anti-suffrage forces again in Delaware, Washington, and Oklahoma.

EPILOGUE

The women of the United States ultimately won the vote in August 1920, when Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. The woman suffrage movement was at an end. Women who had devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the cause for as long as seventy years were suddenly faced with the choice of what new work to undertake. Some of the leaders among the suffragist women went back to work they had been doing before the suffrage movement became increasingly active. Other women entered into new areas of activity to fill the gap, some following through on their commitment to women in politics, others continuing more traditional nonpartisan community efforts.

Among the women of West Virginia active in the suffrage movement, several can be followed into the years after 1920. Lenna Lowe Yost returned to her work with the Women's Christian Temperance Union, writing a weekly Washington letter for their newspaper, the Union Signal, until 1930, but the West Virginia Republican Party also solicited her to organize the new Republican women voters of the state. From this beginning in 1920 she eventually became Director of the Women's Division of the National

Republican Party. She was also appointed the first woman member of the West Virginia State Board of Education in 1922, and continued in that role for twelve years, during which time she worked actively for improvement of women's education in West Virginia.

Lenna Yost refused calls to run for political office but she turned her life after the 1920 suffrage victory to working through a particular political party to achieve her aims for social progress.¹

Julia W. Ruhl followed from her presidency of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association (WVESA) into the first presidency of the West Virginia League of Women Voters (WVLWV). The National American Woman Suffrage Association had reorganized itself into the League of Women Voters during its final convention in 1920 and the state organizations, including West Virginia, followed the parent organization's lead. As president of the new WVLWV she led the group in securing legislation of particular interest to women, most notably an equal guardianship law. Julia Ruhl also remained active in the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, to which she had belonged before and during her activities on behalf of the WVESA. Her particular area of interest was the establishment of public libraries in communities throughout West Virginia. She also became involved in local politics, serving for one year on the Clarksburg

City Council.²

Izetta Jewell Brown Miller, wife of a pro-suffrage U.S. Representative from West Virginia, William Gay Brown of Kingwood, Preston County, and herself active in the WVESA and National Woman's Party, followed her suffrage work with an interest in the Democratic Party. She seconded the nominations for President of West Virginian John W. Davis at the Democratic National Conventions in 1920 and 1924. In 1922 and 1924 she opposed longtime U.S. Senators Matthew M. Neely and William E. Chilton, respectively, for the Democratic Senate nomination from West Virginia in those years, losing by fairly small majorities. Both of these men had supported woman suffrage during their terms in Congress so Izetta Miller's opposition is an indication of at least one woman's unwillingness to follow the political lead of men out of gratitude for their support of the enfranchisement of women. Miller also maintained ties with the National Woman's Party during the years following the victory of the suffrage movement, joining them as late as 1962 in lobbying efforts for the Equal Rights Amendment.³

Dr. Harriet B. Jones, of Wheeling, who was active in the West Virginia suffrage movement from its early beginnings in the 1890s, continued her activities in the medical field after the suffrage movement ended.

She maintained her Hospital for Women in Wheeling and lobbied for a tuberculosis sanitarium in West Virginia. Earlier she had been influential in obtaining the State Industrial Home for Girls and the State Home for Children. She was active in the West Virginia Anti-Tuberculosis League and lectured at schools and public meetings on public health issues. She became active in the League of Women Voters and continued her activity in the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs and the West Virginia Women's Christian Temperance Union. In 1925 she was elected to the West Virginia state legislature from Marshall County.⁴

Finally, Irene Broh of Huntington, West Virginia, joined the newly formed WVLWV in Huntington and became active in local civic affairs, health issues, and social welfare reforms. She shunned involvement in partisan politics and felt disappointed that so many of her suffragist friends jumped right into politics, dividing along party lines and taking appointed political positions immediately after the vote was won.⁵ She was also disappointed that so few women were prepared to use the vote well. When asked in an interview how women reacted to receiving the vote, Mrs. Broh responded:

Well, they didn't react at all at first. They had to be educated up to . . . their responsibility and their privilege . . . because many of them, the men didn't tell them they could even vote, . . . the women didn't know anything about it, and

the men kept them home and said don't bother with that, that's all silly⁶

Irene Broh was the first woman to vote in Cabell County, West Virginia, and she frequently recalled her experiences on election day, 1920. She voted with her husband at the Kestler Garage, an old garage at the back of the Kestler-Hatfield Hospital. "They voted in horrible places, saloons . . . and garages, stables, and places where they said was unfit for women to vote," remembered Broh.⁷ She continued:

. . . when I walked in the men giggled and grinned . . . and some of them didn't even know I was allowed to come . . . [you received a] paper ballot and you marked it who you were voting for, you folded it and were supposed to put it in the box, and on the way to the box there were half a dozen men who said, "Miz Broh, thank you, I'll put your vote in for you," said, "Can I help you?" "Oh no," I said, "We'd been warned if we took that vote out of our hands it would be illegal they'd throw it out. We had to put it in the box that was their scheme to get the votes away from . . . the women who voted."⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The West Virginia suffrage movement had a later start than many other states and its progress was slow throughout the years of its activity, but in the end West Virginia could number itself among the thirty-six states that brought the vote to all the nation's women through ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Yet, the stark contrast between the overwhelming defeat of woman suffrage in 1916 in the state referendum and the ratification of the Federal Amendment only four years later requires some consideration of what brought about this pattern of events. The answer appears to lie in the favorable position of the state's male leadership on the question, in direct opposition to the expressed desires of the majority of the male voters of the state.

The strength of the pro-suffrage movement was always in the industrial and manufacturing centers of the Northern Panhandle and the north-central regions of the state, with additional areas of similar character, like Huntington and Parkersburg, joining in as the issue became more widespread. Additionally, a large number of the state's political, religious and journalistic

leaders were supportive of votes for women. Generally the same segment of West Virginia society that favored more liberal Progressive Era reform, including improved city government and services and protective legislation for working women and children, also favored votes for women. These parts of the state and their leaders followed the development of Progressivism in the northern and western states and tried to bring some of its improvements to West Virginia.

The strength of the anti-suffrage movement in West Virginia was among the more conservative, inward-looking elements. The rural areas with poor transportation and communication and with little or no developed industry or cities connecting them with Progressive trends in other parts of the country were an important part of the majority in the state against woman suffrage. When the question was put to the male voters of the state in the referendum of 1916, the vast majority of these voters were part of this rural conservative element and the referendum vote reflected an attitude of opposition to reform. The southern connection in former Confederate strongholds in the state, where the population continued to subscribe to conservative southern ideals of social structure and family roles contributed to the rejection of reform, especially reform that followed the lead of the northern Progressive states.

