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NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT  
IN SOUTH DAKOTA AT THE TIME OF STATEHOOD

BY

CECELIA M. WITTMAYER

A thesis submitted  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree Master of Science, Major in Journalism  
and Mass Communications, South Dakota  
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1979

59

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT  
IN SOUTH DAKOTA AT THE TIME OF STATEHOOD

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Science, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Richard W. Lee  
Head, Journalism and  
Mass Communications Dept.

Date



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## Chapter 1

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Nineteenth Amendment, U.S. Constitution

### Introduction

Woman suffrage was a standing question before both the territorial and state legislatures of South Dakota for nearly fifty years. As early as 1872 the territorial legislature came within one vote of enfranchising women. The Honorable G. C. Moody, chairman of the territorial committee dealing with the legislation, cast the deciding vote.<sup>1</sup> Although he later became a champion of suffrage, his vote set the stage for one of the state's longest political struggles. (Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage, give his initials as W. W. Moody on page 662.)

Fourteen years later, in 1886, the territorial legislature did pass a suffrage bill, but it was vetoed by Territorial Governor Gilbert A. Pierce.<sup>2</sup> A Chicago newspaper editor who had been appointed governor by President Chester Arthur and who was new to the territory, Pierce explained his objection to the bill by saying that if the United States Congress thought woman suffrage was wise, Congress had the power to establish suffrage--not the territories.<sup>3</sup> The effort to carry the bill over the governor's veto failed.

There the matter rested until South Dakota was granted statehood in November 1889. The new constitution, ratified in 1885, contained no suffrage plank. It did, however, contain a provision that "the Legislature should at its first session after admission of the State into the Union submit to a vote of the electors at the next general election, the question of whether the word 'male' should be stricken from the article of the constitution relating to elections and the right of suffrage."<sup>4</sup>

That provision prompted a series of seven formal campaigns to secure the vote for women--an issue not put aside until full voting rights were granted in 1918 with the passage of Amendment E, the Citizenship Amendment. That amendment gave women the right to vote, although it excluded the foreign-born. (The suffrage amendment became known as Amendment E because of its position as fifth of twelve amendments on the November ballot.)

To enfranchise women, suffragists tried three strategies: enfranchisement through territorial legislation, enfranchisement by adding a woman suffrage plank to the original state constitution and enfranchisement by adding a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution. The first method had to be discarded when South Dakota was admitted to the Union, the second, when the Constitutional Convention's document was adopted by the state's voters without a suffrage plank.

Six campaigns were tried before a suffrage amendment was finally added to the state's constitution. To amend, suffragists had to

obtain the approval of both houses and receive a majority vote of the state's electorate. For a time, in 1903-1904, it appeared a new strategy might work. The state legislature had adopted initiative and referendum, which gave citizens the right to propose legislation by petition and required that such legislation be submitted to a direct popular vote without action by the legislature. An attempt by suffragists to take advantage of initiative and referendum failed when the Secretary of State ruled that the initiative clause applied only to proposals of laws, not amendments. Thus the only option remaining was for suffragists to campaign for an amendment to the state constitution. Although Congress had the power to enact national legislation, it had no inclination to do so until 1917-1918. Passage was held up while southern legislators argued against suffrage for colored women.

This thesis will examine coverage by selected newspapers of the first and last campaigns to secure the vote for women in South Dakota --1889-1890 and 1917-1918.

### The National Movement

The suffrage movement in South Dakota was an outgrowth of the national movement. Begun in the East, the push for suffrage followed the pioneers west. The Revolution, a weekly suffrage newspaper published from 1868 to 1872 in New York City, listed 1848 as the birth date of the suffrage movement in the United States.<sup>5</sup> In July of that year, some 300 people, including 40 men, met in Seneca Falls,



N.Y., at what became known as the Seneca Falls or Woman's Rights Convention, to discuss "the social, civil and religious rights of women."<sup>6</sup> The idea for the convention grew out of the refusal of the World Anti-Slavery Convention, meeting in London in 1840, to seat nine American women. Eight years later, two of the rejected women --Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton--met again in Seneca Falls and organized the convention which launched the suffrage movement.<sup>7</sup>

Stanton gave the convention's opening address, during which she read a Declaration of Sentiments:

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from what they have hitherto occupied. . . We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries on the part of man towards woman; having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be admitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men--both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides. . .<sup>8</sup>

Stanton went on to discuss the plight of women. Married women were civilly dead; single women were taxed without representation. They were deprived of the ballot, of rights of property, of the right to their persons, and of rights over their children. Women were

deprived of educational and occupational opportunities and were subjected to a double standard of morality and to the assumption of the basic superiority of men.<sup>9</sup>

The first issue of The Revolution claimed women were cataloged, in state constitutions, with idiots, lunatics, criminals and paupers.<sup>10</sup> Suffragists set out to change this assessment.

The early actions of women for enfranchisement fell into two main categories, legal and political, but by the end of the 1880s, women had abandoned the first in favor of the second. The attempt to gain suffrage through legal action lost strength because of events outside of South Dakota. St. Louis lawyer Francis Minor, whose wife Virginia was president of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association, had argued that although the Constitution left qualifications of electors to the states, it did not give states the right to deprive citizens of the vote. In 1872, the Minors filed suit against St. Louis registrar Reese Happersett, who refused to let Virginia Minor register to vote. The case, *Minor vs. Happersett* (88 US 162), was appealed to the Supreme Court in October 1874. That court's unanimous decision upheld the lower court against the Minors.<sup>11</sup> The court decision ended the question of the constitutional legality of disenfranchisement.

Women then directed their efforts toward politics and change through legislation. Their first participation in politics--staging demonstrations and signing petitions--was unsuccessful. A committee from the franchise department of the Woman's Christian Temperance

Union (WCTU) appeared before the 1887 territorial legislature of South Dakota with hundreds of petitions signed by men and women, but the petitions had little influence when the suffrage plank came up for vote. A group of women also attended the 1890 Republican party convention in Mitchell, carrying petitions. They were refused seats on the floor of the convention, although an Indian delegation was welcomed.

Women in other states experienced the same indifference to demonstrations and petitions. To counteract the indifference, they organized state committees to educate the public and influence opinion, working for enfranchisement state-by-state and for an amendment to the federal constitution.

Early suffragists admitted their cause was not championed by all women. The abuse heaped on them came not only from men, but also from women--and there were many--who had no desire to leave the protective arms of their fathers, husbands or brothers.<sup>12</sup>

Nor was the cause popular with many of the social institutions of the day. A pamphlet of speeches, entitled Woman Suffrage and written by Catholic priest J. P. Machebeuf, reflected at least one priest's stand on suffrage.

The class of women wanting suffrage are battalions of old maids disappointed in love--women separated from their husbands or divorced by men from their sacred obligations--women who, though married, wish to hold the reins of the family government, for there never was a woman happy in her home who wished for female suffrage.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Papacy never committed itself on the issue of women and the vote, Cardinal Gibbons sent an endorsement to the National

Anti-Suffrage Convention in Washington, D.C., in 1916.<sup>14</sup>

The main sources of opposition varied from one part of the country to the other. In the South, the opposition feared the Negro vote and the overthrow of "Jim Crow" restrictions, like the poll tax, which disenfranchised blacks. In the Midwest, most of the opposition stemmed from the brewing interests and the foreign-born. In the East that opposition came from industrial and business sources.<sup>15</sup>

Brewers' associations rarely kept minutes or financial records. But their anonymity was punctured in 1918 by a Senate Judiciary Committee investigating charges of propaganda by brewers in Bolshevik and German interests during World War I. Long-standing suffragist complaints against the brewers were documented when the files of Percy Andreae, mastermind of brewers' publicity, were subpoenaed. The minutes of a brewers' strategy conference on October 13, 1913, revealed their role in more than one South Dakota campaign.

So far. . . we have defeated woman's suffrage at three different times, and I want to say that this association, the U.S. Brewer's Association, through the efforts of one gentleman, Mr. Edward Dietrich, has been able to cope with it, and he has always been fortunate in winning.<sup>16</sup>

It is more difficult to pinpoint other elements of opposition to woman suffrage. Easiest to identify, after the liquor interests, were the political machines, whose weight was invariably thrown against suffrage until Tammany Hall gave up in 1917. The machines were uncertain of their ability to control an addition to the electorate which seemed to them relatively unsusceptible to bribery, more militant and bent on reform, from better sewage controls to

abolition of child labor and cleaning up politics.<sup>17</sup>

Other business interests were the most difficult to link with opposition to suffrage. Not a word of protest against woman suffrage is to be found in the pages of the Wall Street Journal or proceedings of the annual conventions of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. There was no nationwide mobilization of Big Business against suffrage, but railroad, oil and general manufacturing lobbies were often present and active whenever suffrage was up for legislative action.<sup>18</sup>

After national suffrage was won, Carrie Chapman Catt computed the amount of human effort involved.

To get the word 'male' in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of the country 52 years of pauseless campaign. . . . During that time they were forced to conduct 56 campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to get legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get state constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions; 277 campaigns to get state party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to get presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms; and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses.<sup>19</sup>

Campaigns in South Dakota followed much the same format as elsewhere. All were conducted with very little money. The main burden was carried by a small group of workers that included a few male supporters. Whatever favorable conditions existed at the beginning of each campaign--promises of support from major parties or commitments from large newspapers--usually evaporated long before election day. In addition, the liquor industry stood as a major source of opposition, since suffrage was closely linked with the

temperance movement nationwide.<sup>20</sup>

The movement was ridiculed by many segments of society, including the press. Some newspapers did support the movement with reviews of suffrage speeches, favorable editorials and lengthy news coverage of suffrage activities. Other newspaper coverage was less than favorable. Most South Dakota newspapers gave news and editorial coverage to the suffrage movement, but a bibliographic review has disclosed only one piece of published research on coverage of the suffrage movement by editors and newspapers in the state.

A master's thesis by Dorinda Riessen Reed was published in 1958 by the University of South Dakota's Governmental Research Bureau as Report No. 41 and again in 1975 as the Commission on the Status of Women's Heritage of South Dakota Women Project. Although Reed quotes newspaper articles, references are scattered and taken from only a few state newspapers.

This paper will examine newspaper coverage in nine communities in the state--from the political party nominating conventions in early summer to election day in November--for the first and last suffrage campaigns. One would expect to find the greatest difference in news coverage between the first campaign in 1889-1890 and the last, which ended with ratification of Amendment E in 1917-1918. To be examined will be editorial pages, news coverage on both the front and inside pages, cartoons and caricatures, speech and meeting coverage, women's columns and letters-to-the-editor.

These newspapers should reveal issues within the suffrage

movement, community support for suffrage and individuals most vocal in the support of suffrage. An examination should also provide a key to the politics of the movement, the sources of support for the movement among newspapers and editors and changes in that support through the years.

Ten newspapers from nine cities have been selected. The criteria used for selection includes:

--published in leading communities in the state, communities which hosted political or suffrage conventions and lecture tours.

--published during both the first and last suffrage campaigns (from 1889 through 1918).

--available on microfilm.

Preference was given to newspapers still in publication. The researcher read every available issue of the newspapers from June 1 to November 7 during the two campaign years.

#### Cities and Newspapers to be Included in the Study

<u>City</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Frequency of Publication</u>
Aberdeen	<u>Aberdeen Daily News</u>	1885-1940	Daily
Aberdeen	<u>Saturday Pioneer News</u>	1881-1891	Weekly
Deadwood	<u>Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times</u>	1876-	Daily
Huron	<u>Daily Huronite</u>	1880-1944	Daily
Madison	<u>Madison Sentinel</u>	1879-1938	Weekly, Semiweekly
Pierre	<u>Pierre Capital-Journal</u>	1888-	Daily

<u>City</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Frequency of Publication</u>
Rapid City	<u>Rapid City Daily Journal</u>	1878-	Daily
Sioux Falls	<u>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader</u>	1881-	Daily
Watertown	<u>Watertown Public Opinion</u>	1887-	Daily
Yankton	<u>Yankton Press and Dakotan</u>	1861-	Daily

The Saturday Pioneer News has been included in the study because of the newspaper editor's relationship to a leading national suffragist. L. Frank Baum was the son-in-law of Matilda Joselyn Gage, a woman active in the national movement who spent much of her time campaigning in South Dakota. The newspaper is included even though it was not published during the 1918 campaign.

Only two cities and newspapers west of the Missouri River are included in the study. Most of the state's population had settled in the eastern end of the state in the 1880s; the Black Hills region, in the western end of the state, was not ceded to the United States by Indian treaty until 1877. Few communities existed outside the Black Hills region at the time of the treaty.

It would be impossible to research and report on the newspaper coverage of the campaigns without an understanding of the newspapers themselves and their histories. Much of this section of the thesis is summarized from "Printing in South Dakota During the Territorial Period, with a Check List of Newspapers and Periodicals from the Beginning Through 1889," a master's thesis written by Ruth E. Bergman



in 1929 at the University of Illinois. Early circulation figures for the newspapers are not available.

#### Aberdeen Daily News

The only territorial newspaper in Aberdeen still printed today, the News began weekly publication in 1885 and daily publication in 1886. Early owners were Starling and Torrey and George Schlosser. Schlosser came into control during the summer of 1889. The Aberdeen Daily News was a Republican newspaper, and the editor found little to praise in the Independent party. Although not an outspoken opponent of suffrage, he proposed that the matter be handled through legislation which could be "tried for a few years to see how it would work and repealed in case the result was not satisfactory."<sup>21</sup>

#### Saturday Pioneer News

One of the first papers published in Aberdeen, the Dakota Pioneer appeared August 4, 1881. Editor John H. Drake printed the first issue in a building without a roof. In 1890 the name was changed to the Saturday Pioneer and was advertised as "the largest and most popular family weekly in South Dakota." L. Frank Baum, the author of The Wizard of Oz in 1900, became editor in 1890. He was the son-in-law of Matilda Joselyn Gage, a leading figure in the national suffrage movement. Baum consistently supported suffrage, a stand which other Aberdeen newspapers ridiculed. The Aberdeen Daily News referred to the Saturday Pioneer News as a "paper of boarding house gossip and tittle tattle."<sup>22</sup>

Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times

The first actual printing done in the Black Hills was done in Custer. The first half-sheet of the Black Hills Weekly Pioneer came off the press in May 1876, almost four months before the treaty ceding the Black Hills to the United States was signed by the Indians and almost nine months before the treaty was approved by Congress. The paper's owners, W. A. Laughlin and A. W. Merrick, followed gold prospectors to Deadwood and began publication there June 8, 1876. Their offices were in an unfinished cabin with a leaky roof and an earthen floor. The press was kept in a tent on the hillside above the cabin, where it was better protected. The paper was a huge financial success, probably because it contained information on mines and new gold discoveries; thousands of copies were sold each week. It was one of the few papers of territorial times which sold subscriptions outside its normal coverage area. The Weekly Pioneer moved to daily publication May 16, 1877. In the next twenty years, its management changed at least fifteen times. On December 1, 1887, the name was changed to the Deadwood Pioneer. It merged in 1897 with the Deadwood (Black Hills) Daily Times, established in 1877, and became the Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times. The newspaper, owned and edited by Willis H. Bonham, was not pro-suffrage even though Bonham's wife Mary was active in the local movement. The newspaper rarely printed anti-suffrage articles of its own but did reprint anti-suffrage editorials from area newspapers. A Republican paper, it differed with the party on the matter

of original package and liquor licensing. It was opposed to constitutional prohibition, a traditional Republican stand. According to the Rapid City Daily Journal, the newspaper was Republican "when it pays to be."<sup>23</sup>

### Daily Huronite

The Huron Tribune began publication June 2, 1880, under the direction of Shannon and Hopp. In 1882 the name was changed to the Huronite. It had numerous owners during the 1880s although the names Davis, Shannon and Longstaff reappear several times. Shannon and Longstaff were in charge in 1890. The Daily Huronite started as a weekly but began daily publication about 1885. The Daily Huronite published few articles that were not related to the location of the capital, an issue resolved by the November 1890 election. Entire newspapers were devoted to the advantages of locating the state's capital in Huron, but suffrage received little mention.

### Madison Sentinel

The first issue of the Sentinel, first newspaper in Lake County, was printed in Madison in April 1879. After changing ownership several times, the paper was sold to Frank L. Mease. He continued as editor from November 1, 1886, until his death in the 1930s. A Republican paper, it was one of the few papers in South Dakota solidly behind the suffrage movement. Mease and his wife Nora were active members of the First Methodist Church in Madison and friends of the Reverend C. E. and Rebecca Hager. It was probably through this

association that Mease developed a favorable stand on suffrage. Both Hagers were officers in the Lake County Equal Suffrage Association in the 1890s.

#### Pierre Capital-Journal

The first newspaper published in Pierre proper was the Dakota Journal, established in the fall of 1880 by the Dyke brothers. The paper changed its name to the Journal about 1888. The Capital, a daily paper, appeared about the same time. The two merged some months later. The Journal was a Republican paper; the Capital was a Republican paper with strong leanings towards the Democratic party. As one newspaper, the Capital-Journal was Republican with intense coverage of the fight to locate the capital permanently in Pierre but without much interest in suffrage.

