

THE 1867 CAMPAIGN FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN KANSAS:

A STUDY IN RHETORICAL SITUATION

by

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INTRODUCTION

When Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton issued their now famous call for a woman's meeting in Seneca Falls, New York on July 19, 1848, they set into motion a series of events which has not yet seen a conclusion. The changes in woman's relationship to home, family and work sought by the nineteenth century suffragists show a direct relationship to the changes still being pursued in this century. The status of women and the role which women should play in American life is a topic of continuing interest and concern. Many of the goals sought, and the strategies employed, by the leaders of the woman's movement in the 1800's are the same goals and strategies being followed today. A thorough understanding of the successes and failures of the suffragists, especially in terms of the arguments they used, can bear directly upon the evaluation of the arguments used by current advocates of woman's rights. Because a knowledge of the early suffrage workers can provide an understanding of the work of woman's rights leaders today, studies concerned with all aspects of the earlier movement seem in order.

The Role of Kansas

The state of Kansas has particular importance in the history of the woman suffrage campaigns, yet the woman suffrage campaigns in Kansas have as yet received little scholarly notice. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, an active campaigner in Kansas, recognized the state's importance in

her discussion of Kansas in the History of Woman Suffrage.

As Kansas was the historic ground where Liberty fought her first victorious battles with Slavery, and consecrated that soil forever to the freedom of the black race, so was it the first State where the battle for woman's enfranchisement was waged and lost for a generation. There never was a more hopeful interest concentrated on the legislation of any single State, than when Kansas submitted the two propositions to her people to take the words "white" and "Male" from her Constitution.

The battle lost in Kansas in 1867 sealed the doom of woman suffrage campaigns for many years, and marked the beginning of a national retrenchment in suffrage work. The loss in Kansas indicated to suffrage leaders that the nation as a whole was not ready to accept the concept of woman suffrage. The 1867 campaign in Kansas has particular merit for study. This campaign represented the first time any state brought forth a proposed constitutional amendment for a vote by the people. It was the first experience in a campaign for women, who, in later years, were the primary leaders in the suffrage movement. The Kansas campaign also represents the last unified effort of woman suffrage advocates prior to 1890. Following this campaign the leaders of the movement-- Stanton, Anthony and Stone--became embroiled in a dispute over tactics and personalities, which resulted in the formation of two separate suffrage organizations. Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association in May, 1869 and Lucy Stone and her followers countered with the American Woman Suffrage Association in November, 1869. These suffrage advocates carried on their separate campaigns, not to be

¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (1882; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), II, 229.

re-united until 1890, when many of the old antagonisms were no longer relevant to the new women advocating the woman's cause.

The Role of Rhetoric

In 1867 the supporters of woman suffrage were attempting to so influence the attitudes of the male electorate in Kansas as to gain passage of the woman suffrage amendment in November. This campaign for suffrage is clearly an historical occurrence, involving people, places and events. But even more clearly, it is a rhetorical event. Supporters of suffrage were not in a position to use force to gain their will, and as a disfranchised group, could not vote themselves to achieve their end. The alternative open to them involved the strategic use of persuasive appeals to modify the role of women in society. The speakers who defended the proposition, the arguments they chose to use, the audiences to which they appealed, all interacted with the arguments used by speakers for other causes and the many turns of events in the state of Kansas during the 1867 campaign. The effectiveness of the choices made by various participants in this campaign, when viewed in light of the possible alternatives available to each participant, should provide an explanation of why woman suffrage failed at this time, not only in Kansas, but nationally as well.

In the chapters which follow, three goals will guide the author in the unfolding of the campaign of 1867. First, an attempt will be made to accurately reconstruct the events which occurred throughout the campaign. Second, in the process of reconstructing the events, the human element will be introduced and the motives of the various participants will be analyzed. Finally, this study will highlight the interactions which occurred between the political events

taking place in Kansas in 1867 and the strategic decisions made by the participants in the campaign, in an attempt to understand the various forces which contributed to the defeat of the woman's amendment.

Materials necessary to the reconstruction of this campaign were derived primarily from newspapers in the eight largest cities in 1867. These cities were Leavenworth, Lawrence, Atchison, Topeka, Fort Scott, Ottawa, Emporia and Olathe. Other newspapers which were available were also searched for information. The personal papers of the Kansas natives contributed significantly to an understanding of the contributions made by these people. In addition, the various histories of woman suffrage recently published provided background information on the national participants in this campaign. In the bibliographic essay which follows this study, a more complete discussion of the sources used will be considered.

Precis of Chapters

"Bleeding Kansas"--In this first chapter the historical precedents for the campaign of 1867 are introduced. Beginning with the Constitutional Convention of 1859, the position of women in the state and the political events which lead to the campaign of 1867 are examined.

"Kansas Rules the World"--Chapter II sets the stage for the campaign to unfold. The initiators of the campaign are introduced, the early battles are fought and won, and the mood of the period is explained.

"Desolate Kansas"--The long summer months contributed significantly to the change of pace in the campaign, and in chapter III the major events which occur during this period point to the impending defeat of the

project which had such hopeful beginnings.

"Fickle Kansas"--The final drive for the ballot is made by the most prominent leaders of the suffrage cause, but the political climate in Kansas, as described in chapter IV, has undergone some changes. The opponents of woman suffrage now gain the upper hand, and the last crucial moves by the advocates of woman suffrage are made.

"The Vote"--With the loss of the election now a reality, some of the factors which contributed to defeat are highlighted and discussed in chapter V.

"Speculations"--The rhetorical choices of the participants are viewed in retrospect and the options available are highlighted, providing a measure of the rhetorical effectiveness in the campaign of 1867.

CHAPTER I
"BLEEDING KANSAS"

Slave or No

The role of women in Kansas probably begins with the establishment of the Federal territory. With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, the first white settlement of the state began. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which repealed the Missouri compromise of 1820 prohibiting slavery in the Louisiana Purchase, formed the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and provided for a new solution to the slavery question. Under this compromise, the new residents of these territories would decide the fate of the slavery issue in each, under the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." The assumption behind this compromise was that Kansas would enter as a slave state and Nebraska would be free, thus maintaining the political balance between the North and the slave-holding South. But rather than solving the problem of the expansion of slavery, this compromise brought the whole issue to a head in the state of Kansas.

Some immigration to Kansas was already taking place as trappers and traders explored the possibilities of the new territory. The desire for political power, and for easy wealth through speculation in land and railroads served as a further incentive to settlers. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill introduced the slavery issue into the territory, and immigration motivated by the slavery issue began in earnest. The Northern abolitionists had been unsuccessful in fighting slavery as an institution in their own states, and they saw the new territory as a

place where a concrete victory against slavery could be achieved. Leaders of groups such as the New England Emigrant Aid Company believed that organized settlement of the new territory provided a practical way to thwart slavery, and emigration became their holy cause.

The crowds who heard [Eli] Thayer or [Edward E.] Hale speak, or who rallied at local depots to see small bands of emigrants off to Kansas, felt a sense of participation, a unity, and a satisfaction that something was being done to control slave power. The pro-slavery partisans, West and South, were convinced that the North was using its two greatest assets, money and people, in a concerted effort to thwart their western expansion. They reacted with attempts at counter emigration and with occasional physical counterforce . . . The immediate persuasive effects of the Emigrant Aid Company were polarization in both North and South, threatened and real physical retaliation in the West.

The New England Emigrant Aid Company led the way in proposing emigration to Kansas and was joined by other New England-based groups such as the Andover band and the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony. These groups, calling themselves the "forces of law, order and decency," clashed head-on with the forces in favor of slavery who were also involved in encouraging pro-slavery emigration to Kansas. With the southern lands worn out from years of tobacco growing, and the loss of economic and political power which would accompany the elimination of slavery, the southern states were vitally concerned with retaining Kansas as a slave state. While Northern abolitionists spoke of the justice of the anti-slavery cause, Southerners spoke with equal fervor of the injustice of Northern emigration. In his dissertation concerning emigrant groups, Cole highlighted the Missouri point of view.

¹Rodney Mahlon Cole, "The Issue was Kansas: The Persuasive Campaign of the New England Emigrant Aid Company," PhD Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1970, p. 233.

To some Missourians, the actions of the New England Emigrant Aid company appeared to be a form of invasion of their natural rights. In 1855 Senator Atchison raised the question, "Was it right for the Abolitionists, one thousand miles off, to come to Kansas to vote us out of the territory, and wrong for the people of Missouri, living in sight of her green hills and broad prairies to go there to secure their homes?" To these people the confrontation of the company took the appearance of aggression into their territory.²

The confrontation between the New England anti-slavery groups and the Missouri pro-slave immigrants produced, among other things, the bogus laws instituted by border ruffians in 1855, burnings and lootings throughout the eastern borders of the new territory, and three different attempts by partisans of one side or the other to create a constitution under which the territory would become a state. The early days of Kansas were marked by a climate of violence unmatched in other new territories. Elizabeth Barr, an early Kansas pioneer, recognized the importance of her home state.

The importance of Kansas in the great affairs of men begins with her first breath. She was born in battles and cradled in wars. Civil and neighborhood strife of the most violent character cumbered her infantile [sic] abode, and destructive raids, burnings and massacre raged within her confines during her first dozen years so that her sisters called her "bleeding Kansas."³

By temporarily pushing the slavery question out of the halls of Congress into the legislatures of the two new territories, national leaders managed to avoid coming to grips with the issue for a few more years. But the violent confrontation over slavery which resulted in Kansas forshadowed the conflict which would eventually engulf the nation as a

²Ibid., p. 226.

³N. Elizabeth Barr, Beginning and Progress of Kansas ([Privately printed pamphlet], 1908), p. 15.

whole.

The hardship experienced by settlers in the emerging territory seemed to appeal to the idealists and reformers in the Eastern states. The founders of aid companies saw in the state of Kansas the opportunity to establish a new society on fertile soil. They contributed money, manpower and the leadership necessary to spark the imaginations of the people who subsequently emigrated. While the numbers of people processed by these societies was never very large, the existence of such groups provided a central focus for the frustration felt in both the north and the south over the slavery issue, and their true importance lay in the symbolic status which they acquired. Emory Lindquist recognized this symbolic nature of his home state.

Looming large in the creation of the image of Kansas were the violent and complex developments that preceded the Civil War, reaching a climax in the course of that conflict. Kansas was the center of the national crises: freedom and righteousness were the issues. Various factors, political and economic, were obviously important, but the idealism and emotion generated by the magic word "freedom," in contrast to the dreadful word "slavery" must not be underestimated.⁴

Go West Young Woman

Abolition was the issue of the day in the nation at large, and especially in Kansas. This reform movement attracted the best and most idealistic men in the country. But the movement also opened up new opportunities to women. With active participation in the abolition movement, women found the opportunity to speak in public, to conduct petition campaigns and to organize and conduct political meetings.

⁴Emory Lindquist, "Kansas: A Centennial Portrait," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXVII (Spring, 1961), 29.

In the course of their work for the freedom of the slaves, women became more and more aware of the political chains which held them in bondage to men. Catt and Shuler, authors of Woman Suffrage and Politics, and both active suffragists themselves in an earlier day, wrote in 1926 that:

No cause ever made such rapid strides as that of Woman's Rights from 1850 to 1860. Women had proved their value as reform propagandists and apparently all the leaders of the abolition and temperance movements were at length united in recognizing that fact, and all espoused their cause.⁵

After the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, woman's rights conventions became an annual occurrence. Women made progress in at least two general areas, higher education and reform movements. Mt. Holyoke, Oberlin and Antioch colleges, leaders in opening higher education to women, were joined by many colleges in the newer states, especially in the midwestern states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois. As a result women were starting to appear in such all-male professions as college teaching, medicine and the ministry. The related reform movements, temperance, abolition and woman suffrage, opened their platforms to women, and many women in addition to Stanton, Anthony and Stone gained their early speaking experience in these causes.

It was only natural, then, that a territory which was the center, at least symbolically, of the anti-slavery crusade, should attract large numbers of women who were active participants in the woman's rights movement. The first woman's rights society was organized in the Kansas territory on the 13th of February, 1858, at Moneka, Linn County. The group consisted of only twelve men and women, but they circulated

⁵Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 30.

petitions and wrote to members of territorial legislatures, constitutional conventions, state legislatures and the Congress, in an effort to gain support for constitutional guarantees for women. By 1859 this group had increased to forty, fourteen of them men. They turned their attention to gaining liberal concessions for women from the delegates gathered in Wyandotte (now Kansas City) in July, 1859, to formulate a state constitution. These men and women were attempting to influence legislation that would be liberal to women in regard to property rights, school rights, guardianship of minor children and political rights, including the right of suffrage. The leader and most dynamic member of this group was Mrs. Clarina Irene Howard Nichols.

Clarina Irene Howard Nichols

When Kansas became a state in 1861, it entered the Union with the most liberal laws granted to women to that time by any state. Most of these concessions to women had been gained at the Constitutional Convention held in Wyandotte in 1859. The credit for these gains for women goes almost exclusively to Nichols, who personally attended all of the meetings and actively lobbied for the women's cause.

Before coming to Kansas, Nichols was a resident of Vermont, where she had been an active crusader for women's rights. In 1847 she had inspired the first property laws for women in Vermont, and in 1852 had drawn up a petition signed by more than 200 businessmen asking for women's votes in district school meetings. Between 1843 and 1853 she assisted her husband, and eventually succeeded him, as editor of the Windham County Democrat. Paulina Wright Davis compared Nichols to Jane Swisshelm, one of the earliest women publishers. Davis reported that Nichols was

an able editor, not quite as radical and aggressive as Mrs. Swisshelm, yet certainly influential in creating a favorable attitude toward women's reforms in her county.⁶

Between 1854 and 1859, Nichols was involved in moving her family to Kansas, where she hoped to achieve more gains for women than were possible in Vermont. She explained her move west to a friend by stating "that it was a thousand times more difficult to procure the repeal of unjust laws in an old State, than the adoption of just laws in the organization of a new State."⁷

Nichols, now associate editor of the weekly newspaper at Quindaro, attended all sessions of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention. She was assisted by her two friends, Mother Armstrong, a leading Methodist church woman, and Mrs. Mary Tenney Gray, who later founded the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs. Together the women constantly reminded the delegates to bear in mind the needs of their female constituents.

Nichol's position in regard to woman's legal status differed somewhat from that used by many of her contemporaries. She spent but little time in trying to deny the concept of woman's sphere or in pleading for abstract rights. Rather, she explained woman's responsibilities--to raise her children, provide for her family, help in the maintenance of her husband's property, and similar duties related to

⁶Paulina W. Davis, A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement (1871; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), p. 28.

⁷Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (1887; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), III, 194.

the care of a home and family. These responsibilities, Nichols reasoned, made it essential for woman to be as well educated, and legally free as possible to fulfill her duties to the best of her ability. She justified rights with responsibilities in dealing with the delegates. On July 12, 1859, Nichols and her companions presented the delegates with a petition signed by two hundred and fifty ladies of Douglas and Shawnee counties and another petition, signed by two hundred and seventy citizens of Linn and Wyandotte counties, was presented on July 16, 1859. Both petitions urged the delegates to treat the sexes equally in all laws which they might formulate.

Nichols requested the opportunity to address the convention on behalf of the petitioners and although some delegates considered the request to be improper, William Hutchinson spoke in Nichol's behalf. He pointed out the current interest nationally in woman's rights, and conceded that hearing Nichols could probably cause little harm.⁸

The delegates voted to allow Nichols the use of the hall and in the course of her address, she outlined four main goals which the women sought. These were:

1st. Equal educational rights and privileges in all the schools and institutions of learning fostered or controlled by the State.

2nd. An equal right in all matters pertaining to the organization and conduct of the Common Schools.

3rd. Recognition of the mother's equal right with the father to the control and custody of their mutual offspring.

4th. Protection in person, property, and earnings for married women and widows the same as for men.

⁸Gustave Raymond Gaeddert, The Birth of Kansas (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1940), p. 50.

Nichols reported that "the first three were fully granted. In the final reading Kingman changed the wording of the fourth so as to preserve the infamous common law right to personal services."⁹ On the issue of voting rights, the Convention was far less agreeable. Samuel Kingman, who had actively opposed the women throughout the Convention, was in charge of the committee on the judiciary, to which the petition for equal voting rights was referred. In speaking for the committee, Kingman conceded that women, as well as men, had the common concerns of life, liberty, and property. But though women share these concerns with men, and have certain responsibilities to their families not common to men, there is reason to believe that their needs are adequately represented without recourse to the ballot. Kingman then cited the other legal concessions which women had been granted and concluded:

Such rights as are natural are now enjoyed as fully by women as men. Such rights and duties as are merely political in their character, they should be relieved from, that they may have more time to attend to those "greater and more complicated responsibilities" which, petitioners claim and your committee admits, devolve upon women. The theological view¹⁰ of this question, your committee will not consider.

Thus women managed to gain recognition of their rights in terms of property ownership, education and guardianship of children, but were still denied access into the larger arena of political power.

Through Nichol's efforts, Kansas entered the Union in 1861 with

⁹Stanton, Anthony and Gage, III, 194.

¹⁰Kansas Constitutional Convention: A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention which Framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859 (Kansas State Printing Plant: Topeka, 1920), pp. 169-70.

the most liberal laws relating to women of any other state.¹¹ As a result of her efforts, the University of Kansas, when opened in 1864, was the first state university in the United States or in the world to receive both men and women students on an equal basis. In keeping with the rules established by the Constitutional Convention, the first state legislature allowed "white female" persons to vote in school elections provided they were residents of the district and possessed the constitutional qualifications required by male voters.¹² Women were making gains during this period not only in Kansas but nationally as well. Catt and Shuler suggested that the movement was becoming respectable and had acquired the support of many respectable men and women.

In political interest women suffrage was ranking second only to the question of slavery. Both were fairly up to the doors of the national congress. Had the nation moved forward in the mood of those times, women assuredly would have been enfranchised soon, consistently with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the liberal progressive spirit which inspired the period.¹³

The War to Free the Slaves

The momentum acquired by the woman's movement between 1850 and 1860 came to a sudden halt with the outbreak of the Civil War. The women obediently put aside their own claims for equality as they worked in the war effort and in behalf of the slaves. All of the women's leaders, in spite of misgivings, gave themselves over to the cry of

¹¹ See appendix A for specific laws.

¹² Geo. W. Martin, ed., Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society--1909-1910 XI (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1910), 427.

¹³ Catt and Shuler, p. 31.

"the Negro's hour." They hoped that when the conflict was settled, their abolitionist friends would remember their unselfishness and reward them accordingly. But the leading abolitionists and the leading Republicans all deserted them. Their primary concern became the Negro's cause and the women were asked to step aside, to wait their turn. With success for Negroes near at hand, no abolitionist wished to be associated with any other cause which might hinder success.

After the war the nation was characterized by bitterness and divisiveness. There was, by the assassin's bullet, a Southern Democratic President, who was bent on a just reconstruction of the South. The Congress was controlled by Republican majorities, intent on both retribution for the rebels, and gaining 2,000,000 new Republican voters. The schism between the President and the Congress grew more bitter as the Republican goals were frustrated. The Republican platform throughout the war had demanded justice for the new freedmen. In keeping with this policy the Republicans now actively advocated suffrage for the Negro. But the policy was not receiving widespread support. Nevada was admitted as a state in 1864 with a denial of rights for Negroes a vital part of its constitution. In 1865 the states of Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Territory of Colorado, and the District of Columbia all voted against Negro suffrage. Once again Kansas found itself in the middle of the battles which divided the nation.

Kansas in 1866

But this state which was once again the focal point of a national debate was, in 1866, only five years into statehood. Most of these five years had been filled with civil strife. The land mass known

as Kansas was still clearly divided between pioneer settlers and those remaining Indians whose land had not yet been usurped. Of the one hundred and five counties which Kansas eventually contained, only forty-four had been incorporated in 1866, and while Ellis county reached out into the Indian lands, the community of Ellsworth marked the end of the established settlements. The centers of civilization in the state were found primarily in the northeastern corner, with Leavenworth being the only major city. While the population of the state was growing from 107,000 in 1860 to reach over 364,000 by 1870, Leavenworth was the only city to exceed 15,000 inhabitants by 1866. Falling far behind were Lawrence (8,320), Atchison (7,054), Topeka (5,790), and Fort Scott (4,174).¹⁴

The communications, transportation and occupations available to the people of the state in 1866 clearly demonstrated the pioneer quality of life which still existed in Kansas. The telegraph lines, which had ended at the Missouri River at the start of the Civil War, had reached the state capital of Topeka by 1866, and provided the community's primary link with the East. Although a number of eastern newspapers were circulated in Kansas, the state was exceptionally well-supplied with local newspapers. Starting in 1858 with twenty-two local papers, and in 1860 with twenty-seven, by 1866 the state could boast of forty-one newspapers, a number which placed Kansas ahead of the national average for newspapers per 1000 inhabitants. One problem resulted from so large a number of papers, for as Zornow pointed out, "the residents could not

¹⁴ Harry W. Wade, "Urban Development, Kansas," in Kansas: The First Century, ed. by John D. Bright (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., Inc., 1956), p. 268.

support so many, and so these early editors depended for survival upon patronage."¹⁵

Transportation was in its infancy and the horse and buggy provided the primary means of getting from place to place. Although many railroads had been planned prior to the War, that conflict had stopped all westward construction, and by 1866 the industry was just beginning to recover. The only railroad of substance was the Kansas Pacific, which reached from Leavenworth, through Lawrence to Topeka by January 1, 1866. Continued expansion through Junction City, Salina, and Ellsworth allowed the line to reach Hays by October, 1867. A branch of the Kansas Pacific connected Ottawa and Leavenworth, through Lawrence, but this branch was not complete until December of 1867. The Union Pacific laid tracks from Atchison to Waterville in Marshall county, a distance of about 100 miles, but no track extended beyond that point.¹⁶

The great cattle empires associated with the state of Kansas would first begin in the fall of 1867 at Abilene, and the real thrust of this industry would not be felt until the 1870's and 80's. The primary occupation of most Kansans in 1866 was agriculture, with Kansas joining Iowa, southern Minnesota and Nebraska in providing more than one third the farm population of the nation. As Nevins pointed out, immediately following the Civil War and in the years beyond, the large part of the farm population of the nation lived under pioneer or semi-pioneer

¹⁵William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 119.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 137-40.

conditions, facing frontier hardships and deprivations.¹⁷

The publicity gained by the emigrant companies led many to believe that Kansas was settled exclusively by New Englanders. Although the influence of New England was a considerable factor in the founding of the state, and many of the early leaders, such as Governor Charles Robinson, had been sons of New England, the majority of the later settlers came not from New England, but from the middle states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky.¹⁸ These people, leaving the farming communities of the middle states to seek cheap land under the homestead act, were joined by a number of ethnic groups seeking the same end. Severe famines in Scandinavia in the 1860's led many Norwegians and Swedes to immigrate to America, and many to Kansas. The Norwegians settled in Eureka, in Greenwood county, and later in Cloud, Clay, Brown, Labette, and Republic counties. The Swedes, coming late in the 1860's, settled in the Neosho and Smokey valleys, founding the city of Lindsborg. The same period of time saw increasing numbers of German settlers coming, primarily to Marshall and Washington counties. Marion County had a settlement of Pennsylvania Dutch and there was another German settlement at Alma, in Wabaunsee County. Some German influence was felt in Atchison, but the number of German people in that area was never great. In addition to the ethnic groups that settled in Kansas during the 1860's, the Civil War provided impetus to two classes of displaced persons to seek new homes there also.

¹⁷Allan Nevins, Kansas and the Stream of American Destiny (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1954), p. 154.

¹⁸Lindquist, p. 27.

Many Negroes, now finding themselves citizens, but little else, moved to Kansas in hopes of fleeing the conditions of slavery from which they were newly freed. A second group consisted of the many Union soldiers, who were now out of the army, and also out of work. They migrated primarily to the southeastern counties of Kansas. These various groups represented many diverse backgrounds and cultures, but found themselves sharing many similarities in the new state. William Zornow described living conditions in the newly-formed state.

Kansas was the state of the young settler; more than 90 per cent of its inhabitants were under forty years of age. The exuberance and recklessness characteristic of these early days were probably due to the fact that many were so young, but life in Kansas was not for the aged. Frame houses were a rarity. The majority of the people lived in log cabins or dugouts where the family and livestock were thrown together indiscriminately. Living under such conditions was bound to produce illness, and many residents "agued around" with "Kansas fever" or "Kansas itch."¹⁹

The reality of Kansas life as Zornow described it contrasted considerably with the view of Kansas held by many easterners who dreamed of the romantic life on the wide open prairies, free from all cares. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the women who came to campaign in Kansas in 1867, had just this sort of vision of Kansas as she wrote in her autobiography of the romantic freedom of the white-covered wagons, the novelty of the journey west.

Heretofore my idea had been that pioneer life was a period of romantic freedom. When the long, white-covered wagons, bound for the far West, passed by, I thought of the novelty of a six months' journey through the bright spring and summer days in a house on wheels, meals under shady trees and beside babbling brooks, sleeping in the open air, and finding a home, at last, where land was cheap, the soil rich and deep, and where the grains,

¹⁹Zornow, p. 118.

vegetables, fruit,²⁰ and flowers grew bountifully with but little toil . . .

After traveling through much of Kansas during the fall of 1867, Mrs. Stanton was forced to revise her appraisal of the romantic life of the frontier, as she survived on a diet of dried herring, crackers, gum arabic, and slippery elm, and learned to sleep with fleas, pigs, mice and every other imaginable creature. Not only were eastern visitors to Kansas unprepared for the realities of frontier life, but they were also misled about the political climate which existed there. The role which Kansas had played in the early battles for free-state status, and the prominence of Kansas politicians with New England backgrounds, led many to see Kansas as peopled by men of principle and high ideals. Partisans of many reform measures expected the native Kansans to be in the forefront of reform activity. Again reality contrasted considerably with this romantic view, as Henry Blackwell discovered when he campaigned for woman suffrage in 1867. He described the people as "a queer mixture of roughness and intelligence, recklessness, and conservatism."²¹ At another point he suggested that "there is no such love of principle here as I expected to find. Each man goes for himself, and 'the devil take the hindmost'."²²

It was to this frontier state, peopled primarily by the young, concerned primarily with survival under pioneering conditions, that the National Republican party turned to fulfill its program of Negro suffrage.

²⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More--Reminiscences 1815-1897 (1889; rpt. New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 251.

²¹ Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 235-36.

²² Ibid., pp. 234-35.

Since most of the early Free State Party had been inherited by the Republican party, and those Union veterans who had migrated to Kansas were also loyal to the Republican party, the state provided a fertile testing ground for the party program of Negro suffrage and retribution for the South. When the national party leaders sent out an urgent call for all states under Republican control to work for the passage of a Negro suffrage bill, the leaders in Kansas had little hesitancy in responding. Bitterness against the copperheads and rebels already ran high. The Oskaloosa Township Republican Club was typical of many which had been formed during this period. In its statement of purpose, the whole political scene was highlighted.