While the question was in the hands of the largely conservative voters of West Virginia, votes for women could not pass, but when the question became one for the political leaders of the state to decide, the liberal element of West Virginia's population gained control and woman suffrage was successful. West Virginia's Congressmen and Senators, constantly exposed to national Progressive trends and to the pressures and influence of Progressive national political party platforms, voted almost unanimously in favor of the Federal Amendment only two years after the overwhelming defeat of the state amendment for suffrage at the hands of West Virginia voters. The state legislators also supported woman suffrage in the end. Although their position was in no way unanimous, the percentage of support for woman suffrage in the legislature (just over 50%) was much greater than that shown by the general voting populace in 1916 (about 25%). The greater experience of so many of these legislators with the reforms being carried on outside West Virginia, as well as the commitments of national and state party platforms, carried the state for suffrage.

The success of the suffragists in finally carrying West Virginia presents something of a paradox in understanding West Virginia's position as a state on this important issue. The Federal Amendment was an effective

way to secure woman suffrage but it is questionable whether the final position of the state's legislators was really an accurate reflection of the desires of West Virginia voters. This dichotomy between the liberal and conservative elements of the state occurred in other states as well over the suffrage issue, but it has a special significance for West Virginia because it is a condition that has permeated the history of the state to the present day. It stems largely from the extreme regional contrasts and resulting tensions in the state and has contributed to the slow development West Virginia has experienced on many fronts.¹

The woman suffrage movement holds a significant place in West Virginia history simply because it is the state's experience of an important chapter in the nation's history. But it may hold an even more significant place through analysis of how and why the events of the movement occurred as they did. By providing further insight into the interplay of regional characteristics and the conflict of liberal and conservative approaches during the Progressive Era, it can add to an understanding of the development of West Virginia in the twentieth century. The suffrage movement was not one of the pivotal incidents of West Virginia history, but it provides another example of the kinds of divisions that have affected the state throughout its existence.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹Carol Hymowitz and Michele Weissman, A History of Women in America (New York: Bantam, 1978), pp. 159-160, 266-268; Anne Firor Scott and Andrew MacKay Scott, One Half the People (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975; reprint ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 16, 22-25.

²Hymowitz and Weissman, Women in America, pp. 177-180, 269-271; Scott and Scott, One Half the People, pp. 25, 31-33.

³West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1867, p. 135, 1869, pp. 56, 60; Samuel Young Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (WVRHC), West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, WV.

⁴"What Women Are Doing," Woman's Journal, 23 April 1870.

⁵Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al., eds., History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 4; 1883-1900 (Rochester: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1902), p. 981.

⁶National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), Proceedings of the 25th Annual Convention (Washington, DC: NAWSA, 1893), p. 154; NAWSA, Proceedings of the 27th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1895), p. 104. Because of the way in which reports were made by state organizations to NAWSA, the dating of events in these early years is sometimes difficult. Reports were made at a spring or fall convention each year and covered activities since the previous convention. As a result, some reports include only six months' work while others can stretch to a year and a half or more. The state presidents rarely included actual dates of events so it can be nearly impossible in some cases to ascertain in which year an event occurred. The chronology in this chapter is heavily derived from these reports so there may be errors and confusions over some dates, although I have attempted to corroborate events with local newspaper coverage and references in personal papers whenever possible.

⁷Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 4, p. 981.

⁸"West Virginia Woman Suffrage [sic] Convention," Grafton Weekly Sentinel, 22 November 1895.

⁹Biographical information on these and other leaders of the West Virginia woman suffrage movement is difficult to find. Few of them achieved sufficient national position to be included in standard biographical sources on women and even at the state level they have rarely been recognized. Some of the women may be identified through their husbands, but information on them as individuals does not often go beyond the city in which they lived.

¹⁰NAWSA, Proceedings of the 28th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1896), pp. 38, 166-167.

¹¹Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 4, p. 981.

¹²"Woman's Suffrage," Fairmont Free Press, 28 January 1897.

¹³NAWSA, Proceedings of the 29th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1897), p. 96.

¹⁴"Suffrage Notes," Woman's Tribune, 19 August 1896.

¹⁵NAWSA, 29th Convention, p. 96.

¹⁶Ibid.; NAWSA, Proceedings of the 30th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1898), p. 7.

¹⁷Minute Book No. 2, 10 April 1898, Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly Records, WVRHC.

¹⁸NAWSA, Proceedings of the 31st Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1899), p. 121.

¹⁹"Women Suffragists," Wheeling Register, 16 April 1898.

²⁰"Woman Suffrage," Wheeling Daily Intelligencer, 16 April 1898.

²¹Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 4, p. 981; NAWSA, 31st Convention, p. 121. The West Virginia House of Delegates and Senate Journals unaccountably do not record this event and I was unable to find local

newspaper reports on it. The pro-suffrage sources may have exaggerated the importance of the visit, but there is no reason to believe that they described an event that did not really occur. I am at a loss to explain the lack of outside corroboration of the visit.

²²NAWSA, 31st Convention, pp. 52, 121-122; NAWSA, Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Convention (Philadelphia: NAWSA, 1900), p. 92.

²³NAWSA, 31st Convention, p. 122.

²⁴NAWSA, 30th Convention, pp. 11, 54; NAWSA, 31st Convention, p. 122.

²⁵NAWSA, 32nd Convention, p. 92.

²⁶NAWSA, 31st Convention, p. 122.

²⁷As the state presidency alternated between Wheeling and Fairmont, the club "out of power" appeared inactive in the national reports. Because of this, it can be difficult to ascertain the continuity and activities of the local groups from year to year.

²⁸NAWSA, Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1901), p. 96.

²⁹West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1901, pp. 158-159, 177, 694, 894-895.

³⁰NAWSA, 32nd Convention, p. 96. There is no evidence for this in the Senate Journal for that year, although the resolution may very well have been discussed by some of the State Senators and killed by Senator Elkins before ever being formally introduced. No mention of this incident appears among the Elkins Papers at the WVRHC either.

³¹NAWSA, 33rd Convention, p. 96.

³²NAWSA, Proceedings of the 34th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1902), pp. 91-92.

³³NAWSA, Proceedings of the 35th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1903), p. 94.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵NAWSA, Proceedings of the 36th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1904), p. 102.

