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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Anita K. Faddis for the Master of Science

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Title: I'll Take the Chance About the Handkerchief

Abstract approved: 

Kansas's dramatic approval of the equal suffrage amendment, November 5, 1912, is particularly noteworthy as were the women who fought the battle, often against overwhelming odds. Each state is distinguished by its own unique story of the approval of woman suffrage. However, in no other state did the women's club movement have such innovative results as the passage of equal suffrage. Kansas Lucy Browne Johnston led the club women in the final successful campaign in 1912 as the state Equal Suffrage Association president. Lucy Johnston's story closely parallels the development of women's clubs in Kansas. This essay is an analysis and evaluation of the women's club

movement in Kansas and its leader, Lucy Browne Johnston.

Chapter I is an examination of Lucy Browne Johnston's background. Lucy was the American woman. A granddaughter of Irish immigrants who moved west looking for the "Great American Dream," she had to fight for an education. This led to her interest in social reform, equal education and self-improvement. Chapter II is devoted to the development of the traveling libraries, a brainchild of Lucy Browne Johnston, and its impact on club women. The successful campaign to acquire funds for the traveling library had a unifying effect on club women, and the momentum generated carried over into the campaign for woman suffrage.

In Chapter III comparisons are drawn with the national suffrage scene. An analysis is made of the effect on Kansas the national campaign had and vice versa. Chapter IV deals with the successful campaign of 1912, coordinated by Lucy Browne Johnston, and the special nature of women's clubs' activities. The club women did not curtail their activities with the successful campaign, but continued with their "search for wisdom." Chapter V is a study of legislative bills supported by Kansas club women. Chapter VI is an analysis of Lucy Browne Johnston's contribution and her commitment to women's clubs, and the clubs' accomplishments which led to the fight for the ballot.

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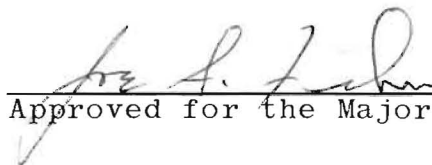
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PREFACE

Kansas history is unique and so are her citizens. Around the turn of the century, there was a movement surfacing in Kansas. It was a movement unlike that of any other state, and one that would change the lives of all of her people. It was the women's club movement that developed, enticing the majority of Kansas women to join. Perhaps underneath the club movement was actually a reform movement. As a unified force, Kansas women were able to accomplish great things.

Two accomplishments were particularly important in Kansas: the traveling libraries and the right to vote. The Kansas club women did not start out with these goals in mind, but the need evolved, almost as a painting does, with its interlocked colors. A need for companionship grew to a need to share much needed and desired knowledge, next to a need for self-improvement and self-betterment, then to a need for charity, and finally to a need to be treated equally. This is not to suggest, however, that woman suffrage was not around before this time, though it had not been successful. Nor is it to suggest that the club

movement was not found in other states, but that it led to different results in different states.

Lucy Browne Johnston's story closely parallels the development of women's clubs in Kansas. Her interest in reform, social change, equal education, and self-improvement led to her interest in the right to vote for women. She was a leader, serving as state president of the Social Science Federation in 1902 and the Kansas State Equal Suffrage Association in 1912. Lucy Johnston was able to coordinate the forces of the Social Science Federation Clubs, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the state Equal Suffrage Association. As each club grew and the women's search for wisdom became demanding, equality was a logical step. With additional education and knowledge, each club woman became more aware of her surroundings and involvement was inevitable. Club woman Genuveta Flint wrote, "I do believe that the world would want to stand still if it did not have women in it. Hurrah for women and women's clubs." Grace Snyder declared that women could reach their full potential through women's clubs.

Lucy was the American woman. A granddaughter of Irish immigrants who moved west looking for the 'Great American Dream,' she had to fight for an education. This led to her interest in social reform. With her help and leadership, the women's clubs of Kansas provided libraries through legislation and an amendment to the constitution of the

state of Kansas giving women the right to vote.

This study is an examination of Lucy Johnston's development and eventual commitment to women's clubs, the clubs' accomplishments which led to the fight for the ballot, how Kansas fit into the national scene in suffrage activities, and finally how the campaign of 1912 was handled by the Kansas club women. Lucy Browne Johnston is the linking thread; she was the club movement in Kansas.

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CHAPTER ONE

LUCY BROWNE JOHNSTON, KANSAS CLUB WOMAN AND SUFFRAGE WORKER

When it entered the Union in 1860, Kansas had the nation's most liberal laws in regard to women.¹ In 1867, Kansas became the first state where the battle for woman's suffrage was put to the ballot.² The eyes of the nation were on Kansas to lead the way. Yet it was not until 1912 that the women of Kansas gained equal rights. Not only was Kansas important to the nation's history, so were her people who fought for this right of the ballot. They were the leaders and the inspiration for the rest of the nation; some were better known historically than others. The final victory for women was just one of the results of the women's club movement in Kansas around the turn of the century.

There is nothing written in history books about a club woman named Lucy Browne Johnston. Perhaps she was not as colorful as Mary Ellen Lease, Lilla Day Monroe or 'Sockless'

¹ See Kansas Constitution, Bill of Rights, Art. II, § 23; Art. XV.

² Wilda M. Smith, "A Half Century of Struggle: Gaining Woman Suffrage in Kansas," Kansas History 4 (Summer 1981), p. 74.

Jerry Simpson, her peers. Her contribution to the struggle of woman's suffrage, nonetheless, should be noted.

Perhaps it was the fact that she was married to a very famous Kansan, William Agnew Johnston, a supreme court justice of Kansas for fifty-two years, that caused her to be so overshadowed. The laws stated that with marriage, the couple became as one and that individual was the husband.³ Consequently, most publicity was centered around Mr. Johnston and Lucy played the role of helpmate, as far as the newspapers were concerned.⁴

Lucy's father, Robert Henning Browne, was born December 14, 1802, in Newry, County Down, Ireland. He was one of eleven children of John and Margaret Henning Browne. In 1827 the family sailed for America, leaving some of the older married children behind. David, Robert, Marsha and James accompanied the family to the New World.

For ten weeks the family was tossed about in the hold of the ship, often wondering if they would ever make it to land. However, all landed safely and made homes in the Ohio Valley. Martha married and lived near her parents as did Robert. David became the grocer and store-keeper in the

³ The National American Woman Suffrage Association, Victory How Women Won It - A Centennial Symposium 1840-1940 (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1940), p. 4.

⁴ Biographical materials that follow are from a penciled manuscript, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File, Kansas State Historical Society Center for Research, Topeka, Kansas.

village, living at the tavern, and James continued to live at home and to farm.

Lucy's mother, Margaret, was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, on April 13, 1803, one of eleven children born to William and Margaret Phillips Wright. Young Margaret was also a half-sister to four other children born later to William and his second wife, Rhoda.

William Wright and his father, Ladock Wright, fought in the American Revolution under Captain William Crawford. Margaret and William were married during the war. The women and children were gathered into the block houses and forts and kept busy melting the pewter dishes and tea sets, molding them into bullets to fire at the Redcoats.

After the war, the Wrights and the Phillips families continued to live in Pennsylvania until most of the children were grown and married. Then they joined a wagon train to go West. They traveled by wagon to the then far-western state of Ohio.

Reaching the village of Cincinnati, made up of log cabins on the river bank, Lucy's grandfather bought a farm adjoining the river and decided to remain there while other relatives and friends pushed further north and settled in Butler County in the Miami Valley. A little more than a year later (1819) William Wright joined the rest in the Miami Valley.

Margaret Phillips Wright died in 1820, leaving only the

two youngest children, Margaret and Elizabeth, at home. Soon after, young Margaret was placed in the home of an older sister, Lucy Bradburg, living in Camden, Ohio, and Elizabeth with another sister, Mary Simcox, living in Hamilton, Ohio. William Wright then volunteered his services to the army for the second time.

The prevailing idea at that time was that it was a waste of public money to educate girls. Ohio seemed a little more liberal. It was admitted in some communities that girls might safely be permitted to gain the knowledge of the three R's without endangering either their health or their morals. Young Margaret was permitted to attend school in the afternoons, if there was a vacant seat.

Marriage was the only means of escape from a life of dependence, so girls began at an early age to spin and weave, and lay away sheets, pillow cases and blankets to put in their hope chests. Margaret Wright met and married Robert Henning Browne in Centerville, Indiana, in 1837. They returned to Camden, Ohio, where they lived on a small farm. Among the five children born to this union was Lucy, born in 1846.⁵ The family was always involved in community affairs. Margaret was one of the founders of the Camden Presbyterian Church. The eldest son, John Irwin, was named

⁵ The Preble County News, Camden, Ohio, 1933, W.A. Johnston Collection '62, Scrapbook File.

for the pastor of the church.⁶

After finishing grade school in Camden, Lucy entered the Western Female Seminary in Oxford, Ohio, in 1866. After graduation, she returned to Camden where she taught in a grade school for four years.⁷

Her brother, who lived fifteen miles outside of Minneapolis, Kansas, invited Lucy to spend the Fourth of July with him and his family. She did so and was persuaded to assist a Mr. Crosby in starting a grade school. The school fell into financial trouble and was saved through the efforts of a group of young men, among them a young lawyer named William Agnew Johnston, who sold subscriptions to keep it going.

William Agnew Johnston was born July 24, 1848, in Patterson Corners, Grenville County, Oxford, Ontario.⁸ He moved with his family to Appleton City, Missouri, where his father found work in railroad construction. After graduating from school and normal training, William taught school in Appleton City and soon became principal while also studying law. In the spring of 1872, he was admitted to the

son

6 Ibid.

7 Lucy Browne Johnston penciled manuscript, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File.

8 Lawrence Journal World, 7 October 1930, p. 1. Because Patterson Corners was so small, addresses also served as directions for the mailman. Ontario was such a large province that they would state the nearest large town, which was Oxford in Grenville County.

bar.

That same spring he journeyed into Kansas with some friends on a buffalo hunting trip, and with the thought of finding a suitable location to hang his shingle. Finding Wichita not to his liking, he settled in Minneapolis. Within two years he was elected to the lower house of the legislature from a district that covered all the territory from Ottawa County to the Colorado and Nebraska lines, since there were no organized counties west of Rooks County.

Lucy returned to Camden in July, 1875, having just been betrothed to "Will." They were married in Camden on Thanksgiving Day, 1875. Lucy and Will returned to Minneapolis to make their home.⁹

Lucy was not satisfied just with domestic interests, so she took an active part in the growth of the community. She and another young woman, a Miss Elder, objected to the two saloons in town and set out to have them closed. One sold bread and whiskey and the other sold patent medicine, drugs and whiskey. Having accomplished their goal, Lucy gained respect in the community and was elected to serve three consecutive terms on the Board of Education, a right given women by the state constitution.¹⁰

William Johnston was elected to the state senate in

⁹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁰ Kansas Constitution Art. II, § 23.

1876 with the support of the temperance movement and served until 1880.¹¹ He served the state of Kansas as attorney general from 1880 until November, 1884, at which time he was elected to the Supreme Court of Kansas. In 1903 he was appointed chief justice, an office which he held until he retired in 1936, at the age of 88.¹²

Two children, John and Margaret, were born while the family lived in Minneapolis. Lucy remained active in community affairs after the birth of the children. It was during the summer of 1893 that Lucy, as a member of the school board, tried to establish a school library. She answered a request to arrange a public meeting from Laura Johns, president of the Kansas State Equal Suffrage Association, who was coordinating a speaking tour for a Miss Balgarnie. Mrs. Johns promised that half of the admission proceeds would be left in Minneapolis for the new library. This plan made the meeting more popular for many were more interested in the school library than in woman's suffrage; others wanted to see and hear the English speaker, Miss Balgarnie, who was traveling the state speaking on the development of woman's suffrage in Great Britain. Public

¹¹ Male voters who favored legislative restraint for the sale and use of alcohol were beginning to develop some political power as the Prohibition Party. William Johnston was aided and supported by this political block which also nominated a candidate for governor in 1876.

