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A Slip of Paper in a Black Walnut Box: An Examination of the Suffrage Debate in Beverly, Massachusetts 1913-1915

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research was performed during the Summer of 2010 as an Adrian Tinsley Program Summer Grant. Sarah's studies were completed under the wonderful guidance and mentorship of Dr. Margaret Lowe. Sarah plans to pursue her master's degree in History and looks forward to being able to use her research in the classroom. She also plans to further her research in the field of women's studies throughout graduate school.

*I*t was not until 1920, 72 years after the birth of the suffrage movement, that Massachusetts women gained the right to vote. While other state suffrage associations succeeded in persuading their governments to pass laws securing the vote for women, Massachusetts reformers were met with an overwhelming amount of resistance. The forces behind much of this resistance were the white, middle-class women active in small cities and towns throughout the Commonwealth. Women in support, as well as in opposition, to suffrage in Massachusetts at the turn-of-the twentieth century were the same women swept up in the changing gender roles of the time. It was this confusing social, and in turn, political climate in Massachusetts that created some of the most dynamic and fascinating suffrage discourse in the nation. And there is no better place to find this rich dialogue than in the primary sources of the small cities and towns of Massachusetts. It is the small historical societies of towns like Beverly, MA that provide insight into the complexity of the local suffrage debate.

Historians of the pro and anti women's suffrage movements often focus on the national and sometimes individual state stories, paying particular attention to such elements as class and race, as well as the changing gender relations that were present in the early twentieth century. While their contributions provide a rich body of literature, they ignore a critical aspect of the history of women's suffrage: the local, town-by-town campaigns. By presenting never before analyzed primary source documents recently discovered in the archives of the local Beverly Historical Society in Beverly, MA, this study shines light on the local narrative; a missing piece of the state and national suffrage picture.

Before the suffrage debate gained momentum in the town of Beverly, between 1913 and 1915, women involved themselves in city affairs by forming and participating in different women's groups aimed at benefiting the town in ways only women's organizations could. Staying true to the charitable and nurturing ways of groups that had come before them, the women's groups of Beverly supplied the opportunity for public involvement many "New Women" of Beverly craved, while still keeping their members within the female realm of influence deemed appropriate by society. Some of these groups had religious affiliations like the Washington St. Girls Club and the Unitarian Club; other groups, such as the Mayflower Club, focused on charitable efforts. These groups laid the ground work for more politically driven organizations that

would later form in the Beverly community, including those most important to this study, the Beverly Equal Franchise League and the Beverly Anti-Suffrage Association.

As did all of the clubs that came before them, the Beverly Equal Franchise League and the Beverly Anti-Suffrage Association used the written word to publicize both their activities and their political perspective. Beverly women felt completely comfortable expressing their opinions in public, despite their somewhat controversial group affiliation. This is best seen in a document only recently unearthed at the Beverly Historical Society. *The Beverly Beacon* was a women's newspaper published in the town of Beverly, Massachusetts. Published by the Women's Auxiliary to the Y.M.C.A in 1913, this document was issued only once. As its editors wrote, *The Beverly Beacon* intended to give Beverly women their own printed, widely circulated voice where they could broadcast their views on all manners of local and national issues. As its banner proclaimed:

It is a paper with a purpose...throw light on our city, its past and present, its virtues and faults, and more particularly on the activities and opinions of its women...The Beacon does not aspire to be a lighthouse. It will flash out once and disappear.²

The document, rich in articles and editorials for and by a diverse set of women, includes two pieces which take up the issue of women suffrage. While presenting both sides of the argument, each author takes a specific stance. Interestingly, these articles on suffrage are given an ample and equal amount of space within the newspaper, each taking up a full two-column page within. No other subject in the publication is discussed in such depth. This simple fact of article length may suggest, in the most subtle way, the importance of the suffrage discussion during this period in Beverly.