- ³⁶NAWSA, 36th Convention, p. 102.
- ³⁷NAWSA, Proceedings of the 37th Annual Convention (Warren, OH: NAWSA, 1905), p. 137.
- ³⁸Ibid.; Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al., eds., History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 6: 1900-1920 (Rochester: NAWSA, 1902), p. 688; West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1905, p. 449.
- ³⁹1906 Convention File, West Virginia State Federation of Labor Papers, WVRHC; Evelyn L. Harris and Frank J. Krebs, From Humble Beginnings (Charleston: West Virginia Labor History Publishing Fund, 1960), p. 31.
- ⁴⁰Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 146; Charles Phillips Anson, "A History of the Labor Movement in West Virginia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1940), pp. 267-268.
- ⁴¹West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1905, pp. 169, 469; 1907, p. 273; 1908, pp. 71, 111-112, 125, 207, 211-214, 221, 232, 236, 243-244; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1905, p. 656; 1907, pp. 390-391; 1908, pp. 92-93, 145, 150, 163, 176, 178, 189, 222-223.
- ⁴²West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1908-1909 (n.p., 1909), pp. 19-20, 43.
- ⁴³Ibid.; West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1909-1910 (n.p., 1910), p. 27; West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1910-1911 (n.p., 1911), pp. 38, 42; West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1912-1913 (n.p., 1913), p. 21; West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1914-1915 (n.p., 1915), p. 20.
- ⁴⁴West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1909, p. 459; Stanton et al., vol. 6, p. 688.
- ⁴⁵West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1913, pp. 152-153, 464, 482-483, 596-597, 617-618; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1913, pp. 230, 431-432, 597, 605, 624, 627-628, 629, 660, 759.
- ⁴⁶Program for the New York Woman Suffrage Parade, 13 May 1913, National Woman's Party Papers, Manuscript

Division, Library of Congress (LC), Washington, DC; "Démonstration in West and South," Suffragist, 14 February 1914; "Demonstration Plans in West and South," Suffragist, 21 February 1914; "The Nation-Wide Demonstration," Suffragist, 14 March 1914; "The Nation-Wide Suffrage May Day," Suffragist, 18 April 1914; "The Virginias," Suffragist, 25 April 1914; Charles H. Ambler and Festus P. Summers, West Virginia, The Mountain State, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 376.

⁴⁷Ellen Douglas Hoge to Miss [Alice] Paul, 26 December 1914, National Woman's Party Papers, LC.

⁴⁸Clarabel J. McNeilan, "West Virginia Delegation," Suffragist, 13 June 1914.

⁴⁹Charlotte Cecilia Sturgiss to the Woman's Journal, 18 October 1913, "General Correspondence, West Virginia Suffrage Associations," National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) Papers, LC; List of Subscribers in Wheeling, W.Va., to Mrs. Florence Hoge, 18 October 1913, NAWSA Papers, LC; Memo to Miss Briggs, 2 January 1914, NAWSA Papers, EC.

CHAPTER II

¹Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923; reprint ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 300-315, passim.

²"The Governor of West Virginia Recommends Suffrage," Suffragist, 23 January 1915.

³West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1915, pp. x, 53; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1915, pp. v, 45-46.

⁴West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1915, p. 81.

⁵Ibid., pp. 50, 61, 77, 81, 83-84, 99, 104, 107, 116.

⁶Ibid., pp. 50, 61, 77, 83-84, 99, 104, 107, 116.

⁷Ibid., pp. 134-136; "Woman's Suffrage Passes," Romney Hampshire Review, 3 February 1915; "Woman Suffrage Passes Both Houses By Overwhelming Vote," Wheeling Intelligencer, 27 January 1915.

- ⁸West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1915, p. 135.
- ⁹West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1913, pp. 431, 759.
- ¹⁰"Suffrage Bill Passed by West Virginia Legislature," Suffragist, 6 February 1915; "Woman's Suffrage Passes," Romney Hampshire Review, 3 February 1915.
- ¹¹"Suffrage Bill Passed by West Virginia Legislature," Suffragist, 6 February 1915.
- ¹²West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1915, pp. 78, 85, 99-100, 112, 153, 160-161, 197-198.
- ¹³"Suffrage Bill Passed by West Virginia Legislature," Suffragist, 6 February 1915.
- ¹⁴West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1913, p. 230; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1915, pp. 50, 61, 77, 83-84, 104, 107, 134.
- ¹⁵"Women Score in Passing of Amendment Resolution for Votes," Wheeling Register, 27 January 1915.
- ¹⁶"Woman Suffrage Passes Both Houses By Overwhelming Vote," Wheeling Intelligencer, 17 January 1915.
- ¹⁷Editorial, Shepherdstown Register, 28 January 1915.
- ¹⁸"Woman Suffrage Passes West Virginia Legislature," Grafton Daily Sentinel, 26 January 1915.
- ¹⁹Earl H. Smith, "Women's Votes Put to the People by the Solons," Fairmont Times, 17 January 1915.
- ²⁰Ibid.; "People Will Say Whether the Sex Shall Cast Vote," Charleston Mail, 26 January 1915; "WvVA. Legislature: Female Suffrage Submitted," Union Monroe Watchman, 28 January 1915.
- ²¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al., eds., History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 6: 1900-1920 (Rochester: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), pp. 688-689; Irene B. Bullard to Mrs. Breckenridge 7 June 1915, and Daisy M. Peadro to Mrs. Breckenridge, 9 June 1915, Breckenridge Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (LC), Washington, DC.
- ²²Unfortunately, only the report that this survey was done survives, not the responses themselves.

²³Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 688-689.

²⁴"West Virginia," Woman's Journal, 9 October 1915.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 688-689.

²⁷"Dollar Day for Suffragists," Parkersburg Sentinel, 1 October 1915.

²⁸"Woman's Journal and Suffrage News, Traveling Campaign Kit," Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, Special Collections Department, Robert C. Woodruff Library, Emory University (EU), Atlanta, GA.

²⁹Irene Broh Papers, in the possession of E. Henry Broh, Huntington, WV; Transcript of interview with Irene Broh, by Elizabeth Smarr, Huntington, WV, 19 November 1974, and tape of interview with Dolph Broh, by Nancy Whear, Huntington, WV, 24 January 1983, Oral History Collection, Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

³⁰Elaine Hayden, "Mrs. Broh--involvement a tradition," Huntington Advertiser, 1974, clipping in Irene Broh Papers.

³¹"Huntington to Witness First Suffrage Parade in State," Huntington Herald-Dispatch, 3 November 1915.

³²The men who spoke included George I. Neal of Huntington; Hon. Sam V. Wood of Phillippi, President of the Senate and candidate for Democratic nominee for Governor; Hon. Clyde B. Johnson of Charleston; and Hon. George Laughlin of Wheeling. Gov. Henry D. Hatfield had been scheduled to attend but sent apologies at the last minute.

³³"Old Hands Tell Suffragists Ways to Win Ballot," Huntington Herald-Dispatch, 17 November 1915.

³⁴Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, p. 689; National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Convention (New York: NAWSA, 1910), p. 166.