¹² Kansas City Star, 31 January 1926, p. 2B.

speaking was comparatively new for women, which also helped to draw a large audience. Lucy Johnston was asked to introduce the speaker, her first public suffrage speech.¹³

Mrs. Johns later asked Lucy to take the presidency of the Ottawa County Equal Suffrage Association. While organizing Kansas for suffrage, Mrs. Johns and Reverend Anna Howard Shaw, national E.S.A. president, would stop at the Johnston's home for conferences, often staying the night. Lucy traveled the county, with her two children, putting notices of meetings on fence posts.¹⁴

A few years later, the Johnstons moved to Topeka, where Lucy became an organizer and active member of the Kansas Social Science Federation, an organization for women that promoted the study of government, fine arts, self-improvement and service to others.¹⁵ She was elected state president of the federation in 1902.¹⁶ By 1902 there were six thousand members and 326 local clubs within the federation in Kansas.

¹³ Woman's Suffrage Scrapbook, Newspaper clipping, 1893, Lucy Johnston Collection, Scrapbook File.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Equal Suffrage Headquarters to A.B. MacDonald, Kansas City Star, 23 May 1912, Lucy Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage File, August 1912-1913.

¹⁶ Speech, Lucy Browne Johnston, Salina, Kansas, 1902, ibid.

After the defeat of the suffrage amendment in 1894, which many attribute to the resentment that men directed towards the involvement of the National Equal Suffrage Association, the women of Kansas lost interest in their clubs. They turned to other activities such as traveling libraries, art and music programs in the schools, efforts to bring about the introduction of manual training in town and county schools, and restoration of Pawnee Rock.¹⁷

Lucy Johnston realized the potential of a woman's club and set out with others to organize the entire state. Lucy often asked a woman to do things that the woman did not realize she could do. Lucy never took no for an answer and often used flattery and the social connections of being a chief justice's wife to get an agreement to help.

Mrs. I.A. Shriver from Potwin, Kansas, wrote Lucy telling her that she had fulfilled the promise that she had made to Lucy the previous fall, that of starting a club. Mrs. Shriver reported that she had started a literary club along the guidelines and objectives of the Social Science Federation. She told of starting out one beautiful, bright, fall morning with her horse and buggy to visit with her neighbors about the idea. The club was named the Excelsior Club with the motto "And thought leapt out to wed with thought. Ere thought would wed itself with speech." Mrs.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Shriver mentioned that since they had no library, they had to rely entirely upon their own books.¹⁸

Maurine Axline Fay, Pratt, Kansas, informed Lucy that their club met every Tuesday. One hour was devoted to the study of Greek history, one half hour to literature and one-half hour to business and current events.¹⁹

Lucy realized that the only way club women could realize self-improvement was through education, and without access to books, education would never become a reality.

¹⁸ Mrs. I.A. Shriver to Lucy Johnston, February, 1903, Lucy Johnston Collection, General Correspondence File, 1887-1903.

¹⁹ Maurine Axline Fay to Lucy Johnston, 15 August 1898, ibid.

CHAPTER TWO
TRAVELING LIBRARIES

As the seed of women's clubs began to take root, one major deficiency became apparent: a lack of books for resources. The very reason for forming these clubs was, in fact, the stumbling block in the way of their success: isolation. Access to books and service to their communities became a major undertaking for all clubs.

On a cold stormy evening in 1898, Mrs. M. Moore of Hutchinson, Mrs. J.C. McClintock and Lucy Johnston met to discuss the book situation, particularly in the western half of the state. Lucy Johnston recalled that there were 10,000 books in the State Library, available only to Topekans, or to those who could afford to travel to Topeka, for the books could not be removed from the library. She had read that the women of Ohio were establishing a traveling library.¹ She thought that if those women who had extra books

¹ Lucy Browne Johnston to Mrs. E.G. Wickwire, 25 September 1915, Lucy Johnston Collection, Traveling Libraries File, January-March, 1899.

would donate them, somehow they could be carried out to those who had none.

The Topeka City Federation, only a few months old, began the library operation with 300 donated books and \$20.00. As the word of the need began to spread, 3,000 books were pledged. By July of the following summer, the first case of books was sent to Minneapolis.²

At the turn of the century another movement was surfacing nationally and in Kansas. It was the Chautauqua Movement and it directly affected the Club Movement and its goals. The Chautauqua Movement, in its traveling tents, became entertainment and educational experiences all rolled into one. Lecturers often discussed current politics in the East, travels to different parts of the world, culture and fine arts. A musical program frequently preceded the lecture. With the success of the Chautauqua Movement, women were open to the ideas of the educational advantages they would gain by joining a local club. Many local clubs enjoyed an increase in membership after the Chautauqua left town. When every member was asked to donate one cent³ to the traveling libraries, members were eager to

² Ibid., see Appendix 2 for a list of books that were contained in the first traveling library case.

³ Mrs. Channing Perdue to Lucy Johnston, 8 June 1898, Lucy Johnston Collection, Traveling Libraries File, Correspondence 1897-1912.

contribute.⁴

This is not to imply that all of western Kansas was waiting to receive books in the mail. Mary Keating, of Cimarron, wrote of the discouragement that she encountered while trying to develop interest in the traveling libraries: "Those whom it seems to me should be interested say they have too much to do and already more reading than they have time for."⁵ She went on to point out that she had expected such a response from the community, for the county officials were elected by whiskey, and that there was more money spent on whiskey in that county than in support of the gospel.⁶

The traveling libraries benefited not only club women, but the community and small school districts with limited funds as evidenced by the following letter:

At our annual school meeting we voted a small sum to expend in our library books. Supt. Striker in reply to a letter of inquiry, sends me a circular of your Kaw Traveling Library. It occurred to me that we might get more and better reading matter by patronizing your library. Ours is only a county district but we have all the hungry craving for something good to read that the more pretentious town people have and more time to read than they. Now what we would like to either hire or buy are books adapted to pupils from third reader up to we old folks of the neighborhood. Have you a catalog of your books? If so could you check from it fifty and send me and then allow me to recheck or check

⁴ Report, Federation of Social Science Club, 1898, ibid., see Appendix 3.

⁵ Mary Keating to Lucy Browne Johnston, 26 May 1898, ibid..

⁶ Ibid.

out any that we already have.⁷

The books received were housed in a central location: someone's home, a church basement or even in the rear of a hardware store.⁸ Club women often proceeded to fight for a permanent building.⁹ Once this idea took hold, club women wanted to keep donations in their own communities.¹⁰ As a result, money became the biggest problem for the traveling libraries.

The club women of Kansas turned to the state legislature for assistance, asking not only for financial aid, but for access to the books held in the State Library, pointing out that the legislatures of New York, Michigan, Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin and Montana had already taken such steps.¹¹

Lobbying efforts were new to the women and these women generally felt uncomfortable in this new role. It should also be noted that corruption in government was commonplace. Salie F. Toler wrote:

⁷ O.M. Record to Lucy Browne Johnston, 14 July 1898, ibid.

⁸ L.D. Einsel to Lucy Browne Johnston, 1 August 1898, ibid.

⁹ Fannie M. Snyder to Lucy Browne Johnston, 9 December 1898, ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Mrs. S.R. Peters to state representatives, 7 January 1899, ibid., see Appendix 4.

Not that I feel awed at this idea of entertaining a senator or any of our law makers (?) I feel sure if I had money to offer most of them would be easily convinced. Or if I were good looking enough and unprincipled enough to use softer methods, I might - but then you see I have a firm opinion of men I mean and I'm talking silly. . . .¹²

Fannie Synder, frustrated in an attempt to gain legislative support for the cause, explained, "I find men as a rule admire persistent effort in any cause and you can certainly show what you have done."¹³ The Library Bill was passed with an appropriation by the state of \$2,000.¹⁴ Kansas club women had played the political game and won. Mrs. J.M. Miller reflected, "It is the most practical work that has been attempted through the Federation, along educational and philanthropic lines."¹⁵

The traveling libraries began to grow with the fervor of the women. What started out as an idea on a cold, stormy night now involved a large percentage of Kansas citizens. Lucy Johnston was appointed to the executive committee of the Kansas State Library Association along with Judge George W. Martin, Mrs. W.Y. Morgan, Professor J.H. Hill and J.L.

¹² Salie F. Toler to Lucy Browne Johnston, 23 February 1899, ibid.

¹³ Fannie Synder to Lucy Browne Johnston, 2 January 1899, ibid.

¹⁴ Mrs. Peters to Lucy Browne Johnston, 5 March 1899, ibid.

¹⁵ Mrs. J.M. Miller to Lucy Browne Johnston, 6 February 1899, ibid.

King.¹⁶ A month later Lucy was appointed to the Library Extension Committee of the National Social Science Federation.¹⁷

Lucy and a staff were to handle the dispensing of the book cases. A fee of two dollars was charged for each delivery, at six month intervals, of fifty books, and a fine of five cents a day for overdue books was assessed.¹⁸ The books were packed in cases made of poplar, nicely oiled. They had two panel doors and were fastened with a catch and lock.¹⁹ Caught up in the enthusiasm of the libraries, Reverend Charles Sheldon of Central Church in Topeka donated a box filled with copies of his new book, In His Steps, to be used in the traveling libraries.²⁰

Lucy Johnston saw the significance of the traveling library accomplishment. She felt that it meant that higher education was no longer to be regarded as a thing of sex, wealth and youth, but as a privilege of both men and women

¹⁶ Carrie M. Watson to Lucy Browne Johnston, 18 November 1902, ibid.

¹⁷ Louisa B. Poppenhiem to Lucy Browne Johnston, 2 December 1902, ibid., 1887-1903.

¹⁸ Lucy Knapp to Lucy Browne Johnston, 16 October 1898, ibid., 1897-1912.

¹⁹ Industrial School for Girls to Lucy Browne Johnston, 26 August 1898, ibid.

²⁰ M.L. Lyon to Lucy Browne Johnston, 9 December 1898, ibid.

of all conditions and periods of life.²¹ The important point is that club women, through their efforts, made this happen. It was a united effort.

The traveling libraries, known as the Kaw Traveling Libraries, continued to grow. Only three states had more books in circulation through this medium than Kansas. One of the Kansas libraries found a permanent home in Manila as a part of the library maintained there for the benefit of the United States Army. Sample cases of the traveling libraries were exhibited at the Kansas State Fair and at the Portland and St. Louis expositions in connection with the general education displays. A silver medal was awarded to the Kansas traveling libraries exhibit at St. Louis.²²

The libraries traveled north to within ten miles of the Nebraska line, south and west to the Oklahoma and Indian Territory border, east to the edge of Missouri, and two cases went to three counties in Colorado.²³

From the very beginning of the Social Science Federation and the Equal Suffrage Association, self-improvement through education was the major objective. They chose the color yellow, meaning wisdom, as the organization's color. Lack of books became a major

²¹ Report, Federation of Social Science Clubs, 1898, ibid.

²² Report, Commission of Traveling Libraries, St. Louis, 14 May 1904, ibid.