Purpose: Keeping traitors and copperheads out of the Halls of Congress, of the State Legislatures and all other offices of trust or profit, and of asserting and maintaining the right of the Loyal People thru their representatives in Congress to fix and determine the conditions on which States lately in rebellion shall be permitted to participate in the government of the U.S., who were true to the country and its flag during the time of its greatest trial, who believe that Treason should be made odious and Traitors be compelled to take back seats, and whose motto is "Congress as it is,"²³ and none others, are eligible for membership in this club.

As this statement of purpose clearly shows, the mood in Kansas was not primarily an idealistic desire to give justice to the new freedmen, but recognition of the value of the Negro vote in accomplishing the goal of subjection of the South.

In conjunction with the mood of the times and with the urgent plea from national leaders, the Kansas Republican Party placed a plank in their platform on September 8, 1866, recommending that the Legislature of the state submit the question of impartial suffrage to a vote of the people. The supporters of woman suffrage in the state saw this plank

²³Oskaloosa Independent, August 18, 1866.-

as a chance to attempt to eliminate both kinds of discrimination, against Negroes and against women, and so began circulating petitions to be presented to the next legislature in support of the women's demands. These activities set the stage for the campaign of 1867.

CHAPTER II
"KANSAS RULES THE WORLD"

The Vindictives

The bitter antagonisms of the Civil War did not subside with the cessation of fighting, and the political climate in Kansas was a clear indication of the battles yet to be fought. Ernest Bader, in discussing the role of Senator James Lane of Kansas in the reconstruction battle, pointed to the mood which existed.

White-hot interest was manifest in Kansas in the great reconstruction drama beginning in Washington in 1865. Feelings inflamed by the fighting of the war were brought to a fever pitch by the assassination of President Lincoln. The vast majority of Kansans were in sympathy with the aims of the "vindictives" who were gradually coming to dominate Congress.¹

Senator Lane was not in sympathy with the "vindictives" who sought retaliation against Southern leaders, and supported the more moderate approach advocated by President Andrew Johnson. This support received such condemnation from persons in his native state that Lane returned to Kansas in 1866 to defend his position. The vituperation which greeted him was a significant contributor to his suicide shortly thereafter. Lane's death and the sentiments which contributed to it clearly indicated that the Republican party in Kansas stood squarely behind the national party platform of humiliating the South. And an integral

¹Ernest B. Bader, "Kansas: The First Decade of Statehood, 1861-1871," in Kansas: The First Century, ed. by John D. Bright (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., Inc., 1956), p. 214.

part of that platform involved granting suffrage to the Negro both in the South and in the Union states as well. The state Republican Party in 1866 committed the party to the submission of an amendment for Negro suffrage in the next legislative session. True to this pledge, B.F. Simpson, Senator from Miami County, during the opening days of the 1867 Legislature, introduced an amendment to the Constitution which would strike the word "white." This amendment would allow all rights and privileges of citizens of the state to be opened to Negroes. The Negro suffrage amendment opened the way for woman suffrage, which became an issue through the political machinations of Samuel Wood of Chase County.

Sam Wood and the Word "Male"

Samuel Newitt Wood had come to Kansas in 1854 from Morrow County, Ohio, and by 1867 had tried his hand as a farmer, businessman, editor, land agent, railroad promoter, and lawyer. Above all he was a political agitator, belonging first to the Free-Soil Party and then moving with most of that party to the Republican ranks. He gained a Senate seat as a representative from Chase County with Republican support. But the Emporia News suggested that he also garnered Democratic supporters who expected him to oppose Negro suffrage.² When Wood offered to amend Simpson's Negro suffrage proposition by striking the word "male" as well, Democratic senators saw his move as a ploy to defeat the Negro suffrage amendment and immediately lent their support to woman suffrage. While Wood maintained steadfastly that he was sincere in his support for the women, and had always been in favor of woman's rights, the

²Emporia News, April 19, 1867.

radical Republicans and the prominent Negroes in Kansas believed with the Democrats that Wood was using the woman issue for political purposes. C. H. Langston, Negro orator and leader of the Negro activists in Kansas, rebuked Wood for being responsible for all of the "dodging" and the frivolous, extraneous and destructive motions which the Senate had tried to attach to the Negro suffrage amendment. Langston intended to hold Wood responsible if Negro suffrage were defeated, since he believed the insignificant amendments added to the Negro suffrage amendment were merely delaying tactics being employed by Wood.³ Despite the pleadings of the Negroes and the urgings of the Republicans for Wood to act for the good of the party, Sam steadfastly held out for his woman suffrage amendment and a majority vote in the Senate sent the amended bill to the House.

The House struck woman suffrage and all other amendments from the Negro suffrage bill, but each time they returned it to the Senate, Sam Wood and a group of Democrats and Republicans defeated it. Wood insisted that he was in favor of both Negro and woman suffrage, "but if we can have but one, let the negro [sic] wait."⁴ Since Sam Wood and his supporters were in a position to deny the Republicans the Negro suffrage amendment by holding out for women's votes or no votes at all, the Republicans were forced to compromise and allow a separate woman suffrage amendment in order to assure a vote on Negro suffrage. So the woman suffrage issue became a reality through political blackmail.

³Sister Jeanne McKenna, "With the Help of God and Lucy Stone," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXXVI (Spring, 1970), 16.

⁴Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (1882; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), II, 250.

In the compromise that was reached, the Legislature agreed to submit two separate amendments to the voters of the state, one to strike the word "white" and one to strike the word "male." A third amendment, to restrict the franchise to those men loyal to the Union during the Civil War, was also passed. These three amendments were announced on March 3, 1867.

The Press Responds

The discussion of the woman suffrage amendment caught both partisans and opponents by surprise. As an issue, woman suffrage had fallen into relative obscurity after the Civil War. Women had made considerable gains in Kansas prior to the war, but concern for reconstruction had received primary attention after 1865 and the woman issue had been pushed to the background. Those women who had earlier worked for their own needs in Kansas were still active in their own circles, but no state-wide activities had been conducted. The surprise with which most citizens viewed the woman suffrage amendment was reflected in newspaper coverage of the Legislative debate. Early responses to the possibility of woman suffrage were all one-sided--decidedly negative. As early as February 14, John Speers of the Lawrence Weekly Tribune, a later supporter of woman suffrage, suggested that the Legislature's consideration of woman suffrage was unwise.

We do not want to hazard negro [sic] suffrage upon the issue of female suffrage, nor vice versa. Let us enact both, if possible, but don't hazard either branch of the subject in the hope to secure both; in other words, keep the two subjects separate. Let us rally to the advocacy of negro [sic] suffrage by itself; we may lose it if loaded with any ballast. . .

⁵Lawrence Weekly Tribune, February 14, 1867.

The Leavenworth Conservative and the Olathe Mirror were more direct in their analysis of the woman suffrage amendment, the latter suggesting that "the Senate's amendment was made in order to kill the proposed amendment to our constitution."⁶ While many members of the House were aware of the existing negative opinion, and had voiced similar concerns in the Legislature, faced with the choice of passing both amendments or neither, they had chosen to submit woman suffrage to a popular vote. With the matter settled at that point, a number of editors who were primarily in favor of Negro suffrage now offered to support woman suffrage for the sake of saving their much needed amendment. The Manhattan Independent voiced the opinion of many of the Republican editors when on March 23 it suggested:

We are for giving women the right to vote--or rather for recognizing their right and asking them to assist, maintain and act under it, we should not perhaps have voted for submitting the question just yet, had we been a member of the Legislature. But now that it has been submitted and the matter brought about, at least in part by the enemies of impartial suffrage, thinking to defeat all efforts in that direction, we believe the right way to be to accept the situation and give the old fogie, rebels, conservatives, and atediluvians [sic] "Hail Columbia."

The Lawrence Tribune, as did most Republican newspapers, joined in this sentiment, and gave to woman suffrage the limited support born out of resignation to a situation which could not be changed and which now must be coped with. Recognizing that Negro and woman suffrage were inseparable issues in the forthcoming campaign, these editors proceeded to give cautious support to both.

⁶Olathe Mirror, February 21, 1867.

⁷Manhattan Independent, March 23, 1867.

With The Help of Lucy Stone

Once the woman suffrage amendment became a reality Wood recognized the need to create public support for the measure. He called a convention for April 2, 1867 in Topeka for the purpose of organizing workers to canvass the state. Wood sent out notices to all the major papers inviting state leaders and supporters of both woman and Negro suffrage to attend. The printed notices suggested that national suffrage leaders had been invited and that among those who might attend were Hon. Ben Wade, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Tilton, Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott, Caroline Severance, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna E. Dickinson and Lucy Stone.⁸ Of those invited, Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell arrived to speak at the meeting, with promises of later visits by Stanton and Anthony and perhaps some of the abolitionist leaders.

Lucy Stone had been an active speaker in the abolitionist cause, serving as a lecturer for the Anti-Slavery Society in the 1850's. Her work with abolition, and her early experiences as one of the first women graduates of Oberlin, led her also into the woman suffrage movement. Although in 1867, at age 49, she had been semi-retired from lecturing for women's rights, the invitation by Stanton and Anthony to campaign in Kansas was too much of a temptation for Stone to forego.

Henry Blackwell, her husband, came from a prominent New England family, long active in the abolitionist cause and other prominent reforms of the day. His brother Samuel married Antoinette Brown, the first regularly trained woman minister. His sister Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman doctor. Henry's marriage to Lucy Stone in 1855

⁸Kansas Weekly Tribune, March 21, 1867.

did not silence Lucy's tongue as many of her opponents had hoped, but made another convert for the cause of woman's emancipation.

Although some Republicans still questioned Wood's motives for supporting woman suffrage, the presence of Stone and Blackwell gave some credibility to "Sam Wood's convention" and a number of Republican leaders consented to attend. Personal appeals by Lucy Stone brought ex-Governors Charles Robinson and J. P. Root. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols of Quindaro completed the slate of notables in attendance. The presence of Charles Robinson proved invaluable to the implementation of a suffrage organization. As the first Free-state Governor of Kansas, he was familiar with the political sympathies of the leaders in the state, and was also in a position to lend his personal prestige to the campaign. He was an experienced campaigner, and Lucy Stone recognized this trait, saying he "is a masterly tactician, cool, wary, cautious, decided, and brave as a lion."⁹ At the urging of Robinson, the convention adopted the name Impartial Suffrage Society, rather than Universal Suffrage Society, which seemed more appropriate to the plea for both Negro and woman suffrage. Robinson's motives are hard to discern, but it does seem probable that his choice of terms was an attempt to keep the woman suffrage cause linked to the Negro cause and thus gain Republican support for both. As Catt and Shuler pointed out, the term "universal suffrage" would include both Northern white women and Southern white traitors as well, both groups given no particular support by the Republican party. The term "impartial" had been used by the Republicans to refer to suffrage for black and loyal males and by adopting this name,

⁹Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 233.

the cause could be made more palatable to those Republicans whose first duty was to the Negro. The term also allowed Republicans to maintain a neutral position, coming out in favor of impartial suffrage, but never clearly defining who was included in the term. The value of ambiguity in the name is apparent in the resolution stating the objects of the Association.

Resolved; That the objects of this Association are to circulate documents, hold meetings, and adopt such other measures as may be necessary to present the question of Impartial Suffrage fully and fairly to the people of the State of Kansas.¹⁰

What this name and resolution succeeded in doing, was to place the Republicans in a difficult position. Whenever the partisans advocated "impartial suffrage," meaning "Negros" they would also, inadvertently, be supporting woman suffrage. To avoid this problem Republicans would have to specifically favor Negro suffrage and oppose woman suffrage. Such a declaration placed its proponents in the contradictory position of giving the vote to blacks and at the same time denying votes to women. Only the most outspoken opponents of woman suffrage chose this course of action. The mainstays of the Republican Party steadfastly argued for impartial suffrage, and carefully avoided any attempt to specify what their use of the term implied.

A second strategic move involved electing most of the prominent state Republicans to offices in the newly formed organization. Thus the following officers were elected: Governor Samuel J. Crawford, president; Lieutenant-Governor Nehemiah Green, vice president; Samuel N. Wood, corresponding secretary; John Ritchie, treasurer; and Miss Minnie Otis,

¹⁰Emporia News, April 12, 1867.

recording secretary.¹¹ An executive committee consisting of former governor Charles Robinson, J. P. Root, J. B. Abbot, Col. Moonlight, and all the members of the Supreme Court was also established. Henry Blackwell, in a letter to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, points to the strategy involved in these choices.

Have appointed a leading man in every judicial district member of the executive Committee, and have some of the leading Congregational, Old School, and New School Presbyterian ministers, committed for both questions; have already secured a majority of the newspapers of the State, and if Lucy and I succeed in "getting up steam" as we hope in Lawrence, Wyandotte, Leavenworth, and Atchison, the woman and the negro [sic] will rise or fall together, and shrewd politicians say² that with proper effort we shall carry both next fall.

Blackwell's choices for officers represented the most prominent Republicans in the state and the prospect of gaining support from these men left the organizers of the convention full of enthusiasm. However, what Blackwell neglected to mention was that these men were announced as officers first and contacted later for support. Although many of the officers and committeemen named did agree to serve, there were some notable exceptions. As the Atchison Daily Champion points out, Chief Justice Kingman, appointed to the executive committee along with the other members of the supreme court, had been a long and vocal foe of woman suffrage.¹³ It was his report in the Constitutional Convention of 1859 which denied suffrage to women at the founding of the state. And as the Champion suggested, his sympathies had not changed

¹¹ Atchison Daily Champion, April 5, 1867.

¹² Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 232-33.

¹³ Atchison Daily Champion, April 5, 1867.

since then. Similarly, S. N. Strickler of Junction City, in his response to the invitation to serve on the committee told Sam Wood: "I have no sympathy whatever in your foolish and impracticable [sic] association and can not in any way carry out your wishes."¹⁴

Henry Blackwell was aware that endorsements from party leaders were only part of the ammunition needed to carry woman suffrage, and he recommended to Sam Wood that plans be made for setting up a suffrage association in each county and having county workers speak to each voter in their area. In addition to giving pamphlets and personal attention to each voter, it would be wise for women to personally appear at the polls to ask each voter to support their cause. Sam Wood seemed to concur in this assessment, for he outlined just these kinds of plans when he wrote to Susan B. Anthony at the Equal Rights Association meeting, reporting the progress of the convention in Topeka.

We desire to extend our meetings to every neighborhood in Kansas; reach, if possible, the ear of every voter. For this purpose we must enlist every speaker possible. We shall arrange series of meetings in all parts of the State, commencing about September 1st, and running through September and October. We desire speakers to advocate the broad doctrine of Impartial Suffrage, but welcome those who advocate either. Those who desire colored suffrage alone, are invited to take the field; also those who favor only female suffrage. Each help the other.

I am instructed by the State Impartial Suffrage Executive Committee to ask you to aid us, and speak at as many of our meetings as possible. Please answer at once, and let us know how much time you can spend in the campaign, and what part of the State you prefer to speak in.¹⁵

Anthony read this letter to the delegates, indicated her intention to campaign in Kansas in the fall, and sought financial and moral support

¹⁴Woman Suffrage Letters, Kansas State Historical Society Collection, April 7, 1867.

¹⁵Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (New York: Robert J. Johnston, Printer, 1867), p. 73.

from the assemblage.

The Unparalleled Canvass

The first speakers to respond to the need voiced by Wood were Clarina Nichols and Lucy Stone. Nichols was the emigrant from Vermont who had worked successfully for woman's rights during the Kansas Constitutional Convention of 1859. Her suffrage work had continued during the years between statehood and the 1867 campaign, as she petitioned each successive Legislature for the full rights of citizenship for women. During the Civil War, Nichols, like other woman suffrage advocates, suspended her activities for the sake of national unity, assuming that women would not be forgotten in the peace which followed the war. After the war, with the call for "the Negro's hour" ringing in her ears, she returned to petitioning the Legislature for women's rights, and perhaps some of the credit for the limited support for the amendment of 1867 might be attributed to her keeping the issue before the Legislators for all those years. She spoke briefly at the suffrage convention, gave several lectures during late April and May around her native Quindaro, then retired to her home until the fall when she again participated in the final struggles of the campaign. No record of her speeches is extant, and limited coverage of her remarks indicates only that she was a "strong and forceful speaker."¹⁶

Lucy Stone was the most prominent speaker attracted to the Kansas campaign in 1867. In her speeches she tried to develop three arguments, the first of which was that the principles which the Republicans were espousing for the Negro cause were equally applicable to women. She

¹⁶Wyandotte Gazette, May 11, 1867.

pointed out that if all power is inherent in the people, and if government is by the consent of the governed, women should be granted the ballot in order to exercise these rights. Giving the ballot to Negroes and not to women would not only be unjust, but degrading as well.

In her second argument she tried to show what good could be accomplished by women voting, citing an end to intemperance, an improvement in the laws, and the purifying of politics. Finally she claimed no harm would come to women from voting, and in support of this third point, she referred to the period in New Jersey history when property was the only qualification for the franchise, and thus many women were allowed to vote, with no detriment to the women or to the state. This right was eliminated only when property was eliminated as the voting criteria and white manhood substituted, thus excluding women and Negroes. From April 2 to May 20, Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell carried these messages to the people in the more populous counties of northeastern Kansas, concentrating primarily on Douglas, Leavenworth, Jefferson and Johnson counties.

There were basically two responses to Lucy Stone by Kansas editors. The first, obviously, was antagonism and attack. Many editors took exception to Lucy Stone's retaining her maiden name, suggesting that perhaps she and Henry Blackwell were not really married, and that she and the "puppydog on a leash" who accompanied her were actually living in sin. This charge was coupled with the suggestion that Stone was a free-lover and in favor of women getting easy divorces and abandoning their children. Although Lucy published the marriage contract which she and Henry had signed, and received signed statements from people who had witnessed the marriage ceremony, the charge continued

to appear in the speeches of certain anti-woman suffrage advocates. The "morning star of the woman's rights movement"¹⁷ was not universally admired for her speaking ability, either. The editor of the Oskaloosa Independent suggested that as an orator, Lucy was nothing special.

Now we heard Lucy some years ago; and we do not think it any part of vanity or self-boasting at all to say that we can "get up" as good a lecture as she then made. It might, however, require the addition of hoop skirts, etc. to give it the same effect in a promiscuous audience. Lucy is sharp, sarcastic, incisive--she lacks depth, comprehensiveness, profound thought. In her way she analyzes; but if a man should make the same points, use the same arguments, dissect matters in the same style, the effort would not be lauded; it would not be classed as more than medium, if above the ordinary, of intelligent men...¹⁸

Although the editor believed Lucy Stone could not "get up" a good argument, in his report of her speech in Oskaloosa on May 25, he decided to use three full columns to adequately refute the positions she had maintained during her stay in his city.

The most biting criticism, however, came not from the editors, but from other women. After her speech in Baldwin, which the Lawrence Tribune¹⁹ described as a highly successful event, a woman from Baldwin took exception to Lucy Stone and her arguments, pointing out that the women of Kansas were well represented by their men, that the curse of Eve had clearly defined woman's place, and that any woman who spoke of Negroes, prostitutes and of encountering dangers while walking the streets at midnight, could not be a very virtuous lady. In the conclusion to her letter to the editor, she called upon her fellow

¹⁷ Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 69.

¹⁸ Oskaloosa Independent, April 13, 1867.

¹⁹ Lawrence Weekly Tribune, April 18, 1867.

Kansans to not be misled by the likes of Lucy Stone:

Let the Lucy Stone's, Antoinette Brown's, Maria Child's and the very few others,---thank fortune they are but few--- spread themselves over Kansas or elsewhere, haranguing mixed audiences, if they will. I do trust that both men and women with "brains," in our glorious young State, will not be deluded into the idea of giving sanction to this proposed political reform; and above all let not the great Republican party of Kansas allow to be fastened upon it this incubus of "impartial suffrage" this chimera of "woman's²⁰ rights," which is only wrong and that continually . . .

This variety of "argument" was difficult for Stone and Blackwell to counter. If they answered with arguments in favor of woman suffrage, they did not respond to the ideas mentioned, and if they answered in kind, the results were usually degenerating and fruitless. For the most part, Stone continued to argue the issues, and refused to acknowledge personal attacks against her.

The second response to Lucy Stone was more favorable, and came from the editors more sympathetic to the woman suffrage cause. In their reports of Stone's speeches, those editors favorable to or neutral about the cause referred not to the arguments she used, but rather described her physical appearance and her manner of speaking. Reports of her speeches abounded with the terms "well known and able speaker," "able advocate," "a woman of purpose and of thought," "a pleasant, graceful, and effective speaker." The Emporia News gave the most extensive coverage of her speeches in that area, and the editor's remarks are also most typical of this kind of response.

Lucy Stone is an almost middle-aged woman, not tall, full in figure, her dress simple and substantial, and in her manner lady-like, womanly and attractive.

Her address was certainly an able and effective one.

²⁰Ibid., April 25, 1867.

There was no attempt at pretentious oratory, but a plain, simple, straightforward statement of facts. The logic of the address was certainly incontrovertible, and the emotional force at times strong enough to move almost the whole audience to tears. . . ²¹

The absence of any discussion of the issues which Stone was trying to raise is particularly conspicuous in view of the lengthy refutation found in papers antagonistic to woman suffrage. This avoidance of the issues indicates the lack of serious consideration given to the woman suffrage amendment. Through their indifference, the editors pictured Lucy Stone as a diversion, and granted her the kind of coverage which they would give to any entertaining act which came to town. The editor of the Oskaloosa Independent spoke to this point in his column on May 11, 1867.

Of course, every body will go to hear Lucy. This will be the case with any woman who speaks in public until the occurrence [sic] becomes common. The novelty of the thing alone will draw a crowd. Lucy Stone is a lady of talent; has been engaged in public speaking for years, and will entertain an assembly well. If her style has not changed since her marriage, the "lords of creation" will get some pretty hard knocks--many of them well-deserved. ²²

Without meaning to, the opposition editors did woman suffrage more justice in their papers than did the friends of the cause. In their open attacks and attempts to refute the arguments raised by suffrage advocates, they at least granted the woman's movement legitimacy, and in this opposition, brought the movement to the attention of their readers. The friends of the movement, in their superficial coverage, denied that woman suffrage, as an arguable issue, even existed in the campaign of 1867.

²¹Emporia News, April 19, 1867.

²²Oskaloosa Independent, May 11, 1867.

The superficial support given by editors in Kansas was superior to the attention which the campaign in Kansas received from the national papers which should have befriended them. Suffrage advocates looked eagerly for support from friends such as Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, Theodore Tilton's Independent and Wendell Phillip's Anti-Slavery Standard.²³ But few of the Eastern papers supported or even mentioned the Kansas campaign. Their support was constantly solicited by Lucy Stone in Kansas, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, from New York, yet they chose to remain silent on the issue because this was "the Negro's hour." This silence from national Republicans and abolitionists was carefully noted by leaders in Kansas, who also remained silent on the issue.

In letters to Eastern friends, Stone and Blackwell described their meetings differently than did the newspapers. They frequently referred to the large and enthusiastic crowds which greeted each of their speaking engagements. To the Kansas farmer, isolated from most of the opportunities for diversion found in the more civilized parts of the country, any speaker presented the opportunity to come to town and enjoy a sociable outing. And as the editor in Oskaloosa so clearly saw, the chance to hear a woman speaker was such a novel event, no Kansan could pass up the opportunity.

As the speakers passed through each community, they tried to leave behind a sufficient number of pamphlets to continue the interest in woman suffrage which they had initiated. A speech given by Clarina Nichols at the Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, Massachusetts,

²³Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 54.

October 15, 1851, entitled "The Responsibilities of Woman," was one of the most widely circulated pamphlets.²⁴ In this speech Nichols announces that she will not deal with the justice of woman's claim to suffrage, since all open-minded people will readily see this need. She also declines to argue for woman's rights, and instead turns to what she calls a discussion of woman's responsibilities. Her major premise is that women have many responsibilities in our society, including raising their children to be intelligent and productive citizens, helping their husbands in all ways, especially in times of sickness or injury, compensating for the evils caused by worthless husbands, and keeping self and family together and provided for during sickness and death of the husband.

She next tries to show that women can not fulfill these responsibilities because of the narrow definition of woman's sphere. Since it seems unreasonable to believe that God would give woman such vast responsibilities without the necessary abilities to fulfill them, the hindrances imposed on woman must be created by man. Nichols concludes from these observations that woman must be granted education and legal rights equal to those held by man so as to fulfill her God-given responsibilities to herself, her husband and her children. Once artificial legal barriers are removed, woman will be able to function as man's equal, as God originally intended.

This speech, so important to the needs of eastern women in 1851, was an anachronism in Kansas in 1867. The women appealed to, and the needs sought, are both irrelevant. Women in Kansas had little

²⁴Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, The Responsibilities of Woman (New York: American Equal Rights Association, 1867), p. 2.

need to exploit their physical virtues to attract men. Their scarcity on the lonely prairie made women a much sought after commodity. And the traditional prairie attire of short skirts, trousers, and bare feet did not lend themselves to the style conscious courting of the more established Eastern states.²⁵ Property rights, rights of inheritance, the right to children and the right to education which Nichols saw as important to women's fulfilling their responsibilities, in 1851, had all been granted to the women of Kansas either at the Constitutional Convention of 1859 or by the state Legislature of 1861. Opponents of woman suffrage in 1867 repeatedly pointed to these gains made by women in Kansas in maintaining that women had little need for the vote to achieve their goal of self-protection.

A second pamphlet distributed in Kansas was written by Henry Blackwell and aimed at the Southern leaders who were resisting Congressional attempts at reconstruction. Entitled "What the South Can Do", the pamphlet suggested that since the South could not again resort to military action to defy Northern dictates, and because Southern leaders could not suppress the rights of Negroes for much longer, that they should enfranchise their women to serve as a counter-balance to the coming Negro votes. After comparing the number of white men and white women with the number of black men and women in the South, Blackwell shows the wisdom of his suggestion.

If you must try the Republican experiment, try it fully and fairly. Since you are compelled to union with the North, remove every seed of future controversy. If you are to share the future government of your States with a race you deem naturally and hopelessly inferior, avert

²⁵William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 118.

the social chaos, which seems to you so imminent, by utilizing the intelligence and patriotism of the wives and daughters of the South. Plant yourselves upon the logical Northern principle. Then no new demands can ever be made upon you. No future inroads of fanaticism can renew sectional discord.²⁶

Blackwell's appeal to the Southern leaders fell on relatively deaf ears in the South, and fared not much better in Kansas. The Republican party was advocating Negro suffrage not so much because it was just, although they voiced that sentiment, but because the enfranchisement of Southern Negroes could be used to humiliate and disgrace the rebellious Southern whites. The knowledge that the Southern whites could evade this impending punishment through the enfranchisement of women would make the "vindictives" even more opposed to the advance of the woman's cause than they already were. And the subtle racism apparent in Blackwell's pamphlet further convinced the proponents of black suffrage that the women's advocates were willing to play the Negro amendment off against the woman's in order to achieve success for the latter.

A third pamphlet was circulated by the Kansas Impartial Suffrage Association in response to the arguments being used against the woman suffrage amendment in Kansas. In discussing "The Nonsense of It," the proponents of woman suffrage listed eight arguments which were being used against the women, and answered each with the women's position. In this pamphlet, the Association tried to prove that women and their families would not be harmed by women going to the polls, and to show that women were not inherently limited to the life at home, apart from civic affairs. The tactic used was to point to the inconsistencies in the opponent's charges. On one hand, women were accused

²⁶ Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 930.

of being totally different from men, and thus unable to dabble in politics successfully, yet despite this supposed difference, men then claimed to be able to adequately represent the needs of women in governmental actions. In this pamphlet, the Association claimed that such arguments could no longer be held valid, and thus women must be granted the ballot.