More evidence of the growing popularity of the topic of suffrage in Beverly local politics can be found in the records of Mary Boyden, the Secretary and Treasurer to the Beverly Anti-Suffrage Association. From the year 1915, this primary document served as a meeting record book, personal diary, and scrapbook to the young group officer. Boyden, beginning in the early months of 1915, began to place clippings from the local newspaper, *The Beverly Times*, into her notebook. These clippings documented the activities of her own organization, the Beverly Anti-Suffrage Association, as well as the activities and opinions of their political opponent, the Beverly Equal Franchise League. By doing so, Boyden has captured the pro and anti-suffrage dialogue in Beverly, allowing for a glimpse into the town's past. It is Mary Boyden's meticulous work as secretary to her organization that now offers historians unique

insight into the Beverly suffrage story, contributing greatly to the larger picture of state and national women's suffrage.

Both the Mary Boyden records and *The Beverly Beacon* display, in the most captivating way, the witty political banter of the local, state, and national suffrage dialogue. The women of Beverly seriously contemplated the pros and cons of inserting themselves into politics via the ballot. Perhaps surprising to our contemporary expectations, it appears that there were an equal amount of women willing to do whatever they could to stop women from voting. Both pro and anti-suffrage women in the town of Beverly believed that women were extremely capable and that in fact, they were central to ensuring national progress. The local debate became rather: would the granting of the ballot to women hurt or help their contribution to national progress?

Both the pro and anti-suffragists of Beverly returned over and over again to three key thematic arguments: women's economic role and other responsibilities within the home and to her family, the natural higher moral tendency of women and whether or not it had a place in the realm of politics, and finally, what the enfranchisement of women would do to the good of the national government and society.

The first thematic argument centered around the impact of the vote on a woman's economic role in the family and how this would affect her pre-established responsibilities within the home. There were many economic changes taking place in America at the turn of the century that brought into question the role of women in the home; instead of self-sustainable households, the industrial revolution had turned the home into a place of consumers. Ellen Richards, founder of the home economics movement, writes, "The flow of industry has passed and left idle the loom in the attic, the soup kettle in the shed."³ Middle-class homemakers now had an unprecedented number of resources available to them which eased or reduced household responsibilities. In addition, family members were spending less time together; men were at work and children were at school for longer periods of time during the day. With less to do and fewer people to care for, women began to reevaluate how they spent their time in the home.

More resources and absent family did not reduce the role of women in the home, only changed it. It was this changed position that led some women to look for a more public role. A debate then arose concerning to what use and what lengths this public role ought to extend. Previously, during the years of intense progressive reform, women had used their public position to fight for the rights of others. But now, women's own rights were up for debate, bringing to the forefront the

issue of suffrage. Many women were not, however, ready to take such a leap; worried that if they did so, their families would be left to care for themselves, resulting in the dissolution of the family unit. An argument used by the anti-suffragists in Beverly, as displayed by Ms. Caroline A. Mason in her article featured in *The Beverly Beacon*, was that if women were to involve themselves in politics and express their opinions in the form of the ballot, it would have catastrophic consequences for family life. She states:

We will not yield place to any suffrage partisan in our estimate of woman's capacity, but she is not capable, has never shown herself and never will show herself capable of sustaining alike the life of the family with all its profound and absorbing demands, and the laborious technique of public life.⁴

The pro suffragists of Beverly would beg to differ on the degree to which female involvement in public life would harm the family. In fact, as displayed in a poem found in the notebook of Mary Boyden, women could stay true to all of her responsibilities at home, while still having an active public life, culminating in the ultimate expression of opinion, the ballot. The suffragists proclaimed: the hand of woman/ A frail hand it is true, / But it can rock the cradle and drop the ballot too.../ and though against that fragile hand/ Distrust and doubt are hurled. / Still, the hand that rocks the cradle/ should help to rule the world.⁵ Both the suffragists and the antis of Beverly believed in the female responsibility to take care of the home and those within. However, it was the degree to which other activities, particularly those of the political variety, should play in the female experience that differed greatly among the two groups.