²³ Ibid.

stumbling block in the road to success. Once that was removed their potential was even beyond their imagination. Minutes of club meetings showed that books like C.D. Warner's The Relation of Literature to Life and Philip Smith's A History of the World, both of which presented a broader view of topics seldom thought about by women, few of whom had more than a rudimentary education, were discussed. In other words, education was brought to those who were uneducated. Women like Lucy Johnston, Grace Snyder and Genuveta Flint were caught up in the awareness knowledge brought in and wrote about it.

Whether equal suffrage was a result of the club's search for wisdom is a nebulous point difficult to prove. The significant fact is the clubs of Kansas rushed into suffrage activities full tilt in a frenzy that had not been evident before the traveling libraries. There was a new determination, a new awareness of what was right and wrong. Having experienced success in playing the political game, the club women of Kansas were united, and were a political force for the first time. That unity was the result of the successful legislative attempts of the club women in creating the traveling libraries.

CHAPTER THREE

KANSAS AND THE NATIONAL FIGHT FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

On July 19-20, 1848, a women's convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss social, civil and religious conditions and the rights of women. The convention had not been well advertised because of the fear that the police would attempt to break the meeting up if they knew these subjects were being discussed. Instead, a small, unsigned notice appeared in the paper a few days before the Wednesday meeting stating that there would be a meeting concerning these social problems. Men were welcome and invited to attend. From this point, a movement was recognized, a movement that would spread across the nation. In the course of demanding the vote, women, in fact, were forcing remedies for other wrongs.¹

In 1850 another convention was held in Worcester, New York, after which a vigorous campaign was held. Signatures were sought for petitions to be presented to the New York legislature requesting that a proposed amendment giving full

¹ The National American Woman Suffrage Association, Victory, How Women Won It, p. 24.

suffrage for women be presented to the citizens of New York for ratification. When the petitions were finally presented in 1855, the mockery of the legislators was discouraging.²

After the Seneca Falls Convention (1848) and the Worcester Convention (1850), others began to follow: Ohio and Massachusetts, 1850; Indiana, 1851; Pennsylvania, 1852. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and others from the Seneca Falls Convention, began to travel not only in New York but to other states. They gave speeches, organized groups and coordinated fund raising events. From this point on the movement was organized on a national basis.³

Although Kansas was not listed as one of the early states holding a women's convention, in 1867 Kansas was the first state to submit two propositions to her people to remove from her constitution the clauses which restricted the franchise to white males. One of the propositions was to remove the word "white" and the other was to remove the word "male." Removal of the first would grant the franchise to Negroes; removal of the second would grant it to women.

Though the amendment to take the word "male" from the constitution was a Republican measure, signed by a Republican governor, and advocated by the leading men of the

² Olivia Coolidge, Women's Rights, the Suffrage Movement in America, 1848-1920 (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1967), p. 44.

³ The National American Woman Suffrage Association, Victory, How Women Won It, p. 31.

party throughout the campaign, the Republican party, abolitionists, and black males were all hostile to the proposition. They claimed that to agitate for the woman's amendment would defeat Negro suffrage.⁴

The Democratic party was opposed to both amendments and to the proposed law on temperance, which, it was supposed, the women would actively support. Though the temperance party had passed a resolution in their state convention favorable to woman's suffrage, some of their members were opposed to any affiliation with the woman suffrage amendment. What and when people drank was of greater importance than the basic question of human rights, the right to participate in the democratic process.⁵

Before the people of Kansas had a chance to vote on the amendment, the Michigan legislature refused to submit a similar amendment to its people.⁶ During this same year, a constitutional convention called by the New York legislature, after being presented with petitions by Susan B. Anthony containing over 20,000 signatures, decided that the "bullet and the ballot" went together. An individual who had the right to vote must also fight in defense of

St
Lyon

⁴ Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, eds., History of Woman Suffrage 6 vols. (1905; reprint ed., New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), II, p. 229.

⁵ Ibid., p. 231.

⁶ Ibid., p. 286.

his country, and since it would never do to put women in the armed forces, the whole idea was dropped.⁷

Hopes then turned towards Kansas; Kansas was to be the banner state. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had spent the summer in Kansas campaigning to ensure a victory. Both amendments were not only defeated, but the campaigning women were accused of "having killed Negro suffrage."⁸

The woman's suffrage movement was given validity with the Seneca Falls Convention. However, it was the western state of Wyoming that first granted her women full suffrage in 1869. It was done without so much as even a campaign, or splitting of political power, but as "manly acknowledgement of equal rights and equal privileges among the citizens of the new territory."⁹ The women of Wyoming were astounded. "If a whole troop of angels had come down with flaming swords for their vindication, they could not have been more astonished."¹⁰

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (1926; reprint ed., Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1970), p. 51.

⁹ Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, III, p. 728; see Appendix 5 for the years in which the several states adopted woman suffrage.

¹⁰ Catt, Woman Suffrage and Politics, p. 79. This idea is also discussed in T.A. Larson, "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 56 (April 1965), p. 57.

The members of the Wyoming legislature were also astonished; "they had not intended to do it quite."¹¹ The Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution had been submitted in February, 1869, and although not yet ratified, Negroes had the right to vote under the law granting Negro suffrage in territories to be organized. In September, 1869, an election was held to elect delegates to the first Wyoming legislature. With the added Negro vote, the entire legislature turned out to be Democratic with a Republican governor. The representatives felt that the issue of full suffrage for women would be good advertisement for the territory and fully expected that the Republican governor would veto it. The bill was promptly signed by the bachelor governor, John A. Campbell. The people of Wyoming shrugged their shoulders and life went on as usual.¹²

After the defeat of the suffrage amendment in various states like Michigan, Colorado, Nebraska, Oregon, several years passed before any other state again raised the issue. In Kansas it was fifteen years before the next campaign. Perhaps this was because Kansas's laws, more than those of other states, favored women, and the women of Kansas had enjoyed the right of voting the school ballot since 1860, a right guaranteed them by Section 23 of Article II of

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., pp. 78-79.

the Constitution of Kansas. Further, Section 6 of Article XV of the Constitution of Kansas provided for the protection of the rights of women in acquiring and possessing property, and their equal rights in the possession of their children.

The Kansas State Republican Convention of 1882 overwhelmingly endorsed woman suffrage only to ignore the issue two years later. The Greenback party of Kansas placed woman suffrage in its 1884 platform. The Prohibition party was extending invitations to women to attend the state convention. The idea of equal suffrage again was boiling in the 80's and threatening to survive this time. The greatest obstacle was the indifference and the ignorance of women themselves.¹³

There had been small local suffrage societies in Kansas since 1867, but there had never been an attempt made to organize a state organization until 1884. On January 15, 1885, the State Association of Equal Suffrage held its first annual convention to form a state organization during the first week of the legislative session. The organization's main purpose was to secure the introduction of a bill granting municipal woman suffrage. It succeeded. The bill passed and became law February 15, 1887.¹⁴

¹³ Joseph G. Gambone, ed., "The Forgotten Feminist of Kansas: The papers of Clarina I.H. Nichols, 1854:1885," Kansas Historical Quarterly, 39 (Spring 1973), p. 20.

¹⁴ Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, pp. 638-640.

After the unsuccessful campaign of 1877 in Colorado, the issue did not arise again in Colorado until 1890 when a small group of women organized a small club to raise money to aid the campaign in South Dakota.¹⁵ Membership continued to increase. In the spring of 1891, this group put up a woman candidate for the East Denver school board. The school ballot had been given to women by the constitution when Colorado became a state. The woman candidate lost; however, more women had voted than ever before.¹⁶ The significance of the election was that women were now becoming familiar with the idea of voting and actually running for office.

A bill providing full suffrage for women passed the Colorado legislature and was presented to the people in the fall general election of 1893. The State Suffrage Association of Colorado had \$25.00 in the treasury at the start of the campaign which, it was feared, would prevent it from conducting a successful campaign before fall. By this time Iowa, California, New York and Kansas were standing by to offer aid. As each state entered the victory ring, it became easier for those who followed. The amendment was given an affirmative majority. The new Populist Party was given most of the credit for the

¹⁵ Billie Barnes Jensen, "Colorado Woman Suffrage Campaigns of the 1870's," Journal of the West, 12 (April 1973), p. 257.

¹⁶ Billie B. Jensen, "Let the Women Vote," Colorado Magazine, 41 (Winter 1964), p. 14.

success in Colorado.¹⁷

Idaho was admitted to the union in 1890, but did not include the idea of equal suffrage for fear the constitution would not be accepted by the voters. A Republican legislature voted in 1895 to put the question to a vote. During the campaign, Laura Johns of Kansas journeyed to Idaho to work for its passage.¹⁸ There were 12,126 votes in favor of the amendment and 6,282 against it. However, the number of electors voting on the amendment was not as great as the number voting on the candidates. Due to an inability to agree on the interpretation of the state constitution, the whole matter was taken to the state supreme court. A few weeks later, the court found that a majority of those voting on the question was sufficient to carry it.¹⁹

Utah was the next state, in 1896, to recognize equal suffrage for the second time. The women of the Utah Territory had enjoyed the privilege of the ballot from 1870 until 1887. When the United States Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, the women of Utah lost the suffrage, along with polygamist men. When the question of restoring the franchise came up in the constitutional

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸ Sandra L. Myres, Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), pp. 228-229.

¹⁹ Ibid.

convention of 1895, it was placed in the proposed document despite the fears of some delegates that a woman's suffrage provision would endanger congressional approval.²⁰

The constitutional convention voted to include in the new state's constitution the provision that the right to vote would not be denied on account of sex. It was carried by the male voters of the territory by a comfortable majority. Utah entered the Union in 1896, the third state to grant women full suffrage.²¹

Not for fourteen years did another state adopt woman's suffrage. Congress gave formal hearings to pleas for a federal woman's suffrage amendment, but neither house reported the bill favorably after 1893, and the question disappeared from Congress as an issue for twenty years.²²

In the 1890's, the Populist Party in Kansas was particularly aggressive. In 1892 the popularity of Populism swept the state and the election which followed was regarded as the test of strength among the political parties. As both Populists and Republicans carried planks favoring the submission of a woman's suffrage amendment in their platforms, the legislature of 1893 submitted the question

²⁰ Jean B. White, "Woman's Place is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," Utah Historical Quarterly, 42 (Fall 1974), pp. 344-369.

²¹ Ibid.

²² John Blum et al., The National Experience (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1981), p. 484.

to the voters. The amendment was not ratified. With this bitter disappointment, it was almost impossible to revive the state suffrage organization. In 1897 two bills were introduced to widen municipal suffrage and another to enable women to vote for presidential electors. They were not even reported from committee.²³

On January 14, 1901, House Bill 62, prepared by State Auditor J. Carlisle of Wyandotte County, was introduced by its representative, J.A. Butler of Kansas City, to repeal the law giving municipal suffrage to women.²⁴ The bill was twice killed in committee, each time receiving fewer than ten votes. In 1903 Cyrus Leland of Doniphan County introduced House Bill 268 granting women presidential suffrage.²⁵ The bill was killed in committee. Senate Bill 68, also granting women presidential suffrage, shared the same fate.²⁶ At the same session, however, an extension of bond suffrage was granted. The act enabled women to vote on public improvements in cities of the first class.²⁷

Every year a state Equal Suffrage Association meeting

²³ Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, p. 647.

²⁴ Kansas House Journal Proceedings, January 8-March 1901, p. 86.

²⁵ Ibid, January 13-March 13, 1903, p. 267.

²⁶ Kansas Senate Journal Proceedings, January 13-March 13, 1903, p. 46.