#### Rapid City Daily Journal

Printing began in Rapid City and Pennington County with the Black Hills Journal on January 5, 1878. The paper was owned by George G. Darrow and Joseph B. Gossage. Darrow was not a resident of Rapid City, however. He published the Telegram in Sidney, Nebraska, and had a financial interest only in the Journal. The Journal began daily publication in 1886 and became the Rapid City Daily Journal. Richard B. Hughes, the first newspaper reporter in the Black Hills, owned and edited the Journal with Gossage for a time in 1884, but Gossage soon became the sole owner. He continued in that role until his death in April 1925. His wife Alice had

become a partner in 1882 and continued to operate the Journal until her death in 1929. She is thought to be the first woman editor in South Dakota. The newspaper supported most Republican policies but was a vocal opponent of Judge G. C. Moody, the South Dakota senator who voted down suffrage in the territorial legislature in 1872 but who later became a champion of suffrage. The newspaper was a supporter of any politician that claimed the Black Hills as home.

#### Sioux Falls Argus-Leader

The Sioux Falls Argus was the only Democratic paper in Minnehaha County when it began publication on August 2, 1881. The editors, W. A. Fulmer and Hibbard Patterson, were moving their paper from Hamburg, Iowa, to Colorado when they stopped in South Dakota because of Indian hostilities in Colorado. They settled in Sioux Falls instead. The Argus began daily publication with an evening edition March 4, 1885. The Sioux Falls Leader was started June 28, 1883, by Peyton H. Acton. That paper changed hands several times until it was purchased by Paul and W. W. Goddard in April 1887 and merged with the Argus. It was sold to Tomlinson and Charles M. Day in November 1888. At some time in its history, the paper disagreed with the national financial policies of the Democratic party and changed its politics. The Argus-Leader contended that women should have the vote--if a majority of the women wanted it. It further suggested that suffragists circulate a petition among women in the state. If 45,000 signatures were collected, then women should have the right to vote.<sup>24</sup>

### Watertown Public Opinion

The Public Opinion began publication as a weekly in 1887. An unusual edition of the Public Opinion, a small broadside measuring about three by eight inches, is probably the smallest newspaper ever published in South Dakota. It came out in celebration of statehood. That edition was printed by Doane Robinson, later the state's historian, who was in charge of the paper during the editor's absence. The newspaper was a Republican one which supported prohibition and Watertown native Governor Arthur C. Mellette. For a time Watertown and the Public Opinion campaigned for the capital but later withdrew from the race. The newspaper supported suffrage for women.

### Yankton Press and Dakotan

The Weekly Dakotian was the first permanent paper published in Dakota Territory. It began publication June 6, 1861, with editors Frank Ziebach and William Freney. Ziebach was a journalist, a master printer and a politician. He served in both the House and Council of the territorial legislature and was a United States land commissioner. For a time in 1862 the paper was owned by Ziebach and George W. Kingsbury, a long-time newspaperman in Yankton. Kingsbury wrote The History of Dakota Territory in 1915, a reference for much of this thesis. In November 1864 the paper merged with the Union Dakota, a short-lived Independent paper published by Kingsbury. The Union Dakota is credited with two firsts--the first book and the first copyrighted material printed in Dakota Territory. On November 2, 1870, Kingsbury took over the Yankton Press. The

two newspapers, the Union and Dakotaian and the Yankton Press, merged November 12, 1874. (The spelling of Dakotan has changed with time. Dakotian was used until 1864 when the paper merged with the Union and the spelling was changed to Dakotaian. The present spelling, Dakotan, was adopted April 26, 1889.) The new newspaper began daily publication with a morning edition April 21, 1875--the first daily printed in the territory. (It is the oldest continuously printed paper in the state.) The newspaper, published by Kingsbury, was Republican and believed ". . . that the great majority of their sex do not want the ballot, and that to force it upon them would not only be an injustice to women but would lessen their influence for good and imperil the community."<sup>25</sup>

## Chapter 1 Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Dorinda Reissen Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, 2nd ed., (n.p.: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester: Charles Mann Publishing Company, 1886) Vol. 3, p. 667.

<sup>3</sup>Reed, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1902) Vol. 4, p. 553.

<sup>5</sup>Dorothy J. Cline, "The Revolution and Its Treatment of Women's Rights Themes" (Master's Thesis, South Dakota State University, 1975) p. 16.

<sup>6</sup>Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Right Movement in the United States (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1959) p. 74.

<sup>7</sup>Emily Hahn, Once Upon a Pedestal (New York: New American Library, 1975) pp. 143-145.

<sup>8</sup>Hahn, pp. 146-147 and Flexner, pp. 74-75.

<sup>9</sup>Alma Lutz, Created Equal: A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (New York: The John Day Company, 1940) p. 48.

<sup>10</sup>Cline, pp. 15-16.

<sup>11</sup>Flexner, pp. 168-169.

<sup>12</sup>Cline, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Anthony, Stanton, Gage, p. 720.

<sup>14</sup>Flexner, pp. 298-299.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid, p. 295.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 297 and U.S., Congress, Senate, Brewing and Liquor Interests, German and Bolshevik Propaganda Report and Hearings before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary. 65th Congress, 1st Session, 1918, Vol. 1, p. 1179.



<sup>17</sup>Flexner, pp. 298-299.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923) p. 107.

<sup>20</sup>Flexner, p. 176.

<sup>21</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, Nov. 7, 1890.

<sup>22</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, Aug. 18, 1890.

<sup>23</sup>Rapid City Daily Journal, June 13, 1890.

<sup>24</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, June 26, 1890.

<sup>25</sup>Yankton Press and Dakotan, Aug. 15, 1890.

## Chapter 2

### 1889-1890 CAMPAIGN FOR SUFFRAGE

South Dakota women were close to enfranchisement at the beginning of the territorial period. The 1872 legislature came within one vote of enfranchising them. In 1879 the legislature revised the educational statutes, allowing women to vote at school meetings. That law was negated in 1883 by a school township law that replaced open school meetings with regular polls and private ballots for school elections.<sup>1</sup> As a result, women lost their right to vote in school elections. In 1885 a bill granting suffrage to women passed the Council (the upper house of the legislature) and House of Representatives of Dakota Territory, but it was vetoed by Governor Gilbert Pierce, who said he thought it might hamper chances of statehood because Congress, with the power to enfranchise all women, had not exercised that power. The legislature's attempt to override his veto failed.

In October 1885 a group of Dakota residents attended a national convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in Minneapolis. The first Dakota suffrage club was organized in Webster the following month. Several other clubs were started in the southern part of the territory, but they were not organized statewide until several years later.<sup>2</sup>

The 1887 legislature again extended school suffrage to women, who could vote at school elections and hold elective office in the school. It was a hollow victory, however, because only school

trustees were chosen at school elections--state and county superintendents were elected at general elections. The 1887 legislature also considered an equal suffrage bill. A committee from the franchise department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) addressed the legislature and presented hundreds of petitions signed by both men and women of the territory, but the bill failed by thirteen votes in the House and by six in the Council.<sup>3</sup>

When statehood was granted in 1889, the state's constitution required the first legislature to submit a constitutional woman suffrage amendment to voters. The first legislature met at once in Pierre and voted on whether or not to submit the amendment to voters. The vote passed; suffrage was placed in the 1890 ballot.<sup>4</sup>

Before the campaign began, suffragists anticipated victory in South Dakota. The Farmer's Alliance was a large, politically powerful body whose officers had agreed to exert the full influence of their organization for the amendment. Alliance president H. L. Loucks, Watertown, had urged Susan B. Anthony, whom he had met at the AWSA convention in Minneapolis in 1885, to come to the state and conduct the campaign. Anthony lectured in twelve South Dakota cities in November, before addressing the Farmer's Alliance convention in Aberdeen. The Alliance officially endorsed the amendment. The Knights of Labor also agreed to support the amendment "with all our strength."<sup>5</sup>

But the contest was not to prove that easy. A prohibition amendment had been adopted in the state in 1889, and the liquor

interests were fighting hard to have the measure repealed. The first stage of their strategy was the defeat of the suffrage amendment, which would come to a vote the next year.<sup>6</sup> The liquor industry feared that if women obtained the vote, prohibition would never be repealed. In the early days of suffrage, the movement was closely allied with the WCTU, a natural enemy of the liquor industry.

Further problems developed when the Farmer's Alliance and Knights of Labor formed a new political party--the Independent Party--in June 1890 and refused to include a woman suffrage plank in the platform, even though Anthony addressed the group's convention and asked the members to keep their pledges. She knew the amendment would need their support. Loucks, the party's gubernatorial candidate, did not mention the amendment in his acceptance speech.<sup>7</sup>

#### The Politics of the Movement

A conflict about policy among national officers of WCTU also affected the woman's suffrage movement in South Dakota early in the campaign. When the WCTU met in Chicago in November 1889, shortly after Anthony's first tour of South Dakota, Iowa delegate J. Ellen Foster charged that the Union had become a Republican organization. She accused Frances Willard, national WCTU president, of encouraging that action. A clash ensued over combining temperance, woman suffrage and politics. South Dakota WCTU president Helen M. Barker, Huron, supported Willard. But a prominent delegate from Webster, Marietta Bones, took Foster's side. Anthony, caught in the middle, maintained that woman suffrage should be non-partisan (the policy supported by

Bones) and insisted that suffrage and prohibition issues be fought separately. Bones, on the other hand, wanted suffrage to remain an offspring of prohibition and the WCTU.<sup>8</sup>

The difference of opinion between Bones and Anthony flared again the next spring when Anthony came to South Dakota to organize the 1890 campaign. A State Suffrage Association had been formed, with S. A. Ramsey, Woonsocket, president and Alonzo Wardell vice president. Barker was treasurer and state organizer. But the group had little money and no plans for statewide campaigning. Wardell, who was also vice president of the Farmer's Alliance, went to Washington, D.C., to ask the national suffrage association for money. A South Dakota Campaign Committee was formed at the national headquarters, with Anthony as chairman, in February 1890.<sup>9</sup>

Some \$3,000 was appropriated to the Dakota Fund and presented to the South Dakota delegation for the 1890 campaign. The money came from all over the United States--the California State Suffrage Association sent \$1,000; Senator Leland Stanford of California and Rachel Foster Avery of Philadelphia each gave \$300; Clara L. McAdow of Montana gave \$250 and South Dakota Senator R. F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls, gave \$100.<sup>10</sup> Anthony was to control the money, but after the money was collected, the executive committee of the State Suffrage Association decided it wanted to manage the campaign and demanded that the funds be turned over to them.<sup>11</sup>

On March 29, 1890, Anthony sent her refusal to Ramsey, the state president, saying, "Now, my dear sir, as a businessman you would

B. Anthony and Mrs. Marietta Bones of South Dakota have each other by the ears. Mrs. Bones says Susan is tricky and scheming and Susan says Mrs. Bones doesn't amount to much."<sup>16</sup>

In April the newspaper reported, "A few days ago Miss Anthony thought she had clinched things by remarking that she was not a mean, measly rotten apple because she is pelted by such." But Bones countered, ". . . oftentimes what appears to be a good sound apple is rotten to the core." These two women, the editor said, are "having about as much trouble with apples as their grandmother in the garden of Eden."<sup>17</sup>

The Huron paper, however, sided with Anthony, saying that few Huronites believed Bones' attack and that Anthony had endeared herself to Huron citizens on her tour of the city the past fall.

The editor of Aberdeen's Saturday Pioneer News took both women to task.

South Dakota suffragists have no use whatever for Miss Anthony and very little for Mrs. Bones. The sooner they are muzzled effectively, the better for all true friends of the cause. Mrs. Bones, in a clever letter to the Minneapolis Tribune last week, continues the old war against her old enemy, Miss Anthony. It would be better for the cause of woman suffrage if these two women could be out of South Dakota until after election.<sup>18</sup>

That disagreement, or remnants of it, continued to haunt the suffrage movement in South Dakota throughout the 1889-1890 campaign. In June leaders of the movement called a mass convention in Huron to prepare for the Independent Party convention in the same city a few days later. Many state newspapers carried an announcement similar to the Daily Huronite.

To the Friends of Equal Suffrage in South Dakota: We, the undersigned women of the state, believing it to be to the best interest of the cause, and realizing that the campaign can be more successfully prosecuted by more united and determined action, do hereby ask all persons, men and women, friendly to equal suffrage to meet in mass convention in the city of Huron, at 4 p.m., July 8. Let every county in the state be represented.<sup>19</sup>

That announcement was signed by Libby Wardell; Philena Johnson, Highmore; Alice Pickler, Faulkton; Emma Smith DeVoe, Huron; and Mary Bonham, Deadwood. Conspicuously absent from the list were the names of the executive committee of the State Suffrage Association; the two groups of women were barely speaking to each other by this time.

At the convention, the money problem surfaced again. President Ramsey and the executive committee opposed Anthony because she refused to turn campaign funds over to their treasury. The Argus-Leader reported:

At the first session the devotees of Susan and Judge Thomas of Codington made violent charges against the executive committee for criticizing Miss Anthony and demanded its resignation. A spicy debate ensued between Elder Fielder, Judge Thomas, Mrs. Barker, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Pickler and Mrs. Bailey. 'False,' 'disgrace,' 'untruth,' and equally violent expressions were frequently used. The executive committee denied the right of the body to demand their resignation, but finally resigned. The representatives of the Anthony faction after midnight drove to Woonsocket and secured Pres. Ramsey's resignation. All the officers, including Mr. and Mrs. Barker, promptly withdrew and the convention precipitately adjourned to meet in Mitchell in August.<sup>20</sup>

Newspapers throughout the state viewed the suffrage convention with varying degrees of interest. An Argus-Leader editorial noted that Anthony's experiences and lifelong devotion to suffrage should entitle her to more consideration than she was receiving.<sup>21</sup> The Aberdeen Daily News was not so kind.

The woman suffragists of the state have kicked up--if this is not a disrespectful thing to say of ladies--a big mess among themselves. That Huron convention did it all. Called by the wives of the independent leaders to bolster up the tottering fortunes of their husbands--a very laudable object no doubt, but not good for the suffrage business--the convention did not 'pan out' as the projectors had anticipated. A quarrel was precipitated that will not be healed.<sup>22</sup>

The women continued to campaign through one of the hottest and driest summers on record. It was not a summer filled with encouragement for the suffragists--none of the three political parties endorsed the amendment.

Shaw wrote about the campaign in her autobiography:

That South Dakota campaign was one of the most difficult we ever made. It extended over nine months; and it was impossible to describe the poverty which prevailed throughout the whole rural community of the State. There had been three consecutive years of drought. The sand was like powder, so deep that the wheels of the wagons in which we rode "across country" sank half-way to the hubs; and in the midst of this dry powder lay withered tangles that had once been grass. Every one had the forsaken desperate look worn by the pioneer who had reached the limit of his endurance, and the great stretches of prairie roads showed innumerable canvas-covered wagons, drawn by starved horses, and followed by starved cows, on their way "Back East."<sup>23</sup>

### The State Political Conventions

On June 11, 1890, the state Democratic Convention met in Aberdeen. It was expected to promote an anti-prohibiton, anti-suffrage platform. Nevertheless, a committee of suffragists attended the convention to make an appeal for equal rights. Mrs. S. M. Harden of Huron, secretary of the Farmer's Alliance, addressed the convention on behalf of equal rights, and Judge A. W. Bangs of Rapid City presented a minority report in favor of suffrage. Several state newspapers



included the texts of their speeches. But the editorial space was reserved for a speech by E. W. Miller of Union County. In it he declared, ". . . no decent, respectable woman is asking for the ballot. These women that go about the country advocating woman suffrage are a disgrace to their homes. No man or woman of good sense would advocate such a proposition."<sup>24</sup>

Few newspapers supported Miller or his remarks, even those opposed to suffrage. The Aberdeen Daily News declared:

A public man--one who has occupied a high official position and of whom common, ordinary decency is to be expected--never more completely made an ass of himself or revealed to the public scrutiny a narrower or smaller mind, instinct or feeling, than did Mr. Miller in his discourteous remarks last night.<sup>25</sup>

From the Saturday Pioneer News:

Apparently under the influence of an original package (not obtained in Aberdeen), the (dis) honorable E. W. Miller took his stand upon the floor of the democratic convention Wednesday night and began a coarse and brutal tirade against woman suffragists. It did not matter to the boor that seated before him and forced to listen to his harangue were several of the most eminently respectable ladies of Aberdeen, the wives and daughters of our most prominent citizens, besides the lady who acts as secretary of the state Farmers' Alliance and the wife and daughter of two of our most respected members of the press of South Dakota. Nothing could stay his flow of pot-house vulgarity and abuse and his speech is an insult not only to the ladies present and the woman suffragists at large, but to the Farmers' Alliance and the press of the state. To their eternal shame be it said that the members of the convention vociferously applauded his remarks.<sup>26</sup>

Several days after the convention the Aberdeen Daily News reported that the Redfield Dispatch was the only paper which ". . . has had the hardihood to defend E. W. Miller who made the abusive tirade in the democratic convention against the women advocating

suffrage."<sup>27</sup>

Miller's speech was not the only anti-suffrage action at the Democratic convention. A large delegation of Russian immigrants (a group of men strongly opposed to the enfranchisement of women) wore large yellow badges, the brewers' colors in South Dakota, which read "Against Woman Suffrage and Susan B. Anthony."<sup>28</sup>

The suffrage campaign suffered a much greater blow the next month when the Farmer's Alliance and the Knights of Labor formed the Independent Party and refused to put a woman suffrage plank in the platform at its July 9-10 convention.