The amount of it all is, that woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. All attempts to evade this, end in inconsistency and nonsense. Either she must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit in the slightest degree, her right to education or to property, and she must have the right of suffrage in order to protect the property, and use the education. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of democratic government.²⁷

This pamphlet was the only one written by a group of Kansans for distribution in their own state. It was addressed, not to the needs of other women in other sections of the country, but to the men who were to decide woman's enfranchisement in Kansas. Avoiding utopian claims for the enfranchisement of women, this pamphlet refers directly to the arguments being used in this campaign, and asks only for a fair hearing of the issues which women were raising.

In addition to these three primary pamphlets, limited circulation was given to reprints of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's argument before the Constitutional Convention, Parker Pillsbury's "Mortality of Nations," Thomas Wentworth Higginson's "Woman and Her Wishes," Henry Ward Beecher's "Woman's Duty to Vote," and the speeches of John Stuart Mill, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and George William

²⁷Topeka Tribune, April 12, 1867.

Curtis.²⁸

The opponents of the woman suffrage amendment were not organized at this point in the campaign, and did not have speakers to canvass the state, nor pamphlets to distribute in support of their point of view. The attacks on the amendment were primarily carried on by individual correspondents writing letters to sympathetic editors. The most comprehensive statement of the opposition position appeared in the Atchison Daily Champion on April 23, 1867, where the editor attempted to gather all of the arguments together in one article. He suggested that there were eight strong reasons why women should not be given the ballot. The first was the "law of distinctivity," by which God had given different spheres of activity to men and women and it was His wish that they each remain in their appointed place. Secondly, women were unable to physically perform the duties of citizens, such as bearing arms and performing male work, and thus could not defend the rights of citizenship. Third, the harmony of the home would be hopelessly shattered if political disputes came into the family circle. As a fourth consideration, women would use the vote to change the institution of marriage, in the same way that Lucy Stone had already done. Fifth, women were adequately represented by men, as the very liberal laws of Kansas clearly demonstrate. They have been unable to show that men have not worked to the best interests of the women of the state. A sixth consideration is the degradation which women would face when entering the polls and participating in the political process. Society would be the loser if feminine purity were destroyed at the polls. Related to this is the seventh consideration, that women's

²⁸Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 239.

purity can only be maintained if not subject to attack, and so once women leave the safety of their homes, female purity would be a thing of the past. The last problem is the effect which voting would have on the individual woman. As the current breed of woman suffrage advocates clearly show, women who leave their proper sphere become a "monstrous perversion alike of the laws of nature and the laws of God."²⁹ The editor is therefore opposed to woman suffrage for the good of women, seeing his action as a defence of the purity of women, the sanctity of the home and the harmony of society.

The strategy used by the opponents of woman suffrage involved calling up the picture of an idealized woman, secure in her home with her family. Beginning with this emotional portrait of women, opponents could point to the destructive forces which would be brought to bear on this sentimental scene if women voted. While this sentimental and idealized picture of women may seem almost maudlin to the twentieth century critic, it was a true picture of male attitudes toward women in the 1860's. Kirk Porter, in his analysis of Suffrage in the United States, points to the strength with which such sentiments were held.

Thus it was that mental pictures of women in their domestic occupations, glorification of womanly virtues and distinctly womanly functions, and dire threats of what might happen if she took part in politics stirred an unreasoning sentimentalism that could withstand much harder blows than rational arguments ever could. It is this sentiment, prejudice if you wish to call it so, that has been the most effectual block to woman suffrage.³⁰

While speakers, pamphlets and newspaper editorials primarily reflected the discussion of the issues which took place during the

²⁹Atchison Daily Champion, April 23, 1867.

³⁰Kirk H. Porter, A History of Suffrage in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918), p. 238.

campaign of 1867, a third element, the use of invective, must not be totally overlooked. This tactic was indulged in by speakers on both sides of the question and certainly had some effect upon the outcome of the election. The attacks on Lucy Stone because of her marriage protest and because of her presence on a public platform have already been mentioned. In addition to calling him a "political hack," "hucksterer," and a "gasbag," papers repeatedly suggested that Wood's motives in supporting woman suffrage were less than sincere. Editor Martin suggested that "this whole movement is one of the shabbiest and most disgusting of the many tricks and shams for which Sam Wood has always been notorious."³¹ This sentiment was concurred in by the editor of the Oskaloosa Independent.

This subject is being quite extensively discussed in this State. Sam Wood is riding the hobby, "booted and spurred," with all his might--a bad indication, for if Sam ever worked for any measure without a selfish consideration and a base motive, we should like to know when and where.³²

While Wood had been involved in many shady practices, it was unreasonable to believe that he could have the considerable influence that was attributed to him by these editors. The Manhattan Independent suggested, tongue-in-cheek, that Wood must be truly powerful if he was responsible for all of the proposed amendments to the constitution as well as the large number of enactments which the last Legislature had produced.³³

Opponents of woman suffrage were not the only ones to use

³¹ Atchison Daily Champion, April 5, 1867.

³² Oskaloosa Independent, March 30, 1867.

³³ Manhattan Independent, April 27, 1867.

voters of Kansas. The Republican Party was pledged to the passage of Negro suffrage, but supporters of woman suffrage hoped to persuade Republicans to pass both amendments. While some opposition to woman suffrage was present, advocates of that cause believed victory was quite possible. The mood of partisans in Kansas on the issue during these early days is best represented by the telegraphs sent to Susan B. Anthony, at a meeting of the American Equal Rights Association in New York on May 9 and 10. Lucy Stone, writing from Atchison, said, "Impartial Suffrage, without regard to color or sex, will succeed by overwhelming majorities. Kansas rules the world!" Sam Wood, concurring in Stone's assessment: "With the help of God and Lucy Stone, we shall carry Kansas! The world moves!"³⁶ Had the election been held at the end of May, with spirits running this high, the possibility existed for victory for the woman suffrage amendment. Unfortunately for the advocates of this amendment, there were five long months ahead.

³⁶Proceedings, p. 61.

CHAPTER THREE

"DESOLATE KANSAS"

Advocates of woman suffrage looked forward to a pleasant summer in Kansas. The spring rains would end, making country roads more passable for the canvassing speakers. Interest in woman suffrage seemed to be growing, suffrage committees were being formed in at least ten counties, and those Republicans still on the fence were expected to see the right and just path and come out in full support of the issue. Everything seemed to be working for the advancement of the cause. The May 29 editorial in the New York Tribune reflected the optimism felt by supporters of suffrage in Kansas.

Womanhood suffrage is now a progressive cause beyond fear of cavil. It has won a fair field where once it was looked upon as an airy nothing, and it has gained champions and converts without number. The young State of Kansas is fitly the vanguard of this cause, and the signs of the agitation therein hardly allow a doubt that the citizenship of women will be ere long recognized in the law of the State. Fourteen out of twenty newspapers of Kansas are in favor of making woman a voter. Governor Crawford, Ex-Governors Robinson and Root, Judge Schuyler, Col. Ritchie, and Lieut.-Gov. Green, are the leaders of the wide-spread Impartial League, which has among its orators Mistresses Stanton, Stone, and Susan B. Anthony. The vitality of the Kansas movement is indisputable, and whether defeated or successful in the present contest, it will still hold strongly fortified ground . . .

But within this optimistic quote can be found the very assumptions which misled the suffrage advocates into undue hope. Because Kansas

¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, The History of Woman Suffrage (1882; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), II, 253.

had served as the symbol for the abolitionist spirit and had fought the first battles for the emancipation of the slaves, it seemed consistent to expect the state to lead the crusade for the emancipation of women as well. But, as has already been observed, the rank and file in Kansas were not particularly reform-minded, and these expectations were overly optimistic.

A second assumption involved the role of the Republican party in the woman suffrage campaign. While the prominent persons listed did allow their names to be associated with the woman's issue, they were not necessarily the "leaders" of the campaign. And the fact that they were all prominent members of the Republican party did not mean that they would or could bring Republican party support to the measure. Expectations of Republican support also grew out of the belief that "14 of 20" newspapers in the state had supported woman suffrage and many of these were Republican newspapers. This implied majority is misleading, for Zornow numbers almost forty newspapers operating in the state in 1867, and the editors themselves numbered about half of these in support of the woman suffrage issue. Of these forty papers, many had maintained an attitude of sympathetic neutrality, and the few who had taken a firm stand on the issue were emphatically opposed. To a great extent the newspapers were still treating woman suffrage as an "airy nothing."

While Stanton and Anthony were committed to campaign in Kansas, they had not yet arrived and would not do so until September of 1867. Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell had already returned to New Jersey, leaving Kansas with no major speakers as summer approached.

Early Rumblings

The first indication of a changing attitude toward the suffrage issue came in May, when Frank Drenning, chairman of the Republican Central Committee, issued a call for all loyal Republicans to meet in Topeka on May 15, "for the purpose of organizing a canvass of the State, for the amendment striking the word 'white' out of the Constitution of the State."² At this meeting, a resolution was passed which stressed the importance of Negro suffrage to the goals of the National Republican party, and the Kansas Republicans again pledged themselves to the support of the party principle of enfranchisement of the loyal and disfranchisement of rebels. In their call to action, the Drenning group sought workers to help "fill up the ranks of the Progressive Republican Army," and to seek "perfect justice and entire equality of man."³ To this end, the Central Committee called for speakers to canvass the state in favor of manhood suffrage. It was suggested that these speakers would be in favor of Negro suffrage, and were free to express their own opinions on any other questions. The ten men chosen included C. V. Eskridge of Emporia, the most outspoken opponent of woman suffrage to emerge in the campaign, B. F. Simpson, who had originated the amendment for Negro suffrage in the Legislature, and Preston B. Plumb, a man with considerable political ambitions.⁴

Sam Wood and Lucy Stone saw this call for support of only one of the proposed amendments as a clear repudiation of the woman suffrage

²Oskaloosa Independent, May 5, 1867.

³Emporia News, May 24, 1867.

⁴The other men were T. C. Sears, I. D. Snoddy, J. B. Scott, H. N. Bent, Jas. G. Blunt, A. Akin, and W. W. Crawford. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, p. 253.

amendment, and tried to garner Republican supporters who would halt Drenning's proposed canvass. S. D. Houston, one of the Republicans who voted against the Drenning action, suggested that the party was already in favor of Negro suffrage, so no such meeting was necessary on that account. Clearly, then, this group was organizing against women, and in his view such a move would only serve to rupture the Republican party "merely to gratify a feeling of opposition which some entertain, to the enfranchisement of woman."⁵ With this move by Drenning, and the inability of Wood and Stone to stop it, the link between Negro suffrage and woman suffrage which the "Impartial Suffrage Association" had been planned so carefully to build, was broken. It was now clear that the two amendments would have to be campaigned for as separate issues, and would at points have to fight each other for public support. By this action Drenning succeeded in placing the two amendments in opposition, and forcing the supporters of the two issues within the Republican party to take a specific stand, creating a division in the party which would grow as the campaign wore on.

The development of formal organization in the ranks of the opposition came at a time when the suffrage advocates were in a weakened position. Clarina Nichols had been called to her home in Quindaro, Kansas, where family illness and farming difficulties would curtail her activities until the fall. Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell found that they could give no more time to the Kansas campaign and returned to New Jersey around May 25, fully aware of what the Drenning committee actions meant for their cause. With the field thus cleared, C. V. Eakridge chose to exercise his option of expressing his own

⁵Manhattan Independent, August 31, 1867.

opinion upon the "other" issue of woman suffrage. On June 7, in a letter to the Emporia News, Eskridge stated his case. In the opening paragraph he set the tone of his letter.

Next to the grasshopper humbug, in point of damage to the State, is this question of Female Suffrage. It is the most impudent, frivolous, uncalled for proposition ever crammed into the throats of the people, by a shysterling legislature.

He proceeded to list all the basic arguments used by opponents of woman suffrage to prove the harms which would result. He then claimed that the advocacy of the cause was at the "instigation of a few dried up old elm-pealers," chief of whom was Lucy Stone and the "seed-wart she carries around with her--called Blackwell" as well as the opponent of the Negro, "Sally N. Wood."⁷ A discussion of Lucy Stone's "free-love proclivities" followed and finally Eskridge closed this letter with a description of how the joyful advocates would feel should suffrage be passed in Kansas.

Then these petticoated old Eves, whom kiln-dried lightning would glance from, and whose faces would prevent a dog from biting them, would rollick in the general demoralization of society, and with the off-scourings of the lower straits, sing--

" O, happy state! now souls each other draw,
For love is liberty and nature law."⁸

James Rogers of Burlingame was first to respond to the Eskridge onslaught. Defending Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell as fine, progressive citizens, and the amendment as a just cause, he suggested that Eskridge would know a shyster when he encountered one, having played that role for so long.⁹ In "a letter from Quindaro," Nichols

⁶ Emporia News, June 7, 1867.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Emporia News, June 14, 1867.

defended Lucy Stone and suggested that if women could read Eskridge's "billingsgate" in their own homes, they had no greater evils to fear at the polls.¹⁰

This first Eskridge article was reprinted in most of the leading papers and received considerable attention by the editors, and assuredly, by the people. Sam Wood arranged to have a letter which he solicited from John Stuart Mill circulated at this time. In the letter, Mill complimented the people of Kansas for the progressive spirit which led the country to stop the extension of slavery, and suggested that the world now watched as Kansas would lead the nation in liberating its women. But even the support of so noted a person as Mill could not undo the publicity which the Eskridge letter received. Sam Wood felt compelled to respond personally. In his letter, he began by characterizing Eskridge's political career as shady, his motives as base, and his language as fit only for prostitutes and the bawdy house. He then defended the women of Kansas and the character of the speakers canvassing for woman suffrage, especially Lucy Stone, pointing out that the Eskridge attack came only after Lucy had left the state. He listed the women who actively desired suffrage, the women Eskridge had characterized as "ole elm-pealers," describing them as being among the leaders in their communities.

But times are changing, intelligence is going to be admired even in women. The time is coming when men, who riot with harlots will not dare to ridicule and insult the ten thousand respectable women in Kansas, who desire to vote and save the country by calling them "petticoated old eves," "ole elmpealers," "old glinsters," &c. I here assert, that it is the best, the most intelligent, the truest women, of Kansas and the nation who desire to vote.¹¹

¹⁰Ottawa Western Home Journal, June 27, 1867.

¹¹Topeka Leader, June 20, 1867.

After here protesting the use of name-calling on the part of the opposition, Sam Wood flings a few names of his own in the direction of Eskridge and closes with the observation that "this article is rather low, but I had a low subject, and had to get down to it, or not write at all."¹²

Obviously enjoying the notoriety and widespread coverage which his first letter garnered, Eskridge struck again. Citing support for his position in letters which he claimed to have received following his first attempt at argument, he proceeded to expand his same line of attack. His opening lines show his enjoyment at the response he has received.

The female men and male women--political monstrosities-- have been considerably exercised over the communication against "female suffrage," which was published in your paper of June 7th, signed "Eskridge." The female men have written lengthily to show that there was nothing in it but vulgarity and abuse, while the few male women hereabouts, like quivering lumps of jelly, trembled at the slight touch, and with feelings of doubt, indignation and alarm, seemingly fell back, exclaiming, "Call a man!" And from the designing politician to the love sick swain, the female men have endeavored to sustain their masculine sisters in breeches, by the use of more abusive language, personal thrusts, and unwarranted expressions than was contained in the article over which they employed their addled brains in whole columns of stuff, weaker than stump water, to show to the people that "there was nothing in it."¹³

Eskridge takes advantage of the fact that Lucy Stone is in no position to answer his charges, ignores the letter from Nichols, who was obviously not a "quivering lump of jelly," and revels at having drawn Sam Wood into a mud-throwing contest. Overlooking who struck the first blow, he decried the language and low moral tone exhibited

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Emporia News, July 12, 1867.

by the defenders of woman's purity.

Turning his attention to Prouty of the Burlington Patriot and "PILLSberry" of the Manhattan Independent, both strong defenders of woman suffrage, Eskridge attacked their personal respectability and their journalistic abilities. He suggested that if this bill should pass, as these men desired, perhaps we could rename Kansas the "Free Love State," since that is how it would come to be known. He again listed the arguments used by opponents of the cause and closed with remarks aimed at Lucy Stone and other speakers in the state.

Men in the State, under the lead of Lucy Stone, Greeley, Beecher, Miss Nutt and "high flyers" generally, from other States, would break down any party, demoralize society, overthrow the christian ^{sic} religion, burn up the scriptures and pronounce God a tree, a snake, a flower or a toad, and end their miserable and unsettled lives in a conflict of races and sexes.¹⁴

Eskridge continued in the vein initiated by the Oskaloosa Independent in suggesting that Stone and Blackwell were not married, but were living in sin. At this point in the campaign, coming after the publication of the Stone-Blackwell marriage contract and after Stone's departure from the state, Eskridge continued to use this particular attack against Lucy Stone, centering much of his speech around it.

Other Concerns

While C. V. Eskridge and Sam Wood were attacking each other over the woman suffrage issue, other events in the state were of greater importance to the people than either the Negro or woman's amendment. During the early spring, the Indian lands in the southern

¹⁴Ibid.

and western portions of the state were again being encroached upon. Joseph McCoy of Illinois was building cattle pens in Abilene and encouraging Texas cattlemen to bring their herds there for shipment east. This trip involved crossing Indian lands. Railroad speculators were already proposing westward expansion and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, and the Atlantic and Pacific, all proposed to run lines through Indian lands. Ever increasing streams of settlers poured into Kansas pushing the borders of civilization ever farther west. Thus provoked, the Indian tribes struck back, harassing settlers and cattlemen alike. In April, the army, under General Hancock, decided to put an end to the Indian problem and proceeded to totally destroy a major Indian village on Pawnee Fork. Rather than quieting the Indian problem, this merely escalated the conflict, until by mid-summer the settlers faced the combined wrath of the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas. Cutler described the effect of these forces in his early history of Kansas.

The whole frontier was assailed. Through the Republican, Solomon and Smokey Hill Valleys, and in Marion, Butler and Greenwood counties, the settlers were constantly exposed to Indian raids of the most shocking character.¹⁵

Concerned over the future of his state, Governor Samuel Crawford went to the frontier outposts to personally oversee the army actions, give what aid he could to the civilian population, and protect his own railroad interests in the area. His participation as President of the Impartial Suffrage Association was never great and his removal to the west further eroded that organization's credibility.

¹⁵William G. Cutler, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, Co., 1883), p. 209.

In conjunction with the Indian raids, and just as deadly, was the outbreak of cholera which threatened the more northern frontier counties. On July 1, 1867 cholera was reported at Fort Harker and the spread of this deadly disease was noted daily in the newspapers. People who lived closest to the infected area made plans to move farther east. The disruption which such a disease could cause in a community was recorded by Blackmar.

At that time the population of the town of Ellsworth, not far from the fort, was about 1,000. As soon as the news reached the town there was a general hegira, and in a few days the population was less than 100 . . . 16

Kansans who were faced with the threat to their very survival which the Indian raids, the cholera, and the ever present possibility of a grasshopper ~~seige~~ presented had little immediate interest in the more philosophical and political issues in which Eskridge and Wood were engaged. And even though the people of Lawrence, Topeka, or Leavenworth were in no immediate danger, these problems directly affected the survival of all residents of the state. The question which they asked, and which suffrage leaders to this point could not or did not answer, was what effect the ballot could have upon the solution of the very pressing problems facing frontier women. When Bessie Bisbee and Olympia Brown arrived in Kansas in July, they received nowhere near the notice accorded to Lucy Stone's entrance, for clearly, the editors' pricrities at that point centered on other more pressing issues.

¹⁶ Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 334-35.

The Reverend Miss Brown and Company

During the first week of July, Bessie Bisbee and Olympia Brown joined Sam Wood in trying to keep the woman suffrage cause alive. Bessie Bisbee, a newcomer to the suffrage cause, was a young girl from Vermont, facing her first audiences in the Kansas campaign. No itineraries were published for her, and few reports of her speeches exist. The one newspaper which does discuss her visit, at Emporia, records the comments of two different correspondents, side-by-side. Both mention Miss Bisbee's obvious lack of experience, the first calling her speech "a school girl effort" and the second "a trifle of boarding school affectation."¹⁷ Sam Wood accompanied Miss Bisbee to Emporia and spoke with her at this meeting. The differing perspectives of the two correspondents are more clearly reflected in their descriptions of Wood's speech. The first correspondent shows no sympathy for Sam Wood as a speaker. "Blackguardism was the chief feature of Sam's speech, and more than once, did he bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of the ladies present."¹⁸ The second correspondent, in describing the same occasion, is more "understanding" of Wood's speaking style.

Though not noted for the dignity and eloquence of his bearing, nor the sublimity of his rhetoric, yet there was something perfectly inimitable in his style, that kept the audience in a broad grin most of the time . . . For keen, cutting sarcasm, wit, and quickness of repartee, Sam Wood is never at a loss. . . ¹⁹

¹⁷ Emporia News, August 16, 1867.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

These two perspectives on the speaking abilities of both Wood and Bisbee are the only recognition which either receive as speakers for the rest of the campaign. Eskridge was present at this speaking engagement, and was invited to respond to Bisbee and Wood, but he declined this opportunity. This is particularly interesting in view of a letter which H. B. Norton had sent to Sam Wood at this same time, suggesting that Eskridge would like to debate Olympia Brown.²⁰

The more notable speaker was clearly Olympia Brown. The Reverend Brown was born in Ohio, graduated from Antioch College and in 1863 went on to St. Lawrence University theological school in Canton, New York. She was ordained in Malon, New York in the Unitarian Church, the first woman to gain such official church sanction. She took a leave from her parish in Weymouth, Massachusetts, to participate in the campaign. Brown came to Kansas at the invitation of the Republicans who were working with the Impartial Suffrage Association formed by Sam Wood, and she believed that she was working for an amendment supported by the Republican party as a whole. She was asked to speak for four months, giving at least two and sometimes three lectures a day, with one or two preaching assignments on Sundays. She had been promised transportation and a female escort, though neither were ever provided, and she found herself dependent upon the people at each speaking site for the means of transport to her next assigned area. These speaking engagements were twenty to fifty miles apart, and horse and carriage was the only available method of travel. During the four months which Brown spent in Kansas, she travelled to all but ten of the counties, and eight of these were on the far western

²⁰Kansas State Historical Society Library, "Letter from H. B. Norton to Sam Wood, August 16, 1867," Woman Suffrage Papers.

boundaries of the state, the area which at that time was experiencing the joint havoc of Indians and cholera.

The same responses were made to Olympia Brown as had greeted Lucy Stone. Large audiences turned out wherever she spoke, and editors suggested that many were converted to the faith at these meetings. The opponents of woman suffrage were nowhere near as bitter and antagonistic toward Brown, seeming now to change to a tactic of ignoring her presence and no longer even refuting the arguments which she presented. Those editors in favor of the cause continued their superficial coverage, describing Brown in terms such as "a woman of culture, refinement, and great oratorical power," "amusing and delightful," and full of "enthusiasm and zeal." The coverage accorded to Brown's sermon in Emporia is one of the very few reports that mention what she said as she traveled across the state.

Sabbath morning at ten o'clock, she preached to the people of Cottonwood Falls, in her most eloquent and forcible manner, upon the New Testament position of woman, basing her remarks more especially on the words of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, xvi chap. 1-2 verses. She fully and clearly demonstrated that pure, true christianity gives to woman as well as to man the largest liberty of conscience, the fullest, freest scope of thought and labor.²¹

The article goes on to discuss the text for the service she preached at 3 o'clock that afternoon and again of the lecture for women's rights which she delivered at 7:30 that evening. Following her lecture at Cottonwood Falls she proceeded to Council Grove on Monday and to Americus and Emporia on Tuesday. Although Eskridge had suggested that he would like to debate with Olympia Brown, he made no effort at this time to do so even though Brown was in Emporia twice during the last

²¹Emporia News, August 30, 1867.

week of August, and spent the rest of the week in neighboring communities. Similarly, he made no effort to engage her in debate at any of her other speaking appointments. During the whole summer, Eskridge, as well as the other opponents, refused every opportunity to share the podium with the women speakers, thus denying women the opportunity to confront their accusers directly. Some refused because they felt the women were better prepared on the subject, but most maintained that it was improper and ungentlemanly to dispute publicly with a woman.

National Republicans Intervene

As Olympia Brown was encountering the intense heat of the Kansas prairie in summer, was speaking two and three times a day, and trying to counter the lagging interest in the cause which she ardently supported, two events of national interest were reported in Kansas. Both of these events provided arguments for the ever growing forces in opposition to the woman's cause. The two events concerned the issue of woman suffrage in the state of New York and the state of Michigan.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had not been able to campaign in Kansas during the spring or summer because they wanted to work actively in the Constitutional Convention which was taking place in the state of New York during the same time. Horace Greeley was a delegate to this convention and all the leading abolitionists were working to have the convention endorse Negro suffrage. Catt and Shuler described the situation in New York as follows:

In New York Negroes owning \$250 worth of property had long been permitted to vote and as Negro suffrage was no novelty in the State, New York was expected to lead in the movement for their full enfranchisement.

Although all the referenda on Negro suffrage had failed, party leaders believed that the great State of New York would give a fresh impulse to the proposed

change, and therefore the Constitutional Convention of the State was watched by anxious men in all parts of the country. The New York Legislature had promptly ratified the Fourteenth Amendment upon the convening of the Legislature in January, 1867, which added strength to their expectations.²²

The women pleaded with their former allies in the abolition movement but to no avail. Only the Negro suffrage amendment was presented to the voters of the state of New York and it went down to defeat. At the same time it was learned that the state of Michigan had appointed a commission to consider Negro and woman suffrage and decided to submit only Negro suffrage. These two events were carefully watched and well-noted by the Republican newspapers in Kansas. They saw quite clearly that the National Republican Party had made Negro suffrage a party issue and was opposed to woman suffrage for fear that the combination of the two issues would work to the detriment of the Negro's cause.

Kansan Attitudes

By the end of the summer, most of the newspapers in the state had taken a stand on the woman suffrage issue. The great majority of the newspapers, most of them Republican in sympathy, chose to support Negro suffrage and remain relatively neutral on the woman suffrage issue, as dictated by national party needs. The position of these moderate Republicans was exemplified by the editorial position taken in the Fort Scott Monitor.

²²Catt and Shuler, p. 51.