³⁵"Lenna Lowe Yost (Mrs. Ellis A. Yost); West Virginia Political and Government Leader," Lenna Lowe Yost Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (WVRHC), West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, WV; Catt and Shuler, Suffrage and Politics, pp. 300-301.

³⁶Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 689-690.

³⁷Ibid., p. 690.

³⁸Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al., eds., History of Woman Suffrage, (vol. 4: 1883-1900 (Rochester: NAWSA, 1902), p. 980; Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 691-692; Interview with Irene Broh, by Elizabeth Smarr, 19 November 1974.

³⁹J. E. Slaughter to Senator Kump, 29 January 1916, Herman Guy Kump Papers, WVRHC.

⁴⁰Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, p. 691; Mrs. D. C. [Elizabeth] Gallaher, "West Virginia," Woman's Protest, September 1916.

⁴¹Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 691-692; Charles H. Ambler and Festus P. Summers, West Virginia, The Mountain State, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), pp. 385-386.

⁴²Eleanore Raoul to Rosa, [ca. 15 September 1916], Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU; Evelyn L. Harris and Frank J. Krebs, From Humble Beginnings (Charleston: West Virginia Labor History Publishing Fund, 1960), p. 128; West Virginia State Federation of Labor, (WVSFL) Proceedings of the 8th Annual Convention (Charleston: WVSFL, 1915), pp. 50-53; 1916 Convention File, WVSFL Papers, WVRHC; Minute Book No. 7, 13 February 1916, Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly Records, WVRHC.

⁴³This is the county in which Pittsburgh is located, in the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, which borders both the Northern Panhandle and north-central sections of West Virginia,

⁴⁴Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 690-691.

⁴⁵Eleanore Raoul to Rosine, [12 May 1916], Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU.

⁴⁶Eleanore Raoul to Rosa, [10 June 1916], Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU.

⁴⁷Eleanore Raoul to Rosine, 4 July 1916, with enclosure to Miss [Hannah] Patterson, Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU.

⁴⁸Eleanore Raoul to Mother, [19 July 1916], Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU.

⁴⁹Mrs. Desha [Madeleine McDowell] Breckenridge to Mrs. J. Gale [Cora] Ebert, 26 June 1915, Breckenridge Family Papers, LC.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Eleanore Raoul to Rosine, 24 June 1916, Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU.

⁵²Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, pp. 690-692; Eleanore Raoul to Rosa, [24 May 1916], Eleanore Raoul Green Papers, EU.

⁵³Catt and Shuler, Suffrage and Politics, pp. 303, 304,

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 302.

⁵⁵"West Virginia Suffrage Amendment Endorsed Throughout the State," Suffragist, 30 September 1916.

⁵⁶Catt and Shuler, Suffrage and Politics, p. 302.

CHAPTER III

¹West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1915, p. vii; "Suffrage Bill Passed By West Virginia Legislature," Suffragist, 6 February 1916; West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1915, pp. ix-x.

²West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1915, p. vii; West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1915, pp. ix-x.

³Charles H. Ambler and Festus P. Summers, West Virginia, The Mountain State, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 376.

⁴W. W. Brannon, "Views of Mr. W. W. Brannon on Woman's Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution," Pamphlet No. 11476, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (WVRHC), West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, WV.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Harry F. Temple, "Woman's Suffrage," Harry F. Temple Collection, WVRHC.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Aileen S. Krador, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 14-24, passim.

¹³The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in 1911 by the seven extant State Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage in order to coordinate anti-suffrage activities in individual states and to publish a national journal, the Woman's Protest, to help form public opinion on the suffrage issue (Jane Jerome Camhi, "Women Against Women: American Anti-Suffragism, 1880-1920" [Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1973], p. 151).

¹⁴Anti-suffragists subtracted the number of women listed as members of suffrage organizations from the total female population of the United States to arrive at this figure ("Don't Say 'Let Them Vote If They Want To,'" [1916], Broadsides Collection, WVRHC).

¹⁵Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, to Howard Sutherland, 26 December 1914, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

¹⁶"West Virginia," Woman's Protest, January 1916; "Associations Opposed To Woman Suffrage," Woman's Protest, July 1916.

¹⁷"New Gains Made in W. Virginia," Woman's Journal, 24 June 1916.

¹⁸"Our Second Annual Convention," Woman's Protest, January 1918; Camhi, "Women Against Women," p. 151.

¹⁹"Democratic State Convention Meets," Parkersburg Sentinel, 3 August 1916. The only information available on Mrs. Oliphant beyond her New Jersey origins is that her husband was a military instructor, which she mentioned in one of her speeches in order to make the point that she was not connected with the liquor interests.

²⁰Mrs. D. C. Gallaher, "Progress of the Anti-Suffrage Movement: West Virginia," Woman's Protest, September 1916.

²¹"Democratic State Convention Meets," Parkersburg Sentinel, 3 August 1916.

²²"Crowd Hears Mrs. Oliphant," Morgantown Post-Chronicle, 3 October 1916.

²³Ibid.

²⁴"West Virginia," Woman's Protest, March 1916; "West Virginia," Woman's Protest, April 1916; "Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage," Woman's Protest, July 1916; "Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage," Woman's Protest, September 1916.

²⁵"Don't Say 'Let Them Vote If They Want To,'" [1916], Broadsides Collection, WVRHC.

²⁶"Mr. Voter!" 1916, Broadsides Collection, WVRHC.

²⁷"We Oppose Woman Suffrage," [1916], Broadsides Collection, WVRHC.

²⁸"West Virginia," Woman's Protest, January 1916.

²⁹"West Virginia," Woman's Protest, March 1916.

³⁰"Crowd Hears Mrs. Oliphant," Morgantown Post-Chronicle, 3 October 1916.

³¹"Militant Methods In Action," Woman's Protest, November 1916.

³²Ibid.

³³Mrs. D. C. Gallaher, "Progress of the Anti-Suffrage Movement: West Virginia," Woman's Protest, September 1916.

³⁴Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923; reprint ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), p. 301; Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al., eds., History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 6: 1900-1920 (Rochester: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), pp. 692-693.

³⁵Election Returns, 1916, West Virginia Secretary of State Papers, WVRHC.

³⁶Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprint ed., New York: Atheneum, 1973), pp. 296-298.

³⁷Ibid., p. 299.

³⁸"Davis, Henry Gassaway," and "Elkins, Stephen B.," West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia, ed. by Jim Comstock (Richwood, WV: Jim Comstock, 1976); "Our Second Annual Convention," Woman's Protest, January 1918.

³⁹"Fleming, Aretas Brooks," West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia.

⁴⁰Election Returns, 1916, West Virginia Secretary of State Papers, WVRHC.