The Independent Party did not receive much coverage in state newspapers. Those who did report on the new party's convention had few good things to say about it. The Aberdeen Daily News was one of the more vocal newspapers.

There is danger the woman suffragists will be wrecked by the jealousies among the friends of the movement and by the incapacity of the managers of the campaign. To cap the climax of these blunders, these astute (?) diplomatists now propose to call a woman suffrage convention in July at Huron evidently to bolster up the independents. If this insane scheme is carried out, and the dalliance with this faction becomes known, it will alienate hundreds of republican voters who will regard an alliance with the independents, sworn enemies of the republican part, as an insult. . . . The plot concocted to toy with the independents should be abandoned if success is desired more than the support of a doubtful political movement.<sup>29</sup>

The Argus-Leader had little time for either the Independent Party or the Aberdeen Daily News' crusade against it.

The Aberdeen News is still ponderously pounding the Independents. Really for people who have no strength, or brains, or political acumen, the News is spending a great deal of labor and worry upon them this hot weather. It is foolish to work so hard to kill something that is dead.<sup>30</sup>

The Pierre Daily Capital changed political sides when the Independents came out in favor of Pierre for capital. The newspaper was originally opposed to the party.

The Farmer's Alliance of South Dakota best look to their own interests by uniting with the grand old principles of republicans. Running after strange gods does not pay.<sup>31</sup>

Just a few days later, however, the newspaper was more receptive to the Independents.

The Independent Party is an organization which seems destined to have some say in South Dakota politics in the future. The Daily Capital has always claimed that the farmers and laboring men had a right to organize a political party and especially so if they took politics out of the alliance or other orders.<sup>32</sup>

In a related article the newspaper reported that three-fourths of the delegates to the Farmer's Alliance convention favored Pierre as the capital site.

The Republican Party did not hold its political nominating convention until August 27, 1890. The convention in Mitchell was preceded by a suffrage convention held two days before and attended by some 600-800 women. Of the six resolutions passed by the women, the third drew the most fire.

Resolved: That the republican party, which gave suffrage to the negro man, and the democratic party, which gave suffrage to the working man, and the Farmer's Alliance, which opposed monopolies and class distinctions, are all under a moral obligation to support the woman suffrage movement, which will remove the stigma of disenfranchisement from 70,000 women citizens of South Dakota.<sup>33</sup>

The resolution did not have much influence on the Republicans in Mitchell. Susan B. Anthony and several other national suffrage figures--Henry B. Blackwell (the husband of Lucy Stone), Dr. Anna

Howard Shaw and South Dakotan Alice Pickler--planned to address the Republican convention. Many of the women who had attended the suffrage convention planned to attend the Republican one also. They requested seats in the body of the convention but were told none were available. Ten seats were eventually made available to the women--at the very back. From this spot, the women could neither see nor hear the proceedings. The women had asked that Anthony, at least, be seated near the front. Their request was refused, although a three-man Indian delegation was seated near the front. Anthony and Shaw did address the convention but only after the chairman had adjourned the general meeting. They spoke during the recess to the few men remaining in the convention hall.

### The Election

With few exceptions, the suffrage issue was ignored by the press throughout September and October. The few newspapers that carried suffrage news reported briefly on speeches and association meetings. The Yankton Press and Dakotan noted the lack of coverage of suffrage events.

The equal suffrage question in South Dakota is attracting very little attention, and judging from such indications as occasionally come to the surface it is doomed to defeat. The northern portion of the state has been claimed as its strong citadel, but even from that section intelligence of an encouraging character fails to find its way into the local newspapers and the general sentiment seems of a hostile character.<sup>34</sup>

The action of the party conventions had destroyed all chances of success at the polls, and the newspapers were busy with other campaign

issues--irrigation and artesian wells, prohibition and original packaging and the permanent location of the capital. Individual newspapers were also engrossed in promoting their favorite political parties and candidates.

In September 1890, Carrie Chapman Catt, a National American Woman Suffrage Association leader, (In 1890 the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association joined forces to form the NAWSA.) told the State Suffrage Association's executive committee:

We have not a ghost of a show for success. Our cause can be compared with the work of prohibition, always remembering ours is the more unpopular. . . . Now what have we? The Lutherans, both German and Scandinavian, and the Catholics are bitterly opposed to suffrage. The Methodists, our strongest friends everywhere else, are not so here. We have one party openly and two secretly against us. . . . We are converting women to 'want to vote' by the hundreds, but we are not having any appreciable effect upon the men. . . . The amendment will make our hearts ache about November 5.<sup>35</sup>

National suffrage leaders like Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, Henry B. Blackwell and Helen M. Gougar spent months, campaigning and lecturing throughout the state. But the campaign lacked organization and continuity from the beginning; it never really recovered from the disagreements over money and the mixing of politics, suffrage and temperance.<sup>36</sup>

Some months before the election the Watertown Public Opinion thought the campaign could still succeed.

There is no question but what the equal suffrage campaign in this state opened too soon, but there is yet time for remedying past mistakes if the right kind of speakers, and enough of them, are placed in the field at once. The women

have a noble cause to champion, and it deserves the very best executive management from now on to succeed.<sup>37</sup>

An incident late in October, however, revealed how discouraged the leaders were. Anthony and Mary Seymour Howell of New York were riding in an old stage driven by "a prematurely old little boy whose feet did not touch the floor." The aged horses could not travel faster than a walk although a cold Dakota wind was blowing into their faces. After an unbroken, silent hour, Anthony said, "Mrs. Howell, humanity is at a very low ebb."<sup>38</sup>

Ellen Chapman Beadle, wife of General William H. Beadle, the president of Lake County Equal Suffrage Association, was equally pessimistic.

While it is just for them (women) to have the ballot they would not at first generally use it, but another generation would. For the same reason that they would not generally use it, a majority do not now really demand it. The disused or unused right is less strongly asserted. For the same reasons they will not receive it. They will let their great opportunity pass. A majority of men treat the question with already fixed opinion or prejudice against it.<sup>39</sup>

By election day, the campaign had disintegrated, most of the women who had been active campaigners had withdrawn, and the amendment was badly defeated. The women's efforts were summarized by Libby Wardell, the association's press superintendent.

. . . number of addresses by national speakers, 789; by state speakers, 707; under the auspices of the WCTU, 104; total, 1,600. Local and county clubs of women organized, 400; literature sent to every voter in the state.<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, the amendment was defeated. A historian for the

NAWSA reported:

There were 68,604 ballots cast; 22,972 for woman suffrage; 45,632 opposed; majority against, 22,660. Eight months of hard work by a large corps of the ablest women in the United States, 1,600 speeches, \$8,000 in money, for less than 23,000 votes. There were 30,000 immigrants in South Dakota--Russians, Scandinavians, Poles and other nationalities. It is claimed that they voted almost solidly against woman suffrage, but even if this were true, they must have had the assistance of 15,000 other men. If only those men who believed in prohibition had voted for woman suffrage it would have carried, as had that measure, by 6,000 majority.<sup>41</sup>

### Newspaper Coverage

South Dakota newspapers and newspaper editors in 1889-1890 were not crusaders for equality and suffrage. Their contributions to the first woman suffrage campaign were those of omission, not commission. It must be remembered, however, that it was an era of strong newspaper partisanship. According to Carrie Chapman Catt, one political party was openly against the movement; the other two parties were less obvious but not much more supportive.

The campaigning suffragists, through speeches and organizations, had converted women to "wanting the vote," but the influential institutions of the day, and that included the press, were not solidly behind the movement. The state's editors did not keep the suffrage issue before their readers. The crusading done by editors --with the exceptions of the editors of the Saturday Pioneer News, Madison Sentinel, Watertown Public Opinion--was confined to other issues--the location of the capital, the census, the railroads, artesian wells and irrigation, prohibition and original package.

It cannot be said that the suffrage movement did not occupy newspaper space. Much of that space, however, was reserved for

routine speech and meeting announcements and coverage. On occasion a newspaper would print the text of a suffrage speech, but those times were rare, especially in Republican newspapers. News coverage on the front and inside pages was usually short, two- or three-paragraph items. Most suffrage news was not front page material in 1889-1890 newspapers. (It must be noted, too, that it was customary for early-day editors to include personal opinion in news stories, making it difficult, now, to distinguish between straight and "doctored" news stories.) On the other hand, front pages and entire issues were devoted to the census and the battle between Pierre and Huron over the permanent location of the capital. Even irrigation and artesian wells received frequent and in-depth coverage. (Of course, the state was suffering from three years of drought.) Certainly more and longer editorials were written on those topics than were written on suffrage.

The women who supported the movement were often characterized as old maids, bitter women, unloved by men and ignored by society. Oddly enough, no newspapers carried cartoons or caricatures of suffragists to support the claims of "mannish women." But cartoons and caricatures were not generally used at all in newspapers in South Dakota in 1889-1890. Few merchants used drawings to sell their wares. Many advertisements were run in body type on inside pages, set off from the news by asterisks. Many of those advertisements were aimed at the female buyer.

**WEAK WOMEN.** The more sensitive nature of the female sex renders women much more susceptible than men to those numerous



in the state--few roads and railroads, harsh weather, distances between homesteads and towns--the collection of 45,000 signatures was all but impossible. In fact, the state may not have contained 45,000 women of voting age. So the proposition, supporting suffrage on the surface, was actually a deterrent to acceptance of suffrage. Many other state newspapers picked up the theme of "enfranchisement for women when all women want it."

Pockets of support for suffrage did exist throughout the state, especially in communities with active female leadership like Watertown, Aberdeen, Huron and Madison. But most of that support had disappeared by the political nominating conventions. The suffrage issue itself virtually disappeared from the state's newspapers after August. It did not reappear again in 1890 except as a paragraph in election day stories.

What is known as the "woman suffrage amendment" has undoubtedly been defeated at the polls. Democrats opposed it because it was supposed that women would vote against them. In a republican state it was thought that it would increase the vote of that party. Republicans opposed it for the same reason, but had the wives and daughters of independent voters in view. Some of all parties opposed woman suffrage because they regarded it as an experiment of too doubtful utility to be engrafted on the constitution.<sup>42</sup>

## Chapter 2 Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester: Charles Mann Printing Co., 1886) Vol. 3, p. 663.

<sup>2</sup>Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1902) Vol. 4, p. 544.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 543-544.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 552.

<sup>5</sup>Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 115 and Anthony, Stanton, Gage, pp. 553-556.

<sup>6</sup>Catt and Shuler, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup>Anthony, Stanton, Gage, p. 556.

<sup>8</sup>Dorinda Riessen Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, 2nd ed., (n. p.: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975), p. 23.

<sup>9</sup>Anthony and Harper, p. 554.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915) Vol. 3, p. 786.

<sup>12</sup>Reed, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Kingsbury, p. 766.

<sup>15</sup>Reed, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, Feb. 24, 1890.

<sup>17</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, April 19, 1890.

<sup>18</sup>Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer News, July 19, 1890.

<sup>19</sup>Daily Huronite, June 24, 1890.

- <sup>20</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, July 10, 1890.
- <sup>21</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, July 12, 1890.
- <sup>22</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, July 11, 1890.
- <sup>23</sup>Anna Howard Shaw, The Story of a Pioneer (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1915), p. 200.
- <sup>24</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, June 12, 1890.
- <sup>25</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, June 12, 1890.
- <sup>26</sup>Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer News, June 14, 1890.
- <sup>27</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, June 25, 1890.
- <sup>28</sup>Anthony and Harper, p. 556.
- <sup>29</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, June 24, 1890.
- <sup>30</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, July 8, 1890.
- <sup>31</sup>Pierre Daily Capital, June 4, 1890.
- <sup>32</sup>Pierre Daily Capital, June 7, 1890.
- <sup>33</sup>Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer News, August 30, 1890.
- <sup>34</sup>Yankton Press and Dakotan, August 6, 1890.
- <sup>35</sup>Anthony and Harper, pp. 693-694.
- <sup>36</sup>Kingsbury, p. 788.
- <sup>37</sup>Watertown Public Opinion, September 19, 1890.
- <sup>38</sup>Anthony and Harper, pp. 690-691.
- <sup>39</sup>Madison Sentinel, April 4, 1890.
- <sup>40</sup>Reed, p. 45.
- <sup>41</sup>Anthony and Harper, pp. 694-695.
- <sup>42</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, November 7, 1890.

## Chapter 3

### SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGNS IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Newspaper coverage of the middle campaigns is not part of the design of this thesis. This chapter, a summary of suffrage developments between 1890 and 1917, is meant to supply transition between the first and final campaigns. Information is supplied mainly by historians George W. Kingsbury, Susan B. Anthony and Ida Harper and Dorinda Riessen Reed, although some of these sources quoted from newspaper accounts.

#### 1893-1894 Campaign

During the 1889-1890 campaign, suffragists could not convince voters that most women wanted the vote or that any particular advantage would be gained by giving them the vote. By the time of the election, many of the women had withdrawn from the campaign, and more than one newspaper declared suffrage undesirable for such a young state. The campaign, the first of seven to enfranchise women, failed.

The movement did not die, however. The state organization was rebuilt and yearly conventions instituted, but women knew suffrage would not succeed until enough time had passed for voter opinion to change. Since the 1890 defeat was still fresh in the minds of voters, they would wait several years before taking the question to the legislature.

By 1893 the suffrage movement in the United States had gained momentum. Women in twenty-one states had been given the vote for school elections. Women in South Dakota wanted more. They wanted to help settle the liquor question--license, local option or prohibition. The second campaign was unsuccessful, although historical accounts differ. A noted state historian indicates the bill passed the Senate but was defeated in the House.<sup>1</sup> Suffrage writers claim the amendment was passed by the legislature and submitted to the voters in November 1894 but defeated by 5,672 votes.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever the truth, the state organization continued to lobby and by September 1895 boasted fifty clubs and 700 members. Earlier that year a woman suffrage bill passed the Senate and went to the House. It was debated there for several days but eventually defeated forty-two to thirty-six. Suffragists later claimed that the measure was sabotaged by a clerk who reported the vote incorrectly.<sup>3</sup>

A former suffrage worker, Marietta Bones of Webster, may have influenced the measure's defeat. In March 1895 she wrote to the Sioux Falls Press.

We rejoice that South Dakota legislators had the wisdom to defeat the woman suffrage bill, for in our opinion a greater calamity can never befall the nation than the enfranchisement of women.<sup>4</sup>

No specific reason has ever been given for her change of position, but by this time she was openly hostile to Susan B. Anthony and Frances Willard. The conflict probably started over her disagreement with them in 1889 at the national WCTU convention in Chicago. The Aberdeen Daily News printed an article about her and her campaign

against the state's women's organizations. She considered the article libelous and brought a \$20,000 suit against the newspaper and thirty women of Webster for defamation of character. She had filed a similar suit against the Andover Gazette in the summer of 1891, although neither suit ever reached the courts.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, state workers continued an educational campaign throughout the rest of 1895 and 1896.

#### 1897-1898 Campaign

By January 1897, another formal campaign was underway. A bill to submit suffrage to the voters was passed by both houses and signed by Governor Andrew C. Lee of Vermillion. Adelaide Ballard, president of the Iowa Suffrage Association, came to South Dakota to assist Anna R. Simmons, Huron, and Emma A. Cranmer, Aberdeen, with the state-wide campaign. Ballard began a campaign tour in April and is reported to have spoken to a crowd of 3,000 in the Grand Opera House in Sioux Falls.<sup>4</sup> State organizer Ida Crouch-Hazlett said in a circular that "active opposition to suffrage has ceased except among classes that have much to fear from suffrage success." She also advised a vigorous campaign to educate men to the justice of the movement.

In a commonwealth where the burdens of government are borne by a large per cent of women, it seems nothing less than brutal to deny to that class the opportunity of expressing an opinion in regard to the sort of a government they shall be under. It is purely non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-everything except pure justice alone.<sup>6</sup>

The first campaign newspaper, the South Dakota Messenger, was published by Mrs. C. C. King and circulated throughout the state.

Still the measure was defeated.