We shall advocate those Constitutional amendments which admit freedmen to, and exclude rebels from the polls; and while we shall not, from choice, oppose female suffrage, its advocacy will be left to its friends, who will always find our columns open.²³

Three papers were decidedly opposed to woman suffrage--the Oskaloosa Independent, the Atchison Champion and the Ottawa Western Home Journal. The editors of both the Independent and the Champion took the position that woman suffrage was a frivolous and unsupported doctrine, which was espoused primarily by political demagogues and de-sexed, bloomerized women. The Democratic support of woman suffrage reflected two attempts at subterfuge, according to the Independent. Some Democrats wished to cover their inherent conservatism in a cloak of radicalism and others wished to defeat Negro suffrage by confounding it with the woman's issue. The editor made it clear that neither ploy would upset the Republican strategies.²⁴ I. S. Kalloch, editor of the Ottawa Western Home Journal, chose to take the more reasoned approach. In three extensive articles, he discussed the nature of female suffrage, its effect on the home, and its effect on the state. In his first article Kalloch asked women to look closely at the advocates of woman suffrage and be aware of their goals. Asserting that woman's natural state is married, and her equality with man is best exemplified in the control which men and women exert over their respective spheres, Kalloch proceeded to envision the loss of purity and decline of the family which would result from women leaving their natural sphere and descending into the world of men.²⁵

²³Fort Scott Weekly Monitor, July 3, 1867.

²⁴Oskaloosa Independent, August 23, 1867.

²⁵Ottawa Western Home Journal, August 15, 1867.

In his second article, "The Effect on the Family," Kalloch maintained that the family is the state in embryo. As currently constituted, home and family provided a place of peace and security, a haven from the troubles of the world. Here man is refreshed and woman's purity is protected. Once political disputes enter the home, all this peace and purity will disappear, and as the family decays, so too will the state.²⁶ Finally, in a third article, Kalloch analyzed "The Effect on the State," and found that the ballot will not allow women to make any changes which they couldn't do better by exerting their purifying influence within their proper sphere. The chance for change is insignificant, so since chance for harm to women and society is so great, Kansas voters should vote against the woman suffrage amendment.²⁷ These three articles provided the major attacks used by other Kansas editors against the woman suffrage amendment during the summer months.

Six papers were equally outspoken in favor of woman suffrage. The leading advocate was the Chase County Banner owned by Sam Wood, which began publication in mid-summer. Others included the Wyandotte Gazette, the Eurlington Patriot, the Manhattan Independent, the White Cloud Chief, and the Mound City Border Sentinal. These papers took three approaches when defending woman suffrage. They tried to prove that women wanted to vote, citing petitions signed, organizations founded, and the prominent women who were actively campaigning for that right. Secondly, to bolster the efforts of the prominent Eastern ladies who were canvassing the state, quotations in support of woman

²⁶Ibid., August 22, 1867.

²⁷Ibid., August 29, 1867.

suffrage by other prominent people were circulated to all the state newspapers. Primarily among the authorities cited were the abolitionists Tilton, Beecher, Higginson, Douglas, Phillips and Smith. Other authorities included national political leaders such as B. F. Wade, senator from Ohio, Ex-Governor Anthony of Rhode Island, a number of church leaders, women suffrage leaders Harriet Beecher Stowe and Lydia Maria Child, and Kansas politicians Lt.-Governor Green and C. R. Rice of Burlington. The letter from John Stuart Mill, and correspondence by his wife, were added to the contributions by dignitaries who were quoted in support of woman suffrage. Finally, advocates pointed to the inconsistencies which existed in the Republican party support for Negro and loyal suffrage and opposition to woman suffrage. The Topeka Tribune, in citing a Leavenworth Commercial editorial, cited this discrepancy.

If the ballot will elevate the negroes [sic] as a class, then will it elevate the position of woman, for the action of the two upon the body politic will and must be precisely alike. If the ballot to the negro [sic] will place him in a more favorable light before the law, then likewise will it woman. And those who advocate and profess to believe the former, should have the honesty to acknowledge the logical conclusions of their own premises in regard to the latter, or else abandon all together.²⁸

While these arguments bear obvious similarities to the arguments used during the early days of the campaign, they show some subtle distinctions which indicate that women were now on the defensive. In the spring, Lucy Stone assumed that woman suffrage was sought by the political leaders in the state. She felt no need to work for support for the issue, but rather argued the justice of her cause. By summer, suffrage advocates

²⁸Topeka Tribune, August 9, 1867.

realized that support for their measure was not widespread. The Republican party was showing signs of division, Horace Greeley had deserted the women's cause in New York, and the Eastern newspapers were silent on the Kansas campaign. They recognized the need to build support for woman suffrage, and tried, through the use of authorities, to demonstrate the existence of widespread support for woman suffrage. Advocates also tried to demonstrate that Kansas women wanted to vote, citing the names of local women who were helping in the campaign. A further defensive move involved attacking members of the Republican Party who supported Negro suffrage but opposed woman suffrage, contending this position was terribly inconsistent. Suffrage advocates no longer assumed that all right thinking men could see the justice of their cause, but believed with Mrs. Updegraff that "the fight must be made hot, personal and bitter. Nothing else will awaken an interest in the matter."²⁹

The Summer of 1867

By the end of the summer of 1867 the suffrage campaign had taken on new dimensions unforeseen in the optimistic months of spring. Primary among the new developments was the organization which took place among opponents of the cause. After the initial meeting held in May by the Republican Central Committee, speakers were assigned to canvass the state in favor of manhood suffrage and opposed to women suffrage, and to this end C. V. Eskridge launched his bitter attack against the women speakers in the early days of June. The opposition newspapers continued their attack, and the series of essays run by Kalloch of the Ottawa

²⁹Kansas State Historical Society Library, "Letter from Mrs. Dr. Updegraff to Sam Wood, Osawatomie, May 27, 1867," Woman Suffrage Papers.

Western Home Journal demonstrated the kind of direct approach which the Republicans now intended to make.

A series of public events over which the Kansas suffrage advocates had no control worked to their disadvantage as well. The defeat of woman suffrage by the New York Constitutional Convention, the similar defeat in Michigan, and the continued silence from the eastern papers, indicated to Kansas Republicans that woman suffrage was definitely not a party issue. The increased threat of Indian war and the ravages of cholera offered Kansas citizens a more pressing concern during the summer, a concern which seemed far removed from the issue of woman suffrage.

Suffrage workers found themselves taking an increasingly defensive position. Lucy Stone and Clarina Nichols had retired from the campaign, Governor Crawford had headed west to oversee the Indian war and Sam Wood and Olympia Brown were left to carry the issue. The Republican support which Wood had hoped to garner had eroded, and even the novelty attached to a woman speaker seemed to have run its course in attracting newspaper attention to the cause. Even though Olympia Brown was an ordained minister, a woman travelling alone over the prairies, and one of the so-called eastern radicals, her speaking engagements attracted little newspaper notice. She continued to draw large crowds wherever she went, but the sympathetic neutrality accorded the suffrage issue by newspapers earlier in the campaign had now turned to apathy and antagonism. The Republicans were concentrating their attention on Negro suffrage, and woman's advocates began to fear that their amendment was losing hard won ground.

CHAPTER IV
"FICKLE KANSAS"

The End of Hope

During September, 1867, all of the elements which would affect the outcome of the November election were becoming clearly defined. The early days of the month were marked by the arrival of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. They were appraised of the antagonistic mood which seemed to exist in Kansas, yet they sustained the hope that Kansas would yet be the first state to enfranchise its women. But their arrival was not as pleasant or hopeful as Lucy Stone's had been in April. Olivia Coolidge, in her history of the suffrage movement, enumerated the problems.

Wendell Phillips sourly informed them that the Hovey Fund was all spent. As for the Jackson Fund, he had his hand on that and did not intend it to be spent for woman suffrage. Miss Anthony had to raise money for printing and railway fares. Nor, when the ladies arrived, did the prospect look encouraging. The Democratic party had been temporarily wiped out by the War, but the victorious Republicans had split. Former Governor Robinson, it was becoming clear, was on the losing side. The Republican machine was far from ready to support a measure which had been represented as a Republican one. To make matters worse, precisely as the Anti-Slavery leaders had predicted, the two amendments were injuring each other. It began to look as though neither would be adopted.¹

The Hovey and Jackson Funds, both large endowments left to the Negro and woman suffrage causes, had been given first to the abolitionist leaders, and they now chose to use these assets to guarantee Negro

¹Olivia Coolidge, Women's Rights--The Suffrage Movement in America, 1848-1920 (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., 1966), p. 51.

suffrage, even if it was at the expense of woman suffrage. While this loss of money made travel and printing less possible for the women trying to gain suffrage in Kansas, this loss was insignificant in view of the conflict present in the Republican Party in Kansas. The impending split had caused two trends with which Stanton and Anthony were now forced to cope. Republicans who had supported woman suffrage were becoming increasingly hesitant to make public, favorable stand for fear of jeopardizing Negro suffrage, while Republicans who opposed woman suffrage were becoming more vocal in their attacks. Governor Crawford, who had been inactive in the suffrage campaign throughout the summer while attending to Indian matters, now returned, but took no active part in the campaign. An even worse loss, however, involved Sam Wood. Louise Noun suggested that "in August firm action was taken to silence Colonel Wood, leader of the woman-suffrage forces; this resulted in his retirement to Cottonwood Falls, where he remained incommunicado until after the election."² Little information is available as to how Wood was removed or by whom. His correspondence to partisans came to a close at this time, and his essays to newspapers also ceased. The indications are that Wood, like other leading Kansas Republicans, withdrew from active support of the cause during the closing months of the campaign. Whether this withdrawal came about as a result of some policy against Wood, as Noun suggested, or whether Wood voluntarily backed off from a losing cause in order to save his own re-election campaign, can not be ascertained. The loss of Wood was symbolic of

²Louise R. Noun, Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969), p. 70.

the withering of the grass-roots support which the woman suffrage amendment needed to survive.

A noticeable change also took place in the quantity and kind of newspaper coverage accorded the suffrage campaign. Those editors who had been favorable to the cause through the summer now began to either ignore the issue or to merely report suffrage events. The columns of the Topeka Weekly Leader and the Leavenworth Times gave no indication that suffrage activities were taking place, in spite of the fact that all of the leading speakers visited each of their communities during September and October. The Wyandotte Gazette and Kansas Tribune continued to report on suffrage events, but their editorial support, as the following editorial shows, was reserved for Negro suffrage.

Congress has demanded as the terms of reconstruction that the Southern States shall accept negro suffrage as the condition of participation in the affairs of the nation. Would it be consistent to demand of the subdued people of the South what we refuse to accept ourselves? Would we not lay ourselves justly liable to reproach for injustice? Not only has Congress demanded this condition of the South, but she compelled Nebraska to drop the word "white" before she could be admitted.

Now think of it. Can Kansas afford to make any such record? Can she afford to have it sent to the ends of the earth with lightning speed, that her citizens are so illiberal that they dared not do justice? Suffrage is being enlarged even in the aristocracies and monarchies of Europe. Are we to be the only people who say, let suffrage be limited-- let the black man remain nominally free, and yet not be a freeman. We say it would be a shame and a disgrace to our State.³

Those women's articles which were printed were now moved to the back pages, usually buried among the personal notices. Even the Manhattan Independent, a most vocal supporter of woman suffrage, now showed signs

³Kansas Weekly Tribune (Lawrence), October 3, 1867.

of faltering in its support. The speech in Manhattan by George Francis Train on November 1 was totally ignored by this paper. It appeared that adding Train as an ally of the woman's amendment alienated the Republican sympathies of this most ardent supporters,

The most bitter opponents of woman suffrage, the Ottawa Western Home Journal, the Fort Scott Weekly Monitor and the Oskaloosa Independent, continued to attack the suffrage speakers personally and to give considerable support to the "manhood suffrage" speakers. The Hutchinson Family Singers, a father, son and daughter who traveled throughout Kansas singing in praise of woman suffrage, came in for particular abuse by the Oskaloosa Independent.

The Hutchinsons came to this place to sing in favor of female suffrage, on Tuesday evening. They advertised to the public (which was a contract) that the admission fee would be 25 cents; but after the audience had assembled, they collected 50 cents from each one. This was about as sharp a dodge as it was dishonest. But this is evidently one of the methods these folks take to in advance, to show how they intend to "purify politics."⁴

Those papers which had maintained a more neutral posture throughout the campaign, now moved toward open opposition. The Emporia News continued to open its columns to advocates of both sides of the woman suffrage argument, but it contained an increasing amount of material favoring Negro suffrage beginning in mid-October. This trend culminated on November 1 when editor Stotler took an editorial position favoring Negro suffrage and opposing the woman's amendment. He believed there were two main areas of concern to women--temperance and school improvement. Since current law allowed women to control the liquor trade, and since Kansas women could vote in school elections,

⁴Oskaloosa Independent, October 5, 1867.

from his point of view there was no good reason to give full suffrage to women.⁵ This change of mood highlighted in the newspapers was advance warning of the formal organization taking place among most of the opposition groups.

The Opposition Awakens

The Lyon County Anti-Female Suffrage Organization, founded on August 31, 1867, was just the first indication of what was to come. Leaders of this group included C. V. Eskridge and Preston B. Plumb, who were among the ten already campaigning against woman suffrage. Notable new member of the group was Jacob Stotler, editor of the Emporia News, a paper which had provided the most balanced accounts of the suffrage campaign to that point.⁶ During the month of September conventions were held by the Radical Republicans, the Democrats and the Germans, and each group passed resolutions which were antagonistic to woman suffrage.

The Radical Republicans met in Lawrence on the 5th of September, 1867, and organized a campaign in favor of Negro and opposed to female suffrage. Whereas the Drenning committee, meeting in May, had only advocated canvassing for manhood suffrage and had been ambiguous about their position toward the woman's amendment, the three resolutions now passed by the Republicans were specific. In the first resolution they supported Republican principles, in the second they supported manhood suffrage, and as can be seen in this third resolution, they opposed woman suffrage.

⁵Emporia News, November 1, 1867.

⁶Kansas Weekly Tribune, (Lawrence), September 5, 1867.

Resolved, That we are unqualifiedly opposed to the dogma of "female suffrage," and while we do not recognize it as a party question, the attempt of certain persons within the State, and from without it, to enforce it upon the people of the State, demands the unqualified opposition of every citizen who respects the laws of society, and the well-being and good name of our young Commonwealth.

Thus serving notice upon local Republicans to fall into line and warning the outside speakers that the issue would not be supported by the Republican party and would be opposed by the same, the group proceeded to organize committees in every county to aid the ten speakers already working for manhood and against woman suffrage to guarantee the passage of the Negro and loyal amendments in November. These speakers then published itineraries, which indicated speaking engagements in all of the major cities during late September and October. The ascendancy of this radical group was indicated by the actions of the four leading Kansas Republicans, Governor Crawford, Senators Ross and Pomeroy, and Representative Clark. Crawford had already retired from the campaign and refrained from taking any active part. In view of his previous association with the Impartial Suffrage Association, his silence had the appearance of opposition. Senator Ross remained in Washington, claiming that certain crucial bills demanded his attention and thus his absence from his home state. Only Clark and Pomeroy took an active part in the fall campaign. Both men had been expected to support woman suffrage, and Anthony and Wood had both believed that they would actively campaign in favor of this amendment, but such was not the case. Clark began his campaign in September, taking a very ambiguous stand on the woman suffrage issue, but after the Republican resolution opposing this amendment, he strongly advocated Negro suffrage

⁷ Ibid.

as of primary importance, as his speech at Emporia clearly showed.

He spoke of the female suffrage, temperance and Sunday issues as likely to distract the Republican party, and hoped the people would be true to the party notwithstanding these minor questions. He thought the contest now going on in the State over the female suffrage question would result in good and honored the champions who had come here from the East to discuss it. He was in favor of the observance of the Sabbath, and of temperance, having been a temperance man all his life, but it was better to throw these issues behind us at present than to suffer the defeat of the party.

Like the candidate for re-election that he was, he carefully supported the issues which the Radical Republicans favored, and did not openly oppose either woman suffrage or the temperance question. He ended his speaking tour midway, when illness forced him to retire from the campaign. Only Pomeroy remained loyal to the woman suffrage issue. In a speech at Atchison, he said "the government is not based on the consent of the governed, while a large portion of the people are prevented from exercising the privilege of the ballot which is their symbol of consent."⁹ With the exception of Pomeroy, the actions of the other leading Republicans seemed to indicate that the policies of the Radical Republicans were coming to predominate in the battle for control of the party.

While these Republican positions indicated that the Radical Republicans who opposed woman suffrage were in control of the party structure, some Republicans still tried to aid the women's cause. R. B. Taylor, editor of the Wyandotte Gazette, worked unsuccessfully within the party structure to avoid a showdown between the Negro and the woman's issues, arguing that the party could support both with no loss

⁸Emporia News, October 11, 1867.

⁹Wyandotte Gazette, September 7, 1867.

of unity. When his appeal went unheeded, he published the following protest, which he also sent to the Central committee.

The undersigned, a member of the Republican State Central Committee of Kansas, protests against the action of the Committee this day had, so far as relates to the placing of the names of I. S. Kalloch, C. V. Eskridge, and P. B. Plumb, on the list of speakers to canvass the State in behalf of Republican principles, for the reason that they have within the last few weeks, in public addresses, published articles, used ungentlemanly, indecent, and infamously defamatory language, when alluding to a large and respectable portion of the women of Kansas, and to women now engaged in canvassing the State in favor of impartial suffrage.¹⁰

Although Taylor's protest was a brave and principled statement, it was largely ignored or openly rebuffed by Republican editors who advocated a united Republican party and an end to discord over these lesser issues.

While the Republicans were thus fighting among themselves as to whether or not woman suffrage was a party issue, the Democrats hoped to capitalize on this division. Individual Democrats had been working in support of the woman's cause, and some had even spoken in favor of the Negro cause. Many Republicans around the state maintained that this was merely a ruse to take advantage of the split in the Republican ranks and to further confuse the electorate. The editor of the Oskaloosa Independent believed the Democrats were insincere in their support of the woman suffrage amendment. Their motive, he suggested, was to so confuse the two issues as to effect the defeat of both. Since Democrats had always opposed Negro suffrage, their support now showed them to be fools, and true Kansans would readily discern their

¹⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (1882; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971) II, 231.

motives.¹¹ Whatever the position of individual Democrats, at the State Convention, held on September 18, 1867, the Democratic party came out firmly in opposition to all three amendments.

The German opposition to female suffrage resulted primarily from the link between women and temperance which was very strong in Kansas. One year prior to this campaign Kansas had passed a temperance law which provided that "no license to sell liquor shall be granted except upon a petition signed by a majority of the adults male and female, in the town or district."¹² This law had the effect of giving women very firm control over the operation of the liquor trade in Kansas, and the women were strongly opposed to any repeal or amendment of the law which would weaken the power they had gained. Members of the German communities, maintaining that Sunday and temperance laws were an infringement on individual liberty, actively worked against woman suffrage in an attempt to break the strength of the temperance movement in Kansas. They were aided in this effort by most of the national brewers' and distillers' organizations. At a meeting in Lawrence, a number of German citizens voted to hold a meeting on September 23, "for the purpose of a consolidation against female suffrage, Sunday and temperance laws."¹³ When the convention met in Topeka on the 23rd, the delegates did not openly oppose woman suffrage. However, they adopted resolutions against Sunday and temperance laws and pledged their opposition to any candidate for office who did not also oppose such laws.

¹¹Oskaloosa Independent, August 24, 1867.

¹²Fort Scott Weekly Monitor, October 9, 1867.

¹³Ibid., October 2, 1867.

One final area for concern for the women came from the Negro community. Leaders such as C. H. Langston had voiced opposition to woman suffrage early in the campaign and had continued this opposition throughout the summer. Although many Negroes continued to oppose woman suffrage as antagonistic to their own cause, some came to see that this opposition could be damaging. The name-calling and ridicule exhibited by Eskridge and Sears as they campaigned for Negro suffrage and against woman suffrage led Langston to regret his association with them. After appearing at Wyandotte with Eskridge and Sears, Langston suggested that "he would never be caught in such company again for it did the negro [sic] far more harm than good."¹⁴ A similar position was taken by a Negro assemblage in Doniphan county at the celebration of emancipation day. On this occasion a resolution pledging support to the woman suffrage amendment was passed.

Resolved: That the colored people of Kansas recognize in the advocates of female suffrage many old and tried friends of the colored man; and that we deprecate any conflict between the friends of the two propositions, preferring rather to plant ourselves upon the broad platform of impartial suffrage without regard to sex or color.¹⁵

This somewhat belated support from the Negro population was a welcome addition to the only other firm ally which women possessed in September, the temperance people. At the State Temperance Convention held in Lawrence on September 26, the convention pledged support for woman suffrage in order to guarantee the continued control of the liquor trade.¹⁶

¹⁴Manhattan Independent, September 28, 1867.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 231.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton

With these battle lines clearly defined and drawn by mid-September, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton campaigned in Kansas to try to turn the tide again in favor of the rights of women.

Susan B. Anthony, born in 1820 in Adams, Massachusetts, into a Quaker family, felt the injustices of a man-controlled world early in her life. Reared on her father's farm, she observed her mother's hard life and saw that she was powerless to change anything. Serving first as a teacher, and then as a leading speaker against the evils of slavery and liquor, she developed the organizational abilities and dedication to cause which kept her active in the cause of woman's rights for more than sixty years. During her stay in Kansas, as at other times during her long career, she served not only as a speaker for the woman suffrage cause, but also as a behind-the-scenes campaign manager. Faced with a large area to canvass, and little time left in which to make personal appeals for the woman's cause, Anthony set up headquarters in Lawrence, and tried to keep a steady flow of money and materials going to those speakers, such as Stanton, Brown and Bisbee, who were traveling throughout the state. Her primary role was to arrange for speaking sites, send out advance publicity, and finally to see to the comfort of Stanton, who relied heavily upon her abilities. In late October, she left her post in Lawrence to accompany George Francis Train on his two week tour of the state. Although Anthony did speak at the Temperance Convention in Lawrence and again during her travels with Train, no reports of her speeches are extant, and no remarks of her style are available from local news stories, giving the impression that her speeches served primarily to introduce the main

speaker, either Stanton or Train. While Anthony's presence in Kansas was vital to the cause, the most prominent speaker in Kansas during the fall of 1867 was clearly Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was one of the originators of the woman suffrage movement. Born in 1815, the daughter of a lawyer and judge, she has been referred to both as the "outstanding philosopher,"¹⁷ and the "enfant terrible"¹⁸ of the woman's cause. Her meeting with Lucretia Mott at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840 led to the organization of the first woman's rights meeting, held at Seneca Falls, New York on July 19-20, 1848. Her later appearances before the New York legislature and her active work in the National Woman Suffrage Association which she and Anthony founded, were responsible for many of the improvements made in woman's condition in the years which followed that first historic convention. Her visit to Kansas was a natural result of her pursuit of suffrage for women. She did not speak in Kansas during the early part of the campaign as she was involved in petitioning the New York Constitutional Convention for woman suffrage during this time. Upon the defeat of their cause in New York, Stanton and Anthony proceeded to Kansas, arriving in Leavenworth on the first of September.

Stanton campaigned in Kansas from the first of September through the election on November 5th, traveling throughout the state with Ex-Governor Robinson as her escort. During this period of two months Stanton spoke at least once in thirty-four of the forty-four

¹⁷Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 84.

¹⁸Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 11.

existing counties. The counties she missed represent the northwestern areas still bothered by Indians and cholera, and the far southern borders of the state. She concentrated her efforts in the more populous northeastern part of the state, speaking twice each at Lawrence, Atchison and Leavenworth.

As a rule, Stanton's speaking arrangements involved one evening speaking engagement per day with no Sunday speeches. Although this schedule was light in comparison to the two and three speaking engagements per day scheduled for Olympia Brown, Stanton still was submitted to a rigorous routine. Most of her speaking sites were located in towns not yet served by railroads, so she and Robinson traveled in an open carriage drawn by two mules, carrying food, tracts and baggage along with them. They ate and slept in local homes, sharing the primitive living conditions of the Kansas prairies.

Two manuscripts of speeches purported to have been used by Stanton during the Kansas campaign of 1867 are extant and both demonstrate her ability to appeal to the Kansas voters.¹⁹ Like Olympia Brown, she believed that the concept of woman's equality before the law, and the justice of including women in the electorate of a Republican form of government had already been clearly proven in all arguments used for Negro suffrage. Where Lucy Stone felt the need to establish these basic tenets during the early days of the campaign, Stanton now felt it essential to answer the attacks which opponents of the cause had lodged against the woman suffrage amendment.

¹⁹Library of Congress, Elizabeth Cady Stanton MSS, Box 9 and Kansas State Historical Society Library, Elizabeth Cady Stanton MSS., Woman Suffrage Papers.

She dealt with two issues which were carefully developed by Kallioch in his essays against the women, the problem of woman's sphere and the degradation which voting would bring to women. Stanton argued that woman's sphere had not been defined, since men had so consistently limited the actions of women, that women were not free to find their "natural" place in the larger order of things as ordained by God. Only with the removal of this masculine control could woman's true sphere be determined.

A second argument used by opponents of woman suffrage involved the possible degradation of woman brought about by the exercise of the ballot. Stanton asked how woman could be more degraded than by being classed as property and categorized with minors, idiots, paupers and criminals. She pointed out that women now existed with men in their most exalted states and in their lowest degradations while serving as wife, mother, sister and daughter, so they could hardly find anything new or unusual at the polls.

While these same basic arguments were being used by the other speakers in the state, Stanton's special ability was relating to the particular audience she was addressing. In her opening remarks she indicated her knowledge of and interest in the state of Kansas.

As the pious Catholic in entering his Cathedral kneels and with holy water makes the sign of the cross upon his brow, before lifting his eyes to the holy of holies, so would I reverently tread this soil as the vestibule to our great temple of liberty, the opening vista to all the future grandeur of the new Republic.²⁰

She continued this reference to the idealized Kansas when she traced the war against slavery waged in Kansas, referring to the Lecompton Constitution, the dynasty of Atchison, and the use of non-existent voters to

²⁰Ibid., Kansas State Historical Society Library.

control the outcome of early elections. On several occasions she complimented the citizens by calling their state the "young and beautiful hero of the West," implying that Kansas provided fertile soil for idealism and progressive legislation while the East provided only stagnation and resistance to any worthwhile change in society. Her main theme, that universal suffrage was the keynote of reconstruction, was the best example of her adaptation to the people of Kansas. By tying the woman suffrage cause to reconstruction, Stanton appealed to the one issue in which Kansas men were completely engrossed during the 1867 campaign. The problems of reconstruction were pertinent throughout the nation, but the Kansas Republicans, with their support for an amendment to disfranchise the rebel sympathizers, and their support of Negro suffrage, were particularly attuned to the problems of reconstruction. This use of the concept of reconstruction should have considerably strengthened the appeal to Kansas audiences.

The editors of Kansas were almost unanimous in their praise of Stanton's speaking. The Fort Scott Weekly Monitor called Stanton "this able champion of Woman's Rights,"²¹ and the Emporia News called her speech a "fine specimen of oratory."²² The Olathe Mirror was probably the most complimentary, and explained why Stanton received such favorable responses from even opposition newspapers in Kansas.

A very respectable audience, graced the occasion, and all came away convinced of one thing at least, that Mrs. Stanton thoroughly understands the question she argues, and that she is an earnest, zealous advocate of the great reform of the day. She is quite unlike the most of the female advocates of universal suffrage, who have visited Kansas since the

²¹Fort Scott Weekly Monitor, October 2, 1867.