Suffragists advocated that not only could women run the home and help to nurture the family's growth, but they could also involve themselves in politics. An increase in white, middle and upper-class women's available free time, granted by the influx of technology and resources, provided, in the eyes of the suffragists, opportunity for women to educate themselves on their political responsibilities. Suffragists proposed that rather than whiling away their time with silly games and rounds of social visits, middle-class women ought to shoulder their fair share of the nation's political responsibilities. Anna Tillinghast, a prominent progressive, Reverend, and suffragist spelled this out in the 1913 *Beverly Beacon*:

While the woman of wealth spends nearly every afternoon at the card table, the theatre or some social function, she who is not willing to sacrifice a few hours a week from these places in order to become qualified

to do her part in the amelioration of mankind needs to bow her head in shame.⁶

In a direct response to these types of statements, the anti-suffragists argued that yes, perhaps women had turned to idle, silly socializing but their remedy was not the vote. Instead, such women should exert greater political and social influence from within the confines of the home. Responding in verse, as displayed in *The Beverly Times* they argued: We grant you have intellect, power, and brains, /And meet with great fortitude life's heavy strains. /Watch the babe in the cradle as gently it rocks—/ Not the little white slip in the black walnut box.⁷ With recognition of female value, the antis within this poem, stress that a woman can still serve her community and have a hand in politics from the comfort of her own home. A reoccurring irony consistently appears in all of the documents found in Beverly. All of the women who are commenting on the issue of suffrage, both from the pro and anti camps, are contributing to the public sphere, while at the same time, projecting their views about how women shouldn't do the same.

A prime example of this contradiction, as well as the debate that raged in the Beverly community about the toll suffrage could possibly have on the family, can be found in the "Political Page" of *The Beverly Beacon*. One local woman comments on her role in the family as contrasted by that of her husband's, concluding that woman can best help her community from within her home performing her responsibilities to her family. She states,

In our home it has only been necessary for me to tell John when things were wrong and in time, John's time, of course, they would be righted. It would not seem best to me to undertake to do John's work It seems to me city government is a good deal like household government. John has assumed the care of certain departments and must be responsible himself...⁸

As a member of the Beverly community, she believes in family first, with men and women performing their respective roles. Women should not concern themselves with trying to gain the right to vote and instead use their influential voice within the walls of their own homes; all the while, expressing this opinion in a public forum.

The underlying fear that the female vote would have a negative effect on the family is easily understood given the time period. By the turn of the century, America was undergoing dramatic change. The Progressive era, a period of intense reform activism from the late 1890's to the years just after the conclusion of the First World War in 1918, had altered many

aspects of American life. Battles waged over new labor laws and social welfare policies as new progressive thinkers began to link the fate of the nation's most impoverished sectors with the general welfare of the country.⁹ In this time of great debate and change, women found themselves identifying with two contrasting ideals: one, the public female leader, championing the progressive landscape, fighting to improve the lives of others and the second, the progressive reformer *within* the home. In this version, as wife and mother, a woman kept her family, and in turn, the nation, grounded. Woman's most powerful position to protect American life emanated from her domestic and motherly duties. Granted the right to vote, women's ability to protect all that was held dear to America in those shifting times would be compromised, in the opinion of the anti-suffragists. No matter what side of the debate women favored, issues of family reigned supreme. But this argument surrounding family was not the only one used by the pros and antis of Beverly in hopes of swaying public opinion in their favor.

The second thematic argument between the pro and antis in Beverly was whether the vote would enhance or undermine women's traditional, and what was thought to be biological and God-given position, as the moral authority in American society. Women, particularly in their role as mothers, up until around the turn of the century, were viewed as highly pious individuals, pure in nature and in turn, too delicate and frail for politics. Although this notion had faded slightly from its overwhelming dominance in the form of "true womanhood" in the 1820s-1860s, it continued to influence women's views. However, with the emergence of the "New Woman," a female's moral tendencies were being put to use both within and outside of the home. This often took the form of what was called "social housekeeping," an attempt by women to clean up the supposed filth that seemed to plague the lowest levels of society. Despite the great changes brought on by female participation in the public sphere, many still believed that women's engagement in public politics in the form of the ballot would be using women's higher moral understanding in the wrong arenas. A soul and body meant for prayer and household duties, in addition to influencing members of the family, was not meant for cleaning up politics; were the thoughts of the anti-suffragists of Beverly. Any place outside of the female sphere, said the anti-suffragists, would pose a danger to these faithful individuals. Women did not shy away from this highly moral reputation as evidenced by Beverly's own Women's Auxiliary to the Y.M.C.A. who published *The Beverly Beacon*. In their statement on the purpose of their organization, the authors write:

It has been our constant endeavor to create around our association that atmosphere in which the highest ideals of

moral character and Christian Manhood may be nurtured, and through which spiritual power may be infused into every avenue of its life.¹⁰

Beverly women believed in the female responsibility to "nurture" Christian manhood and that as women, it was up to them to do so. By providing the young men of Beverly the opportunity to learn and practice the responsibilities bestowed upon them by the church via sponsoring and planning Y.M.C.A. activities, these women of the Auxiliary hoped to ensure the growth and success of their community. This responsibility could be upheld because of women's inherent ability to have the best understanding of the "highest ideals of moral character." The Women's Auxiliary to the Y.M.C.A of Beverly is just one example of female public activity that women and the wider public deemed an acceptable move into the public sphere; dictated by their believed superiority in the understanding of a higher moral order.

Although both the pros and antis of Beverly believed women's moral influence should be used for the betterment of others and the greater community, the pros saw these moral, pious tendencies as all the more reason for women to get involved in politics and have a farther reaching public influence, via the ballot. The suffragists of Beverly believed that if both men and women claimed that women had such natural moral superiority, that they should use their pure ways to clean up the filth of politics. Anna Tillinghast, in her article entitled "Equal Suffrage" found in *The Beverly Beacon*, stated, "If the polls are such vile, disorderly places as is claimed, then it is time woman purified them by her presence. Surely the affairs of state need to be conducted with decency and sobriety."¹¹ Let women into the polls and they will improve the atmosphere just as they do within their own realms of influence. In connection to the issues surrounding family, the morality argument clearly served as solid support for both sides of the suffrage debate. With evidence that the women of Beverly themselves believed in female moral tendencies, it leaves historians to wonder which camp used it most to their advantage, winning the support of the public.

The third and final thematic disagreement between the pros and the antis of Beverly, as displayed by the dialogue discovered in the primary source documents, lay in their views on the social and political consequences that would result from women taking up the vote. Both pro and anti-suffrage forces marshaled evidence to prove that the American government, and American society as a whole, would either benefit or in contrast, unravel if women secured the vote. Anti-suffrage women argued that the vote would indeed undermine women's emotional and intellectual balance. As Mary Boyden, the secretary and

treasurer to the Beverly Anti-Suffrage Association, wrote in a letter to Mr. Chase, a congressional minister of Beverly,

I think the effort to expand her personality in the direction of political activity would cramp women's more characteristic development and bring her poorer powers into play, her weakness in logic, her distaste for matters large and abstract outside of her concrete experience, and a tendency to let emotion, prejudice and passion enter into discussion of matters of justice moment upon which there must be difference of opinion...¹²

For the antis, women were indeed more emotional than men and less capable of making objective political decisions.

Dissimilarly, pro-suffrage women had no doubt that women could vote with their heads and not with their hearts. Anna Tillinghast continued her argument in support of suffrage by asserting that women certainly have the intelligence and reasoning power to cast the ballot. She states in her article,

The ballot is simply an expression of an opinion. It was decided by those who had the welfare of society at heart, that there were certain classes of individuals whose opinions for one reason or another, were not worth counting. In most states these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and *women*. There are good obvious reasons for making all these exceptions, except the last. But is there any logical reason why the opinion of women should be disregarded?¹³

The pro-suffrage opinion was that time and time again, women had proven themselves level-headed and positively influential. To class her among such low standing individuals was doing a disservice to not only all females but to the country as a whole; leaving Americans starving for the good that could come out of the enfranchisement of women.

Anti-suffragists, in conjunction with their belief that the polls were an unsuitable place for women, also believed that female participation in politics would be detrimental to the inherently pure and moral attributes assigned to women because of their sex; in no way supporting the good of the nation. It is not new in the 1910s for most Americans to view the political arena as a sordid, corrupt environment, one much better suited to the rough and tumble male disposition than that of the naïve, vulnerable female. But with women's suffrage newly on the table, the act of voting—casting a ballot in public, had become especially demonized. Anti-suffragists predicted doom. The boldly public nature of participating in the political process would undermine women's moral sensibilities; the very same

inherent moral fiber that was thought essential to preserve the good of the nation. Based on sex alone, politics endangered women. In a world dominated by corrupt men, they would drown in political filth.