The defeat in 1898 was due largely to the work of Mrs. W. Winslow Crannel of Albany, New York, leader of the anti-suffrage Boston Remonstrants, and Marietta Bones of Webster. Crannel delivered several strong and critical addresses in different parts of the state. These speeches were also circulated in pamphlet form. A South Dakota correspondent of the Minneapolis Journal said:

There can be no doubt that her efforts were more effective in defeating the proposition than would have been the combined efforts of a dozen male orators. A good majority of the South Dakota voters believe that equal suffrage as a distinct proposition is right and just, and had the women themselves urged the issue there would have been no doubt of its triumph at the polls. . . it will probably now be permitted to slumber until there is a genuine call for its resurrection.<sup>6</sup>

Marietta Bones also opposed suffrage at every turn. When the returns were all in and the measure had been defeated by 3,285 votes, she expressed great satisfaction over the results and declared that South Dakota had been saved from serious humiliation and suffering.<sup>7</sup>

In 1901 Senator R. F. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls presented a petition to the United States Senate from the South Dakota Political Equality League, asking for a sixteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would have given women the right to vote in the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. (From 1896 to 1910, historians refer to the state suffrage organization as the South Dakota Political Equality League instead of the State Suffrage Association.) That same year in South Dakota, an adverse report on suffrage came out of both houses.<sup>8</sup>

During the fall of 1902 and the early part of 1903, the suffragists circulated a petition among suffrage supporters calling for a vote on suffrage in 1904, but the move failed. (In 1897 the state had adopted initiative and referendum, which gave citizens the right to propose legislation by petition and required that the proposed legislation be submitted to a direct popular vote without action by the legislature.) State historian George W. Kingsbury claimed the failure was because of insufficient interest, but another account explained that the women collected the requisite number of signatures only to learn that the initiative clause applied only to the proposal of laws, not constitutional amendments. Secretary of State O. C. Berg was criticized for refusing to accept the petition but legally could not do so.<sup>9</sup>

In 1903 South Dakota suffragists circulated a resolution identical to one adopted by both houses of the Wyoming legislature. The resolution strongly endorsed woman suffrage, declaring:

Such a law has been in operation in this state since the territorial days of 1869 and has raised the standard of political candidates, has made elections more decent and orderly, has improved the character of members of the legislatures and has developed womanhood to a broader and higher usefulness.<sup>10</sup>

No other attempt was made to advance suffrage in 1903.

The years 1904 and 1905 passed with only educational suffrage campaigns; in 1906 another petition supporting woman suffrage was circulated. When the legislature convened in 1907, the suffragists presented the legislature with a list of names some thirty-six yards long. The resolution was introduced and passed in the Senate



but failed in the House.<sup>11</sup>

In 1908 the suffragists confined their activities to campaigning for legislative candidates who were pro-suffrage.

### 1909-1910 Campaign

The 1909 legislature passed and Governor Robert S. Vessey signed an amendment proposal. In addition, two resolutions for partial suffrage were introduced in the Senate although neither passed. One would have permitted women to vote on the liquor question. (The state had adopted local option several years earlier, giving liquor license control to individual cities.) The other would have conferred the vote on women who owned property. Although national lecturers like Dr. Anna Howard Shaw campaigned in the state, the amendment failed by 22,419 votes--the worst defeat since 1890. The loss was attributed to the blending of suffrage, prohibition and politics. In addition, some prominent state women who opposed suffrage had organized and campaigned against the measure.<sup>12</sup>

The 1910 defeat ended the Emma Cranmer-Anna Simmons-Alice Pickler era in the state suffrage organization. Suffragists met in Huron in the summer of 1911 and elected Mrs. John L. Pyle, Huron, president. The organization had changed its name, again, to the South Dakota Universal Franchise League. Pyle insisted that suffrage, prohibition and partisan issues part company. She promoted the slogan, "Get the vote first--then prohibition." The state was divided into four districts, and women were appointed to organize branch leagues within the districts. Directives and strategies were sent

from the state office in Huron.<sup>13</sup>

At the 1911 legislative session, the group encouraged E. A. Sherman of Sioux Falls to introduce a resolution in the House that called for equal suffrage. The resolution said all females over the age of twenty-one were entitled to the full rights then limited to males. The measure was discussed "from all angles" but was defeated thirty to fifty-six.<sup>14</sup>

In November 1911 Governor Robert S. Vessey's stand on suffrage appeared in a New York newspaper.

In my opinion the movement is one that will ultimately win. In the first place I have been unable to find any good reason why men should have the right of suffrage that does not equally apply to women. I have no fear that women would be made less womanly because of the extension to her of this right, and I do believe that it will materially improve the quality of conscience expressed at the ballot box in the country, and also give to women a just and proper consideration in matters pertaining to legislation. In other words, the success of the movement will accomplish much for our government by more adequately equalizing justice in the interests of the entire citizenship.<sup>15</sup>

Despite his approval, the measure could not get past the House or the state's voters that year.

#### 1913-1914 Campaign

In January 1913, Mrs. John Pyle and her district leaders met in Pierre to lobby for suffrage, using a new approach. Instead of buttonholing men in the capitol's corridors, the women reserved a room beside the elevator on the House side. They seated themselves around a conference table and prepared to promote their cause. They had hired a page to deliver notes from Pyle to each legislator.

The legislators, thinking they had been summoned by some important state official, would come to the conference room and be interviewed. They considered it such a good joke that they would say nothing and wait for their neighbor to be summoned. The ladies interviewed nearly all legislators before the men began to compare notes. The procedure became known as "The Campaign of Committee Room Two."<sup>16</sup>

Evidently the system worked. Suffrage was debated on the floor of the Senate. Senator James Mather of Brown County stood and announced that he was unalterably opposed to woman suffrage. When the roll was called, Mather's was the only dissenting vote in the Senate. The measure passed the House easily also.

A suffrage convention was then called in July to plan the rest of the campaign. The weekly suffrage newspaper, the South Dakota Messenger, was resurrected with Ruth B. Hipple, wife of a Pierre publisher, as editor. Adolph Ewert, president of National Bank of Commerce in Pierre, offered the use of a bankrupt newspaper plant to the women from September 1, 1913, to November 1, 1914. The Messenger was to be the chief means of conversion and fund-raising for the suffragists. Although the newspaper never reached the projected 5,000 circulation, it did top the 2,000 mark and engaged in many verbal battles with the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, still an anti-suffrage newspaper.<sup>17</sup>

The political atmosphere in the state seemed ripe for suffrage. H. L. Loucks, Watertown, former president of the Farmer's Alliance and now vice president of the State Grange Patrons of Husbandry,

sent the Messenger a resolution from the organization supporting suffrage. The conservative Republicans endorsed an equal suffrage resolution at their convention in Sioux Falls. The Sioux Falls Press called the actions "significant" and noted that not a single editor attending an Editorial Association meeting in Watertown would admit to opposing suffrage.<sup>18</sup>

The Methodist Conference met in Redfield in October and endorsed woman suffrage; so did the South Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs. Congregational Church representatives and ministers met in the Black Hills in November and adopted a resolution favoring suffrage. Armed with "Votes for Women" pencils and copies of the Messenger, the women canvassed the Teacher's Association meeting in Sioux Falls and Farmer's Day in Huron. They received support everywhere, except from the German-American Alliance, which came out against the amendment. The women coined a new slogan for the campaign, "Under God the People Rule. Women are People."

In 1913 the state had adopted a new method of nominating for primary conventions based on the R. O. Richards' Primary Law. The law required that "in December of the year preceding an election there shall be proposal meetings held at the capital to propose candidates for nomination at the March primaries, each party holding a separate meeting."<sup>19</sup> The suffragists contacted the county proposalmen, hoping for support from both parties, and went to Pierre. Ruth Hipple reported later:

We have just had a most exciting and encouraging time here with our state proposal meetings. The Progressive Republicans

gave us not only one but two planks in their platform; the Democrats gave us a lot of fine speeches and no endorsement and the old time stalwarts made themselves the laughing stock of the whole state by refusing to endorse a suffrage plank but endorsing a temperance plank when they are the faction representing the liquor interests in the state.<sup>20</sup>

In March the Argus-Leader wrote an editorial opposing suffrage and favoring the "anti's" campaign. Mrs. Edith Medbury Fitch of Hurley, leader of the southeast district, answered the Argus-Leader in an article in the Messenger. The "anti's," she explained, were organized as "The Society Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" and flourished in Massachusetts and other eastern states. That group argued, among other claims, that women should not have the vote because they had only five per cent lime in their bodies while men had seven per cent.<sup>21</sup>

The suffragists, intent upon winning, attended a Mississippi Valley Conference on Suffrage in Des Moines at the end of March 1914 to learn special campaign procedures. They returned in time to organize a "Suffrage Holiday" on May 2, an event proposed by the NAWSA for every state. The Pierre suffragists challenged Mrs. Ethel Jacobsen, a reporter for the Pierre Dakotan and a leading "anti," to a debate on the merits of suffrage. Jacobsen refused, however, saying she was too busy caring for her large family and advised the suffragists to do the same.<sup>22</sup>

By now the state had 1,500 precincts and 70,000 voters, and even the Black Hills region, dominated by mining and liquor influences, supported suffrage. The NAWSA distributed captioned cartoon reels, for use as "shorts" in movie theatres, and literature and money for

suffrage rallies. Some of the money came from a "Self-Sacrifice Day," with women donating their day's wages if they worked and gold and silver trinkets if they did not. The jewelry was melted down, converted into bullion and exchanged for money. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw hoped to motivate contributors by offering a prize--a needlebook made from the garnet velvet gown worn by Susan B. Anthony on the important occasions of her life. The "anti's" also stepped up their campaign. Suffragists suspected the group was funded by liquor interests, although the link was never proved.<sup>23</sup>

Shaw spent September in the state. She had come to South Dakota twenty-four years before for the first suffrage campaign and declared that she would not return if the cause failed again. She challenged the men to give women the right to vote.

. . . so they could have the right to say something of the things affecting humanity. I don't care how women vote. I want them to be free. If they vote wrong they will learn. . . Does man think that war means nothing to women? If women had the power to vote, there would be no war. . . What is the matter with South Dakota? South Dakota of all the Union should have been first to recognize justice to women. This state was once the leader in progressive thought. Twenty-five years ago it was advocating ideas which are recognized today as truths of government. . . Don't you women, who have suffered all that a woman must in a pioneer state, feel that you have earned your freedom? And don't you men think it is time to pay up? November 3 is pay day.<sup>24</sup>

It seemed almost certain that suffrage would pass. A poll taken by the NAWSA reported that all the state's congressmen favored suffrage. In addition, the DeSmet News reported:

Out of 400 newspapers in South Dakota not more than 10 openly oppose woman suffrage and at least a number of that 10 are paid for their anti-work.<sup>25</sup>

A poll of women was also taken to refute an "anti" statement that ninety per cent of the state's women opposed suffrage. An Aberdeen canvass said eighty-five per cent of the women favored suffrage. In Pierre three hundred and sixteen favored suffrage, ninety-nine were indifferent and thirty-one opposed it. The Sioux Falls poll showed eighty per cent endorsed suffrage.<sup>26</sup>

November 3, 1914, was the day of decision. The proposed amendment lost by nearly 12,000 votes, a loss blamed on the state's voting immigrants and the influence of the liquor and "anti" interests.<sup>27</sup>

#### 1915-1916 Campaign

Suffrage leaders were not discouraged by their defeat in 1914. Knowing support grew with each campaign, they met in Huron and decided to take the issue to the legislature again the next year. The district plan was abandoned, however, and a county organization adopted.<sup>28</sup>

In January 1915, the suffrage committee asked the legislature for another referendum. The request was granted--in the Senate, twenty-nine to fifteen, and in the House, fifty-seven to forty--in the first two weeks of the session. Later in the session a bill to give women the vote for presidential candidates and county and municipal officers, a bill which needed only legislative approval and not ratification by the state's voters, passed the House but lost in the Senate by six votes.<sup>29</sup>

For the first time, the "anti's" worked actively in the state. They established a headquarters in Pierre with a manager in charge.

Their stock argument remained the same--women do not want the vote. To counter that argument, suffragists polled the counties again. A favorable majority was revealed wherever the poll was carefully taken.

On November 7, when election returns were in from decisive counties, the Associated Press ran a wire story claiming suffrage had passed in South Dakota. The declaration came too soon; when the final count was tallied, suffrage lost by less than 5,000 votes. The loss, according to historical reports, was blamed on the voting German immigrants.<sup>30</sup>



## Chapter 3 Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915) Vol. 3, p. 789.

<sup>2</sup>Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1902) Vol. 4, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup>Kingsbury, p. 790.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 766-770.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Dorinda Riessen Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, 2nd ed., (n.p.: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975), p. 51.

<sup>7</sup>Kingsbury, p. 791.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 766-770.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 791.

<sup>11</sup>Anthony and Harper, p. 585.

<sup>12</sup>Kingsbury, pp. 791-792.

<sup>13</sup>Anthony and Harper, pp. 585-586.

<sup>14</sup>Reed, p. 55.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-58.

<sup>16</sup>Kingsbury, p. 793.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 793-794.

<sup>18</sup>Reed, pp. 59-60.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 63-65 and p. 75.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Reed, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

23Ibid., pp. 77-78.

24Ibid., pp. 78-79.

25Ibid., pp. 79-85.

26Ibid., pp. 86-87.

27Ibid., p. 89.

28Ibid.

29Ibid., p. 92.

30Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage (New York: J. J. Little and Ives Company, 1922) Vol. 6, p. 590.

31Ibid.

32Ibid., p. 591.

## Chapter 4

### 1917-1918 CAMPAIGN FOR SUFFRAGE

Since each successive suffrage campaign brought increased support, suffragists decided to try again in 1917. The legislature was sympathetic and passed the resolution--thirty-one to twelve in the Senate and sixty-six to twenty-seven in the House. But the campaign's future was overshadowed by national events. Shortly after the legislature adjourned and before definite plans for the campaign were completed, the United States entered World War I. The state's suffrage leaders questioned the wisdom of undertaking a campaign which would make demands on the time of women who would also be engaged in war work. After careful deliberation, the women agreed that the war was being fought to keep the "world safe for democracy." Since democracy and freedom were issues in woman suffrage, they decided to continue the campaign but keep organization and woman-power to a minimum.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1918 Governor Peter Norbeck called a special session of the legislature to discuss state affairs--in particular, the clause in the state's constitution relating to citizenship. To make settlement in the new, undeveloped state more attractive, the state constitution's framers had included a clause which gave immigrants the vote without requiring citizenship. Thousands of immigrants had taken out their first papers and filed on government

land but had failed to complete their naturalization. Many of these immigrants were Germans, and the war with Germany had triggered charges of disloyalty and a move to amend that section of the constitution which outlined voter qualifications.<sup>2</sup>

It was the same section of the constitution that the legislature had earlier agreed to submit to the voters. Legislators, at a special session, agreed to combine the two changes into a single amendment. The word 'male' was stricken from the amendment, and naturalization and a five-year residency requirement were added. The amendment became known as the Citizenship Amendment. (See Appendix A and B.) The legislators agreed with Secretary of State Frank M. Rood.

As the law now stands, a subject of the Kaiser may come to South Dakota, reside in the State six months, take out his first papers and vote at all elections, but when war comes, plead that he is an alien, and not be bound to fight for us. A woman, born in South Dakota, educated in the fundamental principles of government, earnestly loyal, sacrificing so much in this world's struggle is denied the ballot. This is not fair or just.<sup>3</sup>

### Politics of the Movement

As far as woman suffrage was concerned, the United States' entry into World War I was perfectly timed. The women's contributions to the war effort strengthened their position at a time when German immigrants were accused of being enemy aliens and the liquor interests were losing ground to growing prohibition sentiment. Because of the way the amendment was worded, men voting against immigrant citizenship rights automatically voted for woman suffrage.

The amendment became part of the state's patriotic war effort. Even the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader was won over.

The war has taught us that we have been quite too generous and slipshod in our bestowal of the right to vote on men who do not understand our system of government, who have not become Americanized, and who when the time of stress comes are disposed to side with the country from which they came instead of the country of their adoption. After this election, we trust that South Dakota will proceed very cautiously in accepting new citizens and that no one will be taken into the family of voting Americans unless he can show himself worthy of this great responsibility.<sup>4</sup>

Don't fail to sort out Amendment E for a favorable vote. It is the amendment which gives suffrage to the women and denies it to the alien. Those who vote "No" on this are voting to give the alien enemy a higher citizenship classification than he is willing to give to the mothers of the boys fighting for liberty in France.<sup>5</sup>

From the Daily Huronite:

As to the right of women to the vote there is no question. They are bearing their share equally with men in the nation's work of making war. They are sacrificing their sons and brothers in the fight in France and they merit the confidence that they have demonstrated their ability to assume when the vote is theirs. . . . The citizenship clause will be a safeguard against disloyalty at the polls, and it will work no hardship on the loyal alien, who is given an opportunity with but little delay to complete his citizenship.<sup>6</sup>

From the Madison Sentinel:

The war had done several pretty big things for us. One of the biggest of these is to awaken us to the value of American citizenship and to the necessity of protecting our elections.

The thing that is of the most vital importance, to any state, is the character of its electorate. Our policies are determined by the voice of our voters; we rest the integrity of our institutions upon their straight thinking and square dealing when it comes to decisions on public questions. To consider such problems fairly and unselfishly, a man should absolutely belong to the community. He should have cast in his lot with the country, establishing an identity of interest what would admit of no cavillation and he should be pledged, by a binding oath, to support the country in war and in

peace. He should have lived in America long enough to learn and to appreciate her system of government; to have passed the experimental stage and know whether or not this country and this government meets his needs and desires and if so, he should have testified thereto, by completing his naturalization. When he has done this and not before, he should be eligible to cast his vote as who shall make and enforce our laws.<sup>7</sup>

Campaign plans had to be made carefully and workers painstakingly rehearsed since the situation was a touchy one. Workers were briefed on the constitutional provisions for voting, the status of aliens, the reasons for putting the citizenship clause in the suffrage amendment and the effect its passage would have on aliens. The suffrage literature and even the posters had to be changed.<sup>8</sup>

The state's populace did not always understand the rationale behind the amendment; it was frequently suggested that woman suffrage and the alien issue should have been separate amendments. To clarify the issue, suffragists circulated a bulletin, To Avoid Misunderstanding. Sections of the bulletin were reprinted in the state newspapers. From the Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times:

It has been suggested that the suffrage amendment and the amendment taking the franchise from aliens not naturalized should have been submitted as separate propositions and not included in one amendment. This seems reasonable, but was in fact impossible. With one amendment to Article 7 already submitted, any proposed amendment to that amendment had to be germane to it. If two separate amendments had been submitted the first would have defined electors as men and women, with the necessary qualifications as to age and residence, who are either citizens or had declared their intention to become such; the other would have defined as electors men who were citizens, either native born or naturalized.