²²Emporia News, October 18, 1867.

present campaign began. She does not attempt, by witty sayings, to please the VULGAR ear, but by solid, substantial arguments, she meets the objects which are generally urged against the measure.²³

Stanton impressed the people of Kansas as a reasonable advocate of her cause, a woman of knowledge, especially of the state and its people, who appealed directly to the citizens of Kansas with arguments to which they could relate. Of all the speakers in Kansas in 1867, Stanton received the most favorable response, not only from her friends, but from her enemies as well.

The Work Goes On

The skill and energy added to the campaign by Stanton and Anthony served to bolster the efforts of Olympia Brown, who continued her canvass of the state throughout the fall. Traveling primarily through the northeastern counties, she continued her practice of giving two and three speeches a day in schoolhouses and open arenas, wherever she could reach the voters of the state. During October, she finally had a chance to openly debate against one of the speakers in opposition to the woman suffrage cause. Arriving in Oskaloosa on October 10, for a scheduled meeting, Brown discovered that both she and Judge T. C. Sears, a speaker appointed by the Republican Central Committee, were to use the same hall. They both agreed to share the hall, Judge Sears being given the option of speaking first. He is reported to have spoken eloquently in favor of the principle of Negro suffrage, yielding the floor after approximately an hour's discourse. Brown followed, trying to demonstrate that all of the principles for Negro suffrage which the judge had supported, were equally valid in terms of woman's

²³Olathe Mirror, September 19, 1867.

demands for the ballot. The editor of the Kansas State Journal reported that when the vote in favor of woman suffrage was taken, "nearly every man and woman in the house rose simultaneously, . . . [and] even Judge Sears himself looked as though he would like to rise, but his principles, much tempted, forbade."²⁴ The editor of the Oskaloosa Independent gave a different version of these events:

The agreement was they were to speak an hour each. Judge S. was notified by a tread upon his toes when his hour was up; but with the dishonesty which has characterized the female suffrage movement from the first, Miss Brown was permitted to speak two hours without regard to the agreement, or a call of time.²⁵

This opportunity for a debate at Oskaloosa was particularly welcomed by Brown, since the sentiments in opposition to woman suffrage in that city, at least as voiced in the only newspaper, were particularly bitter. Supporters were certain that this particular debate had resulted in much positive feeling for woman suffrage in this area in spite of the editor's position. Their hopes for support at the polls were unfounded, however, and as the election results will show, the editor's position prevailed.

While Brown was carrying her message in the northern part of the state, Mrs. Martha H. Brinkerhoff of Missouri was working quietly throughout the southern and western counties. Occasionally she appeared on the program with either Stanton, Anthony or Brown, and the editors dutifully mentioned her presence, but no discussion of her speeches, or an itinerary for her appeared.

²⁴ Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 241-42.

²⁵ Oskaloosa Independent, October 19, 1867.

In conjunction with the increased campaigning which took place in the fall, Nichols came out of semi-retirement to respond to opposition comments carried in the Wyandotte Commercial Gazette. On August 17, 1867, the Gazette published an article by the Reverend Eban Blachly, M.D., on the subject of woman's rights. Nichols contributed three essays in refutation of Mr. Blachly's arguments. The first of these appeared on September 28, 1867, the second on October 19, and the third on October 26.

In his essays, Blachly took two basic positions--first that government was based primarily on the ability of one segment of the society to exercise physical power over another and second, that the Bible specifically mandated man's ascendancy over woman. Nichols merely denied the first statement, pointing out that if Blachly were indeed correct, then all men who did not or could not fight should be disfranchised. Since Blachly had three different exemptions from service, as a physician, as a clergyman, and on the basis of his age, by his own argument, he should be denied access to the ballot.

Nichols used her later two essays to contend with the Biblical arguments. She maintained that in each of the passages cited by Blachly, only married women were covered, and thus he had made no argument for disfranchising single women. But further, she maintained that his interpretations of the dictates of St. Paul were erroneous. Suggesting that the Church to which Paul preached was in the position of trying to insure its very survival, it was necessary to see his dictates as attempts to not upset the ruling order. Quoting from I Corinthians X, Nichols cited two "laws" of Paul which our society had already broken: this country's strong adherence to civil tribunals

contrary to Paul's advice to have the church arbitrate grievances and the freeing of millions of slaves, counter to Paul's admonition for slaves to be content with their lot. She closed her refutation by highlighting this very contradiction in the Biblical argument.

A country whose law makers have done all this in defiance of St. Paul, as usually interpreted, can hardly refuse to abolish the last relic of barbarous government by conferring on its women the right of self government so clearly theirs by creative right and sound political morality.²⁵

This attack on the Blachly editorials, which were circulated around the Quindaro area, were Nichols' main contribution to the campaign during the months of September and October. No other indication exists that she resumed her active campaigning or in any other way contributed to the woman's cause as the campaign drew to a close.

Unlike Nichols, who removed herself from the campaign, many native Kansans were reconsidering their inactivity in regard to woman suffrage. Faced with the extensive organization then occurring among opponents to the amendment, those people who had ignored the woman suffrage issue or who had maintained neutrality in the hopes that it would survive without their help now saw the cause hopelessly faltering. The decision by these people to take a firm stand resulted in the distribution of three significant pamphlets during the month of September.

Related Support

Three pamphlets were distributed late in the campaign in an attempt to bolster the failing woman suffrage cause. While to some extent the goal of each is the same, the audience for each pamphlet

²⁶Wyandotte Commercial Gazette, October 26, 1867.

and the arguments differ widely.

The first pamphlet, by the Women's Impartial Suffrage Association of Lawrence, was printed on September 24, 1867. Addressed "To the Women of Kansas," its non-partisan approach sought to stimulate interest and support for the woman's amendment among the women of Kansas, most of whom were not actively working for its passage. The pamphlet had three distinct parts--an attempt to overcome women's apathy, a call for the support of all women, and an attack on the opponents of the cause. The discussion demonstrated first that women were capable of voting, second, that public affairs profoundly affected the home, and third, that women must therefore act to control their own lives. Even if they felt perfectly secure in the protection of their own male relatives, women must come to realize the insecurity which other women faced and not deny the ballot to those who needed it for their own protection. The pamphlet closed with the injunction to ignore what opponents of woman suffrage might say for "we, the women of the Spartan State, declare, we want to vote."²⁷

The second pamphlet appeared a day later, September 25, 1867, and was addressed to the "Voters of Kansas." This pamphlet, in contrast to the first, was clearly aimed at the male populace of Kansas, for the appeal was made to those who would actually be making the decision on these three issues. And unlike the first, it was clearly partisan in its appeal, citing the Republicans as the party of principle, the Democrats as those who had been disloyal to the country, and bidding those Republicans who had strayed from the fold to make a quick return

²⁷Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 932-33.

to principle. This return to principle necessitated support of both Negro and woman suffrage. The forty-five signers of this plea included the more conservative Republican politicians in Kansas--Senators Pomeroy and Ross, Governor Crawford and Lieutenant-Governor Green, as well as the editors of the major Republican newspapers.²⁸

The third pamphlet appeared in Kansas on October 1, and originated in the New York Tribune. It was addressed to the voters of the United States and had but one part, a concise statement of the justice of extending the right of suffrage. The writers pointed to the documents of this government wherein was found the statement "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." They reasoned that consent was given not through mere acquiescence but through active use of the ballot. Therefore, each class, if given the ballot, would have the means necessary for its own protection.²⁹

The appeal was general enough so that it could be used to support woman suffrage, Negro suffrage, both or neither, depending upon the position of the reader. The appeal was signed by leading Republicans in the nation, and considering the ambivalence of the national party throughout the Kansas campaign, may have been intentionally vague to allow the party to advocate principle while still not committing itself to woman suffrage specifically.

George Francis Train

Although the belated support for woman suffrage evidenced by the three pamphlets could have been of some help to the failing cause,

²⁸S. C. Pomeroy, E. G. Ross, et al., "Address to the Voters of Kansas" (Lawrence, Kansas: September 25, 1867).

²⁹Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 247-48.

Stanton and Anthony felt that the Republicans as a party were not going to vote for the woman suffrage amendment, and perhaps the best chance for success lay with support from the Democratic party. The St. Louis Woman Suffrage Association had been in contact with George Francis Train and an official invitation to speak was issued by the Kansas Impartial Suffrage Association on October 2, 1867. Train arrived in Leavenworth on October 21, and proceeded to lecture in fifteen counties during the following two weeks. Reynolds, the editor of the Democratic Lawrence State Journal, was originally scheduled to accompany Train on his speaking engagements, but declined gracefully, because he was involved with the Indian negotiations then taking place in the west. Susan B. Anthony then took Reynolds' place and traveled with Train during the following two weeks.

Descriptions of Train's physical appearance are all flattering. Train always spoke "in costume" and the editor of the Topeka State Record described him: "Mr. Train. . . always appears in Lavander kids, black pants, closely buttoned blue coat with brass buttons, and patent leather boots, his New York opera costume . . ." ³⁰

Ida Husted Harper, in her biography of Susan B. Anthony, suggested one reason why Anthony and Stanton were pleased to have Train's support for their cause.

He was at this time about thirty-five, nearly six feet tall, a handsome brunette, with curling hair and flashing dark eyes, the picture of vigorous health. He was exquisitely neat in person and irreproachable in habits, and had a fine courtliness of bearing toward women which suggested the old-school gentleman. ³¹

³⁰George Francis Train, The Revolution (Leavenworth, Kansas: Prescott & Hume, publishers, 1867), pp. 60-61.

³¹Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony 3 volumes (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co., 1899), I, 292.

Flexner provides a more realistic appraisal of their association with Train. She suggests that Train met the two criteria important to Stanton and Anthony--he supported woman's rights and he was willing to come to Kansas and campaign. In view of the lack of support from other friends of the cause, they were more than happy to accept his help.³²

In his speeches, Train described his aversion to smoking, drinking, chewing, gambling, lying, and stealing. He considered his honor to be his strongest asset, and gave proof of his honorable intentions toward woman suffrage by paying his own way throughout the campaign. He was known not only for his virtues, but for his eccentricities and erratic nature as well, as he traveled the country in support of a number of good causes. His speeches in Kansas reflect the many interests he sustained at that point in his life. In addition to woman suffrage, he discussed three other issues in his speeches--monetary and social reform, a free Ireland, and himself as a candidate for president.

Train used most of the common arguments in favor of woman suffrage, stressing the improvements in society which would result from women voting. Much of Train's argument centered around the relationship between woman suffrage and Negro suffrage. If a choice was to be made between the two, Train advocated the women first and Negroes last. While he did not always place the two issues in opposition, he implied that a vote for Negro suffrage without a vote for woman suffrage was a dreadful mistake. In his speech at Junction

³²Flexner, p. 150.

City, Train fully expressed his position on the two amendments.

Black men are emancipated, white women are still enslaved. Black slaves once, legally, had no power. Their masters were supreme. Now black freemen have all power except the ballot. Give them that, and opposed to woman suffrage now, what chance has woman after? Ignorance will not vote for intelligence, vice will not vote for virtue, ugliness will not vote for beauty. Our women are where the blacks were, in the hands of their lord and master.³³

Train herein made it clear that a vote for Negro suffrage would forever eliminate the chance for woman suffrage and place women in a position even more degraded than they now found themselves. This approach was seen as a direct attack upon the "votes for Negroes" campaign which the Republican party was so actively involved in.

The most prominent part of Train's speeches was not found in the arguments which he used, but rather in the format and style in which they were presented. The evening would begin with introductory remarks by Anthony and the introduction of any other prominent persons present. Train was always the main event for the evening, and his speeches would fill the evening, generally running between two and three hours. Train did not speak from a prepared text, however the absence of a prepared text did not imply absence of preparation since Train came armed with stock answers covering most of the topics of current interest. He asked the audience for questions and suggested topics and he spoke impromptu on whatever issues they raised. He maintained a constant give-and-take with the audience, always asking them questions, calling for the ayes and nays after each issue was discussed. In this way, the Fort Scott Monitor suggested, he "kept everybody up to a pith of excitement we never before witnessed."³⁴

³³Train, p. 65.

³⁴Fort Scott Weekly Monitor, October 26, 1867.

His stylistic devices were appropriate to this format. He depended heavily upon sarcasm and ridicule to make his points and seemed to thrive on the presence of an adversary. While speaking in Leavenworth, Train was confronted by a heckler, and the manner in which he handled him was typical of his speaking technique.

At this point Jimmy Franks arose and said that "no damned traitor ought to be allowed to speak in Kansas." Here Train was in his element. His scoring of Franks cut clear through the flesh. He asked the audience to give three groans for a man who would swear in the presence of ladies. (Three loud groans were given with a will.)

He then alluded to his arrest in St. Louis, saying that he spoke the same evening at Alton, "I am willing to admit," said Mr. Train, "The divine right of kings. Obey the President. But where is it written in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, or the archives of the nation, that we should kiss his man servant, or his maid servant, his ox--" here Mr. Train hesitated, amid much laughter, when he continued--"or his cattle, or the stranger within his gates." (Loud laughter, and Franks: "Why did you make the omission?") "Because I wished to spare your feeling, as the reference was intended for you." (Loud and uproarious laughter at the unexpected sally for several minutes.)³⁵

While Train used ridicule quite effectively in his campaign in Kansas, the device which was most remembered was his invention of epigrams, with which he ridiculed his enemies and clarified his position on the various issues in the campaign. His most famous epigram was written to summarize the situation of the woman suffrage campaign in Kansas. It was printed in the first issue of the Revolution, the newspaper published by Anthony and Stanton which Train financed for several years.

³⁵Train, p. 72.

EPITAPH ON THE TOMBSTONE OF THE APOSTATES
 The Garrisons, Phillips, Greeleys and Beechers,
 False prophets, false guides, false teachers and preachers,
 Left Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, Brown and Stone,
 To fight the Kansas battle alone;
 While your Rosses, Pomroys and your Clarkes,
 Like neutral England's pirate barks,
 Stood on the fence, or basely fled,
 While WOMAN was saved by a COPPERHEAD.³⁶

The Lawrence State Journal, in a glowing report of Train's speech in that city, summarized Train's speaking style.

His anecdotes, his analysis, his bitter sarcastic comments on the milk and water style of some of the Kansas politicians cannot be transferred to paper. He talks with his eyes, his hands, his legs as well as his mouth.³⁷

But not all newspaper accounts of his speaking were complimentary. Democratic papers such as the State Journal, were generally in support of his position and gave good coverage to Train's speeches. Many of his Republican papers were appalled at Train's presence in Kansas and took great pains to say so. The Atchison Daily Champion took pride in pointing out that newspaper reports of Train's speech at Atchison in which he claimed to have won over that city, were quite interesting considering the fact that Train had never arrived to speak in Atchison.³⁸

The Leavenworth Bulletin spelled out the Republican opposition to Train in no uncertain terms. Pointing first to the notoriety Train had gained by making pro-slavery speeches in England and his being arrested in Missouri for making anti-war speeches, the editor went on to point to his major shortcomings, including his association with the hated "Copperheads."

³⁶ Ibid., p. 1

³⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁸ Atchison Daily Champion, November 7, 1867.

He seems to have forgotten his infamous rebel-copperhead record altogether. But if he fancies that the people of Kansas, and the loyal defenders of the Union throughout the land, have equally short memories, he is much mistaken. They have not forgotten how Kansas bled when stabbed by rebels, and the copperheads will find that though their champion clown may stand on his head in the tan-bark, with his brains in his breeches, and kick saw-dust over the "bars and stars," the fact of his being a deep-dyed copperhead and rebel sympathizer, is neither forgotten nor forgiven by Kansas patriots.³⁹

With such opposition from the majority party in Kansas it is surprising that Train would be able to draw such large crowds and hold their apparent interest for long periods of time. This phenomenon is the result not of support for the causes he advocated, it seems, but rather because Train put on the best show to be found on the Kansas prairies. The editors suggested that the entertainment value of the man was what attracted the people, and little more. The Topeka Leader pointed to this aspect of Train's popularity in an editorial of October 31, 1867.

George Francis Train is announced to address the people of this place and vicinity on November 1st, in behalf of "Woman's Rights." Since Yankee Robinson's mammoth posters and gaudy show bills fore-tokened the coming of the "Egyptian Wallapus--the most savage animal known to civilized nations"--there has been no such fever of curiosity as is now exhibited to see and hear the transcendent humbug whose initials head this article. Nor is this curiosity unnatural or inexcusable; for, had the performance been up to the "lofty and sounding phrase of the manifesto," and the "wallapus" been in real flesh and blood what the fancy of the artist painted him, he would scarcely have been such a monstrosity in animal, as Train is in human development.⁴⁰

³⁹Train, p. 56.

⁴⁰Topeka Leader, October 31, 1867.

In his two weeks' stay in Kansas, George Francis Train may have helped bring some Democratic support to the women's cause, and he certainly brought the issue to the notice of the people of Kansas. These gains are insignificant when compared to the problems his presence created. Members of the majority party were appalled that the women would bring a staunch Democrat and Copperhead to Republican Kansas. The Lawrence Tribune, itself a friend to woman suffrage, found Train highly objectionable.

We like criticism and fun; but the idea of a man with Train's record assaulting Grant before a loyal assembly was a little too much to be even amusing. If the Democracy induced him to come, to carry any cause in Kansas--and we have no idea⁴¹ they did--there never was such a waste of ammunition.

His opposition to the party goal of Negro suffrage further alienated the few remaining Republican friends of woman suffrage. While he brought large crowds to the suffrage meetings, the people came to be entertained, not to be aroused over the issue of woman suffrage.

Election Day

As November 5, 1867 drew near, all of the workers in the campaign in Kansas intensified their efforts toward their own favored outcome for the election. The issues had narrowed to such an extent that party considerations were now emerging as the focal point for argument. Of primary concern to advocates of woman suffrage was the position of the predominant Republican party. But the Republican position at this point was quite clear--woman suffrage was not a party issue and the leadership would not actively support it as such. The Fort Scott Weekly Monitor had clearly indicated the position taken by

⁴¹Kansas Weekly Tribune (Lawrence), October 24, 1867.

most of the Republican papers in the state.

We do not propose to argue this as a party question, for it has not assumed that character. We regard it rather in the light of an independent question, neither supported or apposed [sic] by any party platform, but unexpectedly brought forth by the Legislature last winter, and now⁴² supported and opposed by individual members of all parties.

The editor voiced the prevailing Republican position that the party was not going to lose sight of its most pressing concerns with reconstruction in order to argue for woman suffrage, an issue of no particular consequence to the Republican party in Kansas. Rather, he suggested that editorial space was most advantageously used supporting the key issue of this campaign, which was undoubtedly Negro suffrage. His view was strongly supported by I. S. Kalloch in the Ottawa Western Home Journal. After pointing to the contributions which the Negro had made during the war, and decrying the state of darkness in which the nation was now found, he ended his editorial plea with a strong statement in favor of Negro suffrage.

We see then that the country needs the negro's [sic] vote. The unreconstructed rebels of the South need it. The unconverted copperheads of the North need it. The paralyzed industries of the nation need it. Andrew Johnson needs it. May Kansas, where freedom's battle was begun, end it by crowning the negro [sic] with the right and power to keep and defend that⁴³ for which he has so bravely and successfully fought!

The split in the Republican party was being closed around the rallying cry of Negro suffrage, and woman suffrage was being discarded in the move to save the party's amendment. The Democratic party maintained its official position in opposition to all three amendments in the Kansas campaign, but some individual Democrats as well as George

⁴²Fort Scott Weekly Monitor, October 9, 1867.

⁴³Ottawa Western Home Journal, September 12, 1867.

Francis Train worked in support of woman suffrage. To the Republicans this Democratic support for woman suffrage was actually a strategic move aimed at defeating Negro suffrage. Republicans feared the Democrats would gain considerable political advantage in the upcoming election if the Republican Party remained divided on the women's issue. This possibility led Republican editors to envision headlines announcing a great Democratic victory in the state of Kansas. Such a possibility prompted John Speer of the Lawrence Tribune to ask, "Wouldn't that humiliate a true Kansas Radical?"⁴⁴ This appearance of increasing Democratic strength in the state made Republicans even more firm in their conviction that nothing, including woman suffrage, would interfere with their desire to pass the loyalty amendment and the Negro suffrage amendment.

Local newspapers continued to carry arguments related to suffrage right up to election day, but the tone and content of these articles also reflected the partisan nature of the election. The Manhattan Independent, still supporting the justice of the woman's cause throughout the campaign, reacted to the demands for party loyalty and by November 2, expressed its continued support in more political terms.

It is said that 15,000 women in our State have signed declarations, asking for their right to vote. Is there a Republican, who will say they shall not? We cannot afford to concede to the Democrats, one single point of principle. Let them have the advantage of supporting woman suffrage, with any considerable Republican opposition, and we could not recover from the injury, in a long time. Let every Republican vote ⁴⁵ for all three amendments, and the nation will rejoice.

⁴⁴ Kansas Weekly Tribune (Lawrence), October 3, 1867.

⁴⁵ Manhattan Independent, November 2, 1867.

John A. Martin of the Atchison Daily Champion saw the Republican obligations in a different light. Chastising the many Eastern dignitaries who were trying to force woman suffrage upon the state of Kansas, Martin observed that Kansas had had more than its share of bloody battles over the pressing issues of the day and that the future of Kansas was dependent upon a period of peace and prosperity. He suggested that woman suffrage advocates should plead for their cause in their home states.

Let Massachusetts or New York, or some older State, therefore, try this nauseating dose. If it does not kill them, or if it proves healthful and beneficial, we guarantee that Kansas will not be long in swallowing it. But the stomach of our State, if we may be permitted to use the expression, is, as yet, ^{too}~~too~~ tender and febrific to allow such a fearful deglutition.

The speakers traveling the state, faced with this highly partisan turn of events, worked ever more diligently trying to take their case to the voters. Brown increased her speaking load to four speeches a day in early November, and Stanton, Anthony and Train all attempted to participate in as many local gatherings as their time and travel schedules allowed. Nichols had again retired from the campaign, and her later analysis of the situation summarized these closing days.

I retired from a field overlaid with happy reminders of past trials merged in present blessings. The work was in competent hands, but the time ill-chosen on account of the political complications with negro ⁴⁷[sic] suffrage, and failure was the result.

While Brown, Stanton and Anthony were aware of the many forces aligned against them by election day, they continued to work and hope throughout that day. Brown was in Lawrence, still talking to any voters who would listen, while Anthony and Stanton made their way to each of the four

⁴⁶Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 250.

⁴⁷Ibid., I, 200.

polling places in Leavenworth, addressing each of the voters and making a personal plea for a vote for woman suffrage. They were accompanied in this endeavor by the Hutchinson Family Singers.

But this full year of extensive campaigning ended in defeat. The combined forces of the Radical Republicans, the Germans, the Negroes, the anti-temperance people, and the Kansas political scene, were more than the best women speakers of the East could overcome. The woman suffrage amendment lost at the polls, gaining 9,070 votes in favor, and 19,857 opposed. The Negro suffrage amendment also was defeated, 10,483 in favor and 19,421 opposed. Only the amendment restricting the franchise to those loyal to the Union passed, by a vote of 16,860 to 12,165 against.⁴⁸

⁴⁸Office of the Secretary of State, Kansas State Secretary of State Reports--1861-78 (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1880), I, 7. A discrepancy exists within this report. Addition of the recorded county totals for Negro and woman suffrage results in the following totals: woman suffrage 9,090 to 19,924, Negro suffrage 10,422 to 19,490. For purposes of this paper, however, county totals are used as recorded.

CHAPTER V

"THE VOTE"

Introduction

The election of 1867 in Kansas represents the first of some fifty-six state campaigns embarked on by advocates of woman suffrage. Many of the problems which faced them in Kansas were also present in the campaigns which followed. Certainly the experience gained in Kansas had a profound effect upon the tactics and approaches used in the ensuing campaigns. In order to judge how well advocates later adapted to the problems facing them in a political campaign, it is essential to understand what forces were operating in Kansas in 1867. A look at the election and the variables which acted upon the outcome will reveal not only the forces effecting the defeat of woman suffrage in Kansas, but serve as guideposts in observing other campaigns in which women sought their own enfranchisement.¹

Three constitutional amendments were voted upon by the people of Kansas in November, 1867. The first of these involved removing the word "Male" from the constitution, having the effect of granting to women the right of suffrage. This amendment was defeated, 19,857 to 9,070 the women's amendment receiving 31 per cent of the vote. The second amendment involved removing the word "white" from the constitution, and would have the effect of granting to Negroes these same rights of suffrage. The Negro's amendment was also defeated, 19,421 to 10,483,

¹See Appendix B for all data referred to in this chapter.

with the Negro amendment receiving 35 per cent of the vote. The third amendment involved restricting the elective franchise to those persons loyal to the Union during the Civil War and this amendment received a majority of 16,860 to 12,165, with a favorable vote of 58 per cent. The variables which affected the vote for or against these three amendments are studied to identify the forces working for and against the woman suffrage amendment during this campaign. Five broad categories of variables are examined. First, the woman suffrage vote is compared to the vote cast for the other two amendments, that for Negro suffrage and that for enfranchising loyal men. It is possible that some consistency existed in people's preferences in regard to all three of the amendments.²

A second variable involves the party position and the party vote in Kansas. A view of counties carried by each political party sheds some light on who was voting for and against the measure.

A third variable incorporates knowledge of newspaper position throughout the state. The editor bias in a given county on the suffrage vote is compared to the outcome of the vote in that county.

A fourth variable considered the work done by advocates and opponents who stumped the state on the suffrage issue. The influence of prominent speakers on the attitudes formed in a given county can be considered.

A fifth variable involves an investigation of ethnic groups within certain areas of the state, and the effect that these groups might have had upon the outcome in their particular county.

²The Pearson Product-Moment Coefficient of correlation was used to test the relationships between these amendments. A high degree of correlation was found between all three amendments. The correlation between removing the word "white" and removing the word "male" was .827. The correlation between removing the word "white" and restricting the loyal vote was .943. The correlation between removing the word "male" and restricting the loyal vote was .727.

Woman Suffrage and Negro Suffrage

The woman suffrage amendment had to compete for voter attention with two other amendments. The first of these amendments called for striking the word "white" from the constitution, thus giving the franchise to all Negro residents of the state. Generally speaking, the woman suffrage and Negro suffrage amendments tended consistently to go together, as the statistical correlation demonstrates. Despite comments to the contrary by both advocates and opponents, the two amendments seemed to draw upon the same bases of support and antagonism. The number of votes cast for the Negro amendment was, for the most part, more than those cast for the woman amendment. The most notable exception to this was in Leavenworth county, where the women's amendment polled 47 per cent of the vote and the Negro amendment only polled 25 per cent of the vote. A number of reasons can be suggested for this outcome. Leavenworth county is part of the northern tier of counties where strong pro-slave elements held sway, thus accounting for the poor Negro vote. This consideration will be discussed more fully when discussing the loyalty amendment. A second possibility lies in the fact that the Democrats managed to win a majority in Leavenworth because the Radical Republicans and the Union Republicans were so divided as to lose their ability to control the election. Both the Atchison Champion of November 7, and the Oskaloosa Independent of November 10, suggest that the Democrats managed to carry a larger majority than should have been possible in a largely Republican county.³ A third possibility exists in the fact that Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and the Hutchinson Family singers all campaigned at each of the voting places in the city of Leavenworth and tried to appeal

³Burton E. Lyman, "Voting Behavior of Kansas Counties--1862-1936 as Measured by Pluralities for Governor and Secretary of State," (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Kansas, 1937). This thesis is used whenever reference is made to the political classification of a county, unless some other source is cited.

personally to as many voters as possible, a situation which, as a rule, did not exist at any of the other polling places throughout the state. This personal touch might have had some effect upon voters who were undecided or apathetic on the issue.