The thought of women entering politics and casting a ballot became even more threatening as Americans watched WWI rage in Europe. With the possibility of impending war, the anti-suffragists stressed that in times of uncertainty and unrest, women and men must remain in their entirely separate domains. It was believed that this separation was vital to keeping all Americans safe. One anti states in *The Beverly Times*:

The question is whether we shall double our present electorate; and I think there can be no doubt, in view of impending problems, that no patriotic man or woman will be in favor of such a far-reaching change in our organic law if it can be shown that the woman's vote, instead of strengthening the arms of the state in time of trouble will result in the weakening of those forces upon which the stability and integrity of our government rests.¹⁴

If women were allowed to voice their opinions via the ballot at a time when it was clear many Americans thought war was on the horizon, it would put the American government and all of its citizens in danger. As stated in a New York pamphlet discovered in the Beverly Historical Society, a man's vote was the only one which should be considered because a man's hand was the only one who could pull a trigger in defense of his country and his country's political decisions:

When the virtuous woman, the well-bred woman, the enlightened woman, goes to the polls, she will meet there no man so ignorant as not to know perfectly well that his ballot has a metallic basis and must be respected, while hers is nothing but paper, and he may respect it or not.¹⁵

To allow women to vote would be putting men in jeopardy of having to fight for a cause that was not their own and placing women in a position where their virtuous talents would be wasted. The presence of such a pamphlet in the town of Beverly not only suggests that these beliefs were held by the antis of the community, but also that pro and anti-suffrage literature was widely circulated across state lines.

In addition, according to the anti-suffragists of Beverly, the vote would serve as the gateway for women to embark upon other detrimental political activities that would further undermine American democracy. As one writer from *The Beverly Times*

lamented, “Woman Suffrage is the opening wedge to Socialism and Feminism, propagandas antagonistic to everything held dear in Christian civilization.”¹⁶ The possibility for the oncoming of Socialism and Feminism in the early twentieth century terrified many Americans because these schools of thought challenged most American ideals. It was thought, by the anti-suffragists, that women were more likely to vote for radical and socialist candidates because their agenda aligned more precisely with those parties than with the rooted Democrats and Republicans. In turn, antis believed that if women won the vote, it would ultimately threaten American democracy. One of the most dramatic claims comes from Beverly’s own Caroline A. Mason when she discusses the decline and eventual downfall of prior civilizations, pointing to female enfranchisement as the leading cause:

An authoritative English writer reviewing the decline and fall of great nations and civilizations in our world history, declares that three symptoms invariably attend the period of decay. These are, first: neglect and contempt of the national religion, whatever it chanced to be; second: the presence in the population whether by conquest or by colonization, of enormous numbers of alien races; third: the coming of women into public life and political prominence. This last factor...the fever of the diseased civilization.¹⁷

The anti-suffragists of Beverly believed that suffrage for women would not only harm all members of American society, but the very ability of America to govern itself. The suffragists it can be assumed, although little of their dialogue focused on their views on the female impact on the national good, would have taken an opposing approach to their anti-counterparts. Suffragists would have advocated that enfranchising women would do nothing but open doors to America’s true political and societal potential.

Thus, this close community study of Beverly reveals that three major themes brought the local suffrage debate to life: women’s expected roles within the home and family, contrasting views of the meaning and uses of women’s supposed moral superiority, and finally, the projected social and political consequences of the female ballot. However, these arguments are not all that these sources have to tell us about the suffrage story. A striking chronological consistency suggests that the documents found in Beverly jive with the national debate. The documents found in Beverly, such as *The Beverly Beacon* and Mary Boyden’s notebook were written between 1913 and 1915. The year 1915 appears to be an important year in the suffrage debate as a major suffrage referendum was presented to the Massachusetts people.