⁴¹Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, p. 693.

⁴²"Would Improve W. Va. Electorate," Woman's Journal, 2 September 1916.

⁴³Election Returns, 1916, West Virginia Secretary of State Papers, WVRHC; Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, p. 693

⁴⁴Catt and Shuler, Suffrage and Politics, p. 301.

⁴⁵Kraditor, Ideas of the Suffrage Movement, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁶Catt and Shuler, Suffrage and Politics, pp. 300-301; Ambler and Summers, West Virginia, pp. 376-377.

⁴⁷Stanton et al., History of Suffrage, vol. 6, p. 693.

CHAPTER IV

¹Woman Suffrage File, Lenna Lowe Yost Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Collection (WVRHC), West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, WV.

²Vera Andrew Harvey, The Silver Gleam: Pageant and History of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs (Charleston: West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, 1929), p. 63.

³"Local Suffrage Elections," Woman's Journal, 20 January 1917.

⁴Julia W. Ruhl to Mrs. Mary Ogden White, 15 March 1918; "State Ratification of Suffrage Amendment: West Virginia, 1918-1920," National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) Records, Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library (NYPL), New York, NY.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1917-1918 (n.p., 1918), p. 58.

⁸Drs. S. Kismet Rossa and M. Virginia McCune-Rossa to Howard Sutherland, 21 December 1914, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC. The Howard Sutherland Papers at the WVRHC are an indispensable source on West Virginians' attitudes on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. All of the constituent mail Sutherland received on this issue during his Congressional career has been separated from his larger alphabetical office files into a Woman Suffrage Collection, providing unusually easy access to this correspondence. Material on the suffrage question is difficult to find among the papers of West Virginia politicians, which makes this collection even more valuable.

⁹Mrs. R. M. Marple to Howard Sutherland, 10 December 1914, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

¹⁰For further information on the National Woman's Party see: Inez Haynes Irwin, The Story of the Woman's Party (New York: n.p., 1921); Sherna Gluck, ed., From Parlor to Prison (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); Loretta Ellen Zimmerman, "Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920" (Ph.d. dissertation, Tulane University, 1964); and Christine Anne Lunardini, "From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: The National Woman's Party, 1913-1923" (Ph.d. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981).

¹¹Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923; reprint ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 316-334, passim. William P. Pollock was the pro-suffrage South Carolina Senator.

¹²Catt and Shuler, Suffrage and Politics, pp. 340-341.

¹³"Major Elkins for Suffrage," Woman Citizen, 29 August 1918; Untitled article, Woman Citizen, 28 September 1918, p. 346.

14 "Major Elkins for Suffrage," Woman Citizen, 29 August, 1918.

15 "Resolutions in Favor," Woman Citizen, 10 May 1919; "Yell vs. Vote," Woman Citizen, 14 June 1919.

16 "State Support for Federal Amendment," Woman Citizen, 8 December 1918; Annie Caldwell Boyd to National Woman's Party, 21 June 1917, National Woman's Party (NWP) Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, (LC), Washington, DC; "Report of the Organization Department, Month of September, 1917," NWP Papers, LC; List of Meetings, Mabel Vernon, NWP Papers, LC; "December Report, Suffragist Circulation Department," December 1917, NWP Papers, LC; "Report of the Organization Department, Month of June 1918," NWP Papers, LC; "Last State Organizes for the Woman's Party," Suffragist, 13 October 1917.

17 Julia W. Ruhl, to Howard Sutherland, 25 August 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

18 Ibid.

19 Blanche Wheatley to Howard Sutherland, 27 February 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Anna Belle Deatruck to Howard Sutherland, 6 July 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

24 W. O. McCluskey to Howard Sutherland, 25 February 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

25 W. B. Irvine to Howard Sutherland, 6 March 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

26 Thomas C. Miller to Howard Sutherland, 8 May 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

27 Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly to Howard Sutherland, 29 May 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

28 Howard J. Jarrett to Howard Sutherland, 25 June 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC; J. L. Pauley to Howard Sutherland, 25 June 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC; M. S. Venable to Howard Sutherland, 28 February 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

²⁹ Alice H. Wadsworth to Howard Sutherland, 21 February 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Eliza D. Armstrong to Howard Sutherland, 26 February 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

³⁴ Grant Deahl to Howard Sutherland, 16 March 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC. All spelling is Deahl's.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Waitman H. Conaway, The Subjugation of Man Through Woman Suffrage (n.p., n.d.).

³⁷ Waitman H. Conaway to Howard Sutherland, 14 January 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

³⁸ Waitman H. Conaway to Howard Sutherland, 21 January 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC.

³⁹ Mari Jo Buhle, Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 236-237.

⁴⁰ Howard Sutherland to George Laughlin, 26 March 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC; N. B. Scott to Howard Sutherland, 24 September 1918, Howard Sutherland Papers, WVRHC; "Suffrage Sentiment of Country Shown in Vote of Congress," Suffragist, 1 February 1919.

⁴¹ Julia W. Ruhl to Carrie Chapman Catt, 28 May 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴² John J. Cornwell to Carrie Chapman Catt, 10 June 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴³ Julia W. Ruhl to Carrie Chapman Catt, 11 June 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL; Julia W. Ruhl to Carrie Chapman Catt, 14 June 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴⁴ Lenna Lowe Yost to Carrie Chapman Catt, 14 July 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL; Lenna Lowe Yost to Carrie Chapman Catt, 18 July 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL; Lenna Lowe Yost to Carrie Chapman Catt, 6 August 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴⁵ Julia W. Ruhl to Carrie Chapman Catt, 27 September 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴⁶ Carrie Chapman Catt to Lenna Lowe Yost, 29 December 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL; Carrie Chapman Catt to Gov. Cornwell, 29 December 1919, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴⁷ Gov. Cornwell to Carrie Chapman Catt, 6 January 1920, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁴⁸ West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1920, pp. 13-18, 25, 26, 36, 47, 48; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1920, pp. 14, 16, 18-26, 38.

⁴⁹ West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1920, pp. 14, 17, 25, 36, 47; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1920, pp. 17, 19.

⁵⁰ Edna H. Law to Harvey W. Harmer, 28 February 1920, Harvey Harmer Papers, WVRHC; Edna H. Law to Wallace Gribble, 28 February 1920, Harvey Harmer Papers, WVRHC.

⁵¹ Edna H. Law to A. F. Wysong, 28 February 1920, Harvey Harmer Papers, WVRHC.

⁵² Edna H. Law to Wallace Gribble, 28 February 1920, Harvey Harmer Papers, WVRHC; Edna H. Law to A. F. Wysong, 28 February 1920, Harvey Harmer Papers, WVRHC.