The women's amendment outpolled the Negro's amendment by one or two percentage points in Crawford, Doniphan, Jackson, and Marion. Woodson and Wyandotte counties, but this small percentage would not be sufficient to suspect any widespread support for woman suffrage apart from similar support for Negro suffrage.

On the other hand, the Negro suffrage amendment outpolled the women's amendment in four counties. In Dickenson, the Negro amendment received 48 per cent of the vote while the women's amendment received but 20 per cent of the vote. The same situation existed in Lyon (65 per cent to 27 per cent), Osage (59 per cent to 34 per cent), and Riley (56 per cent to 37 per cent). No commonalities seem to exist between these counties to account for this large vote for the Negro amendment other than the strong Republican party affiliation in these counties. Since the Republicans made Negro suffrage a party issue and denounced woman suffrage as a side issue, the large Negro amendment support could be a reflection of strong party affiliation in these counties.

Although no causal relationship could be implied in the vote for the woman suffrage and Negro suffrage amendments, it does seem apparent, with few exceptions, that the two issues drew similar kinds of responses from the voters.

Woman Suffrage and Loyal Suffrage

The second amendment called for limiting the franchise to those persons who had been loyal to the Union during the Civil War. This amendment was considered part of the reconstruction measures advocated by the Republican Congress and received considerable support from the old Free State party members in Kansas. The pro-slavery elements still in Kansas were opposed to all such reconstruction measures, and particularly opposed to this amendment. The assumption is herein made that those persons supporting the loyalty amendment (to disfranchise rebels) would also support Negro suffrage as an integral part of this measure. Similarly, those opposed to this measure (keep the rebels franchised) would oppose Negro suffrage. If the principles in support of Negro suffrage are similar to those in support of woman suffrage, then those in favor of the loyalty amendment should also support woman suffrage and those opposed to the loyalty amendment should vote against woman suffrage. To a great extent this is the case, although the correlation between the women's vote and the loyal vote is the lowest of the three.

The counties noted for their pro-slavery activities during the early days of Kansas voted against the loyalty amendment, against the Negro amendment and against the woman amendment by large majorities. The counties which followed this trend were Atchison, Marion, Morris, Wyandotte, Leavenworth, and Jefferson. All of these were populated by pro-slavery sympathizers, with Jefferson being the home of the Lecompton pro-slavery constitution of 1857. Butler, Coffey and Davis (Geary), which were considered Republican counties and thus should have been in favor of all three amendments, followed this same negative pattern, indicating some pro-slave sentiment must have been present in each of these counties.

Five Republican counties--Allen, Anderson, Cherokee, Ottawa and Wabaunsee--gave strong loyalty votes, carried Negro suffrage and gave strong support to woman suffrage. This would support the assumption of Republican support for all three amendments. The first three of these had large concentrations of civil war veterans settling there, perhaps accounting for the anti-rebel feelings, and all supported the suffrage amendments for women and Negroes. Two other counties containing large concentrations of civil war veterans gave strong support for the loyalty amendment but voted against the Negro and woman suffrage amendments. These were Linn and Crawford counties. These two again demonstrate that the Negro and woman suffrage issues seem to stay together, whether for good or ill.

Thus, those counties having strong pro-slavery sympathies voted against the loyalty amendment and against the Negro and woman suffrage amendments. Those counties having strong anti-south feelings voted for the loyalty amendment and generally for the Negro and woman amendments. Those counties with moderate views on the loyalty amendment showed no consistent pattern in voting for either the woman or Negro amendments.

Woman Suffrage and Party Affiliation

The Republican party was the majority party in Kansas and generally controlled the outcome of any election. The primary concern of the party during this campaign was in the successful reconstruction of the southern states and the possible impeachment of President Johnson. To do this, some members felt that it was essential to limit the franchise to those loyal to the Union. A corollary of this policy involved enfranchising the loyal Negroes who had fought for the Union. Support for these two policies was not consistent within the Republican party

and thus a major division of the party took place. As Zornow points out, "those who supported the Radical Congressional program called themselves 'regular' Republicans...The President's partisans called themselves 'Union' Republicans. . ."⁴ The woman suffrage amendment did not contribute to the resolution of either of these two primary goals and thus was never given official consideration by the party. Some leading Republicans saw the justice of supporting woman suffrage along with Negro suffrage and actively worked toward the passage of both amendments, but most Republicans sought to keep the issue separate from the main party considerations of disfranchising the rebels and enfranchising the Negro. This disassociation from the woman suffrage issue on the part of the Republican party is reflected in the election returns, where no consistent pattern of support can be found across Republican counties.

Woman suffrage advocates had also tried to enlist the support of the Democrats, securing the aid of George Francis Train for that purpose. While some individual Democrats may have supported the measure, the party was opposed and this party position is reflected in all the counties listed as Democratic. The women's amendment lost by large majorities in Atchison (22 per cent), Wyandotte (17 per cent), Marion (21 per cent), and Morris (25 per cent), the four primary Democratic counties. They achieved 47 per cent of the vote in Leavenworth where the Democrats prevailed in 1867, but this would be the only evidence of Democratic support and other factors also prevailed there.

⁴William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 123.

It is also possible that the women's amendment gained some Democratic support in Coffey county where it received 45 per cent of the vote and the rebel and Negro amendments were defeated. In a letter to Sam Wood, J. Chess of LeRoy indicates that LeRoy was a Democratic stronghold⁵ and the results of the votes on the other two issues would indicate some truth to this, despite Lyman's listing of Coffey County as a Republican county.

In terms of party support, then, the woman's amendment did not seem to gain any great amount of support from the Democrats, and the Republican party's refusal to take up the issue left the Republican voters free of party dictates in making their decision. Although the Republicans did support Negro suffrage as a party measure, it was defeated as well, perhaps demonstrating that the Republicans were too widely divided over national issues during 1867 to have carried either issue.

Woman Suffrage and Newspaper Position

The position taken by newspapers in the state bears little consistent relationship to the woman suffrage issue. Newspapers generally in favor of the measure followed no pattern. If the strength of support is considered, some difference is noted. In the one county where the newspaper is extremely supportive, Chase County, the woman's amendment gained 49 per cent of the vote. In other counties, where the support is either neutral or mildly positive, no relationship can be found between newspaper support and the woman suffrage amendment.

In counties where only opposition newspapers existed, there is

⁵ Letter, "J. Chess to Sam Wood, April 9, 1867," Kansas Historical Society Archives, Woman Suffrage Papers.

no discernible trend in the vote for woman suffrage. The majority of these newspapers can be described as negatively neutral and thus represent opposition of a mild nature. The average vote for the woman suffrage amendment across all counties with opposition newspapers was 28 per cent but this ranges from a low of 14 per cent in Franklin County to a high of 39 per cent in Bourbon county, where both Fort Scott papers were strongly opposed.

The only newspaper position which seemed to have any effect was found in counties where a conflict of opinion existed between the newspapers. With the exception of Atchison and Wyandotte counties, where strong pro-slavery and Democratic factions might be blamed for the woman suffrage amendment's defeat, the other five counties which contained more than one newspaper and where these represented opposing sides of the issue, woman suffrage received the most support. These counties and their percentage of the vote were: Leavenworth (47 per cent), Shawnee (38 per cent), Riley (37 per cent), Coffey (46 per cent), and Allen (45 per cent). These counties all voted considerably higher than the state average of 31 per cent. This might suggest that balanced and fair coverage of the issue would work to the advantage of advocates of woman suffrage.

Counties which had no newspapers followed no particular pattern, running from a low in Washington County (12 per cent) to a high in Ottawa County (52 per cent). Since it was impossible to determine which newspapers were read in these counties, no suggestions can be made as to the effect the newspapers might have had.

Woman Suffrage and Speakers

To gauge the effect which speakers might have had on the election, itineraries were reconstructed where possible for advocates and then areas where the speakers concentrated their attention were studied. Similarly, counties where suffrage associations were formed after a visit by speakers were compared and finally, some attempt to determine the effect of anti-speakers were made.

Primary speakers working for woman suffrage were Lucy Stone-Henry Blackwell, Olympia Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton-Ex. Governor Robinson, and Susan B. Anthony-George Francis Train. Itineraries of Brown, Stanton-Robinson and Anthony-Train could be reconstructed with some degree of accuracy. Brown traveled to all but ten counties, missing Ellis, Cloud, Ottawa, Ellsworth, Butler, Greenwood, Wilson, Woodson, Marion and Osage. Stanton-Robinson spoke in the majority of the counties in the state, missing Ellis, Ottawa, Cloud, Clay, Washington, Marion, Neosho, Crawford, Labette and Cherokee. Anthony-Train spoke in fifteen counties, primarily appearing in the more heavily populated areas.

Counties were divided into four categories for the purpose of comparing the presence of a speaker against the state average for woman suffrage. There were four counties where no speakers appeared. Two of these, Ellis and Cloud, had no returns for this election. The remaining two, Ottawa and Marion, had 52 per cent and 21 per cent respectively, showing that the absence of speakers had no particular effect upon the outcome in those counties. In the remaining counties where speakers

did spend some time, three other divisions were possible. Five counties had large concentrations of speakers, eight counties had only one or two visits throughout the campaign, and eight counties had four visits, which represented the most frequent number of visits by speakers during the campaign. Although these divisions do not include all of the counties, they seemed to represent the kinds of patterns of speaker visitation which were characteristic during the year.

Bourbon, Doniphan, Douglas, Jefferson and Johnson counties each received thirteen or more speaker visits during the campaign, yet the average vote for woman suffrage in these counties was only 28 per cent, below the state average of 31 per cent. In Butler, Dickenson, Ellsworth, Greenwood, Neosho, Washington, Wilson and Woodson counties, where only one or two speakers visited, the average was 25 per cent. Again the presence or absence of speakers in any quantity did not seem to bring out a large vote for woman suffrage. In those counties where a moderate amount of speaker attention was expended, (Brown, Chase, Clay, Davis, Franklin, Jackson, Morris, and Pottawatomie), the average vote for woman suffrage was 32 per cent, which is close enough to the state average to indicate little specific affect attributable to speakers. Other variables may have been far more important to the outcome of the election than the influence of the national speakers.

Although Brown and Stanton covered a large portion of the state and Stanton's speeches in particular met with respect and approval in almost all places, one speech in one city in each county does not seem to have been sufficient to influence voter opinion to a great extent. The same might be said of Train, who spoke not only in the Democratic

counties of the northeast, where opinion was already running against woman suffrage, but in Republican counties further west, yet no consistent trend can be found in the fifteen counties in which he campaigned.

Some speakers generated local associations as part of their visits, and although most of these are difficult to locate, at least nine are known to have existed. No information on the size, strength or amount of activity engaged in could be found and so again little in the way of conclusions can be drawn from the existence of these associations. In three of the counties where associations existed--Brown (42 per cent), Anderson (44 per cent), and Coffey (46 per cent)--the woman suffrage amendment fared quite well. In four other counties--Miami (20 per cent), Lyon (27 per cent), Atchison (22 per cent), and Johnson (27 per cent)--the suffrage amendment was defeated soundly. The remaining two counties--Douglas (31 per cent) and Riley (37 per cent)--fall somewhere around the state-wide average. If it were possible to determine the strength of these associations, it would then be feasible to gauge their impact. The role of local associations is worthy of study in other campaigns.

The opponents to woman suffrage were primarily local speakers, and unlike the well-known speakers from outside the state, they did not publish itineraries. They seemed to confine their efforts primarily to areas near their home towns and so again their influence is hard to determine. One of the most prominent speakers against woman suffrage was C. V. Eskridge of Emporia who canvassed extensively in Lyon county. The vote in that county could possibly reflect some influence from his efforts, since the county is Republican, it voted heavily in favor of the loyalty amendment (88 per cent), gave a majority for the Negro

amendment (65 per cent), but soundly defeated the woman amendment (27 per cent). This was one of the counties where the natural affinity of the woman and Negro suffrage amendments did not hold. No other speaker published any announcement of proposed speaking engagements, although all seemed to speak in Lawrence during the campaign. Douglas county, also a Republican county, voted for the rebel amendment (70 per cent), but neither the Negro suffrage nor the woman suffrage amendment fared well (47 per cent and 31 per cent), so the influence of opposition speakers could not be attributed to these figures with any certainty.

The results of these comparisons would tend to show that local individuals working within their home counties might have more influence over voter choices than speakers imported for one occasion. If local organizations were working in concert with the well-known speakers, better voter support might have been found. But support can not be imposed from outside. Local editors pointed to this problem on a number of occasions. The Atchison Daily Capital pointed this out after the election when it said:

The Lawrence Clarion, a strong and able advocate of female suffrage, speaking of the canvass in this State on that question says:

"If the question is ever again presented to our people, we are of the opinion that the custom of importing Trains and strong minded women to learn us our duty, will be more honored in the breach than in the observance!"

Sensible advice. Kansas people can take care of their own affairs, and do their own voting, without advice from strong minded women or copperhead gas-bags.⁶

⁶ Atchison Daily Capital, November 17, 1867.

Woman Suffrage and Ethnic Groups

The major ethnic migrations to Kansas did not take place until 1869 and after, so only a limited number of ethnic communities can be identified. In 1867 there were some people of Norwegian descent scattered throughout the state. The Norwegians, amounting to about 250 people, settled in parts of Atchison, Brown and Doniphan counties. There was also a settlement at Eureka in Greenwood county.

Increasing numbers of German settlers came primarily to Marshall and Washington counties. Marion county had a settlement of Pennsylvania Dutch and there was another German settlement at Alma, in Wabaunsee county. These ethnic groups seemed for the most part to follow party lines in voting, for in Atchison, Doniphan and Marion county, the Democratic position in opposition to all three amendments prevailed. In Brown, Greenwood and Wabaunsee the Republican position favorable to all three amendments prevailed.

The Norwegian position in regard to these amendments could not be ascertained, but the Germans did meet in convention to work against temperance legislation and all who supported such. Because of this stand, it might be assumed that they would oppose woman suffrage on this ground, and so their influence might have some bearing on the election results. A look at Marshall and Washington counties might demonstrate this influence. The loyal amendment passed but by limited majorities in these two counties, (57 percent and 54 per cent), respectively. The Negro and woman suffrage amendments were defeated by large margins even though these were considered Republican counties. The vote in Marshall on the woman suffrage and Negro suffrage amendments was 28 per cent and 28 per cent and in Washington was 12 per cent and 25 per cent,

respectively. Zornow points out that a vote against the loyal amendment and the Negro amendment could point to a repudiation of the excesses of the Radical Republicans who were in power.⁷ This conservative reaction could account for these figures. It is also possible that the German fear of woman's link with temperance, and their fear of the encroachments by another ethnic group, could also have contributed to the large vote against woman suffrage and Negro suffrage.

No other ethnic group was present in sufficient numbers nor sufficient concentration to have any considerable effect upon the outcome of the election in any particular county.

Related Votes

Although the three amendments were the main focus of the election of 1867, vacancies in the Senate, House and judicial districts were also to be filled.⁸ Two men prominent in the woman suffrage campaign, on opposite sides of the issue, were running for election. Sam Wood, the outspoken advocate of woman suffrage in Kansas was seeking re-election to the 9th district judgeship. Preston B. Plumb, one of the Republican speakers campaigning for Negro suffrage and against woman suffrage, was seeking a term in the House. If the outcomes of their individual campaigns can be viewed as a gauge of public sentiment upon the woman suffrage issue, the lack of local support for this reform is highlighted.

⁷Zornow, p. 125.

⁸D. W. Wilder, Annals of Kansas (Topeka, Kansas: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886), pp. 463-67.

Sam Wood was defeated by a margin of 43 votes. He gained 45 per cent of the vote but was unable to carry Chase county, his home territory, where he had sponsored a newspaper whose primary purpose was to support woman suffrage. Preston B. Plumb, on the other hand, won handily, gaining 81 per cent of the vote in his own Lyon County. While other factors could have contributed to these outcomes, the prominence of both of these men in the discussion of the woman suffrage amendment must certainly be reflected in these election results.

Conclusion

The woman suffrage amendment carried only one county--Ottawa county. This county had no home newspapers, it was basically Republican, possibly Radical, although this could not be determined. It was not visited by any of the speakers canvassing the state and it was so sparsely populated that the total vote on the suffrage amendment was 66 people. If one were to generalize from this one case of success, the conclusion would have to be that the best chance for success would be to leave the voters completely alone. But generalizing from such an example, even if practicable, would be foolish. Considering the novelty of woman suffrage in many parts of the country in 1867, women made reasonable headway in Kansas. Many valuable insights learned in this campaign were applied to future campaigns waged for woman suffrage. Thus, much was learned from the analysis of the results of this campaign, even though victory was not achieved.

One thing which becomes quite clear is that in a state where strong party loyalty exists, such as Kansas, people will generally vote along party lines. In all of the Democratic counties as well as the

pro-slavery counties, with the exception of Leavenworth, all three amendments were defeated in accord with the Democratic party platform. In Leavenworth, Republican party divisions and special pleading on the part of woman advocates may have interacted to result in a favorable Democratic vote.

The Radical Republican counties were concerned primarily with reconstruction measures and neither the woman nor the Negro suffrage issues were crucial to this end. The result of this support was that the loyal amendment passed and some support for the Negro was garnered along the way. The Union Republicans, while in sympathy with the plight of the women and the Negroes, were concerned with the course of Radical Republican policies, and repudiated these policies by a conservative vote on all three amendments. The women and Negro amendments were caught between these warring party factions.

Newspapers seem to present a valuable tool for dissemination of information by advocates, but it seems clear that a reasonable, balanced approach is to be favored over either blind advocacy or bitter opposition. Woman suffrage as an issue seems able to survive an open discussion of both sides of the question.

Speakers in favor of the cause seem to be most useful if they have some local support and supplement local speakers. A campaign cannot be carried by individuals from other states, no matter how gifted as speakers, nor prominent as national figures. The support garnered by Preston B. Plumb, and the defeat of Sam Wood in the election would tend to support this position. Wood was clearly identified with the national speakers, while Plumb was a Kansas native working through the state political system.

While ethnic background may not be a contributing factor to

voting behavior, where large concentrations of a particular ethnic group exist, the possibility of ethnic considerations increases, and such must be dealt with in order to guarantee success for the amendment. The effect of this kind of ethnic block voting in Kansas is difficult to determine, but certainly the presence of a convention of German citizens, called to work against temperance laws and temperance supporters, represents a force to be reckoned with.

Although woman suffrage carried only one county in Kansas in 1867, the campaign can not be marked down as a total failure. The women, for the first time, took their demand for the ballot to the people, and in many cases received a fair share of support. The seeds of political experience were sown, and the experience gained was put to use in the many campaigns which ensued. Had woman's cause been completely repudiated at the polls of Kansas, it might never have been resurrected, but no such repudiation can be read into these results. The Leavenworth Commercial of November 14, points to the positive gains of the campaign of 1867.

We repeat then, when we consider the many obstacles thrown in the way of the advocates of this measure, of the indifference with which the masses look upon anything new in government, and their indisposition to change, that the degree of success of these advocates is not only remarkable, but one in which they have a just right to feel proud and triumphant.⁹

⁹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (1887; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), III, 263.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

The Problem

During 1867 in Kansas various segments of the population were actively involved in the pursuit of their own special interests. Expansion of suffrage, development of the state's resources and control of the liquor trade, were just some of the concerns. By the fall of that year, the male citizens of Kansas would be asked to look at all of these issues, order their priorities, and choose between the conflicting options being presented to them.

To the Republican party, the issues of reconstruction were so overwhelming that the party was divided upon the appropriate method for achieving an end to civil strife. The Radical Republicans sought enfranchisement of the Negro population so as to guarantee northern control over the vanquished southern leaders, and also as an act of retribution. The Union Republicans were concerned primarily with smoothing over the disputes engendered by the Civil War and in guaranteeing the election of Ulysses S. Grant as President of the United States in 1868. Both factions of the party were interested in maintaining their dominance over Kansas politics, and in keeping the Democrats from finding any issue which would resurrect that devastated party. The Democrats, who sought their own advancement, were opposed to Negro suffrage and to all of the demands for reconstruction being forced upon the vanquished South.

In addition to these party considerations, the temperance people sought to thwart any attempt to repeal their newly acquired control over the liquor trade, a strong effort being made by members of the German communities and others who wished Kansas to remain "wet." Sidney Clark, Edmund Ross, Preston Plumb and C. V. Eskridge all sought political office; the Indians wanted their territories returned; the railroads wanted free land upon which to expand into the opening western territories; and the Kansas farmer wanted an end to civil strife, safety from cholera and Indian raids, and a good harvest. In the midst of these concerns came the plea for woman suffrage. The problems facing advocates of the woman's cause forced them to make rhetorical choices which hopefully would gain acceptance for their cause from the male Kansas citizen being asked to choose among these issues. The rhetorical choices which they made during the year 1867 had considerable impact upon the November election.

Rhetorical Choices

Of the many factors which had an effect upon the outcome of the election, at least two factors could be manipulated by supporters of women suffrage. These factors were first the choice of who would speak in favor of the issue, and second, the choice of arguments used by the speakers. The choice of speakers was primarily the decision of Sam Wood, since he was instrumental in placing the issue on the ballot and he initiated the Impartial Suffrage Convention which issued the invitation to the Eastern women speakers who came to Kansas. Although the purpose of the Convention was to enlist the aid of Kansas people in the campaign, few Kansas natives chose to take an active part. Sam Wood, Charles

Robinson and Clarina Nichols were the only Kansans actively working for suffrage in 1867. The campaign, therefore, was forced to rely upon the speaking abilities of outside speakers, primarily Lucy Stone, Olympia Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and George Francis Train. The dearth of local people, and the characteristics of the outside speakers had considerable effect upon the Kansas voters.

Of the local speakers, Charles Robinson was certainly the most prominent and the most respected. A Republican, the First Free State Governor and a man of considerable political talent, he provided a degree of respectability to the movement. His travels with Stanton would only have enhanced each of her speaking engagements. The major drawback which Robinson presented was his alignment with the conservative wing of the Republican party. In the internal struggles which were ensuing in the Republican Party in Kansas, it was clear that the Radicals had the upper hand in 1867, and Robinson's prestige was of limited value with this segment of Republicans.

Clarina Nichols similarly was caught in the political struggles of 1867. A Kansas resident for ten years, Nichols had worked for women's issues throughout this period with marked success. Her approach was quiet and conservative and during the campaign she confined her activities to her own part of the state. Although she may have had an impact upon some people in her immediate area, the counties in which she campaigned were heavily populated by the old pro-slavery elements, and as the election returns show, woman suffrage as well as Negro suffrage encountered very stiff opposition in this area. Even if Nichols were highly respected, her personal prestige could hardly be expected to counteract so strong a political force.

Sam Wood, the third Kansan working in the campaign, was a mixed blessing for the woman's cause. Although Wood's concern for woman's rights was probably sincere, and he was a hard worker for the cause, his tactics in linking the woman's issue to the Negro issue had aroused the suspicions of many Republicans. His reputation for being politically ambitious and his involvement in political manipulations for personal gain led Republicans to suspect that his motives in supporting woman suffrage were insincere. Editors at Fort Scott, Oskaloosa and Emporia suggested that Wood was leading the cause to defeat Negro suffrage, to enhance his political reputation, and for his own economic gain by handling the collection of donations. Whether true or not, the controversy surrounding Wood could bring little gain to the woman's cause in Kansas.

With this limited local support, the national speakers faced tremendous obstacles. Rather than serving to enhance the prestige of the local groups supporting woman suffrage, they were in the position of having to provide whatever prestige there would be for the issue. But the speakers who came to Kansas, by their very natures, could not acquire the respect from the voters essential to carry woman suffrage in November.

The first problem to be overcome by outside speakers was the feeling by native Kansans that the speakers were equivalent to an invading force. The presence of Eastern women was resented in many quarters, and various editors had remarked that Kansas people were fully capable of conducting their own affairs without instructions from Eastern emissaries. As the Atchison Daily Capital had so pointedly

remarked, "Kansas people can take care of their own affairs, and do their own voting, without advice from strong-minded women or Copperhead gas-bags."¹ The same sentiment was expressed by other editors,² who felt that the people of Kansas deserved the right to discuss the issue and decide for themselves what was best for their state, without the intrusion of people who had been unable to win support for their cause in their home states. Although the speakers tried to persuade the Kansas voters that woman suffrage would be an improvement to their state, they never managed to counteract the prevailing feeling in Kansas that woman suffrage was primarily to the advantage of the women advocating the issue.

A second problem concerned the characteristics of the women speakers. Many of the women supporting woman suffrage during this time were single, traveling alone through primitive countryside, and conducting business in the same manner as men. Two such, Olympia Brown and Susan B. Anthony, campaigned actively in Kansas, and Olympia Brown was often in the position of seeking aid from men at each speaking site to continue on her tour. The independence of these single women, and the inevitable mixing with men in their business dealings, left them vulnerable to charges of immoral behavior. The Oskaloosa Independent made a most pointed attack.

When Miss Olympia Brown was at Emporia, as at other places, she asked "what she had left home and come out here to speak in favor of female suffrage for but for the good of her sex?" Rev. McBurney replied to her "that she had come out to speak for fifty dollars a month, expenses paid, and the privilege of wearing short dresses and riding about the country with

¹Atchison Daily Capital, November 17, 1867.

²Fort Scott Weekly Monitor, November 20, 1867, Lawrence Clarion, November 12, 1867, Atchison Daily Chamoion, November 20, 1867.

fast young men." Miss B is said to be a free lover.³ Single women were a rarity in agricultural Kansas, where the family farm was the mainstay of the economy. The contrast in behavior between these stereotyped "strident old maids" who came to Kansas, and the married women who inhabited the state, was striking.

The married women who canvassed the state were equally suspect. Lucy Stone, although claiming to be married to Henry Blackwell, retained her maiden name and spoke out against the conditions of the traditional marriage. Kalloch of the Oskaloosa Independent went so far as to suggest that she retained her maiden name because she and Henry were not married, but were living in sin. Such a frontal attack on the state of marriage was a direct confrontation to the values of the women in Kansas. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, although married, with children and all the necessary credentials of a proper woman, was still involved in the rather scandalous behavior of traveling without her husband in a strange country. The attacks against her were far less bitter, however, demonstrating that her marital state, as well as the presence of Charles Robinson as a chaperone, brought her closer in line to the prevailing value system of the native Kansas women.

The only male speaker to come to Kansas was the Democrat and Copperhead, George Francis Train. His support of Irish Independence, and of Train for President were issues which ran counter to some of the most pressing needs found in Kansas in 1867. The state was overwhelmingly Republican, was involved in controversy over how best to punish the vanquished South, and had little interest in the Irish question. His relationship to the minority party, and his close

³Oskaloosa Independent, October 19, 1867.

association with Southern sympathies, served only to inflame the intense feelings which already prevailed in Kansas over the reconstruction issues.