If one of the amendments had carried and the other had failed, the intention of the voters would, of course, have been plain and the effect of the amendment easy to determine, but if both had carried there would then have been two definitions as to who should be an elector, each as conclusive

as the other upon the question involved, and the two so inconsistent that each would destroy the effect of the other. It will thus readily be seen that the amendment to eliminate the word 'male' which has been passed by the regular session of the Legislature could not be amended by one which would pertain only to males. Therefore, in order to submit the anti-alien measure, it was necessary to incorporate it in the already submitted woman suffrage amendment. The amendment known as Amendment E was therefore passed.<sup>9</sup>

Voters were assured that the Senate debated the question for hours before passing it by a unanimous vote; the House voted for it three to one. The suffragists also stressed that they had nothing to do with writing the proposed amendment. In the Rapid City Daily Journal:

With every member of the legislature realizing the importance of the measure, hours of debate were devoted to deciding how to word it in order to make its import clear to the voters. . . . it was feared that two citizenship measures on the same ballot might cause confusion. Should both pass, their terms might even prove contradictory and render both ineffective.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the Council of Defense, a World War I civic organization, wanted the question of loyal alien voters and enemy alien voters cleared immediately. The women circulated a leaflet, Suffrage as a War Measure, to acquaint the populace with the campaign's major issue. State newspapers like the Daily Huronite reprinted sections of the leaflet.

Regret has been expressed by some that a campaign for Amendment E to the constitution of the state be put on at this time. They believe that war work should be the chief and only ambition of every loyal American. This is unquestionably true and the exact reason why loyal citizens of South Dakota should take a vital interest in the passage of this amendment and do everything in his power to bring about a big majority in its favor in November. War work consists of more than knitting and saving stamps. Such a narrow sewing, conserving and buying bonds view should not be entertained for a moment. Consistent legislation is a very vital feature of effective war work, being the bulwark of well organized loyal labor. . . . This is a time of personal responsibility; indifference

never accomplishes any thing. Each has his part of every burden to carry. Let each voter see to it, definitely, that his own and his neighbor's vote is in favor of Amendment E. This is war time. This is a war measure.<sup>11</sup>

Suffragists explained that aliens wanting naturalization could take out their second papers--in fact, were urged to do so--and have the vote before the next election.

Suffragists reserved May and June for circulating petitions among the state's women. The signed petitions from each county would be reprinted and sent with a pamphlet to voters in that county shortly before the election to indicate support for the amendment. Newspapers reprinted the lists too, and the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader's petition challenge of 1889 was finally met. Women throughout the state signed the petitions.<sup>12</sup>

In June and July the suffrage workers gave speeches wherever they could. They called few meetings themselves but attended every organization and club get-together, picnic and Chautauqua in their area and depended on newspaper coverage to keep the issue before the people. One of the state's suffragists wrote to the Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, asking for news coverage. Parts of her letter were reprinted by that newspaper.

I know the power of the press, and feel that in as much as the women of South Dakota are so very active and busy with war work, and that we are not making much of an active campaign, we must rely on the newspapers to keep the matter of Amendment E before the voters. . .<sup>13</sup>

Nettie Rogers Schuler came to the state that summer to help organize workers and to give suffrage schools in Watertown, Aberdeen, Pierre, Deadwood, Mitchell and Sioux Falls. She discussed methods of success,



organization, the press and publicity with county workers. In the

Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times:

They held with rapt attention a goodly number of splendid women for three hours with most convincing arguments why women should have the ballot.

The inspiring thoughts and kindly expressions of these ladies were revealed to the audience of listeners, bent on hearing every word, in the most pleasing and interesting manner possible.<sup>14</sup>

Another national worker, Mrs. Albert McMahon of Washington, D.C., spoke on voter statistics in the state. In the Deadwood Daily

Pioneer-Times:

. . . eligible voters 169,748, and those not wishing to vote 40,000. She advised a systematic and prompt effort in the education of the voters. In a study of the statistics and ancestry by Mrs. Pyle, there are 137,000 of American ancestry, 130,000 German and 56,000 Norwegian ancestry. There is a large proportion of unnaturalized citizens in South Dakota, 119,000, and Americanization of these is necessary, as they have a voice in our government. She dwelt upon the Prussian type of mind, and stated that where these people predominated suffrage suffered the most, and that if the American men would realize these conditions, which are true according to statistics, they would understand the necessity of strong support for suffrage.<sup>15</sup>

Additional help came from the Honorable William Jennings Bryan.

He toured the state's Chautauquas during the summer and spoke on behalf of suffrage. He also publicized the cause in his periodical,

The Commoner, parts of which were reprinted in the Aberdeen Daily News.

There are two requisites for a good voter, morality and intelligence. As the larger majority of women than men pursue their studies beyond the eighth grade, women have the more highly trained intelligence. As the majority of men don't advance above the eighth grade and their teachers for the main part are women, all the instructions that they receive about government are given to them by women.

In considering the moral stand point, in our state of Nebraska, there are 98 per cent more men in the penitentiary than women and a similar proportion prevails throughout the United States. If you go to the churches the per cent is almost reversed. If women are intelligent enough to stay out of the penitentiary and in the churches, it seems they have the qualifications of good voters, regardless of sex.<sup>16</sup>

The Republican and Democratic parties held their state conventions in Sioux Falls on July 2, and both parties endorsed the amendment and made it part of their platforms. The Nonpartisan League, the remains of the Independent Party in the state, met in Mitchell on July 24 and also supported the suffrage amendment. That party's effectiveness was cancelled in August when Attorney General Clarence C. Caldwell of Sioux Falls ruled that the party's ticket could not be included on the November ballot because it had failed to participate in the May primaries.<sup>17</sup>

The Fourth of July celebration in Mitchell had a little added excitement because of the suffragists. They obtained permission to hire an airplane and drop suffrage literature over that city's celebration in Ruskin Park. The group bombarded Watertown several days later during a suffrage meeting.<sup>18</sup>

The women moved their campaign to Huron in September for the State Fair. They set up booths in three different locations--the Beadle County Building, the Women's Building and the Agricultural Building. In the last, they hung a large poster with a picture of the Kaiser about to drop a ballot into a ballot box. "Take the Kaiser's Hand Out of the American Ballot Box" ran across the picture.<sup>19</sup> The poster also ran as an advertisement in some state

newspapers.

The Spanish influenza epidemic slowed the suffrage campaign in the fall. Public gatherings were cancelled all over the state; many suffrage workers were ill. Carrie Chapman Catt bought her train ticket and packed her suitcases when her doctor ordered her to bed. She had planned one last lecture tour through the state but had to send Mrs. Justina L. Wilson, the national recording secretary, instead. (Dorinda Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, gives her name as Mrs. Holsey W. Smith.) Wilson arrived in the state but spoke only in Sioux Falls before public meetings were cancelled by state health authorities. Before she left the state, she wrote to the newspapers and asked them to send her message to South Dakotans for her. In the Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times:

The country was never in need of good citizens as much as today. The President of the United States is calling for the support of honest, intelligent, forward-looking patriotic red-blooded Americans. The appeal has been nationwide and in responding every state has turned to a careful examination of its electorate. In South Dakota this brought to light two points of weakness; aliens were allowed to vote on first papers and the women of South Dakota trained in patriotism and Americanism from the cradle up were barred from the polls. . . . This is known as Amendment E and will be voted on next Tuesday. It is of so great importance to South Dakota and to the Nation that any man who votes thoughtlessly or fails to vote at all is a slacker and a traitor to the cause of democracy.<sup>20</sup>

In October the women mailed pamphlets and copies of the signed petitions to each county's voters. The last days before the election were spent organizing poll watchers. The women expected trouble from the liquor interests, "anti's" and the immigrants--especially in the Black Hills. Henry Schlichting was the brewery lobbyist in

Deadwood and was responsible for much of the area's negative reaction to suffrage. Chambers Keller, a lawyer for Homestake Mine with a large influence among the mine workers, was a southerner and an "anti," even though his wife was the daughter of Mrs. Seth Bullock, Lawrence County's suffrage chairman, and active in the campaign herself.

The suffragists were particularly concerned about trouble at the Deadwood and Lead polls since Lawrence County had never voted in favor of suffrage. Elsie Benedict, a Denver newspaperwoman, was sent by the national organization to watch over the election. Benedict arrived in Deadwood with typewriter in hand. She sent a news release to the Deadwood and Lead newspapers, announcing her arrival, then went to the high school and spoke to the female students, telling them of the struggle for suffrage. She recruited some of them to watch the polls, although she didn't want their presence to be considered "unladylike." Mrs. Cicely J. Tinsley, a white-haired woman living at the Franklin Hotel, offered to "supervise and protect" the high school girls, saying her presence would lend "respect to the situation." Meanwhile, Benedict had arranged for a car and a driver. Mrs. William Neal of Deadwood furnished the car and recruited her son, Stanton, to drive it. They decorated the car with yellow streamers and "Votes for Women" signs and cruised back and forth between Deadwood and Lead to check election returns. For the first time, suffrage carried in Lawrence County--by 343 votes.<sup>21</sup>

The 1918 election was a different story for the entire state.

The amendment carried by 20,384 votes--a sixty-four per cent majority. After seven campaigns and nearly fifty years, women were granted the right to vote in South Dakota. (See Appendix C.)

In a report to the national organization's executive board, Mrs. Albert McMahon, one of the national workers sent to South Dakota, described the campaign.

What won the State? Persistent, intensive, quiet work. We had few meetings of our own but we used those of everyone else, from women's aid societies to Rotary clubs, political rallies and Fourth of July celebrations. We did not plan parades, but wherever patriotic sentiment expressed itself through a parade we were in it. We circularized the voters in groups again and again--lawyers, businessmen, farmers, etc., with literature adapted to each group. We circulated a petition and 95 per cent of the women to whom it was presented signed it. We sent every organizer we could command into delinquent counties, having the cooperation of the local women. In the evening street meetings were held. The workers left literature in every home and posters placarded on every wall space. They left suffrage stories with the newspapers and the spoken word in the ear of all who would listen and they left the morale of the local workers at high water mark. . . . All political parties endorsed the amendment, Republicans and Democrats making it a part of their platforms. . . . South Dakota State women will perhaps never realize how much they owe to Mrs. John L. Pyle, president, who gave herself absolutely to the winning of their political freedom. She was at her desk from early in the morning until 11 o'clock and later at night. Nothing was allowed to stand in the way of her complete service. The best there was in her she gave to the cause and she has the gratitude of those for whom and with whom she worked. . . . The whole structure rested on the county workers. There was never a Fair that was not covered nor a Teachers' nor a Farmers' Institute nor a political meeting. Everywhere that voters gathered, there they were.<sup>22</sup>

After the legislature met in January 1919, Mrs. Mae Billingham of Pierre, the northeast district chairman, wrote to state president Mrs. John Pyle.

Yesterday when two young women were sworn in as proof reader and bill clerk in the House nearly the whole body applauded.

The first time in the history of the State for women to apply for such places, I could not help but wonder if they realized who made it possible for them to attain those places. As I glanced around at the older suffrage women looking on I imagined I could see in their faces happiness and then sadness and a far away look that told of the long struggle.<sup>23</sup>

#### The National Woman Suffrage Amendment

The state's passage of the Citizenship Amendment was not the last chapter in the struggle for woman suffrage in South Dakota. When Congress adopted the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919, South Dakota suffragists wanted the state to be one of the first to ratify.

South Dakota's proposal law required political parties to hold proposal meetings at the capital in December preceding an election year. Governor Peter Norbeck, although reluctant to call a special session, agreed to the suffragists' plan if the legislators would come to Pierre at their own expense. Most were coming anyway for the proposal meetings, so the special session was set for Tuesday, December 3, at 7:00 P.M. The call was issued after 3:00 P.M. on Saturday; telephone and telegraph wires were busy over the weekend spreading the news. One legislator rushed home to Huron from Minneapolis, called his wife to tell her to send his suitcase after him and just caught the train to Pierre. Another used three automobiles getting to the train from his home during a heavy blizzard.<sup>24</sup>

Legislators wanted to ratify the amendment as quickly as possible, so the resolution was introduced in both houses at the same time and the first and second readings were completed that evening. The

resolution was referred to committee and the legislature adjourned until the next day. The session was called to order the next day--at 12:01 A.M.--and the national amendment was ratified by unanimous vote at 12:44 A.M. on December 4, 1919. It was the first time the legislature convened in the middle of the night, but members were anxious to get home because of the weather, and trains left in both directions from Pierre at 2:00 A.M.<sup>25</sup>

### Newspaper Coverage

By the seventh campaign, most of the state's newspapers had joined the suffragists' bandwagon. In January 1918 the suffragists sent a letter to the newspapers asking for their assistance. By April, 134 newspapers had indicated a willingness to use material donated by the national organization, and many other newspapers supported the movement on their editorial pages. In addition, 225 newspapers were receiving the Woman Citizen, the national suffrage publication, through the state suffrage office. The state office also appealed to county chairmen to thank newspaper editors who carried the national suffrage material. (See Appendix D.) Those who did not were reminded that the material had been missed.<sup>26</sup>

Late in July the national organization began to provide even more suffrage material to the state's newspapers. They sent two-column articles to 270 newspapers by August 20, October 1 and October 20.<sup>27</sup> (See Appendix E.)

Mrs. Albert McMahon explained the role of the newspapers in her report to the national executive board.

Ninety-eight per cent of the newspapers were favorable and in spite of the paper shortage and the demand for war publicity they never failed the women. In addition to news stories, editorials, etc., they universally used the plate material which the National Association furnished. As much as any other thing, perhaps, this plate material helped win the campaign.<sup>28</sup>

Mrs. Ruth Hipple, editor of the South Dakota Messenger in 1913-1914, was in charge of coordinating publicity throughout the last campaign.

Most newspapers supported the issue, although a few--like the Aberdeen Daily News--were still undecided.

. . . the fact that comparatively few women attended the school of methods conducted by the suffragist leaders in Aberdeen two days this week should not be taken as an argument against equal suffrage.

Some of the arguments of the leaders of the suffrage movement, at the meeting here, are difficult, however, for a mere man to comprehend. One of the speakers is said to have insisted that equal suffrage, through a joint resolution by congress submitting a suffrage amendment to the federal constitution to the state for ratification, is just as essential a piece of win-the-war work as Red Cross work and similar movements. The suffrage leaders, as the News understands the plan of campaign, proposes to conscript the interest of congress in the movement by organizing the states, counties, towns, wards and blocks, culminating in a house to house canvass for signatures to petitions favoring the adoption of the resolution, with which congress will be bombarded.

The News isn't disposed to argue the merits or demerits of equal suffrage. It realizes that the movement is destined to be successful, and that very soon. But it does question the necessity, as a "win-the-war" movement, of the suffrage leaders' plan to have several thousand women devote considerable time to making a house to house canvass in behalf of suffrage, when the Red Cross is clamoring for more workers.<sup>29</sup>

A few newspapers were still openly against suffrage. The Pierre Capital-Journal took the Pierre Dakotan to task for its attack on a Red Cross nurse campaigning for suffrage in Pierre.

The Dakotan on Saturday night had an exceedingly unwarranted if not treasonable attack under the Espionage Act on the Red



Cross nurse, Miss Miller, who spoke at the Methodist church last night. . . . The Dakotan is unfortunate, being about the only paper in America, or perhaps the world, that allows itself to be malignant in attacking equal suffrage. Any person of reasonable discretion should be able to read the trend of the times and observe the march of civilization, which includes among its foremost reforms the granting of suffrage to women. . . . The Dakotan will be a valuable attraction in the archives of the historical society in future years as being the most striking example of bull headed newspaperdom that existed in the days when final reforms began to take permanent hold.<sup>30</sup>

That attack was picked up by the Sioux Falls Press and expanded to draw attention to the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader's editorial turn-about on suffrage.

Thus we see that the Pierre Dakotan, which always in the past walked arm in arm with the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader in the latter's fight against everything progressive and modern in politics and economics, is trailing a bit behind. The instant the special session of the legislature joined two issues together in the equal suffrage amendment in such a way that the amendment is bound to carry this fall, our neighbor, the Argus-Leader, scrambled up on the equal suffrage bandwagon. The Dakotan thus far has been trotting along in the dust beneath trying to do something to the running gear. It begins to look as though that paper will not become a fervent advocate of equal suffrage until the amendment has passed.

Both the Pierre Dakotan and the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader waited until the prohibition amendment has passed against their very active opposition before they became friendly to prohibition. Then they both became terribly fond of it. Although the Argus-Leader was the chief organ of the liquor interests for many years, a connection that terminated the day after the election in which prohibition was adopted, and the Pierre Dakotan served as a lesser organ and its editor, it was said, as financial agent of the liquor interests, both these merry gentlemen have since persistently claimed that the really genuine prohibition we have now is a gift of theirs to the people of South Dakota, a thing we would not have but for their efforts.