⁵³ W. O. Musgrove to Harvey W. Harmer, 23 February 1920, Harvey Harmer Papers, WVRHC.

⁵⁴ West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1920, pp. vii, 90.

⁵⁵ West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1920, pp. iii, 41.

⁵⁶ West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1920, p. 94; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1920, pp. 29-30. Simeon D. Fess to H. D. Hatfield, A. A. Lilly, Charles A. Sinsel, H. O. Rummel and H. Highland, 1 March 1920, NWP Papers, LC; Simeon D. Fess to H. D. Hatfield, 2 March 1920, NWP Papers, LC; A. Mitchell Palmer to Milton Burr, 9 March 1920, NWP Papers, LC.

⁵⁷ West Virginia House of Delegates, Journal, 1920, pp. 12-70; West Virginia Senate, Journal, 1920, pp. 11-27.

⁵⁸ "West Virginia Men Urge Ratification," Woman Citizen, 17 January 1920.

⁵⁹West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, Yearbook, 1919-1920 (n.p., 1920), p. 72.

⁶⁰"States Which Are Counted Upon to Ratify," [December 1919], NWP Papers, LC; Treasurer to Mrs. William Kent, 27 February 1920; NWP Papers, LC.

⁶¹Alice Paul to Mary Dubrow, 26 February 1920, NWP Papers, LC.

⁶²Treasurer to Mrs. Valentine Winters, 4 March 1920, NWP Papers, LC.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Dora Lewis to [Alice Paul?], 10 March 1920, NWP Papers, LC.

⁶⁵Charles A. Sinsel et al., to Carrie Chapman Catt, 10 March 1920, NAWSA Records, NYPL. I was unable to discover any relationship between the work of the National Woman's Party and NAWSA during the ratification campaign in West Virginia. It may be that the outside organizers of both groups worked independent of each other but through many of the same local women, as in 1916, but that is difficult to determine. NAWSA clearly carried on its campaign through local officers; the National Woman's Party Papers suggest that the National Woman's Party had many fewer West Virginia contacts.

⁶⁶Julia W. Ruhl, "The Story of Ratification by West Virginia," Woman Citizen, 20 March 1920.

⁶⁷Ibid.; Thomas J. Walsh to Archibald R. Montgomery, 9 March 1920; NWP Papers, LC; Unsigned to Archibald R. Montgomery, 9 March 1920, NWP Papers, LC.

⁶⁸Julia W. Ruhl, "The Story of Ratification by West Virginia," Woman Citizen, 20 March 1920; Papers of Jesse Bloch, in the possession of Mrs. William L. (Betty Bloch) Harris, Wheeling, WV.

⁶⁹Lenna Lowe Yost to Carrie Chapman Catt, 10 March 1920, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁷⁰Lenna Lowe Yost to Carrie Chapman Catt, 10 March 1920, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁷¹J. V. Sullivan to Carrie Chapman Catt, 21 March 1920, NAWSA Records, NYPL.

⁷²"Lenna Lowe Yost (Mrs. Ellis A. Yost): West Vir-

ginia Political and Government Leader," Lenna Lowe Yost Papers, WVRHC.

EPILOGUE

¹Lenna Lowe Yost Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, WV.

²Vera Andrew Harvey, The Silver Gleam: Pageant and History of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs (Charleston: West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, 1929), p. 63.

³Sarah Stevenson, "Miller, Izetta Jewel Brown," West Virginia Women (Richwood, WV: Jim Comstock, 1974), pp. 206-209.

⁴"Dr. Harriet B. Jones," National American Woman Suffrage Association Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; "Jones, Harriet B.," West Virginia Women, pp. 181-182.

⁵Irene Broh Papers, in the possession of E. Henry Broh, Huntington, WV; Tape of interview with Dolph Broh, by Nancy Whear, Huntington, WV, 24 January 1983, and transcript of interview with Irene Broh, by Elizabeth Smarr, Huntington, WV, 19 November 1974, Oral History Collection, Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University.

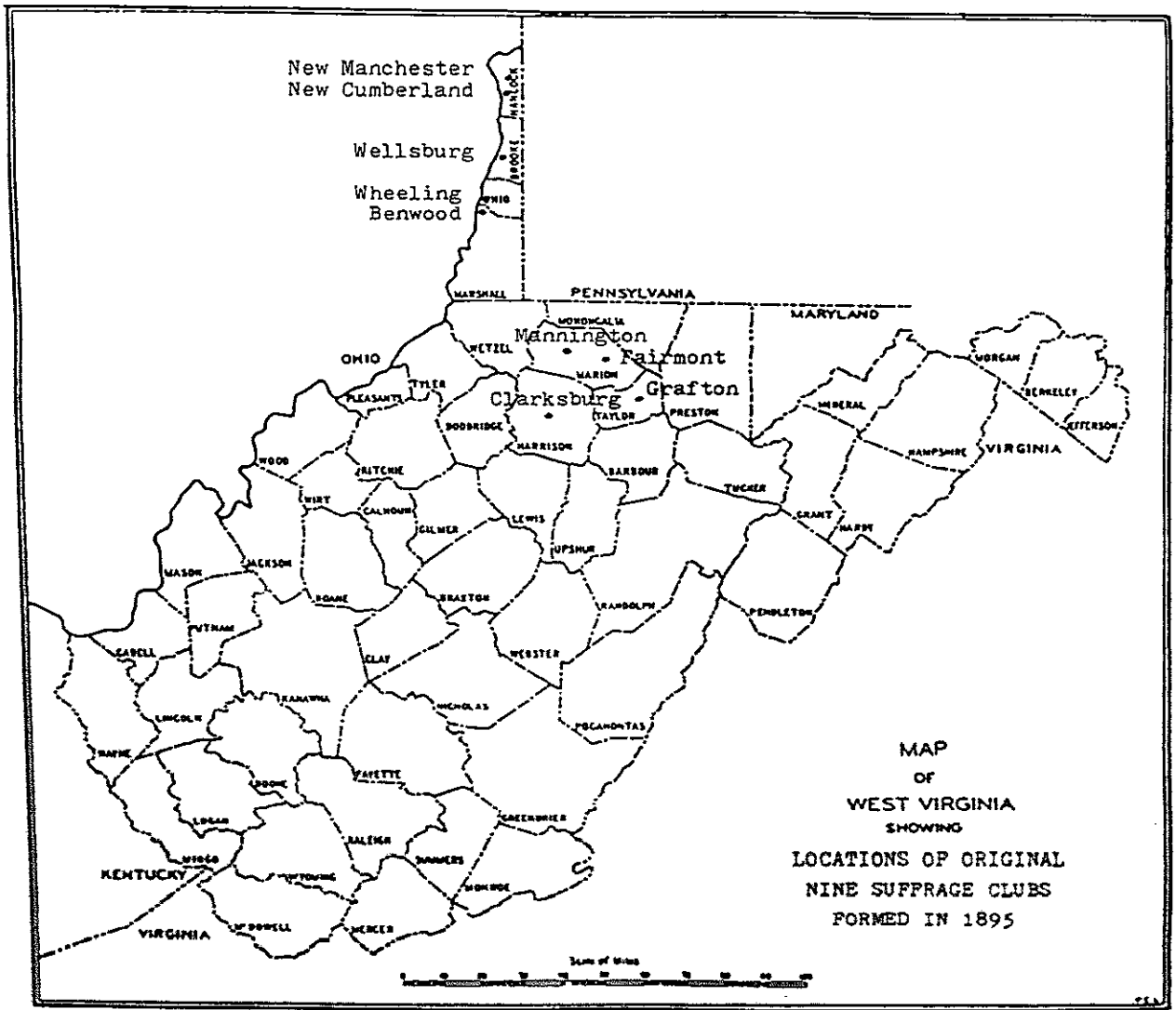
⁶Interview with Irene Broh, by Elizabeth Smarr, 19 November 1974.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