The speakers to whom Sam Wood and other supporters of woman suffrage in Kansas turned during 1867, were inadequate as rhetorical choices. The local speakers were few, and somewhat controversial themselves, a sign to many that most proper Kansans were not in support of the issue. The national speakers seemed to represent values which were threatening to the people of the infant state, and their presence in Kansas seemed to be for their own personal gain, perhaps at the expense of the native population. Rather than enhancing the campaign for woman suffrage in Kansas, each of these speakers served to add further liabilities to the cause.

Women in the other states, some decades later, seemed to learn from the Kansas lesson, or were more aware of the problems presented by outside speakers, since those states which were most successful in passing woman suffrage in later years, did so with limited outside help. Abigail Scott Duniway expressed the wisdom of excluding nationally prominent suffrage speakers from local campaigns in explaining her successes in bringing suffrage to the Northwest.

I had seen the national method defeat apparent success in Kansas in 1894, and in California in 1896. I had seen Colorado win in 1903, when the National Association had no faith whatever in the prospects of victory and so did not attempt to control the campaign; and I knew, by the part I had taken in Idaho, by preventing a long struggle of National domination in 1895-96, that the election in our favor, in that state, had⁴ resulted by keeping its management under local control.

⁴Abigail Scott Duniway, Path-Breaking, an Autobiographical History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in the Pacific Coast States (Portland, Oregon: James, Kerns & Abbott Co., 1914), p. 224.

Although other factors certainly intervened in the years between 1867 and 1903, it did seem that the quiet, organized campaign conducted within a state by local women gained more for the advancement of the woman's cause, than did the excessive publicity and resultant antagonism which accompanied the prominent eastern speakers on their travels through the state. By inviting Stone, Brown, Stanton, Anthony and Train into the state, Wood gave prominence to the issue, and activated not only the supporters of woman suffrage, but the opponents as well.

The second category of choices open to advocates of woman suffrage involved the arguments they selected for the Kansas campaign. The selections made by the women who were the primary speakers during this campaign fell into two categories, one of which predominated during the early days of the campaign, and one which was more important during the concluding days. First, women argued that the basic tenets of the Republican form of government required expanding the franchise to include women. Secondly, they maintained that the limitations involved in "women's role" should be removed for the good of women and society.

Early in the campaign, especially when Lucy Stone was in Kansas, the thrust of the arguments used by women suffrage advocates stressed the logical inconsistencies of keeping women disfranchised. Stone and others maintained that supporters of this government could not in good conscience subscribe to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution and still deny equality to women. Aligning themselves with the Negro suffrage cause, these women pointed to the absurdity of advocating the justice of votes for Negroes without also advocating votes for women. According

to Stone, the improvement in society which would result from granting access to government to both of these disfranchised groups should be obvious to all.

In using this approach, women were attacking the value system as advocated by the white male population. If equality under the law, the right to representation in the government, and the right to self-protection, were all values held by male citizens, then these same values should be allowed to the female citizens of the country. Women advocates made little effort to point to any practical ramifications of these changes in women's role, choosing to argue the inconsistencies in the value structure as currently defined by white males.

Opponents of woman suffrage countered this argument by minimizing the importance of woman suffrage as an issue. The opponents found it absurd that women should see these Republican principles as being applicable to women. Clearly, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were established with the implicit assumption that government was instituted and maintained by and for men, and that the phrase, "all men are created equal" referred to the male of the species. No specific exclusions of women were necessary throughout these documents, since no one could realistically assume their applicability to women. Since women were physically and mentally unfit for self-government, it was imperative that their needs be legislated for them. The assumptions of a representative form of democracy clearly indicated that the needs of the many would be represented by the few. Since most women existed under the control of a man, be it husband, father or brother, their needs were similar to and represented by this controlling male. The

analogy could be easily extended to government as well. The needs of the male and the female, as a unit, were served by the duly elected representative. In Kansas, where the family farm was so prominent, and the family worked as a single unit to insure its own survival, the idea that the husband would be the representative of the family in all decision making situations was a logical outcome of the unit relationship. In this situation, men and women already assumed that women had representation in the government, and arguing strictly on the level of values, could see little to be gained by casting two votes for the needs of one unit. From this perspective there was no inconsistency involved in arguing for Negro manhood suffrage and against woman suffrage. Woman suffrage was only a side issue being used by unscrupulous politicians to defeat the legitimate issue of Negro suffrage, and as such should be ignored by the electorate.

A second line of argument grew out of the need to re-define the prevailing view of woman in American society. This argument, which was a minor part of the speaking of Lucy Stone in the early days of the Kansas campaign, came to be the primary focus for speakers such as Stanton and Nichols. The women attacked two main areas, the prevailing view of women's role and the Biblical sanctions which were used to maintain this definition of woman. Although Nichols spoke of the responsibilities which devolved upon women, and Stanton referred to the limits which men had placed on women, both sought to broaden the existing definition of women's place. Voting was the first step toward changing the definition and allowing women more freedom of choice to operate outside the narrow confines of home and family.

Opponents countered with a defense of this definition of woman's sphere. Men in Kansas, as elsewhere, sincerely believed that women were ordained by God to rear children and tend to the domestic needs of the home and family. They believed in the purity and delicacy of the female with equal tenacity. They further believed that there was no valid answer to the question "why do women want to vote?" They were well aware that Kansas women already exercised control over school concerns and the liquor trade, so that voting could accomplish little more. The characteristics of the women campaigning in Kansas indicated to opponents the kind of woman access to government would produce. Opponents foresaw that the only result of extending the franchise would be to have women leave home and family in pursuit of dubious reforms.

Kirk Porter, writing in 1918 about the women's perspective, characterized this argument as sentimental and ineffective.

There has been more irrelevant bombast in the woman-suffrage debate than in any other previous debates on suffrage questions. The opponents in the past were for the most part not well-prepared, and for that matter seldom have been well organized or prepared since. Indeed there was surprisingly little intelligent opposition. Men continued to say vaguely that woman's place was in the home, and there was no end of sentimental, almost maudlin, rambling about the virtues of women, which were all to be destroyed presumably if once they had the suffrage. There were plenty of sensible arguments to bring forth, but men preferred to be sentimental.⁵

What Porter failed to recognize, as did the advocates of woman suffrage in 1867, is that the issues he characterized as "irrelevant bombast" and "sentimental" represented the genuine beliefs of the men of that

⁵Kirk H. Porter, A History of Suffrage in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918), pp. 236-37.

period. It was totally inconceivable to the post-Civil War male, and most females as well, that women could or would operate in any sphere outside the home. This view was quite natural, considering that few women played any role outside the home. Higher education for women was just beginning and most professions were still closed to them. Employment outside of the home was engaged in only out of severe need, and domestic services were still the main province of women. Since women did not occupy a significant role beyond their homes, it was a very legitimate assumption of the times that such a situation was the natural state. Men confronted by the demands for woman suffrage and for a change in definition of woman's sphere, found such demands incomprehensible. Stanton came to a recognition of this male perspective after participating in the Kansas campaign.

It was not from ignorance of the unequal laws, and false public sentiment against woman, that our best men stood silent in this Kansas campaign; it was not from lack of chivalry that they thundered forth no protests, when they saw noble women, who had been foremost in every reform, hounded through the State by foul mouthed politicians; it was not from lack of money and power, of eloquence of pen and tongue, nor of an intellectual conviction that our cause was just, that they did not come to the rescue, but because in their heart of hearts they did not grasp the imperative necessity of woman's demand for that protection which the ballot alone can give; they⁶ did not feel for her the degradation of disfranchisement.

The two arguments used by advocates of woman suffrage confronted the underlying assumptions regarding man in relationship to government and man in relationship to woman. The demand for woman suffrage grew out of the philosophical inconsistencies found in the principles of government and the definitions of women. The values inherent in these assumptions, as defined by white males, came under attack. Women

⁶Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (1882; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), II, 267.

found the problem to be rooted in the value system of the white male society, and chose to argue for woman suffrage on that level.

The arguments used by both advocates and opponents of woman suffrage can be more clearly understood when viewed in the larger context of the audience to which they were addressed. If the advocates could demonstrate the value of woman suffrage to the needs of the voters in Kansas their chances for success should be greatly enhanced. As Grimes, in his study The Puritan Ethic concluded, underlying the phrase "equal rights for women" was the broader issue of "who in America thought they would gain power if women voted, and who thought they would lose power. . ."⁷ The arguments used by both advocates and opponents must be measured against the criteria suggested by Grimes. If any such being as an average male Kansan existed in 1867, he would be involved in agriculture, and concerned primarily with the twin dangers of drought and grasshoppers. Secondly, he would be cognizant of the dangers from Indian raids, cholera and various other natural disasters. He would be working for improved transportation, primarily by rail, and for some control over the prices which his grain brought at market. He would not have the predisposition for reform attributed to the New England immigrants such as Charles Robinson, who first settled in Kansas, for he would trace his beginnings to the midwestern states. Very simply, his primary concerns involved survival under uncertain conditions, and a striving toward the more established patterns of civilization that were more common further east. His wife and family shared this concern for survival, and the family unit was

⁷Alan P. Grimes, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. xi.

essential to the stability of this agricultural way of life. Any changes in the political sphere would be weighed against the potential for improvement in this precarious life. To the demand for woman suffrage, the Kansas farmer answered, "How will the vote improve life for me and my family?"

On the very simplest level, votes for women would merely double the number of votes at any given election, and thus would provide no gain or loss for the farmer. But the deeper implications of votes for women, especially those related to the change in the relationship between men and women, would lead to a direct attack upon the family as the primary unit in society. Since the farm way of life was so dependent upon the labor of all family members, the threat to the family posed by votes for women offered little real gain in the farmers fight for survival, and a considerable potential loss. The farmer might agree to the justice of the woman's rights cause, but see little practical gain from granting woman suffrage. Since the advocates of suffrage chose to argue only on the value level, they never demonstrated to the Kansas farmer or his wife that woman suffrage could provide solutions to his most pressing problems of survival. Rather, by concentrating their attack on the values by which the farm family coped with life, they provided specific reasons why suffrage would work to the detriment of this farm-based society.

While the Kansas native of 1867 led a predominantly agricultural way of life, he could also be defined by other areas of concern to him. The political upheaval within the state Republican party, with its national implications, and the controversy over reconstruction were

of vital concern to many Kansans. Suffrage leaders needed to relate to these interests to achieve their goal at the polls. One group commanding the allegiance of a large segment of the Kansas population and demanding women's attention was the Republican party.

The Republican Party in 1867 had two basic goals--to maintain their position of power in government gained when the Democrats were decimated by the war, and to chastise those southern leaders who had lately been in rebellion.⁸ Negro suffrage was a prominent part of both these goals. The newly freed slave, as a member of a clearly defined minority group, was expected to join the party that could effectuate his enfranchisement. The Republicans, in their support of Negro suffrage, fully expected to add 2,000,000 voters to their ranks, and Negro suffrage would give control of the southern legislatures to those people who had just recently been slaves.⁹ The choices of allies made by the women during this campaign clearly indicated to the Republicans that woman suffrage would not contribute to their most important goals. Whereas Negro suffrage was expected to swell the ranks of the party, no one could tell which way women would vote. The expectation was that most women would vote with their husbands, thus increasing the Democratic ranks as well as the Republican. Because of the diversity of women, advocates could not link woman suffrage to the solution of the Republicans two most pressing issues. The essay to Southern leaders authored by Henry Blackwell actually demonstrated that woman suffrage could work against Republican goals. Blackwell argued that woman suffrage could be used by southern whites to maintain their own supremacy, and thus thwart

⁸See the State Republican Party Platform, appendix E.

⁹Eleanor Flexnor, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 142.

the Republican goal of retribution on the southern leaders. Finally, the women were aligned with Sam Wood, a man who had managed to offend most of the party leaders. As Charles Robinson pointed out, "If some people could be content to move with the rank and file until they had been elected Major Generals the army would be more efficient."¹⁰ The high-handed techniques practiced by Wood, coupled with the suspicions which many Republicans held of his motives in supporting woman suffrage, brought antagonism not only to him but to the cause which he was so prominently heading. From all indications, Republicans could count on specific gains for the party with the passage of Negro suffrage. The women could find no similar need which woman suffrage could fulfill for the party, and most indications were that woman suffrage would work counter to the party's purposes.

A second group found in Kansas were the Negro inhabitants who sought suffrage for themselves. The women felt that a natural affinity existed between the needs of these two groups and worked to demonstrate this link. Women believed that the Negroes should be their natural allies, since many speakers had been actively involved in the abolitionist cause, since much of the support for woman suffrage came from the same philosophical arguments being used for Negro suffrage, and because women saw that the ascendancy of the Negro would work to the disadvantage of their own cause. The use of the name "Impartial Suffrage Association" was just one instance of a rhetorical choice aimed at maintaining this link, since women's advocates assumed that their issue would receive the same Republican support being given to the Negro cause. This assumption grew out of the fact that the woman

¹⁰Sister Jeanne McKenna, "With the Help of God and Lucy Stone," The Kansas Historical Quarterly XXXVI (Spring, 1970), 26.

suffrage amendment was passed by a predominantly Republican legislature, that many of the supporters in Kansas were Republicans, and that a good deal of early newspaper support represented Republican bias.

In each case these assumptions proved incorrect. As Flexner clearly noted in her history of the suffrage movement, the traditional link assumed to exist between woman suffrage and Negro suffrage did not, in fact, exist.

Those who held out for linking the two issues of Negro and woman suffrage believed in all sincerity that they would help not harm, each other.

From a historical vantage point, their optimism seems unfounded. Slavery and the condition of the Negro had been a boiling national issue for thirty-five years; a war had been fought over it. No such intensity of feeling existed yet regarding the status of women, even among the women themselves, excepting in a still relatively small group. Opinion in Congress and throughout the North was concerned with assuring the vote for the Negro; it was relatively uninterested in how such a controversial measure would affect women.¹¹

Not only did the Negro issue command more public attention than did the woman's, but the Republican support which accompanied Negro suffrage did not similarly extend to the woman's issue. The Republican legislature had been coerced into passing the suffrage amendment, and the support which then existed was tenuous. The Republican party had much to lose if the Negro suffrage bill was defeated and little to gain if woman suffrage should succeed. The chances for party support were limited.

Similarly, the newspaper support which the women took for granted was not as firm as they hoped. Early in the campaign, many editors were willing to grant the abstract principle of woman's right to the ballot. But they felt no urgency in the women's demands and saw little to be

¹¹Flexner, p. 145.

gained in 1867 by such a move. Negro suffrage, on the other hand, was an urgent concern which promised some very practical political gains for the Republican party. The editors believed that the issue of woman suffrage had only been raised to defeat Negro suffrage, and so had little expectation that a serious campaign would ensue in support of it. Not expecting advocacy, they saw little reason for active refutation. As the advocates of woman suffrage intensified their campaign, and demonstrated that they were serious about achieving success at the polls, the editors reacted, first by trying to ignore the issue, then by coming out against it. In the fall when the women were making a final push for the ballot, many Republican editors feared that the two issues would hurt each other and that only by campaigning solidly for just one could any success be achieved at the polls. They chose to support Negro suffrage.

Because the women assumed support from the Republicans, Negroes and newspapers, they did not work to generate and maintain the good will of these groups. In the early days of the campaign they naively used the names of Republican leaders such as Governor Samuel Crawford without soliciting his active support for their cause. Similarly, they seemed to have made no contact with the Negro community to attempt to coordinate the activities of the two groups. Finally, because of limited funds, and probably through inexperience, they expected Kansas editors to readily print itineraries, advertisements for meetings and reports of suffrage activities. Since Kansas editors were largely supported by patronage, they were not willing to offer such services with no promise of reward, either financial or political. Because support from these groups was not given freely, suffrage leaders felt

they had been betrayed by these expected allies. This feeling of betrayal led Olympia Brown to speak of the Kansas leaders who "selfishly and meanly defeated the woman suffrage amendment," to accuse Negro orator Charles Langston of adding "his mite of bitter words"¹² and provoked Susan B. Anthony at Junction City to lash "the Kansas politicians who shamefully deceived the Woman Suffrage friends."¹³ These retaliatory remarks did little to gain the favor of these three essential groups in Kansas.

As women expected to rise or fall with the Negro suffrage amendment, they similarly expected to be closely allied with the temperance cause. The "drys" in Kansas had just the year before passed a law which gave them considerable control over the liquor trade in each city, and their primary concern was to maintain this advantage against the increasing demands by opponents of temperance, primarily members of the German communities, for repeal. Needing to defend temperance, these leaders feared that active participation in the woman suffrage cause would result in not only the anticipated loss for woman suffrage, but also result in a set-back for the temperance cause. Although suffrage advocates occasionally suggested that women needed the ballot to protect themselves from the ravages of drunken husbands, none were able to develop this issue as effectively as Frances Willard did in the 1880's and 90's. Willard mobilized the WCTU to work for woman suffrage by clarifying the link between suffrage and temperance.

Willard's genius was to claim continually that the temperance movement was only to protect the home and the child. She

¹²Stanton, Anthony and Gage, II, 260-61.

¹³George Francis Train, The Revolution (Leavenworth, Kansas: Prescott and Hume, Daily Commercial Office, 1867), p. 60.

appealed to that very ideal to which the anti-suffragists appealed She called the ballot "a necessary weapon for home protection"

Had advocates in 1867 been able to make the campaign for woman suffrage appear to be a crusade to preserve the home and family, the argument might have been more appropriate to the needs of the audience which they addressed.

Having been unsuccessful in gaining the support of any of the major interest groups in Kansas, "Miss Anthony was in a mood to accept help from the devil complete with horns and tail."¹⁵ The devil appeared in the guise of the Democrat, George Francis Train. Stanton and Anthony welcomed his help since they had resigned themselves to lack of Republican support and turned to the Democrats as the party to save the lagging woman suffrage cause.

The Democrats were clearly the minority party, and were primarily concerned with diminishing the power of the Republicans. They were opposed to Negro suffrage and to any retaliation against the South. Similarly, they were officially opposed to woman suffrage, and thus the presence of Train was no guarantee of adding Democratic support. While the women who campaigned with Train believed that the votes they gained in November were attributable to the good will gained by Train's presence, this seems unlikely. The Democrats had more to gain from appearing to support woman suffrage than they could gain by actual passage of the amendment. The Democratic party did not have sufficient strength themselves to pass Negro suffrage as a party measure and claim the new voters as members of their own party. If

¹⁴Andrew Sinclair, The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), pp. 223-24.

¹⁵Olivia Coolidge, Women's Rights--The Suffrage Movement in America, 1848-1920 (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., 1966), p. 52.

they supported the Republican drive for Negro suffrage, they would be helping fill the ranks of the opposition party. Their only recourse lay in defeating Negro suffrage to at least maintain the status quo. It was similarly to their advantage to defeat woman suffrage, especially if such a defeat would hurt the Negro cause in the process. The women represented no clearly defined group, for granting suffrage by sex would affect all classes, religions, races and national origins. Under such circumstances it was doubtful that all the newly enfranchised voters would join one party. As Grimes suggested, the more logical outcome of the enfranchisement of women "would be tantamount to a gigantic two-for-one, across-the-board stock split for married voters."¹⁶ With the Republicans being the majority party in Kansas and in the nation, the Democrats could expect to double the Republican ranks by passage of the woman suffrage amendment. Thus it is reasonable to expect that most Democrats adhered to the party position and voted against all three amendments in the November election.

Charles Robinson's appraisal was probably most accurate. He maintained that what support the women did garner came from the "old school, liberal thinking, antislavery men & women spattered about the state--men and women who were activated by something besides claptrap and bluster."¹⁷ Under these circumstances, for the women to align themselves with the Democrats, and try to appeal to Democratic ideals, was also an inadequate rhetorical choice in the campaign of 1867.

The loss of the election of 1867 in Kansas is not attributable to any single factor, but to many complex factors, only some of which

¹⁶Grimes, p. 4.

¹⁷Library of Congress, Letter to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, E. C. Stanton MSS, Box 9, November 20, 1867.

are identifiable. Certainly a number of outside forces, such as the suffrage losses in New York and Michigan, and the limited newspaper support from the eastern liberal press, worked against the passage of a woman suffrage amendment in 1867. The lack of political experience exhibited by women conducting their first campaign must also be considered. Although many of the choices made may have resulted from no perceived alternatives, it is quite clear that these choices, viewed in retrospect, were inappropriate. For example, the dependence upon outside speakers to carry the campaign was unrealistic. Kansas people working for the enfranchisement of their own citizens would have lent considerable credibility to the work of Stone, Brown, and Stanton. Without this grassroots support, these women had the appearance of outside agitators seeking their own selfish ends. Similarly, the lack of rapport between suffrage advocates and state political and newspaper leaders left the woman's cause with no local support. The need for favorable publicity and statements of support from these two powerful groups in the state is clearly demonstrated in this campaign. While the need to curry favor with these groups was not apparent to suffrage advocates during the early stages of this campaign, a part of the cause for defeat can be attributed to the antagonisms which arose between the press and political leaders, and the suffrage leaders.

It is also possible that the issue had arisen prematurely, and thus was a reform whose time had not yet come. Women in Kansas were scarce and thus were treated as a precious commodity. Most were married, and worked equally with their husbands and families in trying to make the frontier liveable. The areas of social concern most often considered woman's province, education and the liquor trade, were already under the control of women in Kansas. The evils associated with women's condition,

drunken and spendthrift husbands, factory exploitation, poverty and prostitution, were not pertinent to the Kansas situation. The unitary nature of Kansas men and women made the vision of women and men as separate political entities unpalatable. The very pragmatic problems faced on the Kansas frontier demanded a change in conditions, not the change in political philosophy advocated by supporters of woman suffrage. Passage of woman suffrage could do little to alleviate the problems faced by the Kansas farm family, and this lack of an issue left supporters of the cause with no viable link between their cause and the needs of their audience. Even the Negro suffrage issue, which was expected to be the salvation of the Republican party, was not made vital to Kansas voters. As Negro suffrage, which filled a pragmatic need, failed, so also did woman suffrage, which could satisfy only a philosophical need. Woman suffrage as an issue was too radical to gain serious consideration and support by Kansas voters in 1867.

Although each of these outside factors had an effect upon the outcome of the election of 1867, the arguments chosen by both advocates and opponents of woman suffrage certainly were a primary consideration. Advocates of woman suffrage expended considerable effort in attempts to influence the attitudes of the voters. Speakers travelled extensively, and time and money was spent distributing pamphlets and information about suffrage. Similar efforts were characteristic on the part of the opponents of woman suffrage. The value of these efforts must certainly be reflected in the election results.

By and large, the advocates of woman suffrage chose to argue for change on the level of values. They spoke of rights, principles and justice. Citing the documents of the Democracy, such as the Constitution, Declaration of Independence, and Bill of Rights, they demonstrated that there was no philosophical position which could bar women from participation in the government. Similar examinations of Biblical teachings by women led them to the conclusion that no serious religious sanctions existed to bar woman from expanding her realm. On the contrary, women pointed to the Utopian society which could occur if they were allowed to purify society through the use of the ballot.

In marked contrast to these abstract and philosophical arguments in favor of woman suffrage, opponents remained on the concrete level, citing the important contributions made by women who remained in roles which were socially functional and religiously sanctioned. Opponents cited the very strong influence for good which women exercised over their children and husbands. This influence had already resulted in the progressive legislation present in Kansas, and could reasonably be expected to produce further gains for women. Further, women in Kansas worked equally with their husbands on the family farm, contributing to the stability which the frontier communities needed. Thus, when the voters in Kansas asked the very specific question, "How can the vote improve the quality of life for my wife and family?" the advocates of woman suffrage responded that granting the ballot would be just. The wide disparity between the kinds of arguments available to advocates of woman suffrage in Kansas and the needs of the electorate as voiced in their arguments, demonstrates a fundamental problem of this

campaign. The rhetorical choices open to those seeking the enfranchisement of women did not satisfy the needs of the audience that they sought to influence. The problem of making woman suffrage a viable issue, when coupled with the many complex problems facing Kansas voters in 1867, resulted in the defeat of the woman suffrage amendment in that state.

APPENDIX A

Laws Relating to Women
in the Kansas Constitution

Section 23, Article II

"The legislature, in providing for the formation and regulation of schools, shall make no distinction between the rights of males and females."

Section 6, Article XV

"The legislature shall provide for the protection of the rights of women, in acquiring and possessing property, real, personal and mixed, separate and apart from her husband; and shall provide for their equal rights in possession of their children."

Section 9, Article XV

"A homestead to the extent of 160 acres of farming land and one acre within the limits of an incorporated city or two occupied as a residence by the family of the owner, together with all the improvements of the same, shall not be alienated without the joint consent of husband and wife, when such relationship exists."¹

¹Bliss Isely, "The Rise of Women's Rights," The Kansas Teacher LXVI (October, 1957), 24-27.

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPER POSITIONS

Newspapers in Support

LeRoy Pioneer*
 Lawrence State Journal
 Lawrence Tribune
 Leavenworth Bulletin and
 Commercial
 Topeka Tribune
 Wyandotte Gazette
 Burlington Patriot
 State Record (Topeka)
 Manhattan Independent
 Atchison Free Press
 White Cloud Chief
 Mound City Border Sentinel
 Lecompton New Era
 Wathena Reporter
 Lawrence Clarion
 Garnett Plaindealer
 Humboldt Union
 Venus Miscellany
 Pottawattomie Gazette (Louisville)
 Jackson County News (Holton)
 Hiawatha Union Sentinel
 Chase County Banner
 Olathe Mirror

Newspapers in Opposition

Manhattan Radical
 Ft. Scott Monitor
 Oskaloosa Independent
 Atchison Champion
 Marysville Enterprise
 Leavenworth Conservative
 Leavenworth Times
 Leavenworth Bulletin
 Leavenworth Journal (German)
 Junction City Union
 Salina Herald
 Topeka Leader
 Wyandotte Democrat
 Paola Republican
 Ft. Scott Press
 Ottawa Home Journal
 Iola Courant
 LeRoy Pioneer*
 Emporia News
 Osage Burlingame Chronicle

*Early in the year other editors listed the LeRoy Pioneer as being in favor. By September it was listed as opposed. This paper is not extant, so it is difficult to say if the first listing was a mistake or whether the editor had a change of heart.