Immediately upon learning of the referendum, the anti-suffragists entered the public sphere, in hopes of gaining support for their cause from Massachusetts citizens. Historian Thomas Jablonsky chronicled the anti-suffragist’s relentless attack, arguing that these women were anything but stagnant in their attempt to give the public access to their claims, going to creative new lengths to do so:

Anti-suffrage speakers crisscrossed the state appearing at women’s clubs, grange meetings, county fairs, and rural crossroads warning their parsimonious Yankee audiences that doubling the electorate by enfranchising women would double the cost of each and every election. Ads were placed in the Harvard Red Book and an anti-suffrage theme song (“Anti-Suffrage Rose”) found its way into nickelodeons, where it played as background to an anti-suffrage slide show. Season schedules for the Boston Red Sox and the Boston Braves were distributed with batting averages and photographs of baseball heroes Tris Speaker and Johnny Evers interspersed among anti-suffrage essays.¹⁸

Only five years before the eventual passage of the nineteenth amendment, the antis of Massachusetts felt in no way that their fight was a soon to be lost cause. As the referendum drew near, and with antis actively gaining the support of Massachusetts’ voters, the suffragists felt it was time for them to prepare for what would perhaps be their biggest battle to date. Despite the support of Socialists, Progressives, Democrats, the State Federation of Labor, and the new Democratic governor of Massachusetts, David Walsh, by 1914, the suffragists still felt anxious that they were not reaching the audience they needed to in order to secure a win.

In response, the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association organized a massive pro-suffrage parade for Saturday, October 16, 1915. The group had recruited close to 15,000 marchers alongside 30 bands to conduct a spirited march from the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Beacon Street to the Public Garden, Boston Common, and State House, onto Tremont, Saint James, then finally Huntington Avenue, ending at Mechanics Hall with a pro-suffrage rally. This parade offered one last opportunity to the suffragists of Beverly to recruit local support. One suffragist wrote in *The Beverly Times*:

The big suffrage parade in Boston Saturday afternoon, October 16th, promises to be one of the most spectacular events of the season...There is no question but what Suffrage will win at the polls on November 2nd, so this will be the last opportunity Beverlylites will have of

marching in a suffrage parade in Massachusetts. When the story of the fight becomes history, you will want to be able to say that you marched in the great victory parade.¹⁹

Despite this kind of local support, the city of Boston, and more widely the state of Massachusetts still wavered in its support of the suffrage cause. As the author, Anna J. Cook vividly described the day; the parade only seemed to heighten the growing tensions within each camp,

According to the *Boston Globe*...Pro-suffrage marchers processed past houses draped with red banners bearing anti-suffrage slogans and motor cars festooned with giant red paper flowers, “hover[ed]...like flying cavalry seeking an opening for a flank attack” as boys ran among the crowd of spectators selling red roses pinned to cards bearing anti-suffrage messages.²⁰

This vivid description showcases the growing tensions of the Massachusetts suffrage movement, eventually culminating in the 1915 referenda debate.

Other excerpts from *The Beverly Times* display complete confidence held by the suffragists of Beverly and elsewhere that the state referendum of 1915 would pass in their favor.

In some of the most captivating and convincing language found in the Beverly documents, one contributor to *The Beverly Times* exudes an air of confidence unmatched by any anti-suffrage dialogue:

This week the woman suffrage movement in Massachusetts turns in to the final six months of the campaign. The end of over fifty years persistent work in this state for the glorified cause is in sight. All signs, like the needles of the world’s compasses, point in the same direction. The fixed North Star of victory is guiding our mariners safely into port. Woman Suffrage in Massachusetts is homeward bound at last. An occasional anti-iceberg is seen, but except for the chill in the air in the immediate vicinity, they offer no real obstacle. The coming summer will see them melt away in the Gulf stream of a cause warmed by the enthusiasm of eternal justice; truth and a wider democracy.²¹

Despite the writer’s confidence and the valiant efforts of the Massachusetts suffragists, the referendum does not pass. The year 1915 marks an important time in the suffrage movement; so close to victory some thought it had already come, while still so far that others believed the discussion would soon fizzle out

into nothingness. This analysis of the Beverly documents reveals that some of the sharpest and most sophisticated debates about women’s suffrage took place in small towns all across America. It also clearly shows the passionate and deeply complex nature of the debate, particularly in the years 1913-1915.