CONCLUSIONS

¹Charles Henry Ambler, West Virginia, The Mountain State (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), pp. 491-492; John Alexander Williams, West Virginia and the Captains of Industry (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1976), pp. 97, 278-279.



APPENDIX A

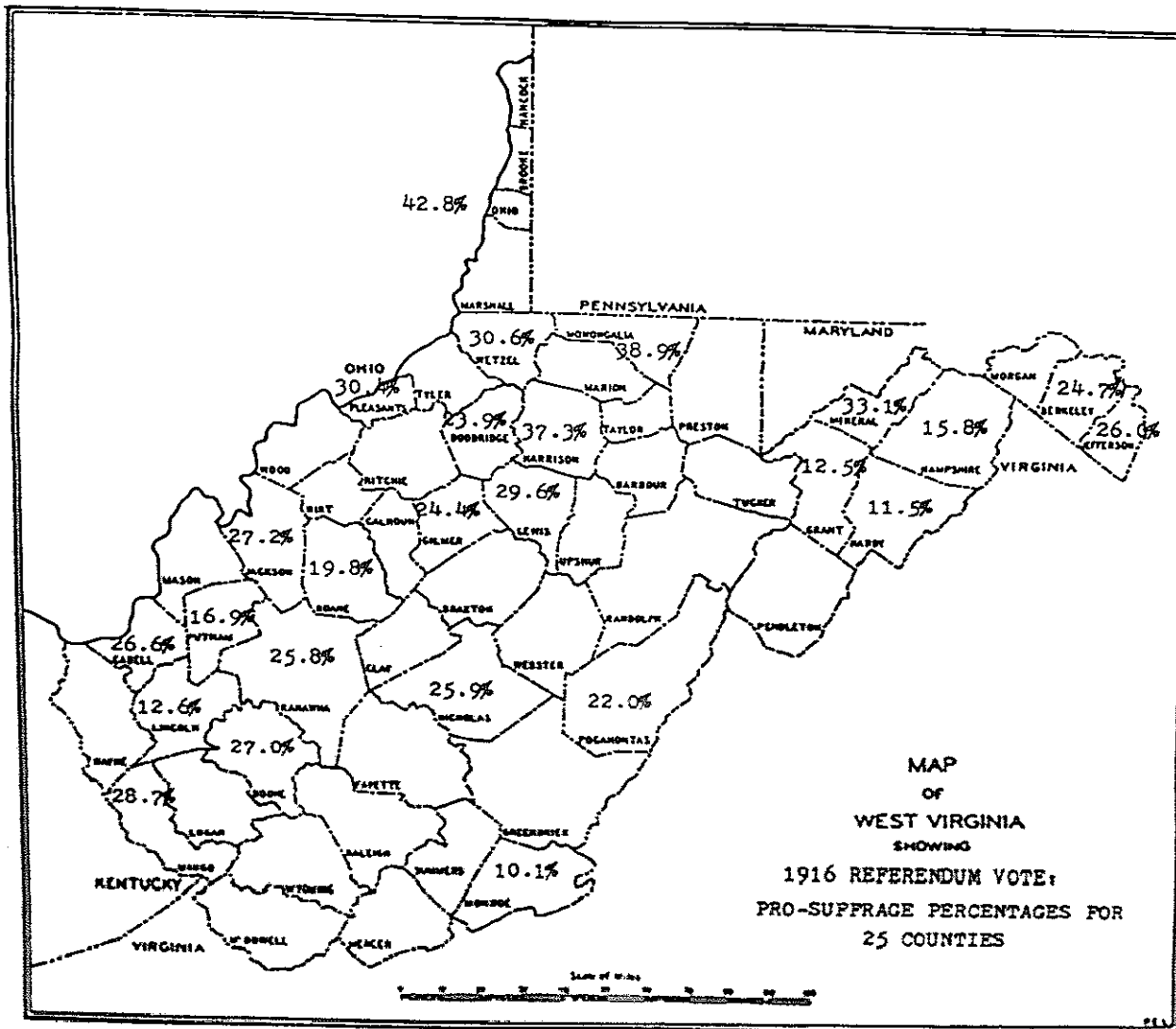
APPENDIX C

TABLE OF ELECTION RETURNS FOR 1916 REFERENDUM SHOWING TOTAL
VOTES AND PERCENTAGES FOR 25 COUNTIES

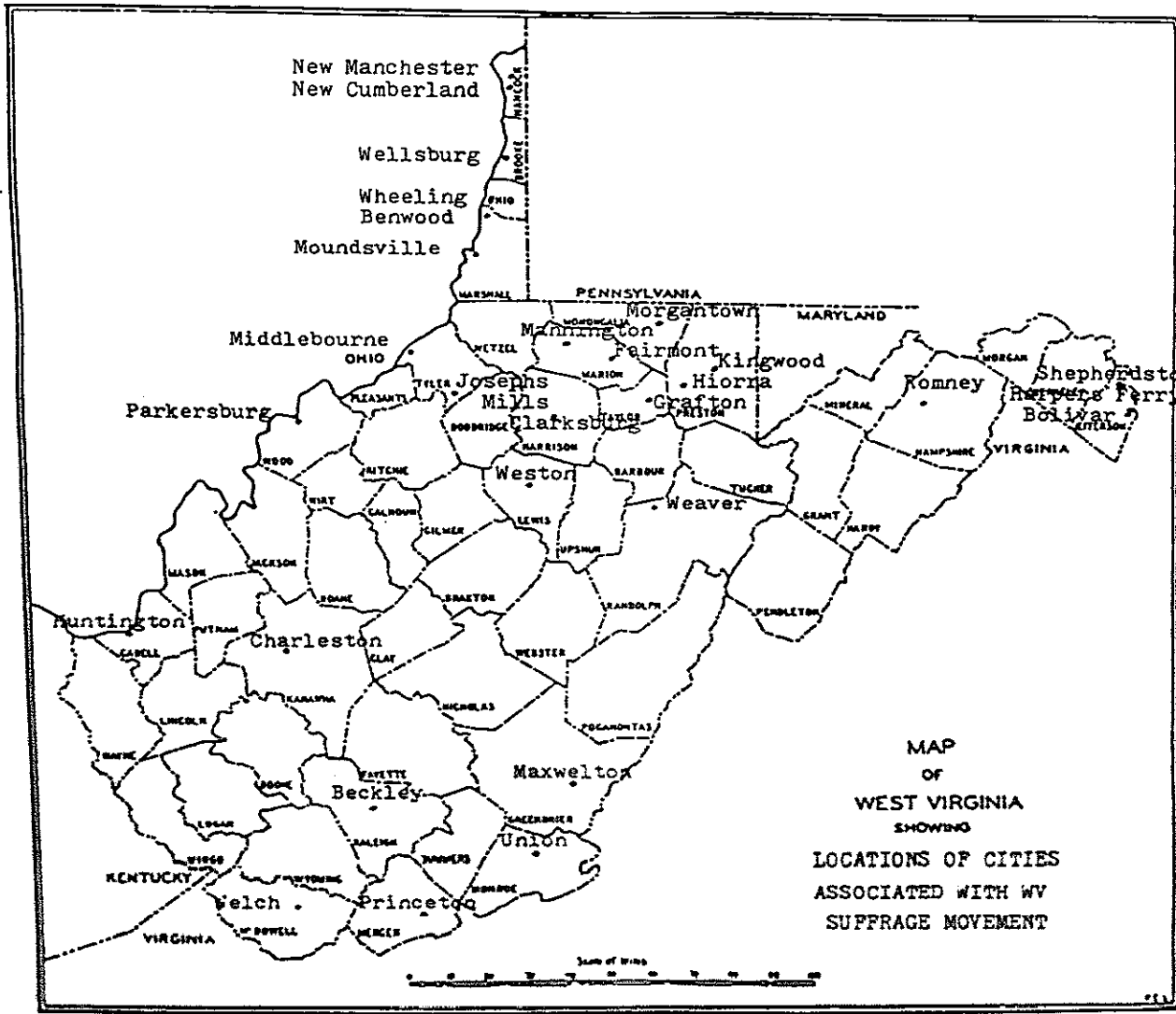
COUNTY	TOTAL VOTES		PERCENTAGES	
	For	Against	For	Against
Berkeley	976	2974	24.7%	75.3%
Boone	678	1828	27.0%	73.0%
Cabell	2512	6923	26.6%	73.4%
Doddridge	552	1755	23.9%	76.1%
Gilmer	577	1787	24.4%	75.6%
Grant	197	1374	12.5%	87.5%
Hampshire	381	2026	15.8%	84.2%
Hardy	229	1755	11.5%	88.5%
Harrison	3703	6200	37.3%	62.7%
Jackson	1118	2978	27.2%	72.8%
Jefferson	783	2223	26.0%	74.0%
Kanawha	3998	11496	25.8%	74.2%
Lewis	1173	2789	29.6%	70.4%
Lincoln	466	3213	12.6%	87.4%
Mineral	997	2007	33.1%	66.9%
Mingo	443	1098	28.7%	71.3%
Monongalia	1787	2796	38.9%	61.1%
Monroe	290	2562	10.1%	89.9%

COUNTY	TOTAL VOTES		PERCENTAGES	
	For	Against	For	Against
Nicholas	995	2843	25.9%	74.1%
Ohio	4513	6014	42.8%	57.2%
Pleasants	427	977	30.4%	69.6%
Pocahontas	619	2193	22.0%	78.0%
Putnam	572	2799	16.9%	83.1%
Roane	790	3197	19.8%	80.2%
Wetzel	1163	2637	30.6%	69.4%
Average for all Counties			24.9%	75.1%

All data for this table comes from Election Returns, 1916, West Virginia Secretary of State Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, WV, except for the data for Jefferson and Berkeley counties. For Jefferson County, the source was the Charles Town Spirit of Jefferson, 14 November 1916, and for Berkeley County, the Martinsburg Journal, 8 November 1916.



APPENDIX D



MAP
OF
WEST VIRGINIA
SHOWING
LOCATIONS OF CITIES
ASSOCIATED WITH WV
SUPFRAGE MOVEMENT

APPENDIX F

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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of the woman suffrage movement in West Virginia, tracing its development from the first signs of interest in the question in the state legislature in 1867 to its final resolution in the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920. The thesis divides the movement into three chronological segments and attempts to discover through analysis of these segments some understanding of the place of the movement nationally and within West Virginia history.