After next November's election, both papers, we assume, will solemnly claim that they, and they alone, brought the blessings of equal suffrage to the women of South Dakota.<sup>31</sup>

It is difficult to document exactly when the newspapers in South Dakota experienced their change of heart about suffrage without

studying accounts of all the campaigns. The Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times attributed part of the change to President Woodrow Wilson's own change of heart and World War I.

Events are stronger than opinions. The pressure of events has changed President Wilson from an unfriendly attitude towards suffrage to a state of tolerance, then sympathy, then active help in state campaigns, and now finally unqualified support for national suffrage. If it were possible to discover and sound the "average American," it would probably be found that his mind has changed in about the same way.

The war has changed everything. Or rather, the war has hastened everything in the way of social and political evolution. It has given the women of the United States a chance to prove their fitness for the franchise. They have proven it beyond cavil, by public service and devotion for which men cannot help paying them homage.<sup>32</sup>

The Pierre Capital-Journal noted the lack of editorial support for the amendments in general and suffrage in particular.

The press of the state is still very generally dodging expression on the pending constitutional amendments. It may be that the average editor like ourselves will vote yes on all these amendments, but a whole lot of people in this state formed the habit of not voting on amendments or voting no. As a matter of their practicality, all the amendments submitted affect the individual resident of the state directly in every day life. And for that reason, we believe there should be a universal rally to vote yes on everything.<sup>33</sup>

Certainly more letters-to-the-editor and more news coverage of suffrage appeared in the state's newspapers than ever before. But much of the copy that appeared in the newspapers was similar, if not identical in content, indicating it was part of the plate material coming from the national office. Few original editorials appeared in the newspapers. The exception was the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader. Once the newspaper decided to support suffrage, its editorial page carried several lengthy "Vote Yes" articles.

This newspaper many months ago announced its intention to give the equal suffrage amendment its cordial support. This editor has reached this conclusion because from his observation of the patriotic work and the sane and level attitude of the women of this state, during the time this country has been in war, he has become fully convinced that the state needs these women as voting citizens. We believe that in this state it will be shown beyond question that a majority of the women want the ballot and we believe it to be equally true that the men will on election day show that they are disposed to grant this wish.<sup>34</sup>

Don't vote indiscriminately against all of the amendments on the special ballot. A vote "no" at this time is indefensible. Amendment E which provides for equal suffrage and which denies to aliens the right to vote until they have become full citizens of the United States is entitled to a decision on its merits.

In looking over the special ballot, you will find the full citizenship amendment under the letter E. It proposes to give women the right to vote in this state, and to withhold that right from aliens who have not completed the process of becoming full citizens of the United States. This newspaper would urge upon voters to sort out this amendment from the bad company which it is forced to keep and to give it a vote. There are twelve different submissions and the obligation on the voter to cast a discriminating ballot is a heavy one.<sup>35</sup>

News coverage of the suffrage movement rarely moved from the inside, editorial pages to the front page--except when President Wilson issued an appeal for national suffrage. Since few suffrage meetings were held, almost no meeting announcements or texts of speeches appeared in the newspapers. On the other hand, front pages and many inside pages were devoted to war news--war bonds, the Spanish influenza, casualty lists, enlistments, the sugar shortage and letters from servicemen in France. Certainly more and longer editorials were written on those topics than were written on suffrage.

In the years since 1889, where this study began, newspapers had

incorporated the use of cartoons and caricatures. The beginnings of today's comic strips can be seen in several publications. But most caricatures were of Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm and were unconnected to the suffrage movement. Advertisements were still aimed at the female buyer, but they had become more sophisticated in the intervening years. Advertisements in 1918 closely resembled today's advertisements, with product sketches and large, eye-catching headlines.

Women's columns had arrived, but most articles were devoted to canning (saving sugar), baking (saving flour) or Red Cross work in the area. Fashion also occupied space in the women's columns, which seems odd in view of the nation's preoccupation with the war.

By 1918, most newspapers supported the suffrage movement and thought it would pass but were too concerned about the war to devote much original thought to it. They were content to use the prepared copy fed them by the national office and to devote their creativity to defeating the Kaiser. Like the suffrage leaders, the newspapers seemed relieved when suffrage finally passed.

From the Pierre Capital-Journal:

It is almost certain that the women of South Dakota are now qualified voters and that hundreds of men who have only taken out their first papers are disqualified and will be unable to vote at any special or general election until they become full-fledged citizens. This is going to affect a whole lot of fellows who have lived here many years, some of them being large property owners who have enjoyed both the voting and office holding privilege in the past. It means that in the future a person to vote in this state must be an American. At first thot (sic), many may think this applies chiefly to Germans, but as a matter of fact it would undoubtedly be discovered that there are many more British and Scandinavian

subjects who have only first papers than there are Germans. At any rate, they will all have to walk up and take the oath of allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, if they want to be considered citizens in this state hereafter. In the meantime, a future office-seeker might as well commence to cultivate the acquaintance of the ladies. We now have woman suffrage off our hands as far as being a controversy. The state had adopted enough amendments to keep most everybody busy so far as reforming things is concerned for a long time to come.<sup>36</sup>

## Chapter 4 Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage (New York: J. J. Little and Ives Company, 1922) Vol. 6, p. 591.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 592
- <sup>3</sup>Dorinda Riessen Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, 2nd ed., (n.p.: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975), p. 98.
- <sup>4</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, October 25, 1918.
- <sup>5</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, October 30, 1918.
- <sup>6</sup>Daily Huronite, October 22, 1918.
- <sup>7</sup>Madison Sentinel, October 22, 1918.
- <sup>8</sup>Reed, p. 97.
- <sup>9</sup>Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, August 17, 1918.
- <sup>10</sup>Rapid City Daily Journal, June 15, 1918.
- <sup>11</sup>Daily Huronite, June 27, 1918.
- <sup>12</sup>Harper, p. 593.
- <sup>13</sup>Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, October 4, 1918.
- <sup>14</sup>Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, June 16, 1918.
- <sup>15</sup>Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, June 16, 1918.
- <sup>16</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, July 15, 1918.
- <sup>17</sup>Madison Sentinel, August 10, 1918.
- <sup>18</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, June 28, 1918 and Watertown Public Opinion, July 8, 1918.
- <sup>19</sup>Reed, p. 108.
- <sup>20</sup>Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times, November 2, 1918.
- <sup>21</sup>Reed, pp. 110-111.
- <sup>22</sup>Harper, pp. 592-594.

<sup>23</sup>Reed, p. 113.

<sup>24</sup>Harper, p. 595.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Reed, p. 105.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Harper, p. 593.

<sup>29</sup>Aberdeen Daily News, June 7, 1918.

<sup>30</sup>Pierre Capital-Journal, August 5, 1918.

<sup>31</sup>Pierre Capital Journal, August 9, 1918.

<sup>32</sup>Deadwood Daily Pioneer Times, June 20, 1918.

<sup>33</sup>Pierre Capital-Journal, September 26, 1918.

<sup>34</sup>Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, October 25, 1918.

<sup>35</sup>Sioux Falls Argus Leader, October 28, 1918.

<sup>36</sup>Pierre Capital-Journal, November 11, 1918.

## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Woman suffrage was a standing question before both the territorial and state legislatures of South Dakota for nearly fifty years. As early as 1872 the territorial legislature came within one vote of enfranchising women. The Honorable G. C. Moody, chairman of the territorial committee dealing with the legislation, cast the deciding vote. Although he later became a champion of suffrage, his vote set the stage for one of the state's longest political struggles.

When South Dakota was granted statehood in November 1889, the new constitution did not contain a suffrage plank. It did, however, contain a provision that "the Legislature should at its first session after admission of the State into the Union submit to a vote of the electors at the next general election, the question of whether the word 'male' should be stricken from the article of the constitution relating to elections and the right of suffrage."

That provision prompted a series of seven formal campaigns to secure the vote for women--an issue not put aside until full voting rights were granted in 1918 with the passage of Amendment E, the Citizenship Amendment. That amendment gave women the right to vote, although it excluded the foreign-born.

Although details of the South Dakota campaigns are recorded in several recognized historical volumes, the irony of the struggle



is not. In 1918, when South Dakota women were enfranchised, they were enfranchised not because of the merit of their cause, but because woman suffrage had become part of the state's wartime measures. There was strong state sentiment against the Germans, who did have voting rights in the state. (Immigrants could vote in South Dakota after filing "first papers," which indicated an interest in becoming naturalized, but without ever completing the naturalization process.)

#### Newspaper Coverage of First and Last Campaigns

Newspaper coverage of the suffrage movement changed considerably between the first and last campaigns. In 1889, only three of the ten newspapers reviewed--Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer News, Madison Sentinel, Watertown Public Opinion--actively supported the suffrage movement. By 1918 all the reviewed newspapers had joined the suffrage bandwagon with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

South Dakota newspapers and newspaper editors of 1889-1890 were not crusaders for equality and suffrage. Their contributions to the first woman suffrage campaign were those of omission, not commission. It must be remembered, however, that it was an era of strong newspaper partisanship, and at that time, one political party, the Republican, was openly against the movement. The other two, the Democratic and the Independent, were less obvious but not much more supportive.

The campaigning suffragists had converted women to wanting the vote, but the influential institutions of the day, and that included the press, were not solidly behind the movement. The state's editors did not keep the suffrage issue before their readers. The crusading

done by editors, with the exception of the three newspapers already named, was confined to other issues--the location of the capital, the census, the railroads, artesian wells and irrigation, prohibition and original package.

The space that suffrage occupied in newspapers was generally on the inside pages, buried in editorial comments and short, folksy news items. Most of the news items were speech and meeting announcements and coverage. On occasion a newspaper would print the text of a suffrage speech, but such times were rare, especially in Republican newspapers. And most of the newspapers were Republican.

A newspaper's most effective means of editorial support--the editorial pages and letters-to-the-editor--was not used by South Dakota editors to promote suffrage in 1889-1890, for most editors were not pro-suffrage. The suffrage leaders in the state did not make a practice of feeding articles and letters-to-the-editor into the newspapers. Or if the articles were sent, they were never used, although neither editors nor historians make any reference to such newspaper use. Evidently the women did not fully recognize the power of the press in that first campaign.

By the seventh campaign, most of the state's newspapers were suffrage supporters, although with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The national suffrage office was supplying suffrage copy and advertisements to some 134 newspapers in the state. In addition, 225 newspapers were receiving the Woman Citizen, the national suffrage publication, through the state suffrage office. The suffragists had

recognized, in the intervening years, the power newspaper editors held and kept them supplied with suffrage advertisements and copy.

Certainly more letters-to-the-editor and more news coverage of suffrage appeared in the state's newspapers in 1918 than had appeared in 1889. The suffragists' newspaper campaign was thorough and organized. But much of the copy that appeared in the newspapers was similar, if not identical in content, indicating it was part of the plate material coming from the national office. Few original editorials appeared in the newspapers, especially as election day approached.

Even in the last campaign, news coverage of the suffrage movement rarely moved from the inside, editorial pages to the front page, except when President Woodrow Wilson issued an appeal for national suffrage. Since few suffrage meetings were held because of the influenza epidemic, almost no meeting announcements or texts of speeches appeared in the newspapers. On the other hand, front pages and many inside pages were devoted to war news--war bonds, the Spanish influenza, casualty lists, enlistments, the sugar shortage and letters from servicemen in France. Certainly more and longer original editorials were written on those topics than were written on suffrage.

In the years that followed 1889, newspapers had incorporated the use of cartoons and caricatures. Most caricatures were of Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm and were unconnected to the suffrage movement. Women's columns had also arrived, but most articles were

devoted to canning (saving sugar), baking (saving flour) or Red Cross work--all wartime measures.

By 1918 most newspapers supported the suffrage movement and thought it would pass but were too concerned about the war to devote much original thought to it. They were content to use the prepared copy fed them by the national suffrage office and to devote their creativity to defeating the Kaiser. Like the suffrage leaders, the newspapers seemed relieved when suffrage finally passed.

It is difficult to document exactly when the newspapers in South Dakota experienced their change of heart about suffrage, since coverage of only the first and last campaigns is included in this thesis. Certainly part of the change can be attributed to President Wilson's own change of heart and his support of national suffrage. But most of the change has to be attributed to World War I. As soon as suffrage became linked with the war and the defeat of the Germans, it was on the road to passage.

#### Further Study

A number of possibilities for further research have been suggested by this study of newspaper coverage of the first and last suffrage campaigns. The newspaper coverage of the middle years, especially the 1913-1914 and 1915-1916 campaigns, should be reviewed to discover exactly when newspaper editors changed their views on suffrage.

This state's newspaper coverage could be compared to the coverage given suffrage in other states, particularly those midwestern states

which adopted suffrage without much debate in the 1880s and 1890s.

The similarity between the struggle to pass the Citizenship Amendment and the current struggle over upholding or rescinding the Equal Rights Amendment in South Dakota suggests the possibility of comparing newspaper coverage of the amendments. Certainly newspaper coverage of such issues has changed in the intervening fifty years.

Research in any of these areas would increase the understanding of the power held by newspapers and newspaper editors when controversial issues are being decided by voters.

## Appendix A

## SAMPLE BALLOT--AMENDMENT E

From Yankton County, South Dakota, November 5, 1918

## Amendment E

A joint resolution Amending Senate Joint Resolution No. 4, Chapter 159 of the Session Laws of the State of South Dakota for 1917 and Proposing and Agreeing to an Amendment of Section 1 of Article 7 of the Constitution of the State of South Dakota, Relating to the Right of Suffrage and the Submitting the Same to a Vote of the People. The purpose and legal effect of the proposed amendment, the title of which is printed above, as explained by the Attorney General, are as follows:

(1) To give to women the right and privilege of voting at all elections on equal terms with men. The constitutional provision now in force limits the right of suffrage, at all except school elections, to males.

(2) To extend the period of residence required of an elector in this state from one year in the United States, six months in the state, thirty days in the county and ten days in the election precinct, as the constitution now provides, to five years in the United States, one year in this State, ninety days in the County and thirty days in the election precinct.

(3) As to persons of foreign birth, it limits the right of suffrage to those who have actually become naturalized citizens; whereas the constitutional provision now in force grants the right of suffrage to persons of foreign birth who have declared their intention to become citizens conformably to the laws of the United States upon the subject of naturalization.

The purpose and legal effect of the said proposed amendment are to change Section I of Article VII of the Constitution, as above stated.

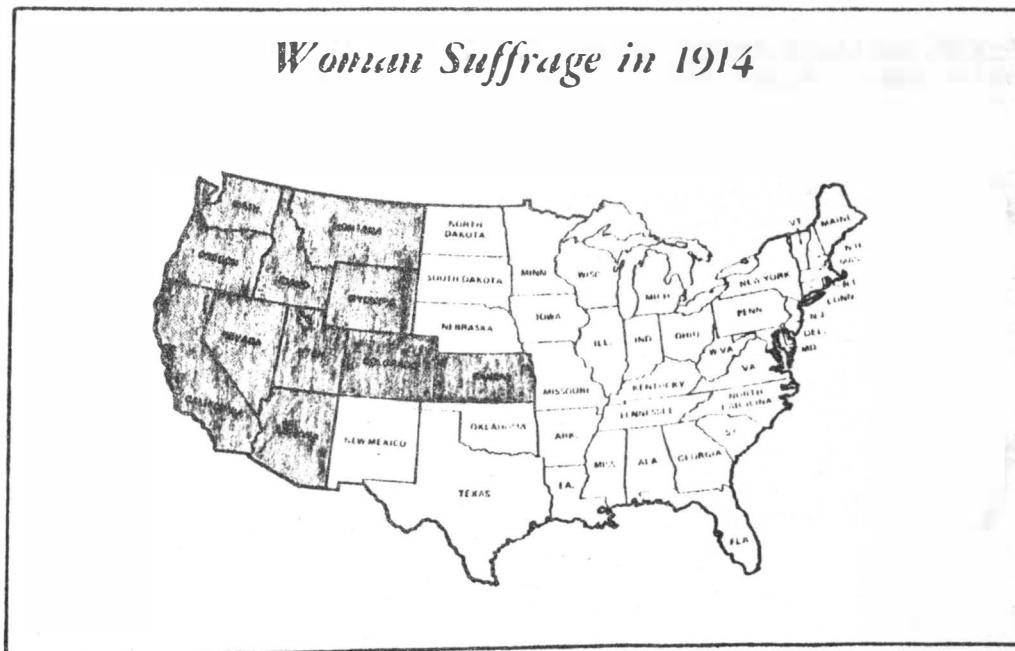
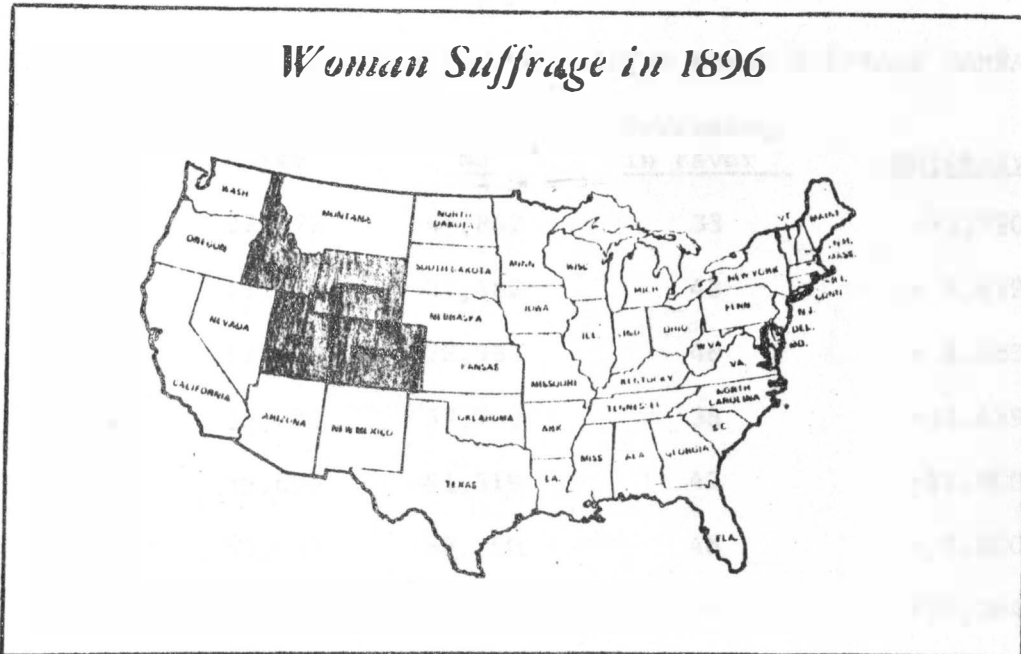
YES

NO

Shall the above amendment to the constitution be approved and ratified?