²⁷ Ibid.

was held, but the enthusiasm was gone because so many times women's hopes had been dashed. In 1905 Governor Hock, in his message to the legislature, recommended that women be given full suffrage. House Bill 436 was introduced and passed the House, only to be killed in the Senate.²⁸ During the legislative session of 1907, a House concurrent resolution submitting an amendment to the constitution giving women full suffrage died in committee. In the special session of 1908, House Bill 77 was introduced, only to die.²⁹ House Bill 418, in 1909, suffered the same fate.³⁰ While there were some legislators in favor of equal suffrage, the amendment lacked sufficient support. There was not one unifying force powerful enough to campaign effectively for its passage.

Disappointments were not suffered just in Kansas. Women in other states were making little headway. By 1910 the idea of woman suffrage was a household word. Washington was the next state to give the right to women. The secret of the successful campaign was few suffrage meetings, and to work through the platform of the granges, farmers' unions, labor unions, churches and other organizations.³¹

²⁸ Kansas House Journal Proceedings, January 10-March 10, 1905, p. 183.

²⁹ Ibid., January 16-February 4, 1908, p. 49.

³⁰ Ibid., January 12-March 12, 1909, p. 205.

³¹ T.A. Larson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in

California was next in 1911.³² Six states had now given their women full suffrage, but Kansas was being left behind.

Washington," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 67 (April 1976), pp. 49-50.

³² Myres, Westering Women, p. 232.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE KANSAS CAMPAIGN OF 1912

With Governor W.A. Stubbs' inaugural address in November, 1910, in which he urged the men of Kansas to vote for the woman suffrage amendment, a new determination surfaced among the Equal Suffrage Association members. The state Equal Suffrage Association held its annual convention May 16, 1911, in Representative Hall in Topeka. Mrs. Lucy Browne Johnston was elected president and Mrs. W.A. Stubbs, vice-president.¹ For the third time the question of equal suffrage would be put to the ballot (1867, 1894). As a member of three organizations which have taken similar and cooperative positions, Lucy Browne Johnston would act as a coordinator producing one unifying force combining the Social Science Federation, the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to put the question of equal suffrage in Kansas before the people. The amendment resolution, extending full suffrage to the women of the state of Kansas, was passed by both

¹ Martha B. Caldwell, "The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912," Kansas Historical Quarterly, 12 (August 1943), pp. 300-318. See Appendix 6 and Appendix 7.

houses and signed by Governor W.A. Stubbs on February 12, 1911. The question was to be put to the people on the November ballot.²

Funds to conduct a successful campaign were a major problem of the suffrage movement. Money was needed for speakers since few Kansas women had the experience of speaking publicly. Thus, outside speakers had to be obtained. Literature, meeting halls, newspaper advertisements and mailings were expensive. Until 1907 most campaign money came from small contributions and the national organization. But with Kansas's withdrawal from the national organization in 1907, the state was on its own financially. Kansas withdrew because the men resented outsiders advising the Kansas E.S.A. Women without funds could not take an active part unless someone else paid their expenses.³ A married woman usually had to have her husband's approval to make a donation, whereas single women rarely had the means.

As more women entered the job market between 1910 and 1912, donations came more easily. Clubs were called upon to hold bazaars. Often individuals like Laura Johns would use hundreds of dollars of their own money. She explained that

² Ibid.

³ Lilla Day Monroe to Rev. Anna Shaw, National President of the Equal Suffrage Association, Lucy Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage File 1903-1910; see Appendix 8 for an explanation for Kansas's withdrawal from the national organization.

she was able to do so because she had a husband to back her, but she felt it was not fair for a few to sacrifice "to help women to get into the kingdom who are too lazy or too selfish, or both, to help themselves."⁴

One of the most common sources for funds was to take up a collection at suffrage rallies. Often, if the meeting was advertised as a suffrage meeting, crowds were small. A hired speaker, Anna Delony Martin from Chicago, had the answer to this problem when she wrote Lucy at the E.S.A. headquarters in Topeka.

. . . Now I have not told you where the suffrage work comes in. At the close of my Grand Canyon Lecture, before the audience has a chance to realize that the lecture is over, I will state that I have been requested to give my views on Suffrage. Briefly I will state what I have to say, in a ten or fifteen minute suffrage talk, and be followed by the leading local speakers and perhaps the taking up of a collection for the suffrage cause. The auspices is a subject for consideration. If the suffrage organization were to manage these lectures openly, some difficulty would be found in selling tickets to the indifferent and the antis. Working under the name of the ABC Club, American Betterment of Conditions Club, raising money for members of the suffrage organizations would have all the advantages of any organized club, and yet would not be dependent upon the vote of any organized body. At the same time they would not meet with the opposition they would if using the name suffrage. At the close of each lecture, we could have a regular suffrage rally, pass petitions, pledges, take up a collection⁵ and do anything to meet the local condition.

Letters were sent out across the state asking not only

⁴ Laura M. Johns to Lucy Browne Johnston, 28 December 1903, ibid.

⁵ Anna Delony Martin to Lucy Browne Johnston 28 June 1912, ibid., June 15-30, 1912.

donations from the various clubs, but from individuals--anything to bring in a few dollars. The response was not always what they hoped it would be.

Dear Madam: I have your communication of July 2nd, advising me of your opportunity to secure the services of Miss Aurel Burtis in your suffrage work.

I am sure from what you say, that Miss Burtis would have the qualifications for this work, and as she seems to be a graduate in music, perhaps it would be a work of humanity to employ her to soothe the savage breast of mankind, in lieu of some of the people who have never had such advantages as she, and who persist in raucous hoarse notes of discourse. But, I lack the cash.

Aside from this sad financial state, I have a very good friend who is making men's garments, and not so long ago, one of Uncle Sam's ungentlemanly Postmasters by mere accident, and with no intent to be personal at all, delivered some of the printed matter of the aforesaid garment maker to a lady of this town; and things began to happen right away. She wrote a most ungentle reply to my friend, burning with denunciation, and informing him that she couldn't wear his old trousers at all. So there.

And I have some sympathy for my friend also. Also, I believe ⁶the lady was right. Yours very truly,
John W. Baughman.

Once Kansas women became involved in campaigning for equal suffrage as an unified force, financing became more creative. Clubs began to present theatrical performances and minstrel shows. A play entitled "How The Vote Was Won" was presented by the Lawrence group.⁷ Lucy reported that post cards, pennants and suffrage balloons were sold.⁸

⁶ John W. Baughman to Lucy Browne Johnston, 3 July 1912, ibid., November 1911-July 1912.

⁷ Woman Equal Suffrage Association, Topeka Headquarters Bulletins, 1912, ibid.

⁸ Kansas Equal Suffrage Association minutes of the

Public speakers for other associations were asked to put in a good word for suffrage. Alberta Corbin wrote Lucy that she and several of her co-workers at Kansas University had talked suffrage among the college girls.⁹ Mary E. Dobbs informed the association headquarters that the suffrage campaign had been thoroughly discussed at the Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union.¹⁰ Sim A. Bramlette explained, ". . . organized labor is doing and will do everything possible to carry the amendment for equal suffrage."¹¹ The Socialists were not to be left out in donating their services! ". . . our purposes are common, there seems to be no reason why we should not co-operate for the coming campaign. . . ." ¹²

Thought was certainly given on how to approach those citizens who had the means of making a sizable donation. A woman from Harper wrote about a woman in her community who owned twenty quarter-sections of wheat land. She thought

Executive Board, July 10-11, ibid., 1907-1919.

⁹ Alberta Corbin to Lucy Browne Johnston, 7 November 1911, ibid., November 1911-July 1912.

¹⁰ Mary E. Dobbs to Lucy Browne Johnston, 6 November 1911, ibid.

¹¹ Sim A. Bramlette to Lucy Browne Johnston, 2 April 1912, ibid.

¹² George W. Snyder to Lucy Browne Johnston, 14 October 1911, ibid., 1886 October-1911.

they might be able to "put the bite on her."¹³ Another suffrage worker wrote of a woman in Anthony who had pledged fifty cents a month. Flattery was often used. Lucy Johnston was advised to try a letter from Mrs. Stubbs, the governor's wife, to secure a more generous donation. It was suggested that they "pat her on the shoulder and ask her for \$200."¹⁴ The idea that the governor's wife thought enough of you to sit down and write you a personal letter certainly brought results.

During 1912 the costs operation of the suffrage headquarters in Topeka, including a secretary and stenographer, managed by Lucy Browne Johnston, ran at \$200.00 per month.¹⁵ Neighboring state associations began to send money because, "victory for you will hasten the end of the struggle for all the states of the middle west."¹⁶

Lilla Monroe sent letters to Kansas women offering memberships in the association. "Ten dollars paid a life membership to the Suffrage Association. Five dollars for five years and one dollar by special arrangement paid for

¹³ Maggie Neff to Lucy Browne Johnston, 29 July 1912, ibid., July 17-31, 1912.

¹⁴ Helen B. Owens to Lucy Browne Johnston, 24 November 1911, ibid., November, 1911.

¹⁵ Lucy Johnston to Mr. J.H. Braly, 17 February 1912, ibid., August 1912-1913.

¹⁶ E.W. Demaree to Lucy Browne Johnston, 14 June 1912, ibid., November 1911-July 1912.

one year dues."¹⁷

Closely related to the organization's financial problems were transportation problems, Lucy explained. In the first two campaigns (1867 and 1894) the horse and buggy and free railroad passes were used. Railroad companies freely dispensed passes to friendly politicians and their families in hopes of favors. Lucy Johnston, wife of the supreme court chief justice, had one, as did Mrs. W.A. Stubbs, wife of the governor of the state of Kansas. They were given passes not because of their association with the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association but because of their husbands. Because of the demands of the reformers -- Grangers, Greenbackers, Populists, Progressives -- including fair rail costs, railroad reform, and the elimination of free passes, by 1912 free passes were no longer distributed to the women.

Few families in Kansas were fortunate enough to own automobiles except, of course, the more affluent. The problem then became one of securing the support of those who did own automobiles. Lucy's political acquaintances were often approached. It was the increased use of the automobile that enabled the campaigners to reach many more voters than ever before, and the automobiles became a major

¹⁷ Lilla Day Monroe to Lucy Browne Johnston, 28 January 1911, ibid., 1886-October 1911.

element of the campaign. Sometimes a local dealer could be persuaded to lend an automobile for a tour. Some even felt that it was good advertising for business since it was impossible to miss the suffrage group as it arrived in a car decorated with signs, bunting and flags.¹⁸ Auto tours were arranged in many counties. In Hays a house-to-house canvass was conducted in automobiles decorated with balloons. The driver stopped in front of a house, tooted the horn, and when the occupants came out to see what was going on, suffrage workers handed out their literature.¹⁹

A proposed whirlwind tour of a special booster's train that was to take place in October, 1912,²⁰ failed to materialize, probably because of the lack of funds and failure to get free passes from the railroads. Anna Delony Martin wrote that she "was greeted by a very gracious gentleman who listened politely to what I had to say, but assured me it was out of the question to expect either transportation or other aid from the company. Such arrangements are a thing of the past."²¹

¹⁸ Magdalen B. Munson to Lucy Browne Johnston, August 1911, ibid., 1911. See Appendix 9 and Appendix 10.

¹⁹ Woman Equal Suffrage Association Headquarters Bulletin, 29 July 1912, ibid., November 1911-July 1912.

²⁰ Mildred Peek to Lucy Browne Johnston, 31 May 1912, ibid., May, 1912.

²¹ Anna Delony Martin to Lucy Browne Johnston, 2 July 1912, ibid., July 1-16, 1912.

By 1911 interest in the suffrage movement began to grow. Gradually the women's clubs with definite purposes outnumbered the merely cultural ones, probably because by then most young women had gone to high school, some to college, and they wanted to take part in affairs of the nation rather than just to study them.²²

This sudden increase in club membership also had its disadvantages. There were many more women who had many more ideas as to the direction the association should take. These internal disagreements threatened to stand in the way of success. One good example of this was the conflict over the Kansas E.S.A. constitution. The constitution of the association had been lost years ago, so the fight was on.