The years 1867 to 1914 are considered as the first segment and the rise of interest in the movement during this time is described and characterized. The formation of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association (WVESA), its activities during these years, and some of the interest of West Virginia women in the possibility of a Federal Suffrage Amendment are discussed. Certain regional developments are noted which seem to attach the movement to northern Progressive elements in the state.

The second segment, the years 1915 and 1916, when a state suffrage referendum campaign was attempted,

are described from two angles. The first follows the WVESA and the National American Woman Suffrage Association organizing and campaign activities during the two years, primarily providing descriptions of what actually occurred. The second angle looks at the anti-suffrage activities of the same period and attempts to analyze and answer the question of why the state suffrage referendum was defeated. Some conclusions are drawn that once again point to regional characteristics of West Virginia as largely responsible for developments in the movement.

The final segment deals with the Federal Amendment ratification campaign of 1918 to 1920. Building on the understanding of the dynamics of the suffrage movement derived from analysis of the state referendum campaign, the study attempts to develop some framework for understanding the victory of the suffragists on essentially the same question overwhelmingly defeated in 1916. Through drawing together a description of the events of the campaign and analyzing them in light of the earlier campaign it appears that the final victory is another manifestation of the regional divisions and liberal-conservative dichotomy that appeared responsible for the loss in 1916 and that have been a part of West Virginia from its beginning.

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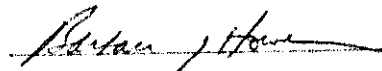
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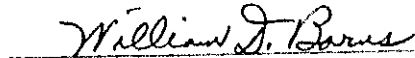
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