## Appendix B

## PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES



Reprinted from Larson, T. A., "Woman Suffrage in Western America"  
Utah Historical Quarterly, 38:10-11, Winter 1970, pp. 14-15.

## Appendix C

## ELECTION RESULTS OF SOUTH DAKOTA'S SEVEN WOMAN SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGNS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percentage in Favor</u>	<u>Majority</u>
1890	22,072	45,862	33	-23,790
1894	17,010	22,682	43	- 5,672
1898	19,698	22,983	46	- 3,285
1910	35,290	57,709	38	-22,419
1914	39,605	51,519	42	-12,000
1916	53,432	58,350	48	- 5,000
1918	49,318	28,934	64	+20,384

Reprinted from Dorinda Riessen Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, 2nd ed., (n.p.: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975) p. 117.



## Appendix D

## SOUTH DAKOTA NEWSPAPERS THAT RECEIVED NAWSA NEWSPAPER COPY IN 1918

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>City</u>
American	Aberdeen	Enterprise	Edgemont
Clarion	Avon	Press	Forest City
Chronicle	Ashton	Times	Ft. Pierre
Commonwealth	Artesian	Free Press	Frederick
Herald	Armour	Advocate	Fulton
Herald	Alexandria	Advertiser	Fairfax
Union	Alcester	Sentinel	Forestburg
Sun	Arlington	Independent	Groton
Advocate	Blunt	Times	Gregory
Republican	Beresford	Citizen	Geddes
Register	Brookings	Observer	Gayville
Marshall Co. Journal	Britton	News	Garretson
Globe	Bradley	Tribune	Garden City
Pioneer	Bowdle	Chief	Gann Valley
Gregory Co. Pilot	Bonesteel	Advance	Govert
Herald	Bruce	Journal	Harrold
Gazette	Burke	Hustler	Hermosa
Minnehaha	Baltic	Press	Herrick
Pilot Review	Clark	Bulletin	Highmore
Clipper	Canistota	Democrat	Howard
Herald	Canova	Press	Howard
Democrat	Chamberlain	Journal	Humboldt
News	Conde	Huronite	Huron
Columbian	Columbia	Herald	Hayti
Argus	Colman	Index D	Interior
Pioneer	Coal Springs	Democrat	Ipswich
Farmers-Leader	Canton	Prairie Sun	Kennebec
Soo Valley News	Canton	Star	Kimball
Republican	Castlewood	Chronicle-Blade	Letcher
Hustler	Capa	Signal	Lemmon
Courier	Clark	Leader	Lebanon
Democrat	Draper	Call	Lead
News	DeSmet	Pioneer News	Lane
Pioneer-Times	Deadwood	Bulletin	Mobridge
News	Dallas	Messenger	Martin
Record	Elkton	Mail	Midland
Herald	Elk Point	Herald-Advance	Milbank
Enterprise	Emery	Press	Miller
Express	Egan	Sun	Miller
Enterprise	Ethan	Clarion	Mitchell

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>City</u>
Gazette	Mitchell	Sentinel	Southwick
News	Mt. Vernon	Journal	Sorum
Globe	McIntosh	March	Sulphur
Mirror	McLaughlin	Postal Card	Stickney
News	Newell	Times	Springfield
Record	New Effington	Enterprise	Spearfish
News	Newark	Republican	South Shore
Journal	Okaton	Citz. Rep.	Scotland
Leader	Olivet	Pioneer-Reg.	Salem
Press-Leader	Parker	Hand Co. News	St. Lawrence
Pilot	Peever	Advance	Veblen
Review	Philip	Enterprise	Viborg
Tribune	Platte	Standard	Vienna
Courant	Quinn	Wave	Vivian
Record	Reliance	Reporter & Farmer	Webster
Review	Ree Heights	Monitor	Wakonda
Press	Redig	Herald	Watertown
Journal Observer	Redfield	Times	Wessington
Gazette	Raymond	Leader	White
Journal	Rapid City	Standard	White Lake
Guide	Rapid City	Herald	Woonsocket
Reville	Roscoe	Enterprise	Worthing
Record	Rockham	Dakota Herald	Yankton
Record	Selby	Echo	Yale

Reprinted from Dorinda Riessen Reed, Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota, 2nd ed., (n.p.: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975) pp. 124-125.

Appendix E

NEWSPAPER COPY AND ADVERTISEMENTS SENT BY NAWSA

TO SOUTH DAKOTA NEWSPAPERS IN 1918

**Pinkham's Compound Health.**

was very weak, shed, and I felt y most of the I went to a or and he said d nervous indio- tion, which ad- to my weak lition kep me rying most of time — and he if I could not that, I could get well. I rdsomuchabout ia E. Pinkham's getable Com- ted me to try it. felt a little bet- ee months, and anything now usness." — Mrs. rth Taylor St.,

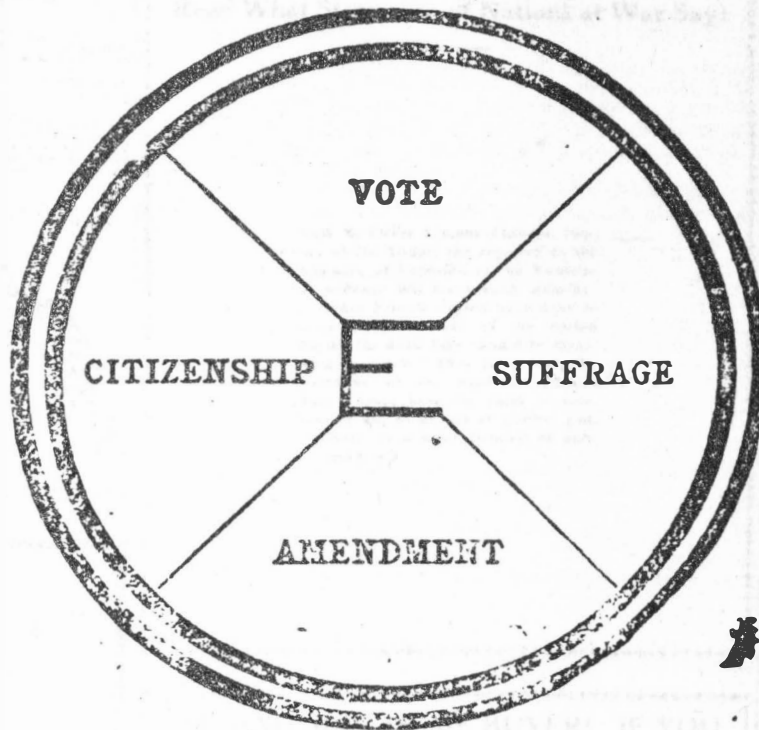
hers nowadays many demands ngth; the result ned, run-down, cadaches, back- epression — and nients develop. fe that Lydia E. Compound will y condition, as

**TO MASTER**

Talks Rapidly Different ion.

hard to get used the English and e English Tom- d have a vastly n." wrote Ser neson, in a let- tends here, tells s at the front izzles the Yan- value of coins ents, he said, nge. "But the all that is com-

**VOTE FOR AMENDMENT E—  
AMERICANISM AND SUFFRAGE**



**AMENDMENT E  
TO BE VOTED ON NOVEMBER 6**

**Chapter 31.**

Every person resident of this state who shall be of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, not otherwise disqualified, belonging to either of the following classes, who shall have resided in this United States five years, in this state one year, in the county ninety days and in the election precinct where such person offers his vote, thirty days next preceding any election, shall be a qualified elector at such election.

First: Citizens of the United States.

Second: Persons of foreign birth who have become naturalized citizens conformably to the laws of the United States upon the subject of naturalization.

port of a vote's they wish, design person they wish but if the name g us receiving the lisher reserves th subscription to so offer boy or noble lonly for laws folks.

The name of this home paper lished in this new of everyone enter will be published ber of those retain tions have not be

If the amount shall be more thn the paper to ex- town now in the nce will be tur- Cross.

The plan is er lisher of this me thought of profit, directly, but will help keep the bo- to send to our news of our town warns for us, an- the country, and

The plan is er make a profit on- ficially and then- circulate it, and- far across the sea- value to the active

These plans are- cont- but we can- control and press t-

The motto is st- in, and by the- that respect an- and there is no- from blue to good- the heart, the tot- and honors the W- of their blood, th- home, to their con- has lost its mean- has the- there is- phony, and no pla- mides it be with- brave souls in far- for list a word o- not be a man, th- name, no, it eye- fail to see, it ate- the law, of th- Not only, but in-

THE DAILY HURONITE

BY THE BOWEN PUBLISHING CO.



Entered at the Postoffice at Huron, M. D., every afternoon, as second class mail matter.

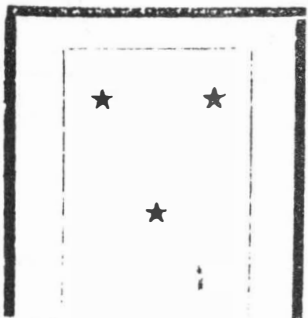
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Huronite's Service Flag



# Should American Women Be Enfranchised As a War Measure?

Read What Statesmen of Nations at War Say:

Said M. Pierre-Etienne Flandin, Deputy of the Youngs, the reporter to the Chamber of Deputies, of the Municipal Suffrage Bill for French women:

"What French women have done to keep up the courage of the nation during the dark days cannot be measured in words. They have been the backbone of the national defense. They should have the right to vote, first of all, as an act of justice, and, secondly, as a move dictated by public interest."

## MR. AND MRS. HOME BUYER! IF YOU WANT A GOOD NEAT, ALMOST NEW HOME

at a moderate price, and choice location, here it is SIX ROOMS, with bath, good basement, all modern except

registration of youths below years of age since June 6th present year. These young men of the war department become liable under the selective draft and they will be class indicated or deferred according to their status as was employed since of the earlier registration.

Tomorrow's registration is to do a little new money which is not so a law of only those young men who reached the majority since the registration will be a little more important. Some local events will be held at the same time as the registration of the young men will be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning.

WSS

The state committee of the young men of the war department is to be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning.

WSS

Most of the young men of the war department are to be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning.

WSS

The registration of the young men of the war department is to be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning. The registration of the young men will be held in the morning.

WSS

Notice  
 W. J. Bowen and Sons  
 Huron, Mich.

JING, OCTOBER 7, 1918

## and the War

(Department of Agriculture)

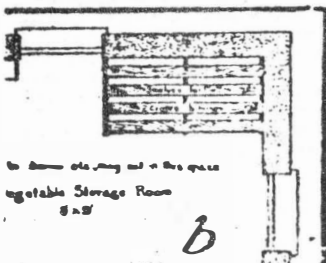
### YOUR HOME GARDEN

ferable to built-in bins, as it is sible to remove them for cleaning.

#### Using Outside Cellars

Outdoor storage cellars or caves are particularly good for the storage of vegetables. They are especially irable on the farm, as they afford venient and inexpensive storage illies for surplus vegetables that ewise might be lost. They posse all the advantages of the base- at storage room and are superior many respects. It is possible to p the cellar cool and to reduce perature quickly by opening it r, during the night, and closing it the morning before the air becomes m.

As the root cellar must be proof inst frost and moisture, its type l construction vary with the geo- pical location. In the southern tion of this country the structure ally is entirely above ground and



to show etc. and in the case  
vegetable Storage Room  
B

## Women's Splendid Service Saved the Allied Cause—The Woman Question a War Question —LLOYD GEORGE

Premier Lloyd George (to the Allied Women's Congress at Paris a few weeks ago):

"If it had not been for the splendid manner in which the women came forward to work in the hospitals and munition factories, in administrative offices of all kinds and in war work behind the lines, often in daily danger of their lives, Great Britain and, I believe, all the Allies would have been unable to withstand the enemy attacks of the last few months.

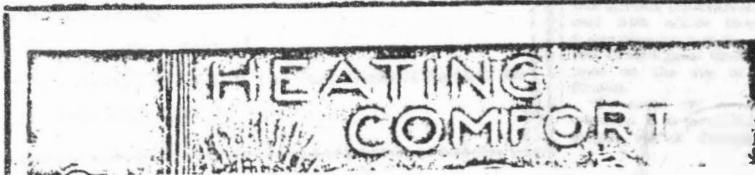
"In the past I have heard it said that women were unfit to vote because they would be weak when it came to understanding the issues and bearing the strain of a great war. My experience in South Wales last week is what has confirmed me in the belief that the women there understand perfectly what is at stake in this war.

"To them this war is a crusade for righteousness and gentleness, and they do not mean to make peace until the Allies have made it impossible for another carnival of violence to befall mankind.

"This war began in order that force and brutality might crush out freedom among men. Its authors cannot have foreseen that one of its main effects would be to give women a commanding position and influence in the public affairs of the world."

On an earlier occasion Premier Lloyd George said:

"Women's work in the war has been a vital contribution to our success. It would have been impossible to produce that overwhelming mass of ammunition at the Somme had it not been for the work of women. Are you going to fling them out without a voice in determining the new conditions? It would be an outrage. That is why the woman question has become very largely a war question."



Reprinted from Yankton Press and Dakotan, October 7, 1918.

and the... and the...

That the... of the territory...

An allied diplomat says of the arrival of the British forces in the marsh region...

One of the most significant indications of Germany's waning power is the flight of the German embassy from Pskov...

— W.S.S. —

The Job Outlined

America has got her sleeves rolled up and the people never were so united as they are now in attacking the work of winning the war...

It is known that there is little expectation of ending the war this year. A high government official has outlined the program that is expected to win:

"Maximum man power in Europe by next summer.

"Mammoth allied drive as soon as possible thereafter, surpassing in size and force anything previously attempted with the view of inflicting decisive defeat on the German army.

"Peace bid from Germany late in 1918, and sufficient guarantees from her to make possible an armistice.

"Signing of the peace treaty in the winter of 1919 or early in 1920."

The public has been taken into the confidence of the military leaders and already the effect is becoming apparent.

part of the... that it be made... HURON FIRE TOES ARE GUARANTEED FOR FIVE YEARS

Huron Furnace Company

PHONE 427

What Every Woman Knows

That any work that needs doing is Woman's Work!

When the men are late coming home from market she does the chores.

When they are busy with the hay she milks the cows.

When an extra hand is needed with the harvest she helps in the field.

And she knows that her dignity does not suffer and that she loses none of her womanliness.

When the taxes are due she draws on her butter and egg money hidden away in the blue sugar bowl.

To help pay off the mortgage she spends long winter evenings putting patches on the boys' trousers.

Does this not prove that the farmer and his wife are partners?

They work together.

Why not vote together?

Let your husband know how you feel about it so that he will help you to get the vote.

They go... The plan is...

During the last two years has grown up that welfare of the masses... between civilians in countries at war with each other...

The state department of the Red Cross the present fall and asked that the Red Cross be...

Today the American Red Cross is sending an average of 1000 tons of supplies to the front lines...

IS AS FATAL AS

Tuberculosis Kills as Fall From Buße

Dr. Livingstone Farned People to Enter Battle Campaign

New York.—Mortality rates among the civilian and in the armies of all engaged in the war has prohibited the total soldiers killed in battle...

That the people of America into the war against tuberculosis...

To make our country we must first take it out from Doctor Farned's...

THE DAILY HURONITE

BY THE CL



Entered at the Postoffice at Huron, S. D., every afternoon, as second class matter.

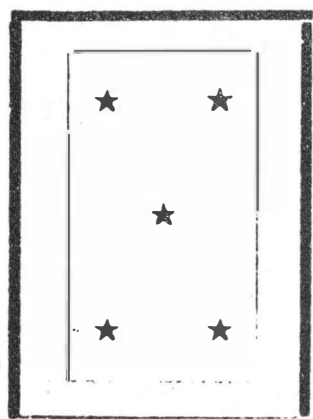
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Huronite's Service Flag



Isn't It True?