. . . It seems the organization has been working for some years with the disadvantage of having lost the constitution. The original copy of the old constitution was lost in a fire many years ago. The only copy of it was taken from a newspaper clipping preserved by the State Historical Society. Two factions had arisen, one wishing to continue under the old constitution and the other wanting a new constitution adopted. It was a battle of wit and wisdom, and neither side having a monopoly. But finally the new faction won and it was voted to take up the new constitution section by section. The bone of contention was the matter of changing the yearly dues from \$1 to 50 cents. After a very lively discussion it was settled that the dues should be 50 cents per year, and harmony reigned once again.²³

The situation did not escape the notice of the National Association, of which Kansas was no longer a part. "It

²² Wilda M. Smith, "A Half Century of Struggle," p. 90.

²³ Ottawa Guardian, 22 May 1911.

looks very much as if Kansas is going to act as South Dakota did, spend the first year in quarrelling for the glory and the last year in finding there was no glory to quarrel over."²⁴

During earlier campaigns some men had voiced an objection to out of state speakers. Laura Johns, past state president, advised Lucy and the women of Kansas to take the advice of states where women were then voting, pointing out that those who had waged a successful battle knew more of effectual methods than those who had never won a victory.²⁵

The frustration was increasing. Kansas club women were not the only ones who could not get along with each other. Lucy's role became almost one of an arbitrator. Helen Kimber, a Kansan attending the national convention, wrote home explaining what was happening. She related that Miss Anthony, Susan B. Anthony's niece, and Reverend Shaw were fighting. Not only were they fighting each other, they were still angry at Kansas for its withdrawal from the national organization. All of this fighting was not a deterrent to some women. Mrs. Kimber explained, "You watch in the paper for four bloody nosed women!!! I am in this fight to stay. . . ."²⁶

²⁴ Anna W. Shaw to Lucy Browne Johnston 25 March 1911, Lucy Johnston Collection, Woman's Suffrage File, 1886 October-1911.

²⁵ Laura M. Johns to Lucy Browne Johnston, 13 October 1911, ibid.

²⁶ Helen Kimber to Lucy Browne Johnston, 27 November

The women also disagreed on methods of publicity. Some favored more newspaper advertising as a major way of reaching the male voter. One woman made slighting remarks about the ineffectiveness of "pink teas."²⁷ Other clubs made wide use of suffrage teas to which they invited the women of prestige. In their opinion, this was the best way to keep the question before the people in a position to help the movement.²⁸ Not only were these people able to help monetarily, but by influence and also by association. Some women became involved just to get the chance to associate socially with Lucy Johnston and Mrs. Stubbs.

On occasion the women were given permission to provide speakers for the Chautauqua. This method of advertising was sometimes a failure if the purpose was announced ahead of time. Mrs. Johnston recalled an incident:

I remember especially of one chautauqua assembly at Olathe where, with others, among them the Governor's wife, I had made a suffrage talk in the main auditorium during the afternoon. A noted lecturer from the sunny southland was to speak in the evening. I was introduced to him a short time before he was to go on the platform and politely assured him that the women in his audience would appreciate it if he would say a word during the evening favorable to the suffrage amendment. I had heard much of southern chivalry so I was surprised that he continued to puff his cigar while he declared that the women of the south had no desire to

1900, ibid.

²⁷ Catharine A. Hoffman to Lucy Browne Johnston, 31 October 1911, ibid.

²⁸ Mattie E. Kimball to Lucy Browne Johnston, 21 June 1911, ibid., June-July, 1911.

vote, and that southern men would not permit their women to mingle in the dirty pool of politics, that the women of the south preferred to remain within their sphere and upon the pedestal where the chivalry of southern gentleman had placed them. Then forgetting or perhaps he had never known that Kansas women had been voting for fifty years, and taking a fresh pull at his cigar, he proceeded to draw a picture of all the deplorable things that would happen in the home while the women went to vote. Men and women, he told us, who had always lived together in love and harmony would quarrel and separate and all women would lose respect in the eyes of men. They would have to pick up their own pocket handkerchief and hang on to the straps in the street cars, etc., etc. It was a horrible picture and I gave up protesting. However, as I thought of the clay feet forever dangling from a pedestal, I resolved to keep my feet on²⁹ the ground and take the chance about the handkerchief.

Jealousy cannot be overlooked as a major cause of disagreement. Complaining about the choice for district president, a critic from Pittsburg wrote to Lucy that the woman, Mrs. Magdalen Munson, was an egoist who had no diplomacy or common sense, and was as unpopular with men as she was with women. According to her letter, merchants complained of her threatening them if they did not contribute, and others wondered how their women could be expected to follow the lead of a woman who had so much trouble with her own husband.³⁰

All this is not to imply that the Equal Suffrage Association was the only woman's organization interested in

²⁹ Speech, Lucy Browne Johnston "What Will It Profit Us If We Gain The Vote and Lose The Gallantry of Men," 1913, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File.

³⁰ Elizabeth Callen to Lucy Browne Johnston, December, 1912, ibid., December, 1912.

obtaining political liberty for women. The Association served as a unifying element for the Social Science Federation Clubs and the Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was one of the first women's organizations in Kansas.³¹ The W.C.T.U. enjoyed a very large membership because its purpose was two fold. First, it was a socially acceptable form of socializing, and second, its stated purpose, that of reducing the availability of spirits, was justified morally. The W.C.T.U. served as a training ground for women fighting for a definite cause. As the suffrage clubs began to grow, many women became members of both. The purpose was obvious: it would be easier to control the use of alcoholic beverages if women had the right to vote.

It must be noted that at its 1910 state convention, the W.T.C.U. voted to make equal suffrage the principal work of the organization.³² The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association was still arguing about what type of constitution to adopt. The W.C.T.U. was showing more direction of purpose than the organization whose primary purpose was suppose to be obtaining the vote for women.

It was suggested that the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association and the Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union should be joined for the campaign, but some who were

³¹ Wilda M. Smith, "Half Century of Struggle," p. 87.

³² Ibid.

members of both organizations felt that they should remain separate, since the W.C.T.U. had a suffrage department of its own.³³

Because of the apparent cooperation of the W.C.T.U. with the E.S.A., the liquor interests began to be opposed to the equal suffrage amendment for fear that women, if given the right to vote, would control the liquor issue. It was reported that the National Brewers Association had appropriated \$1,000,000 for an anti-suffrage campaign in Kansas.³⁴ Mrs. Munson wrote Lucy that she could do little to help the suffrage campaign in Crawford and Cherokee counties because of the anti-temperance feeling, due to the large number of foreign voters.³⁵ It was well known that the large number of German citizens in that area felt strongly about beer gardens and keeping them open on Sundays.

The liquor interests in Kansas placed an almost insurmountable obstacle in the women's path. Not only were they able to pour a large amount of money into the campaign against equal suffrage, but if they won, they would stand a chance of voting Kansas a wet state again, after thirty-two

³³ Minnie J. Grinstead to Lucy Browne Johnston, 11 September 1911, Lucy Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage File, August-September, 1911.

³⁴ Wilda M. Smith, "A Half Century of Struggle," p. 89.

³⁵ Magdalen B. Munson to Lucy Browne Johnston, undated, Lucy Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage File, undated 1911.

"dry" years. Lucy had been battling the liquor interests since 1876.

The last major obstacle was the men themselves. Women were attempting to change their whole sociological role and, with it, the men's. There was confusion, resentment and fear that women would become one powerful voting block. Nonetheless a successful campaign meant having to deal with men on their own ground.

After the second defeat of the equal suffrage amendment in 1894, women began to tread more lightly. They realized that only the male vote would give them political liberty. Failing to see the importance of this additional privilege, men tended to humor women. E.W. Hock, state representative from Marion, Kansas, wrote the following letter in response to Lucy Johnston's request that he vote for the amendment.

My dear Mrs. Johnston: I have your letter and thank you heartily for all of its generous sentiments toward me personally. Such sentiments from such a source are certainly very gratifying. I have never cherished an opinion that I was ashamed to express or afraid to defend. I am and always have been in favor of the enfranchisement of women. I have never heard or read an argument against this act of simple justice and do not believe a sound argument can be made, but there are in every case elements of diplomacy and discretion and sound judgment as to what is best to be done. I have not given this particular matter enough thought to be able to express a mature opinion upon the subject. I represent now something more than my own personality and am very anxious to make no mistake that shall weaken the great movement for better politics in Kansas. I am sure the enfranchisement of women, if it could succeed, would help not hinder this cause, but I am not sure that my advocacy of what may be a failure would be wise at this time. Do not misunderstand me; I do not care for effect so far as I am personally concerned, but I do care, you understand, for the

success of the cause I temporarily represent. I regard it as a critical time in Kansas politics. If our movement succeeds, that is, if we make good, if we fulfill our party platforms and crystallize our promises into law and give the people the good government they expect, and which we have promised, then, other good things will follow. But, if we fail in this prime purpose of our movement, then, the politics of the state will lapse into old ruts which are purely commercial and from which no good cause could hope for help.

These reflections make me cautious and I would be greatly pleased indeed, to talk with you and some of the other wise women of Kansas personally in reference to these matters.³⁶

Richard J. Hopkins, lieutenant governor of Kansas, offered to turn the whole question of whether he would vote for the amendment over to his manager, Mrs. Hopkins.³⁷

Some suffragettes made the mistake of antagonizing newspaper editors. The mistake was that the editor was sure to have the last word. Realizing the mistake, May Johnston, District President of E.S.A. from Wichita, visited the editor's office of the Wichita Eagle to smooth things over. She was greeted with indifference, but the editor did offer the suggestion that he would write about the timeworn idea of protecting women from the bad influences of the polls and of politics. May responded that if the polls were so corrupt, the women would clean them up, since they were adept at that sort of thing. The editor promised to read

³⁶ E.W. Hock to Lucy Browne Johnston, 23 November 1904, ibid., 1886-October 1911.

³⁷ Richard J. Hopkins to Lucy Browne Johnston, 3 January 1911, ibid.

the literature from the E.S.A., but showed little enthusiasm. May was astounded to realize that the editor did not know that the amendment would be presented to the people for their approval in the fall election. He thought that the women were only campaigning for representatives who supported the amendment. She left the editor's office completely exasperated and proclaiming that the women would "have to educate the entire commonwealth."³⁸

Fortunately, most of the leaders of the suffrage movement learned to avoid antagonistic tactics during the final campaign. Men, on the other hand, were still hurt, confused, angry, afraid that the women would control the government, and finally plain frustrated. The subject of woman suffrage was a very emotional one. The following letter written to Lucy by C.F. Foley clearly demonstrates all of these emotions:

. . . As a member of the Kansas Legislature, I cast my vote against a bill having for its object the presidential electors.

Candor compels me to say and I say it cheerfully and gladly that there are many good reasons why women should vote. But you, ladies or many of your platform lecturers, either from lack of knowledge or for effect, ascribe to mens' motives for opposing equal suffrage which do not, on an average, actuate one man in ten.

You either utterly fail to understand, or you fail to fairly represent the mental attitude of most honest men, on this subject.

The claim is made, both on the platform and in literature, that men oppose this measure through jealousy, through fear of woman's superiority, and of

³⁸ May J. Johnston to Lucy Browne Johnston, 6 November 1912, ibid., 1911-July, 1912.

her ability to take from them a share of the government. This is nonsense, it is worse, it is humbug; and if women really believe this, it is a very strong argument against conferring upon them the 'rights' which they seek.