APPENDIX B

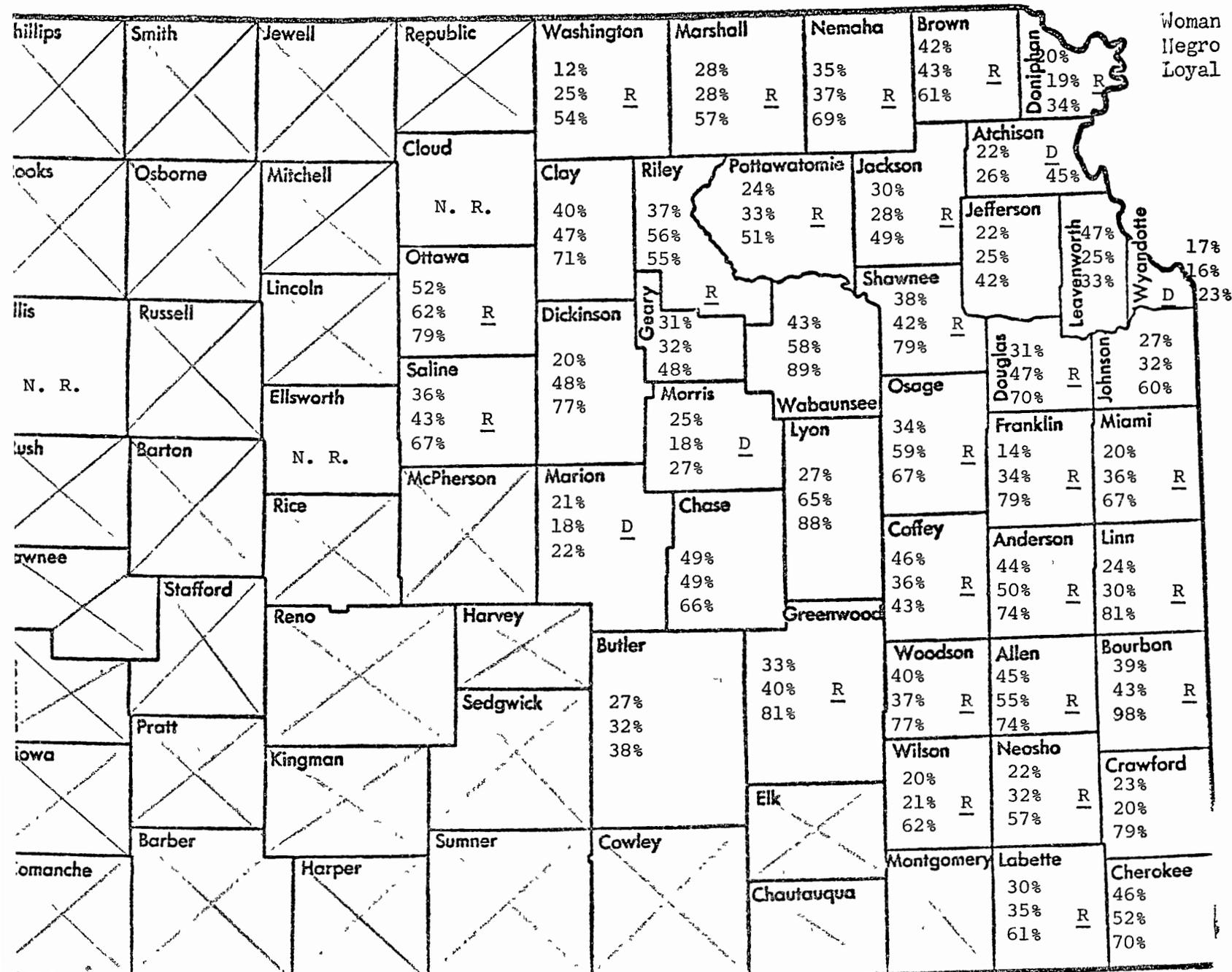
NEWSPAPER POSITION
TOWARD WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Phillips	Smith	Jewell	Republic	Washington	Marshall	Nemaha	Brown	Doniphan
				none	Opponent	none	Advocate	Advocate
Rooks	Osborne	Mitchell	Cloud	Clay	Riley	Pottawatomie	Jackson	Atchison
			none	none		Advocate	Advocate	Both
Ellis	Russell	Lincoln	Ottawa	Dickinson	Geary	Shawnee	Jefferson	Leavenworth
			None		both		Opponent	Both
Rush	Barton	Ellsworth	Saline	None	Opponent	None	Osage	Douglas
		None	Opponent	None	Morris	Wabaunsee	Both	Advocate
Pawnee	Stafford	Rice	McPherson	Marion	None	Lyon	Franklin	Johnson
						Opponent	Opponent	Miami
Edwards	Pratt	Reno	Harvey	Butler	Chase	Opponent	Opponent	Opponent
					Advocate		Coffey	Anderson
Kiowa	Barber	Kingman	Sedgwick	Greenwood	Advocate		Both	Advocate
							Woodson	Allen
Comanche	Harper	Sumner	Cowley	Elk	None	None	None	Both
							Wilson	Neosho
							None	None
							Montgomery	Labette
							None	None
							Chautauqua	Cherokee
								None

APPENDIX C

ELECTION RESULTS AND PARTY AFFILIATION

Woman Suffrage
 Negro Suffrage
 Loyal Suffrage



APPENDIX C

ELECTION RESULTS NOVEMBER, 1867

COUNTIES	Striking the word "white"			Striking the word "male"			Restricting the Loyal Vote		
	Yes	No	% Yes	Yes	No	% Yes	Yes	No	% Yes
Allen	324	266	55%	243	303	45%	454	163	74%
Anderson	258	259	50%	218	275	44%	393	138	74%
Atchison	412	1,161	26%	345	1,235	22%	736	884	45%
Bourbon	550	725	43%	464	736	39%	1,350	33	98%
Brown	265	346	43%	248	341	42%	342	222	61%
Butler	33	70	32%	28	76	27%	39	64	38%
Chase	120	123	49%	118	125	49%	164	83	66%
Clay	47	53	47%	39	58	40%	78	32	71%
Crawford	50	199	20%	45	150	23%	150	41	79%
Cherokee	200	186	52%	249	289	46%	254	110	70%
Coffey	239	434	36%	299	350	46%	272	364	43%
Cloud					NO RETURNS				
Davis	183	383	32%	167	364	31%	281	304	48%
Dickenson	89	95	48%	34	140	20%	151	44	77%
Doniphan	338	1,425	19%	355	1,390	20%	576	1,126	34%
Douglas	1,017	1,147	47%	652	1,464	31%	1,484	635	70%
Ellis					NO RETURNS				
Ellsworth					NO RETURNS				
Franklin	280	539	34%	120	709	14%	652	175	79%
Greenwood	133	198	40%	99	198	33%	234	56	81%
Jackson	173	445	28%	162	387	30%	301	310	49%
Jefferson	392	1,159	25%	335	1,158	22%	649	894	42%
Johnson	400	852	32%	325	866	27%	655	438	60%
Labette	115	213	35%	95	217	30%	207	134	61%
Leavenworth	890	2,703	25%	1,588	1,775	47%	1,135	2,289	33%
Linn	340	798	30%	253	791	24%	737	178	81%
Lyon	503	273	65%	209	565	27%	701	92	88%
Marion	13	58	18%	16	59	21%	16	56	22%

COUNTIES	Striking the word "white"			Striking the word "male"			Restricting the loyal vote		
	Yes	No	% Yes	Yes	No	% Yes	Yes	No	% Yes
Marshall	167	427	28%	160	410	28%	304	229	57%
Miami	486	865	36%	243	970	20%	850	413	67%
Morris	48	212	18%	66	203	25%	71	190	27%
Nemaha	251	421	37%	227	427	35%	396	178	69%
Neosho	151	322	32%	101	367	22%	236	180	57%
Osage	207	143	59%	121	238	34%	225	113	67%
Ottawa	44	27	62%	34	32	52%	57	15	79%
Pottawatomie	226	456	33%	155	501	24%	352	336	51%
Riley	351	277	56%	218	378	37%	329	267	55%
Shawnee	494	670	42%	439	731	38%	900	234	79%
Saline	162	219	43%	132	233	36%	252	123	67%
Wabaunsee	149	108	58%	114	152	43%	230	28	89%
Washington	39	118	25%	19	143	12%	93	78	54%
Wilson	36	138	21%	43	170	20%	132	81	62%
Woodson	88	149	37%	94	141	40%	187	56	77%
Wyandotte	159	826	16%	168	798	17%	235	779	23%
Totals	10,483	19,421	35%	9,070	19,857	31%	16,860	12,165	58%
	[10,422]	[19,490]		[9,040]	[19,924]				

Office of the Secretary of State. Kansas State Secretary of State, Reports 1861-1878
 Vol. I (Topeka: Office of the Secretary of State, December 20, 1880), p. 7.

APPENDIX D

LUCY STONE-HENRY BLACKWELL ITINERARY

April	2	Topeka
	3	Topeka
	4	Topeka & Lawrence
	5	Baldwin City
	6	Lawrence.
	8	Wyandotte
	9	Leavenworth
	10	Atchison
	11	Leavenworth
	12	Lawrence
	13	Baldwin City
	15	Clinton & Twin Mound
	16	Burlingame
	17	Emporia
	18	Cottonwood Falls
	19	Council Grove
	20	Junction City
	22	Wabaunsee & Manhattan
	23	Lecompton
	24	Ottawa & Olathe
	25	Garnett
	26	Burlington
	27	LeRoy
	29	Iola & Humboldt
	30	Marmaton
May	1	Fort Scott
	2	Mound City
	3	Paola
	4	Olathe
	7	Leavenworth
	9	Olathe
	17	Grasshopper Falls & Oskaloosa
	19	Wathena

Stone-Blackwell remained in Kansas until May 25, but no complete published itinerary could be located for most of May.

APPENDIX D

OLYMPIA BROWN'S ITINERARY

July

- 4 Topeka
- 12 Olathe
- 15 Eudora & DeSoto
- 16 Monticello & Shawneetown
- 17 Olathe
- 18 Gardner & Uniontown
- 19 Springhill & Lyonsville
- 20 Paola
- 22 Stanton & Ossawattomie
- 23 New Lancaster & Twin
Springs
- 24 Trading Post
- 25 Mound City
- 26 Mapleton
- 27 Ft. Scott
- 29 Barnesville & Ft. Lincoln
- 30 Mapleton & Xenia
- 31 Florence & Marmaton

August

- 1 Cato & Pleasant View
- 2 Petersville
- 3 Baxter Springs
- 5 [Chetopal] & Oswego
- 6 Montana & Jacksonport
[Jacksonville]
- 7 Catholic Mission & Erie
- 8 Humboldt & Osage Mission
- 9 Iola & Geneva
- 10 Garnett
- 12 Greeley
- 13 Monroe Township or Ft.
Scott
- 14 Elizabeth Town
- 15 Jackson Township
- 19 Centropolis & Franklin
Township
- 20 Pile's School House &
Lane
- 21 Berea
- 22 Ohio City
- 24 Neosho Rapids & Emporia
- 25 Cottonwood Falls
- 26 Council Grove
- 27 Americus & Emporia
- 30 [Emporia] Wyandotte

September

- 2 Atchison
- 3 Leavenworth
- 4 Wyandotte
- 5 Lawrence
- 6 Topeka
- 7 Manhattan
- 9 Junction City
- 10 Abilene [Port William]
- 11 Saline, High Prairie, &
Mt. Pleasant
- 12 Cox's School House &
Pardee
- 13 Van Winkle's
- 14 Muscotah
- 15 Muscotah & Kennekuk
- 16 Huron & Lancaster
- 17 Good Intent School House
& Doniphan
- 18 Geary City & Wathena
- 19 Troy
- 20 Highland
- 21 White Cloud
- 22 Robinson's
- 25 [White Cloud]
- 27 Hiawatha
- 28 Albany
- 29 Seneca
- 30 Central City

October

- 1 Granada
- 2 Centralia & America
- 3 Vienna, Pottawattomie Co.
- 4 Circleville, Jackson Co.
- 7 Grasshopper Falls
- 8 Winchester
- 9 Osawkee
- 10 Oskaloosa
- 11 Williamsport & Perryville
- 12 Medina & Grantville
- 14 Eugene & Topeka
- 15 Mission Creek
- 16 Rossville
- 17 St. Mary's Mission & Wamego
- 18 Louisville & St. George
- 19 Wabaunsee

Olympia Brown's Itinerary, continued

October (continued)

- 21 Manhattan
- 22 Fancy Creek
- 23 Irving
- 24 Barrett's Mills
- 25 Blue Rapids
- 26 Marysville
- 28 Washington
- 29 Clifton & White Cloud
- 30 Elk Creek & Mary's School House,
Conlelins School House &
Iowa Point
- 31 Clay Center, Martin's School
House & Iola

November

- 1 Prairie Grove & Gatesville
McNemee School House
Norwegian School House
- 2 McClellan School House
Columbus, Burr Oak &
Batchelder
- 3 Troy & Wathena
- 4 Lawrence

APPENDIX D

STANTON-ROBINSON ITINERARY

September

2 Atchison
3 Leavenworth
4 Wyandotte
5 Lawrence
6 Topeka
7 Manhattan
9 Junction City
10 Abilene
11 Salina
12 Ellsworth
13 Wabaunsee
14 Louisville
16 Eudora
17 Olathe
18 Paola
19 Osawatomie
20 Ottawa
21 Baldwin City
24 Lawrence
26 Garnett
27 Mound City
28 Fort Scott
30 Humboldt

17 Grasshopper Falls
18 Holton
19 Circleville
21 Americus
22 Irving
23 Marysville
24 Barritt's Mills
25 Centralia
26 Seneca
28 Albany
29 Hiawatha
30 White Cloud
31 Troy

November

1 Wathena
2 Doniphan
3 Atchison
4 Leavenworth

October

1 Neosho Falls
2 Pleasant Grove
3 Coyville
4 Eureka
5 El Dorado
7 Marion Center
8 Cottonwood Falls
9 Council Grove
10 Americus
11 Emporia
12 Burlington
14 Burlingame
15 Auburn
16 Oskaloosa

APPENDIX D

SIDNEY CLARKE ITINERARY

September

23 Olathe
 24 Paola
 25 Mound City
 26 Fort Scott
 27 Crawford Co.
 28 Cherokee Co.
 30 LaBette Co.

October

1 Neosho Co.
 2 Humboldt & Iola
 3 Neosho Falls & LeRoy
 4 Burlington & Ottumwa
 5 Neosho Rapids & Emporia
 7 Cottonwood Falls &
 Council Grove
 8 Burlingame
 9 Garnett
 10 Ottawa
 11 Baldwin City
 12 Clinton
 14 Oskaloosa &
 Grasshopper Falls
 15 Holton
 16 Monrovia & Atchison
 17 Wathena
 18 White Cloud
 19 Hiawatha

October*

21 Seneca
 22 Marysville
 23 Irving
 24 Manhattan
 25 Ellsworth
 26 Salina
 28 Junction City
 29 Wabaunsee & Louisville
 30 Topeka
 31 Lecompton

November

1 Wyandotte
 2 Leavenworth
 4 Lawrence

* Illness prevented Mr. Clark
 from completing this announced
 itinerary

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN ITINERARY

October

21 Leavenworth
 22 Lawrence
 23 Olathe
 24 Paola & Ottawa
 25 Mound City
 26 Fort Scott
 28 Humboldt
 29 Paola &/or LeRoy
 30 Burlington & Emporia

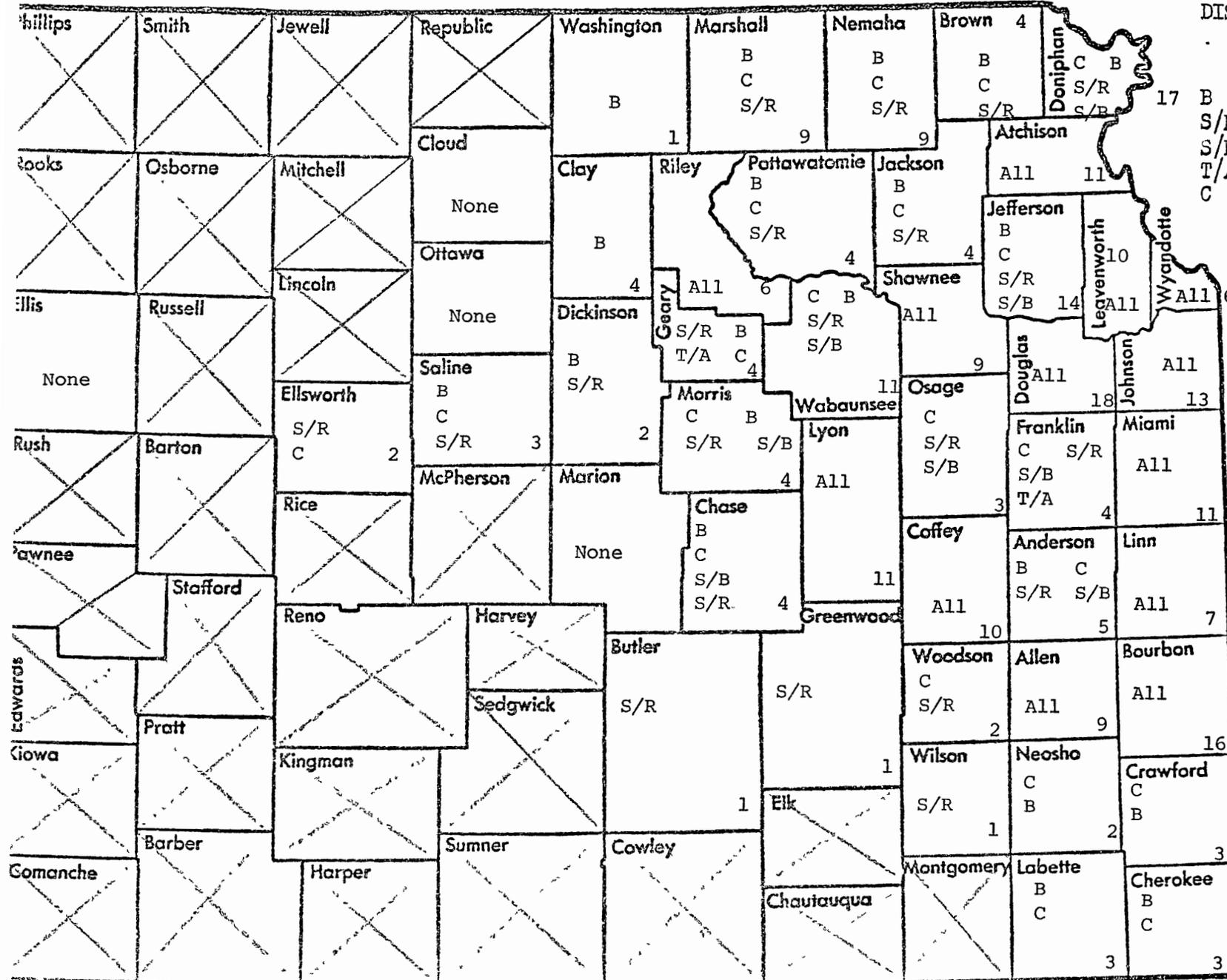
November

1 Junction City & Manhattan
 2 Topeka
 3 Wyandotte
 4 Atchison (A train derailment
 cancelled this appearance)
 5 Leavenworth

APPENDIX D

DISTRIBUTION OF
SPEAKERS

B -- Olympia Brown
S/R--Stanton-Robinson
S/B--Stone-Blackwell
T/A--Train-Anthony
C -- Sidney Clark



APPENDIX E

The State Convention (Republican)

Resolved, That with devout thankfulness and gratitude to God, who has delivered us from the anarchy and desolation of war, who has overthrown and broken the accursed power, and crime-creating institution of Slavery, and with unfaltering faith and trust in the eternity of good and in the divinity of justice, we hereby reaffirm our devotion to Liberty, and to the sacred and inalienable rights of man,

2. That in the great and awful wickedness which our President has perpetrated in making treason a virtue and loyalty a crime; in giving to rebels the protection, and to their anarchy the sanction of law; in casting upon the noble and sacrificing Unionists of the South the scorn and the insolence of tyranic power, in fostering and encouraging the spirit of disaffection among the rebels, and in crushing the dawning hopes of the Freedmen; in usurping and overriding the authority of Congress; in trampling upon the sovereignty of States; and in his audacious and crowning wickedness in calling out representatives "an assembled Congress," meaning the tyrant's threat of anarchy or absolute power, has forfeited and lost our confidence and respect; and to his insolence and threats, we hurl back our defiance and scorn.

3. That our Congress, for their unwavering fidelity to duty, to the Freedmen, and to the Government; for their undaunted heroism in resisting the encroachments of the President; for their stern and unswerving purpose to reward loyalty and punish treason, and for their love of justice, we extend to them the gratitude and thanks of a grateful people; and to our Senator and Representative in Congress, because they have obeyed the wish and not trifled with the consciences of their constituents, from the bottom of our hearts we extend to them the hand of greeting, and say, "well done good and faithful servants."

4. That we recommend to the legislature of this State, that the question of impartial suffrage be submitted to a vote of the people.

¹Oskaloosa Independent, September 8, 1866.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

An historical study, by its very nature, requires the careful examination of a wide range of differing documents and papers. This study was possible because of the extensive collections of materials available through several excellent libraries. The sources of most use to this study, and to future studies, are examined below. Two purposes are sought through this discussion--first, to indicate the general categories of materials used in the preparation of this study, and second, to highlight those sources of particular importance which are not readily available to most readers. The materials studied fall into two categories, those sources concerning the woman suffrage movement generally, and those sources which concern the Kansas experience with suffrage.

The woman suffrage movement did not spring forth as an isolated reform movement, unique in its demands for extension of the suffrage. The enlargement of the electorate was an on-going process initiated years earlier. Sufficient change had already occurred by 1918 to provide the basis for the book A History of Suffrage in the United States, by Kirk Porter. The demands made by women represented the largest and potentially most radical changes in the character of the electorate, however. The question of why those in power would opt for such a change was explored by Alan P. Grimes in 1967 when he published his study, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage. Concern for the motives of the women who campaigned for woman suffrage was

further explored by scholars who studied the individual states where suffrage was actively supported. Of most value among many were two written by women who had actively participated in the campaigns. Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement, written by Harriet Robinson in 1881, touches upon the early careers of many of the women who worked in Kansas. Path-Breaking, written by Abigail Scott Duniway in 1914, provides an autobiographical account of the campaigns in the Northwest during the late 1800's, and contrasts the success there with the failures experienced earlier in states such as Kansas. Two more recent histories, one by A. Elizabeth Taylor, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, and the other by Thomas C. Coulter, A History of Woman Suffrage in Nebraska, both provide the added perspective of an author not personally involved in the campaign, viewing the event over the long span of history. An added general dimension was achieved by consulting biographies of the various participants in the campaign, among them Created Equal, the biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton by Alma Lutz, and The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony by Ida Husted Harper. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's auto-biography, Eighty Years and More, provided considerable information on her stay in Kansas.

Women who actually worked for suffrage can offer a wealth of information concerning the campaigning strategies and problems. While these sources offer some problems of bias, they have left extensive reports of their activities to later scholars. The most specific first-hand accounts of the woman suffrage campaigns appear in the six-volume History of Woman Suffrage by Elizabeth Cady Stanton et. al., and in the Catt and Shuler study, Woman Suffrage and Politics. Less comprehensive, but of equal interest were Pauline Davis, A History of

the National Woman's Rights Movement (1871), Helen Sumner, Equal Suffrage (1909) and Victory--How Women Won It, by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (1940).

In recent years, the renewed interest in the woman's movement has been reflected in a number of books concerning this period. Most valuable to this study were Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, and Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement. Other authors reflect on the historical roles of women, but do not specifically emphasize suffrage. Andrew Sinclair, The Better Half, and William O'Neill Everyone Was Brave, are two such works.

The interest in the women's movement has also led to the republication of a number of the primary works on the subject. Source Book Press, a division of Collectors Editions Limited, has re-issued many of these works. Of the sources used in this study, Paulina Davis, A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement, Abigail Scott Duniway, Path-Breaking and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More as well as The History of Woman Suffrage are all available.

A number of libraries have collected the papers and related materials of the suffrage leaders and these collections provide materials which by and large have not yet been published. The Library of Congress provided copies of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's speech delivered in Kansas, and some personal correspondence with Governor Robinson. The Schlesinger Library at Radcliff was the primary source for the itineraries and brochures used by Olympia Brown during 1867. Vassar College possesses the original manuscript of the biography of Stanton by her daughter, Margaret Stanton Lawrence. Other libraries, such as the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College, the University of Rochester Library, and

the Anthony Memorial at Rochester, all contain valuable materials, but none of their resources included the Kansas campaign of 1867.

While the various suffrage campaigns which were conducted had many similarities which could be discussed in general histories, the unique set of events which surrounded any given campaign provided the researcher with many variations on the theme. The state of Kansas during the early years provided a very vivid framework in which the woman suffrage campaign was conducted. To understand the ramifications of the suffrage campaign, some understanding of the political and social climate of the state was necessary. Much that was of value came from three excellent histories. Frank Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, though compiled in 1912, represented a well-written compendium of persons and events crucial to the early days of Kansas. On the more contemporary side, John D. Bright, Kansas--The First Century, a collection of articles written by prominent Kansas scholars, and William F. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, provide the bulk of the essential historical perspectives. Other histories, when viewed within the context of their bias, provided insight into some of the events and participants in the 1867 campaign. Samuel J. Crawford's account of these turbulent times, Kansas in the Sixties, and William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, provided biographical information on local participants.

The largest single source of valuable information about the Kansas campaign was the Kansas State Historical Society Library in Topeka. Publications of the society, including the Kansas Historical Quarterly, and the Annals of Kansas, contain articles running the gamut

of information about the state and its people. Of particular interest were a series of articles by Joseph Gambone, titled "The Forgotten Feminist of Kansas: The Papers of Clarina I. H. Nichols, 1854-1885." The society also holds the papers of Governors Crawford and Robinson, both of whom were involved in the campaign, of Sam Wood, and of the correspondence he conducted throughout the campaign. Scrapbooks of all suffrage activities in the state have been compiled and articles by later suffrage leaders are preserved for further research.

Also found at the Historical Society Library are an extensive collection of state newspapers, the singular most valuable source of information about the Kansas campaign of 1867. To sample newspapers in some systematic fashion, newspapers from the largest population areas of the state were of central concern. Additionally, papers from all areas of the state were considered, to provide geographical balance, and all other extant papers were consulted to determine the mood of all Kansans on the issues of this campaign. Four newspapers contained the most extensive coverage of both the campaign and the issues of the day--The Leavenworth Times, the Lawrence Kansas Weekly Tribune, the Emporia News, and the Ottawa Western Home Journal.

The history of suffrage in the state of Kansas has been a topic of interest to several scholars, and three limited studies have been produced. The first was a short pamphlet, Woman Suffrage in Kansas, covering the 1867 campaign and the few years following and was written by F. G. Adams of the historical society, and Professor W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas. The three campaigns conducted in Kansas were analyzed by Mary Cowper in a 1914 thesis. Cowper had been active in the 1912 campaign and knew many of the women who had worked for

suffrage prior to the success in 1912. She highlights the major suffrage events through the years and provides extensive information about the numerous Kansas women who worked to gain the ballot in 1912. Wilda Maxine Smith's thesis, "The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in Kansas," written in 1957, is the only recent study of the issue in Kansas. In her study, Smith successfully chronicles the major events of each of the three campaigns, and isolates the primary issues argued by each side during the process of gaining acceptance for woman suffrage. Her primary attention is focused on the 1912 campaign and the arguments which finally proved effective.

As this study is completed, it seems that it should just begin. Although the amount of material surveyed has been extensive, vast untapped resources still remain to be uncovered by researchers seeking different perspectives on the issue. The role of Kansas in the total woman suffrage picture is well worth pursuing, and the materials used thus far could well serve as the starting point for others who see the value of both Kansas and the woman's movement.

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