Beverly, Massachusetts provides much more than simply a window into one local, isolated suffrage debate. It offers an avenue through which historians may start to fill in a significant missing piece to the national story. The documents found in Beverly have helped to paint a picture of the women who fought for, and particularly against, suffrage. The Beverly story, in particular, also reveals the depth of the anti-suffrage movement. Not just conservative, stodgy, holdouts, they were actually strong champions of women’s role as local activists and reformers. Anti-suffragists did, however, also hold deeply felt and reasoned concerns about the impact of the granting of the vote to women on the American family, society, and government.

They were right to worry. Much did change. The day after President Wilson signed the 19th amendment, August 27th 1920, *The Beverly Times* reported,

Women Have Set Up New Record Here: 399 registered yesterday for the September primaries. Total on list 1629. Beverly women set up a new registration record when 399 qualified to vote at the September primary yesterday. This is one of the largest registrations of any city the size of Beverly in the state.²²

And with that, the newly registered women of Beverly celebrate the end of a 72-year long campaign to secure the female right to vote.

Endnotes

¹ “Equal Suffrage,” *Beverly Times*, 20 March 1915, final edition, quoted in Mary Boyden, *Anti-Suffrage Secretary and Treasurer Records* (1915), 35.

² “The Beacon.” *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman’s Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 3.

³ Woloch, Nancy. *Women and the American Experience: A Concise History*. 2nd ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2002, pg. 180-218.

⁴ Mason, Caroline A. “Conclusions of an Anti-Suffragist.” *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman’s Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 12-13.

⁵ “Equal Suffrage,” *Beverly Times*, 20 March 1915, final edition, quoted in Mary Boyden, *Anti-Suffrage Secretary and Treasurer Records* (1915), 35.

⁶ Tillinghast, Anna C. M. "Equal Suffrage." *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman's Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 11.

⁷ "Anti-Suffrage," *Beverly Times*, 13 March 1915, final edition, quoted Mary Boyden, *Anti-Suffrage Secretary and Treasurer Records* (1915), 32.

⁸ Overthway, "What People Think About Some Things in Beverly." *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman's Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 17.

⁹ Dubois, Ellen C., and Lynn Dumenil. *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents*. 2nd ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009, pg. 454-455.

¹⁰ Woodberry, S. Caroline. "The Woman's Auxiliary of the Y.M.C.A." *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman's Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 4.

¹¹ Tillinghast, Anna C. M. "Equal Suffrage." *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman's Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 11.

¹² Boyden, Mary L. "Letter to Mr. Chase, Congregational Minister," *Anti-Suffrage Secretary and Treasurer Records* (1915), 30.

¹³ Tillinghast, Anna C. M. "Equal Suffrage." *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman's Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 11.

¹⁴ "Anti Suffrage Meeting: Interesting Speakers; Bids for City Documents; No Landlord's Black List," *Beverly Times*, 19 May 1915, final edition, quoted in Mary Boyden, *Anti-Suffrage Secretary and Treasurer Records* (1915), 51.

¹⁵ Johnson, Rossiter. "The Blank Cartridge Ballot." *New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women*, n.d., 7-18.

¹⁶ "Anti Suffrage," *Beverly Times*, May 1915, final edition, quoted in Mary Boyden, *Anti-Suffrage Secretary and Treasurer Records* (1915), 54.

¹⁷ Mason, Caroline A. "Conclusions of an Anti-Suffragist." *The Beverly Beacon: A Woman's Newspaper*, 1 November 1913, p. 12-13.)

¹⁸ Jablonsky, Thomas. "Female Opposition: The Anti-Suffrage Campaign." In *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*, Jean H. Baker, 119-127. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

¹⁹ "For--Suffrage--Against." *The Beverly Times*, 9 October 1915.

²⁰ Cook, Anna J. "A Rash and Dreadful Act for a Woman: The 1915 Woman's Suffrage Parade in Boston." Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/objects/2010july.php>.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "Women Have Set Up New Record Here." *The Beverly Times*, 27 August 1920.

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