I am, in this respect, I think, an average man; and fairly understand the mental attitude of the average man, of ordinary intelligence upon this subject. If I could make myself believe, and I have tried to do so, that equal suffrage would be best for women themselves, I would be an active and militant champion of the cause; for I well know that whatever is best for them, is best for the Nation and the race.

But the mistake that many of the advocates of the measure make, both in platform denunciation and in literature, consists in branding those who honestly question the wisdom of the change as bigots and hypocrites. They insist, in season and out of season, that all such are actuated merely by jealousy, and fear of the potency of women in governmental affairs.

As I before remarked, there are some cogent arguments why women should have the privilege of the ballot; why then should they offend both feeling and sense, as they do by asserting that a man esteems his wife as less intelligent than the Negro, and the mental and political equal only of the Indian, the Chinaman, the lunatic and the imbecile.

This line of argument is not at all uncommon and, in my judgment, has done harm to the cause for which you are battling. It has been well said, "There is no argument in slander; there is no logic in abuse." Men who are earnestly trying to do right and to be right, naturally dislike to have their motives grossly misrepresented.

I trust that you will pardon the length of this letter. I have tried as well as I can to make clear the attitude of many men on this question.

With serious misgivings regarding the wisdom of my action, I shall, probably, vote for the adoption of the pending suffrage amendment.

Final proof that club women had learned to be more diplomatic was found in a letter to Lucy Johnston during the final campaign. The writer stated that she intended to ask the men to help with the meeting because the women realized

³⁹ C.F. Foley to Lucy Johnston, 9 May 1912, ibid.

they needed the men's votes.⁴⁰ Letters were sent to Kansas men asking them to join in the campaign.⁴¹ On March 2, 1912, the first men's equal suffrage club was formed in Lawrence.⁴²

Kansas women were given full suffrage in the general election, November 5, 1912.⁴³ The amendment, however, failed to carry in 31 counties of Kansas. If one were to draw lines quartering the state of Kansas, 20 of the counties which failed to ratify the amendment lie in the northeast quarter, a section where some of the most vigorous campaigning took place. The foreign vote was at first examined, then the fact became obvious: the southern influence. These counties were not only near a former slave state but also near a direct route which was heavily traveled between Harrisonville, Missouri, and Council Grove, Kansas.⁴⁴ There is also the fact that many southerners from

⁴⁰ Nannie K. Garrett to Lucy Browne Johnston, 7 January 1912, ibid., January, 1912.

⁴¹ Equal Suffrage Association Headquarters to men of the state of Kansas, March 1912, ibid., November, 1912, see Appendix 11.

⁴² The Topeka Daily Capital, 4 March 1912.

⁴³ See Appendix 12 for the break down of votes per county, ibid., Miscellaneous Papers File.

⁴⁴ Louise Bary, "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals," Kansas Historical Quarterly 32 (Spring 1966), pp. 33-112. The southern influence is also discussed in P.J. Staudenrous, "Immigrants or Invaders," Kansas Historical Quarterly 34 (Winter 1958), pp. 395-398.

as far away as Virginia traveled the Santa Fe Trail to California. The fact is these counties could have contained a large proportion of settlers from the south who brought with them their own prejudices passed on down through their families, prejudices against the idea that everyone was created equal under the law, including the Negro woman.

There was a candle parade down Kansas Street in Topeka the evening of November fifth. Suffrage was a victory, but almost an anti-climatic one. During the months preceding the election, other topics demanded the attention of the voters: the famous editor Arthur Capper's campaign for governor, W.A. Stubbs' race for the United States Senate, the death of the United States Vice-President James S. Sherman, the national campaigns of William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, and the scandal concerning a forged circular of the Kansas Democrats which said that Capper did not support Stubbs though both were Republicans.

The whole Republican ticket was a shoo-in and life after November fifth was pretty much as usual. There was an article on the front page of the Topeka Capital stating that suffrage had been given to women by a good majority.⁴⁵ After that the matter was dropped.

Eight states followed Kansas in giving their women full political liberty before woman suffrage was finally passed

⁴⁵ Topeka Capital, 6 November 1912, p. 1.

by the United States Congress in 1919: Oregon, 1912; Arizona, 1912; Montana, 1914; Nevada, 1914; New York, 1917; South Dakota, 1918; Oklahoma, 1918, and Michigan, 1918.⁴⁶ The men of ten states left it to the generosity of the men of other states to enfranchise women by ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The ten were: Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida.⁴⁷

Although the battle for women's rights began in the East with the Seneca Falls Convention, it was the new western states that first adopted it. All ten states not ratifying the federal amendment were southern. Does this all sound familiar? It was a regional dispute all over again. The woman suffrage movement was a northern and western phenomenon. In the southern states, granting women the vote by either state or federal action appeared to threaten white supremacy. If women were given the right to vote, the right might have to be given to Negro women. Thus the southern states were habitual opponents of woman's suffrage.⁴⁸

Perhaps we have overlooked the impact on the nation that the fight for woman suffrage had. Perhaps,

⁴⁶ Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 677.

⁴⁷ Catt, Woman Suffrage and Politics, p. 462.

⁴⁸ Kenneth R. Johnson, "Kate Gordon and the Woman Suffrage Movement in the South," Journal of Southern History 38 (August 1972), pp. 365-391.

intellectually, it was the Civil War all over again. Its complexity is as difficult to explain as the Civil War.

W.J. Cash in his The Mind of the South discusses the idea that today, as during the antebellum period, there is still a South with a fairly definite mental pattern, associated with a fairly definite social pattern. W.J. Cash contends that the mind of the South is continuous with the past.⁴⁹

Another explanation for the western states ratifying the amendment early was that it was easier to add the right to vote for women to a new state constitution rather than to vote for an amendment to a long established state constitution.

⁴⁹ W.J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941).

CHAPTER FIVE
LIFE IN KANSAS AFTER SUFFRAGE

The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association held a jubilee convention on May 19-20, 1913. The purpose was not to disband, but to continue its work. The name of the organization was changed to the Good Citizenship League, but the objectives remained much the same. They were determined to educate voters and give aid to those states that had not granted the vote to women. Lucy Johnston declined re-election as state president and was given the title of president emeritus. Meetings were held across the state to discuss the measures to be supported in the next legislature.¹

Some of the more important legislation supported by the Good Citizenship League in 1913 included: the censorship of moving pictures introduced by Senator J.H. Staneley, and the white slavery bill introduced by Representative W.L. Brown. The legislature of 1913 also repealed the law creating the State Society of Labor and Industry. A labor commission

¹ Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 202.

which would create the Bureau of Labor and Industry was appointed by the governor. In addition to the Bureau, the commission was to appoint two men and one woman to serve as factory inspectors. This provision was made in answer to the demand of women's organizations that the women in industry be protected, and was a substitute for the minimum wage and maximum hour bills they had asked for.² The wages and hours were to be set by the Bureau.

An anti-municipal suffrage bill was introduced in the House, February 7, 1913, but died in committee. This bill was evidently introduced to clear the statute books of obsolete laws. It was designed to remove the law which allowed women to vote in municipal elections because now they could vote in all elections. The following Senate concurrent resolution, No. 39, was passed unanimously, March 15, 1915:

WHEREAS, the women of our State exercised the right of universal suffrage at the last election for the first time in the history of Kansas;
 WHEREAS, the right to vote was exercised by them generally and with manifest interest in the questions at issue;
 WHEREAS, the right was exercised by them on the basis of informed intelligence and their vote was the expression of individual views of party principles, neither being one-sided nor prejudiced, but having been given for such political measures as appealed to their judgment to be right.
 THEREFORE, be it resolved by the senate of the State of Kansas, the house concurring therein, that it is the

² Manuscript, Lucy Browne Johnston, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File.

judgment of this legislature that the granting of the right of suffrage to the women of the state, so long withheld from them, was not only an act of justice to a disenfranchised class, but that it also has proven to be of great³ good to the state and to the women themselves.

Similar concurrent resolutions were passed every year by the state legislature up to the time the United States Congress passed the Susan B. Anthony amendment in 1919.⁴ The resolutions were intended to serve as an encouragement to states not yet ratifying such an amendment.

The Good Citizenship League lobbied effectively for bills giving women and minors additional rights. In 1915 the Industrial Welfare Commission bill was passed, raising the permissible age for industrial employment of minors. Mrs. Genevieve Chakly, state president of the Good Citizenship League, was the only woman on the commission, which was empowered to establish minimum wages, maximum hours, and standards for sanitation and comfort for women and minors. The Mother's Pension Bill became law on April 1, 1915, as did the Wife and Child Desertion Bill.⁵

An improved Child Labor Law was passed in 1917 together with a new majority bill which fixed the age of majority for women at the same age as men. The Bone Dry Law of Kansas,

³ Kansas Journal of Senate Proceedings, March 15, 1915, p. 672.

⁴ Manuscript, Lucy Browne Johnston, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File.

⁵ Ibid.

May 26, 1917, received the support of the women's organizations. This law, if enacted, would have made the sale of any alcoholic beverage illegal.⁶ Not only were classes held to examine bills before the state legislature, but groups of women would take turns visiting the capitol when the legislature was in session. More often than not, the galleries would be packed.⁷ Lobbying efforts by the women were very effective.

In 1917, as thoughts turned to war, the state organization sold Liberty Loans amounting to over \$20,000,000. Although war efforts such as victory gardens and packages for soldiers comprised most of the groups' activities, education remained their primary goal. In 1919 the name of the Good Citizenship League was changed to State League of Women Voters after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.⁸ The name, they felt, would be more suitable to the cause.

Governor Henry Allen called a special session of the Kansas legislature, June 15, 1919, for the purpose of ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Representative Minnie Grinstead of Seward County proposed in the Kansas

⁶ In 1880 Kansas was the first state to have constitutional prohibition (beer was still available until 1909 in drugstores). The law was difficult to enforce so the law of 1917 was to put the lid on the problem once and for all.

⁷ Manuscript, Lucy Browne Johnston, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File.

⁸ Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 656.

House an amendment to the Constitution of the United States,
June 16, 1919:

Article: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Kansas legislature issued the following resolution:

That the foregoing and above recited amendment to the Constitution of the United States, be and the same is hereby ratified by said legislature of the state of Kansas, as part of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That the Governor of the State of Kansas forthwith forward to the Secretary of State of the United States an authentic copy of the⁹ foregoing resolution.
Approved, June 17, 1919.

⁹ Manuscript, Lucy Browne Johnston, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File. Also refer to Laws of Kansas, Thirty-eighth Regular Session, June 17, 1919, p. 451.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ROLE OF LUCY JOHNSTON AND WOMEN'S CLUBS

There are numerous theories proposed by historians explaining why the women of Kansas were enfranchised, and why it required a fifty year struggle in Kansas and not even a campaign in Wyoming, a neighboring western state.

In December, 1869, two years after the amendment had been defeated in Kansas, the Wyoming Territorial Legislature passed a bill providing for the enfranchisement of women in the new state constitution, the first such legislation enacted in any state. This was done without any suffrage association, without any suffrage campaign, and without a suffrage petition addressed to the legislature.¹

The Kansas legislature granted women the right to vote in school elections in 1861 and in municipal elections in 1887, but three major campaigns (1867, 1894, and 1911-1912) were required before a woman's suffrage amendment was added to the state constitution.² This accomplishment took place

¹ Myres, Westering Woman and the Frontier Experience, p. 220.

² Wilda M. Smith, "A Half Century of Struggle," pp. 74-95.

eight years before the national amendment was adopted. Kansas was the seventh state to adopt full suffrage for women. Although the suffrage movement began in the East, it was the western states that adopted it.