- Isn't It True**  
That a man's success in business depends not only on himself but on the men he helps elect to office?
- Isn't It True**  
That housekeeping is woman's business and that her success depends not only on herself but on the way her town is governed?
- Isn't It True**  
That the control of food, air, light, water, health, education, morals and all living conditions is today in the hands of the officials of the town?
- Isn't It True**  
That it is only common justice and common sense to let the woman in the home share in electing the men on whom the comfort of the home depends?
- Isn't It True**  
That a man does not neglect his business because he votes, and that a woman **WILL** not neglect her home because she votes?
- Isn't It True**  
That the happiness of a home does not depend on the woman always being in it, but on the kind of woman she is?
- Isn't It True**  
That in the right kind of a home **BOTH** the man's **AND** the woman's points of view are needed?

Votes for Women

ORDERS GIVEN TO REGISTER YOUTHS OF 21

are said to be in serious straits because of inability to get labor. It looks as though patriotism ought to have prompted the league to adhere to the council's order in the same spirit that many individuals have done and will do. In South Dakota, Iowa, in Minnesota and Montana, it begins to look as though the issue were really one of loyalty.

W. H. MEN WILL BE LISTED BY LOCAL

to 15 inclusive of the rules a tations (form 7c), for discon order of the liability of regis class of June, 1918. A cel registration cards and the li names of all registrants shal warded immediately after re to the adjutant general of t together with the stateme highest registrants' number list of persons in the class 1918, whose registration c within the jurisdiction of a board. Upon receipt of a registrants and the registrar then the adjutant general send to assign registration and will then certify to boards will show in the re boards is assigned to a board and sent to the local board. Upon receipt of from the adjutant general. Boards will assign the re numbers in the original re cards in accordance with s 1918, and shall transmit proper other matters in a with section 1918, form 7c. By August 30 the regi by section 1918 registration No. 10 shall be made by general. The list regis tion 1918 registration resu 1918 shall not be prepared phabetical list required to by each local board in a with section 1918, registratio form No. 10 shall be pr registration numbers conned after each name. In the preparation of an and reports no forms will b of the local boards and c result their carbon copies copies and reports of th registration and to be written reports and their copies of the same form as pr 1918, form 7c, and instr 1918, form 7c. Boards m and reports to have all reg top the registration form 1918.

ENROLL AT A. R. C. S. I. On Monday, Sept. 2, nev will be conducted in every town at the Aberdeen Busi lege. This is the very best the entire year to begin. So send for our new catalogue you will also be tremendous profits which are now out

— Political Advertising — — Political Advertising —

# AMENDMENT "E"

## WHAT IS AMENDMENT "E"?

It is a patriotic amendment which gives the ballot to South Dakota women but denies it to the alien who will not become a citizen of the United States. South Dakota would give the ballot to its women but take it away from the alien who does not propose to become an American citizen.

### Why is Amendment "E" to Be Voted on in November?

(1) Because the war has shown us that women are a necessary arm of the government and at a time like this the government must be at full power, not crippled. (2) Because the enemy alien who is not trusted to fight for us, must not be trusted to vote for us.

### Who Will Be Affected by Amendment "E"?

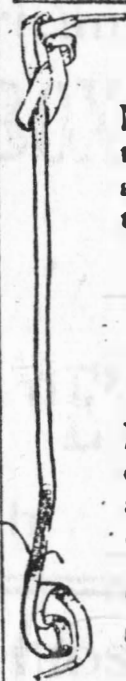
The men who are sacrificing so deeply for the world struggle will be glad to feel that the government for which their husbands and sons are fighting, does not ignore their sacrifice. The immigrant will be made to feel how precious American citizenship is. The friendly alien will be glad to wait for the ballot until he has established his credentials of citizenship. The alien enemy will be taught that America has no place for the man who would make financial profit of the country of freedom and still cherish ideals of military domination.

### When Will People Realize Importance of Amendment "E"?

Only when they realize the importance of guarding their own hearthstones by putting the ballot into the hands of the women, the keepers of the home, and by taking political privilege from men who still hold the Kaiser their liege lord.

### When Will Men Have an Opportunity to Endorse Amendment "E"?

At the polls in November. Every patriotic American should make it his business to get to the polls to vote "YES" on Amendment E. We can not fail to endorse this patriotic amendment while our boys are fighting for the liberty we all love.



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CONFIRMED TESTIMONY

Kind Yankton Readers Cannot Doubt

Doan's Kidney Pills, have stood the test of time—the hardest test all. Thousands gratefully testify. Yankton readers can no longer doubt the evidence. It's convincing testimony—twice told and well confirmed. Yankton readers should profit by these experiences.

Mrs. Harry Wright, 805 1/2 Broadway, Yankton, says: "I knew my trouble was from my kidneys because they don't act right. I was in misery with pains in my back and twinges all rough my body. Since using Doan's Kidney Pills, I have been free from kidney complaint and I can't praise them too highly." (Statement given January 28, 1918.)

No Trouble Since

On September 1, 1917, Mrs. Wright says: "I haven't had any more trouble of kidney trouble since I began using Doan's Kidney Pills. I haven't had any backache since that time. My back is good and strong. Mrs. Wright is only one of the many Yankton people who have benefited from Doan's Kidney Pills. If you have backaches—if your kidneys are weak, don't simply ask for a remedy—ask distinctly for DOAN'S KIDNEY PILLS, the same as Mrs. Wright had—the remedy recommended by the testimony. 60 cents a box, Western Drug Co., Proprietors, Yankton, S. D. Remember the Name."

10-18-10-29

NOTICE OF HEARING

State of South Dakota, County of Yankton, ss: In County Court. In the Matter of the Estate of Joseph Wagner, Deceased.

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA SENDS MEETINGS: To the heirs at law and next of kin of said deceased, and all to whom these presents may come.

You and each of you are hereby notified that Thos. J. Wagner has filed in the County Court of Yankton County, State of South Dakota, a petition asking that he be appointed Administrator of the estate of said deceased, and that said petition has been set for hearing before the court, at a regular term thereof, to be held at the Court House, in the city of Yankton, in said county and state, on the 30th day of October, 1918, at 10 o'clock, A. M. Now, therefore, you are hereby notified to be and

CHOICE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Legislature of South Dakota Selected State Constitutional Amendment as Method of Enfranchising Women.

TO BE VOTED ON NOVEMBER 5.

On That Day the Voters Will Have an Opportunity to Open Wide the "State Door" for South Dakota Women.

There are two ways by which the women of South Dakota may be enfranchised. One is by the so-called "federal route," the other by the "state route." The first means that the two houses of Congress by a two-thirds majority in each house must pass a resolution to submit to the legislatures of the 48 states a federal suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. When this has been passed the amendment must go to the 48 legislatures to be voted on. If 35 (three-fourths) of the legislatures vote yes it becomes law, nation-wide suffrage for women becomes a fact and the present ridiculous discriminations by reason of which a woman can lose her vote by stepping across a state boundary fall into the discard.

That is one way by which South Dakota women may be enfranchised. It seemed to South Dakota women, as to other women, that it was the right way, the short way, the economical way. But a small minority of United States senators (34 against 62) have blocked that way. Over and over the opposition to the federal suffrage amendment pointed out in that memorable suffrage debate in the Senate which closed October 1, that it was not woman suffrage per se that was being opposed; it was the manner of getting it—it was the federal route.

"Women can get the suffrage by the state route," said the opposition. "Let them do it. Let each state take care of its own women. The state door is open. Let the women enter that way,

EXAMINING HIS WOUND



In this, a British official photograph, is seen an American doctor of the United States army examining the wound of a British Tommy who is on his way, afoot, to the field dressing station from the front-line trenches.

Linen of Historic Interest

In response to a call from the American Red Cross for old linen, a package containing a sheet and tablecloth was received from Patsley, Fla. They were the gift of a woman who was born in Germany seventy-two years ago. The sheet was her grandmother's and the flax from which it was made was grown by her grandfather, in Bavaria, and was woven by him more than one hundred and twenty-five years ago. Who knows but what they may be used to bind the wounds of some American soldier on the ground where the flax was grown more than a century ago?

**Order of Hearing Petition for Letters of Administration**  
 In County Court of the State of South Dakota, in and for the County of Handberg, Dismal.  
 The Matter of the Estate of Frank Brown, Deceased.  
 The Court is hereby given notice that letters of administration of the estate of Frank Brown, deceased, will be heard on the 28th day of October, 1918, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, at the County Court House, in the City of Rapid City, South Dakota.  
 Any person interested in the estate of the said Frank Brown, deceased, may appear at the hearing and show cause why the same should not be granted.  
 Witness my hand and the seal of the County Court, this 22nd day of October, 1918.  
 WALTER G. MEYER, Clerk of County Court.  
 W. A. Wagner, Attorney for the Estate of Frank Brown, deceased.  
 Publication Oct. 22.

**WARRANT CASE.**  
 The writs of the Rapid City Independent School District, and including registered No. 302 on the general fund, for interest will cease from this date, October 22, 1918.  
 Fred L. Spayde, Treasurer.

**CHOICE OF SOUTH DAKOTA**  
 Legislature of South Dakota Selected State Course for Amendment of Method of Enfranchisement.  
**TO BE VOTED ON NOVEMBER 5.**  
 On That Day the People will Have an Opportunity to Give Voice to the State Course for South Dakota Women.

There are two ways by which the women of South Dakota may be enfranchised, and by the way of "federal route" or by the way of "state route." The first means that the two houses of the legislature, a two-thirds majority in each house must pass a resolution to submit to the legislature of the 49th state a federal suffrage amendment to the constitution of the United States. When this has been passed the amendment must go to the 49 legislatures to be voted on. If 33 (three-fourths) of the legislatures vote yes it becomes law, nation wide suffrage for women becomes a fact and the present ridiculous discriminations by reason of which a woman can lose her vote by stepping across a state boundary fall into the discard.  
 That is one way by which South Dakota women may be enfranchised. It seemed to South Dakota women as to other women, that it was the right way, the short way, the economical way. But a small minority of United States senators (31 against 6) have blocked that way. Over and over the opposition to the federal suffrage amendment pointed out in that memorable suffrage debate in the Senate which closed October 1, that it was not woman suffrage per se, but was being opposed. It was the question of "Women can get the suffrage by the state route," and the opposition let them do it. Let each state take care of its own women. The state door is open. Let the women enter that way, not this.

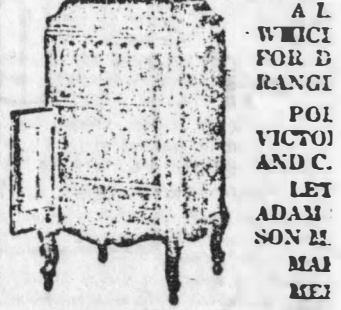
No one other point was used so often and so insistently as an argument against the federal suffrage amendment. On so other did the opponents of the amendment fall back so conspicuously. Speaking of no other did their faces so ungenerously assume the expression of the cat that ate the canary.  
 "The states can and will give women the suffrage. Let the women of each state go to that state. The door is open"—thus the men who shut the federal door in the faces of American women.

Now come the women of South Dakota to their own state seeking that open door to which they have been so cavalierly warded.  
 South Dakota women have this advantage—their case goes to court, the great court of public opinion, on November 5. At least it will be an advantage if South Dakota men vote the most of the opportunity to give South Dakota women a square deal.  
 South Dakota men can vote American for the first time, democratic so far as

**WALTER**  
 Furniture Dealer  
**FURNITURE, TALL RUGS**  
 WE ARE NOW READY FOR FORTS, BLANKETS AND PETS AND CAMP COGS.



**UPHOLSTERED FURNITURE**  
 One glance at our line of leather rockers will convince you that this is the place to get the bargains and once you buy from us, you



707-709 Main Street. Phone

(Political Advertisement)  
**THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS GOING TO CARRY THE STATE AND ELECT JAMES E. BIRD**  
 Candidate for Governor.



Together With the Entire Ticket

Reports from all over the state indicate a united Democratic Party as against a divided opposition. Democrats everywhere are enthusiastic and rightly so, for in 20 years has the prospects for victory been so bright as now.

It is the duty of every Democrat to Vote his Ticket

Not only because we will win, but because it will encourage the men who are bearing our party burdens both in the State and Nation. Never has a party made such a fine record, as the Democratic Party during the past 6 years. No Party old or new can or can offer you anything worth while that it does not already have.

Any man can be proud to vote the Democratic Ticket

It offers good, clean, loyal men, real Americans, men who will give their best efforts to, and who are in sympathy with the President. Why vote for Candidates that will stir up strife, and so take our minds and efforts from winning the war—the only real question now before us.

"LET'S WIN THE WAR FIRST"

**ARE YOU READY DURING THE**

# AMENDMENT E PATRIOTIC ACT

Unique Measure Extends Franchise to Women While Disqualifying Aliens.

## BALLOT GUARDS THE HOME

Voters Should Endorse Loyalty Amendment as Support to Soldier Boys.

### WHAT IS AMENDMENT E?

It is a patriotic amendment which gives the ballot to South Dakota women, but denies it to the alien who will not become a citizen of the United States. South Dakota would give the ballot to its women, but would take it away from the alien who does not promise to become an American citizen.

### WHY IS AMENDMENT E TO BE VOTED ON IN NOVEMBER?

- (1.) Because the war has shown us that women are a necessary arm of the government and at a time like this the government must be at full power, not crippled.
- (2.) Because the enemy alien who is not trusted to fight for us must not be trusted to vote for us.

### WHO WILL BE AFFECTED BY AMENDMENT E?

The women who are sacrificing so deeply for the world struggle will be made to feel that the government for which their husbands and sons are fighting does not ignore their sacrifice. The immigrant will be made to feel how precious American citizenship is. The friendly alien will be glad to wait for the ballot until he has established his credentials of citizenship. The alien enemy will be taught that America has no place for the man who would make financial profit of the country of freedom and still cherish ideals of military domination.

### WHEN WILL PEOPLE REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF AMENDMENT E?

Only when they realize the importance of guarding their own hearthstones by putting the ballot into the hands of the women, the keepers of the home, and by taking political

## MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES SUPPORT SUFFRAGE

Within the space of a few months the Democrats of South Dakota, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Iowa, New York, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri have declared either in convention or through their central or county committees that they stand for suffrage for women.

During the same period the Republican of South Dakota, Oklahoma, Indiana, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, Missouri, Iowa, Ohio, Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri have also declared their support of suffrage. The list of states is being increased as rapidly as conventions are held.

At its last national convention the Democratic party endorsed woman suffrage. The National Democratic Committee has endorsed suffrage. President Wilson and his cabinet are for suffrage.

The Republican party endorsed suffrage at its last national convention. The National Republican Committee has endorsed suffrage. The active Republican leaders, Roosevelt, Hughes, Chairman Hays, etc., are ardent suffragists.

## THE SOLDIERS ON SUFFRAGE

### Two to One in Favor of Votes for Women.

The soldier vote was nearly 2 to 1 in favor of suffrage in the victorious New York suffrage campaign of 1917.

The way a soldier in the war for democracy feels about self government for women is brought out in the following soldier and extracts from letters received from the men in camp and at the front.

"And to think that you, who is such as the opportunity offers, go into this sort of work (Red Cross) as a matter of course, and ask and take no quarter or favors, should have to ask, and petition and fight for 'equal rights' for the suffrage; why it is the most ridiculous thing in the world." (Signed) New England Lieutenant Colonel, M. L.

"All the men here are immensely impressed with the work women are doing, especially in the Y. W. C. A.'s

then, which are the hard earned fr of these generations of world war Must Save Our Children.

We must save our children from debasing spirit of militarism. If A man men and women are ever at to hope for the things they have et school and from which their mind sought to escape when they defied tyranny of the domination of all and give to the world the democr ideals of justice and equality in immortal Declaration of Independence to which our flag and our country, dedicated.

It is not enough that Germany sh be defeated in battle or conquered hunger. She must be shown the tri that the world will no longer per any people to hold swayed pow which threaten the peace of the world the practices of civilization.

### WE ARE AWAKE NOW

Whatever may have been our cri in the past, but ever find we a have been, we are awake no. When our mistakes we have to in the past, however we may be and estimated of many's delirio crush the democratic ideals of world, now that that purpose is kno it must be overcome if womanhood childhood are to be saved and to there can be reparation for it. deeds nowhere, either in this w or in the world to come. The c hope lies in such a complete over- spirit of Germany that it may be the truth, that it is a modern and a today, as in the past, the only to defeat, so many of us, for people Germans, should be more conscience that place the role of the the shrieking of shells, the gro of the dying and the cries of children, the people, of our are, find in faces that the whole world, Germany must heed. "Who does profit a man? Who does the ac- quire of them but to do Ju merry and to walk lamely." (S. C. C.)

### "Spirit Regenerated"

It is not enough that the mil power of Germany be conquered; the German spirit must be regenerate. Her mind must be open to learn t truth about her false ideals of mil power, and we, too, must learn t our fight is not alone to save our country, important as that is. We ha more than our own safety to ser we must win peace, peace for oursel and peace of the whole world. I without world peace there can be cured peace in no part of it.

## "FATHER, SOI

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