It would be convenient to believe Walter Prescott Webb's idea of frontier democracy in this stirring phrase: "There is hidden somewhere in the cause [why western men were first to grant the franchise to women] the spirit of the Great Plains which made men democratic in deed and in truth."³ One argument offered to explain the early adoption of woman suffrage in Kansas was that Kansas men voted for woman suffrage to strengthen the good decent home element against transient bachelors and to ensure prohibition.⁴ This meant that even the worst female voter could never be as corrupt or as easily influenced as some undesirable male voters, and there would never be any question that all females would support prohibition. Others have associated the movement with the Puritan Ethic and with the Populist and Progressive Movements.⁵

Clearly, the question of the relationship between woman suffrage and the above theories is a very complex one. All

³ Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931), p. 505.

⁴ Walter Nugent, "How The Populists Lost in 1894," Kansas Historical Quarterly, 31 (Autumn 1965), pp. 245-55.

⁵ Myers, Westering Woman and the Frontier Experience, p. 232.

of these factors may have played some part in the Kansas votes, yet none of these explanations seems completely adequate.

It might be useful to consider one other factor: the woman's club movement beginning around the turn of the century in Kansas. These clubs offered responses to the crying social needs of loneliness, self-improvement and improved opportunities for the children of the members.

The Ladies Home Journal ran a national survey in 1913 asking women why they had joined a club. Among their answers were:⁶

"I wanted to go to college when my brother went, but it was not deemed proper, and club work was a chance in this direction."

"I desired to give my mind more wholesome food."

"I wanted association with the right women."

Clubs in Kansas began as study groups. Their programs covered the whole range from the Bible through Shakespeare, ancient history, art, domestic sciences, music and government.⁷ Gradually the idea of self-improvement receded into the background, and the idea of service to others became the focal point. Nine departments were designed by the national organization: art, civics, conservation, civil

⁶ Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, "What the Woman's Club Has Done, Its Influence and Accomplishments," The Ladies Home Journal (September, 1913), p. 23.

⁷ Ibid.

service, reform, education, home economics, industrial, and social conditions all served by earnest workers.⁸ All of the above came under the frame of the Federation of Social Sciences Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Good Government Clubs and the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association.

Each state has a unique explanation for the enfranchisement of women. However, in no other state did the struggle last for over fifty years as in Kansas. It was the unifying force of women's organizations that not only provided the education but the vehicle on which to obtain the ballot. Perhaps Grace Snyder was somewhat optimistic about this young club movement, but she certainly recognized that there was potential in well-directed club work when she wrote that club work will be the "force that will bring womanhood, motherhood, the home, consequently the race, up to the highest standard."⁹

Lucy Browne Johnston was not a typical Kansas club woman; however, neither were the majority of the leaders. They were older by the 1912 campaign, most had fought in the 1894 campaign, better educated, and definitely more affluent. This is not to imply that they were the club movement, but to point out that Lucy Browne Johnston was the connecting thread that allows us to examine that period.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Grace Snyder to Lucy Johnston, 26 August 1902, Lucy Johnston Collection, Miscellaneous Papers File.

Her involvement parallels the developing importance of the club movement. Lucy began the battle of improving the status of women with the campaign for prohibition in 1886, then municipal suffrage, the traveling libraries campaign, then the campaign for industrial training, and was not content to stop with full suffrage.¹⁰ Even as early as 1914, Lucy Johnston recognized the importance of women's organizations and their historical accomplishments when she wrote the Honorable Joseph L. Bristow in Washington:

My Dear Mr. Bristow, Your letter of recent date received, and I would be very glad if I could give you definite information as to the part the newly enfranchised citizens will take in the next election. Kansas women have come into political liberty through the training received in the club movement. Of course Susan B. Anthony and a few other rugged souls had to blaze the trail and bear the brunt of the fight but as we look back over the more than fifty years; since 1861 struggle for woman suffrage in Kansas we know that we would still be in the wilderness had it not been for the club movement which gave women the choice to cultivate the intellectual side of their nature and to view the world through an open door instead of the old eight by ten window pane. Through this same avenue they followed all that pertained to the best interest of the child, the school and the home, and of course it led them into many places, the streets, the factories, the tenement districts, where previously they had had little interest, and in the mind of many, no business.

Women at first sought companionship with others to ward off the loneliness of the Kansas frontiers, and as

¹⁰ See Appendix 13.

¹¹ Lucy Browne Johnston to the Honorable Joseph L. Bristow, 5 March 1914, Lucy Johnston Collection, Woman Suffrage File 1914-1915.

civilization moved across Kansas, their organizations became more sophisticated. They began to extend their domestic role in society through charitable activities and service to others. They then developed a moral dimension to include the fight against alcohol, and for community health and education.¹²

Perhaps because of the clubs' accomplishments from 1899-1912, women's moral superiority was thought to be inborn. Suffrage was demanded so that women could help curb immorality and disorder.

During the first two campaigns, women were not united. After municipal suffrage, many joined political parties, which seemed to fragment their force. Once women started meeting and talking over current events and educational subjects, awareness of their surroundings began to develop. Lucy Johnston was one of the first to recognize the importance of education and the strength of unity.

The women's clubs of Kansas, unlike any other state, provided an organized force. Perhaps William Allen White had a special insight into the future: he knew that women would have to rise to this new responsibility when he responded to a New York interviewer.

. . . Am I in favor of equal suffrage? I should say I am. If you have any 'black face' type in your shop set up my answer to that question. I am

¹² Richard J. Evans, The Feminists (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1977), p. 232.

unequivocally in favor of equal suffrage. But mind you, one of the main reasons I want to see women get the vote is because of what politics can do for women, not so much what women can do for politics.¹³

¹³ The Topeka Daily Capital, 6 March 1912, p. 3.

and Susan B
3 vols. New

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Law of Kansas, Thirty Eighth Regular Session, June 17, 1919
p. 451.

Appendix 1

A young bride in 1875. Gift
from the State Historical Society

20
APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Lucy Browne Johnston as a young bride in 1875. Original in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.



Days
amiliar Subjects
Terrymen
Malerr

Appendix 2

List of books contained in the first case of the traveling library sent to Minneapolis, Kansas. Some were classics, others were current, popular novels. Genuveta Flint to Lucy Browne Johnston 4 August 1898.

- 1-15. Dickens Works Vol. 15
16. The Third Violet - Crane
17. Sweet Clover - C.L. Burnham
18. Means and Ends of Education - Spaulding
19. John Keats Poetical Works
20. Kilhurms Oak - Hawthorne
21. A History of the World - Philip Smith
22. Hoosier School Master - Eggleston
23. Tom Browns School Days - Hughes
24. Tales From Shakespeare
25. First Violin - Forthergill
26. Mary St. John - Carey
27. A Moment of Madness - Belleury
28. Gregory Reader - Caspen
29. The Relation of Literature to Life - C.D. Warner
30. That Husband of Mine

31. Robert Hardy's Seven Days
32. Plainsfolks on Familiar Subjects - Holland
33. Idylls of the King - Terryson
34. The Abby Constantine - Halerry
35. Auld Licht Idylls - Barrie
36. Crawford - Gaskle
37. Brief History of Rome - Steele
38. Heroes of Asgard - Keary
39. Elias Power of Ease in Zion - Braufind
40. Silver Keys - Aloe
41. Hereward the Wake - Kingsby
42. The Cate Mr. Neill
43. Backloz Studies
44. Kate Carnegie
45. Standard Bearers
46. A Book of Golden Deeds
47. Middlemarch
48. Pratt Pentrails
49. Knights of the Vets
50. Without a Home

ncia

Appendix 3

The following is a list of organizations that supported the library attempt in its early stages. As the program grew, many more clubs were involved but for our purposes we are concerned mainly with the foundation of this attempt. Each club is listed with the date and person who conducted the correspondence with Lucy Johnston. Some names, as you will notice, are well known in Kansas history.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Ks. Social Science Fedr. Mrs. Peters | 2/10/1898 |
| Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly Caroline Prentis | 6/4/1898 |
| West Side Club, Beloit Mrs. Channing Perdue | 6/8/1898 |
| Columbian Club Lena Fuller | 6/11/1898 |
| The Ladies Shakespeare Club, Galena Molly Beatty | 6/14/1898 |
| University Club, Cimarron Mary Keating | 6/25/1898 |
| Columbian Club, Minneapolis Genuveta Flint | 6/27/1898 |
| Pittsburg Book Club, Pittsburg Bella Greef | 7/18/1898 |
| Coterie, Pratt Mamie Axlilne Fay | 7/27/1898 |
| Therrisan Club, Newton Mrs. R.B. Lynch | 8/12/1898 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Ladies Library Club, Valencia Mrs. James Wilson | 8/26/1898 |
| Reading Circle, Caldwell Mrs. Robertson | 10/5/1898 |
| Current Literature and History Club Lizzie Fitzgerald | 10/8/1898 |
| Ladies Library Assoc., Garden City Louisa Cole | 10/11/1898 |
| Library Assoc., Nortonville Lucy Knapp | 10/16/1898 |
| Friends in Council, Lawrence Carrie Watson | 10/19/1898 |
| T.P.M. Club, Council Grove Mrs. Maloy | 10/24/1898 |
| Sigournean Club, Olathe Clara Marley | 10/20/1898 |
| Study Club, Baldwin Mrs. W.H. Bearry | 11/1/1898 |
| Monday P.M. Club, Medicine Lodge Anna Long | 11/2/1898 |
| Mead Arena Club Jennie Kessler | 11/16/1898 |
| Mutual Improvement Society, Carbondale Emma Troudner | 11/27/1898 |
| Fortnightly Club, Arkansas City Mrs. Albert Worthley | 11/28/1898 |
| M.C.B. Club, LuBeth Mrs. Fannie Finley | 12/5/1898 |
| Vincent Circle, Baxter Springs Jennie Brewster | 1/7/1899 |
| Ladies Biographical Reading Circle, McPherson Mrs. T.C. Sawyer | 1/25/1899 |
| W.M.B. Club of El Dorado Mrs. Harry A. Miller | 1/31/1899 |

Lawrence:

Quivira Club

Ladies Literary League

The Review Club

The Round Table

The Ingleside

The No Name Club

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Twentieth Century Club Carrie Watson | 2/3/1899 |
| Thursday Afternoon Club, Council Grove Mrs. J.M. Miller | 2/6/1899 |
| Twentieth Century Club, Stockton Mrs. M.M. Smith | 2/19/1899 |
| Tuesday Evening Club, Waverly Mrs. J.L. Senior | 3/15/1899 |
| W.C.T.U. of Varck, Cherokee Alfaretta Mitchell | 3/25/1899 |
| Review Club, Newton Mrs. S.R. Peters | 3/27/1899 |
| Industrial Society, Emporia Mrs. Preston B. Plumb | 4/15/1899 |
| Embroidery & Literary Club, Concordia Mrs. F.O. Baker | 5/9/1899 |
| Current Literature Club, Salina Allie G. Bond | 9/17/1902 |

*Initials were often used for club names, the meaning known only to the members.

Appendix 4

The following is a letter sent to state legislative representatives seeking their support for the traveling libraries, signed by Mrs. S.R. Peters, President, Kansas Social Science Federation, January 7, 1899:

Dear Sir:

At the last annual meeting of the Kansas Social Science Federation of Clubs, an organization of more than three thousand women, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the Kansas Social Science Federation petition the next legislature of Kansas to make a part of the State Library at Topeka a traveling one, and to appropriate a sufficient sum to provide for its extension and use. Believing that those who help themselves are most deserving of help, this organization of women pledged three thousand books and a small sum of money to begin the work; and while waiting for the legislature to convene have collected nearly two thousand of these books and have been sending them to the citizens of Kansas in neatly finished cases that hold fifty books each, to be returned after six

months.

and will think

Twenty four of these cases, twelve hundred books, are now out being read. They are for the most part sent to county places and small towns where there are no libraries, and the librarians report that they are appreciated and in many places permanent local libraries are being built as a result of the interest engendered.

We believe that the miscellaneous part of the State Library should be a State Library in fact as well as in name. There are thousand of these books and they are available only to the citizens of Topeka and the very few people who can come to the Capital with leisure to read them. Topeka people do not need them for they have an excellent City Library, but the people of the farms and cattle ranches and the towns and villages do need them, for many of them have neither books nor magazines and are dependent on the newspapers for intellectual culture.

New York, Michigan, Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin and Montana all have enacted laws which make a part of the State Library a traveling one, and we hope Kansas will soon take this progressive step.

Will you give us your vote and influence in this direction, and earn the gratitude of not only all the club women and teachers of Kansas, but of thousands of others who believe that a good literature is a potent factor in building up good citizenship? Trusting that you will give

the matter your attention, and will think favorable of it,
we are Respectfully Yours.

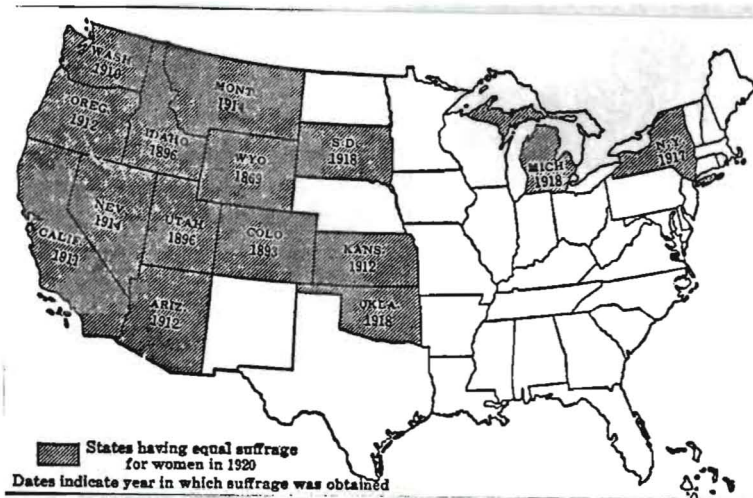
Very truly
yours

Wm. H. ...

[Faint, illegible text, possibly a signature or stamp]

Appendix 5

Shaded states indicate those states having equal suffrage for women. Dates indicate year in which suffrage was obtained.



Appendix 6

Lucy Browne Johnston at the time she was elected president of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, age 65. Original located in the Kansas State Historical Society.



Appendix 7

Suffragettes in Governor Stubbs' automobile. Lucy Browne Johnston second from the left and Mrs. W.A. Stubbs third from the left. Original in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.



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go into particulars nor try to place the burden of the defeat upon anyone. But our Kansas men placed the burden upon the National Woman Suffrage Association. They were bitter because the women of Kansas had asked in outside aid to coerce them[,] as they put it, into giving Kansas women the ballot. So in accordance with this feeling, or rather out of respect for it, our state organization withdrew, not because we had a quarrel but out of regard to the feelings of our men[,] who must give us the ballot if we are ever to get it, except through National Congress. And the U.S. Congress, as you know gave no heed to the matter, nor will it, till like the striking out of the words "white male" be a sort of party issue.

Then too, we find that people coming from the outside know nothing of our local political conditions. Our salvation must come from within ourselves. So we have felt that we must maintain our own association, free from anything or anybody, except as simply and solely some paid orator or speaker whom we might choose to bring in. This is the concerted opinion of the women who have stood by the cause and have carried the matter through the legislature and [with] practically no help[,] except the encouragement of outside conditions, which of course make up much of our arguments. The chairman of our committee told us frankly that he would not have taken the matter up except for Kansas women. Then when Boston's anti-suffrage fold flooded our

state with their poisonous literature[,] we reminded our men that we listened to no one from the outside and asked them to pay no attention to what Eastern women asked them to do. It was our greatest leverage against the antis of the East. Then, as Campaign Manager[,] it was my duty to see that we had no national aid and comfort. We felt that we were obliged to quit sending them out literature, which we did. But our President, who is new to the situation[,] sent for Miss Gregg without asking any of our Board whether it would be acceptable or not. So we are now put to the ordeal of having to ask our President to recall her as we cannot accept her services. We dare not face the prospect of being defeated again by our national affiliation. It has taken us so many weary years to overcome the other defeat. We also have it from other states that the same conditions prevailed and that the national[,] without knowing why[,] have been instrumental in bringing defeat. One from the outside cannot step into another locality and not make serious mistakes on the situation. We knew what sort of fight was to be made on the Initiative and Referendum and the first speech Miss Gregg made under the auspices of Mrs. Hoffman was for that measure. We were frightened almost to death for we felt that if the press should get the fact, that we should again be defeated by the national. We had to ask her not to speak and yet we could not control her. Miss Gregg is most charming woman and she could not even influence her

own senator. He voted against the amendment. She has been away so long and become a part of the older organization and could not touch her own. We know that there might be places where she could do no harm but we feel she can defeat us here. We ask her recall. And do be assured that it is impersonal. Just as impersonal as if we had never seen her. She is a most finished orator and pleasing speaker but Kansas cannot have her. We have a plan of work and hope that it will not be broken into. We do not want to make public anything of this and will not if the matter is ended here. We have followed this for many years that it is so near to our hearts that a defeat again under the old circumstances would almost kill us. This is not figurative, it is actual and so true that only another suffragist could understand it.

There is organization work for Miss Gregg elsewhere. We will have Kansas E.S.A. and W.T.C.U. women do ours. We deplore this situation but we are confronted by it and have no alternative. There is one bill now[,] which if defeated[,] we will feel that Miss Gregg and Mrs. Hoffman are the ones who did it. They have talked and worked against our Presidential Suffrage Bill till we feel that it may be lost. We will have to lay the defeat[,] if it comes[,] to their work against it. And this will have to go into the records. We are sorry, sick and angry[,] too. We are simply as human as you would be under the circumstances. This is our battle in

the parlance of the day, it is our funeral. We will have to conduct it as we think best, then, if we make a mistake, you are absolved.

Appendix 9

The use of automobiles became the main campaign strategy in the suffrage campaign of 1912, enabling the women to reach many more voters than ever before. The photo was taken in Lawrence, 1912. The original is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.



Appendix 10

Suffragettes in a Columbus parade. Notice how bunting was used for pennants. The original is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.



Appendix 11

Correspondence from the Equal Suffrage State Headquarters, Topeka, sent to the men of the state of Kansas in an attempt to organize a men's suffrage organization.

My Dear Sir:

Our excuse for claiming your attention for a few minutes is that we believe men and women are alike interested in every cause that makes for human betterment, and because we know the spirit of chivalry and justice of Kansas men.

Women have never failed through self denial and courage to help the oppressed. They have ever stood by men in promoting every good cause which has presented its need to the world.

Men have never failed to help other men in their struggles for liberty, even crossing seas and taking up arms to answer the call of those whose rights were endangered or denied.

The interests of the sexes are inseparably connected. In the elevation of one lies the salvation of the other. Therefore, we ask your cooperation in this struggle for the political liberty of more than three hundred thousand

disfranchised citizens of Kansas.

There are thousands of Kansas men who believe in the justice of the ballot for women--who believe that woman's influence in the political life would benefit the state.

These men are in deep sympathy with our effort, but they are not organized, as the men of California were last year and as the men of Oregon, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa are now.

This is our plan for forming such an organization in Kansas: first, this letter will go to a large number of men whom we believe to be in sympathy with us, asking them to return the enclosed card with their signature and address which commits you only to cooperate so far as possible, second from the answers received a provisional committee of men will be appointed to issue a call for a meeting of men for the purpose of organization, third at which meeting the men themselves will determine what kind of organization they will have, conditions of membership, etc.

Will you assist in this by promptly signing the enclosed card? Hoping to hear from you by return mail, I am
Yours Sincerely.

Count

Geary

Gove

Grant

Gray

Greeley

Appendix 12

A break down of the votes cast for the equal suffrage amendment, November 5, 1912, found in the Woman's Equal Suffrage Scrapbook. Notice how close the vote was in many of the counties.

| <u>County</u> | <u>For</u> | <u>Against</u> |
|---------------|------------|----------------|
| Allen | 2,324 | 2,285 |
| Anderson | 1,664 | 1,306 |
| Atchison | 1,694 | 2,805 |
| Barber | 1,185 | 975 |
| Barton | 1,591 | 2,292 |
| Bourbon | 2,665 | 1,796 |
| Brown | 2,169 | 2,159 |
| Butler | 2,613 | 2,369 |
| Chase | 771 | 1,007 |
| Chautauqua | 1,294 | 1,071 |
| Cherokee | 3,614 | 2,804 |
| Cheyenne | 499 | 351 |
| Clark | 496 | 467 |
| Clay | 1,703 | 1,808 |
| Cloud | 1,821 | 1,983 |
| Coffey | 1,571 | 1,726 |
| Comanche | 589 | 460 |
| Cowley | 4,290 | 2,467 |
| Crawford | 5,494 | 3,990 |
| Decatur | 893 | 767 |
| Dickinson | 2,510 | 2,576 |
| Doniphan | 1,286 | 1,639 |
| Douglas | 2,331 | 1,989 |
| Edwards | 895 | 800 |
| Elk | 1,409 | 920 |
| Ellis | 648 | 1,407 |
| Ellsworth | 877 | 1,328 |
| Finney | 927 | 522 |
| Ford | 1,593 | 1,055 |
| Franklin | 2,486 | 2,101 |

| <u>County</u> | <u>For</u> | <u>Against</u> |
|---------------|------------|----------------|
| Geary | 965 | 1,113 |
| Gove | 428 | 436 |
| Graham | 947 | 565 |
| Grant | 143 | 107 |
| Gray | 434 | 234 |
| Greeley | 134 | 115 |
| Greenwood | 2,102 | 1,203 |
| Hamilton | 370 | 239 |
| Harper | 1,504 | 1,556 |
| Harvey | 1,894 | 1,860 |
| Haskell | 126 | 103 |
| Hodgeman | 387 | 332 |
| Jackson | 1,884 | 1,765 |
| Jefferson | 1,824 | 1,850 |
| Jewell | 2,624 | 1,446 |
| Johnson | 2,089 | 1,855 |
| Kearny | 420 | 257 |
| Kingman | 1,513 | 1,423 |
| Kiowa | 747 | 585 |
| Labette | 3,625 | 2,759 |
| Lane | 328 | 264 |
| Leavenworth | 2,666 | 3,589 |
| Lincoln | 1,068 | 1,184 |
| Linn | 2,000 | 1,359 |
| Logan | 548 | 232 |
| Lyon | 2,999 | 2,326 |
| Marion | 1,807 | 2,232 |
| Marshall | 2,159 | 3,054 |
| McPherson | 2,065 | 2,327 |
| Meade | 631 | 372 |
| Miami | 1,852 | 2,016 |
| Mitchell | 1,673 | 1,478 |
| Montgomery | 4,380 | 3,205 |
| Morris | 1,313 | 1,351 |
| Morton | 196 | 174 |
| Nemaha | 1,869 | 2,134 |
| Neosho | 2,494 | 2,044 |
| Ness | 718 | 539 |
| Norton | 1,344 | 991 |
| Osage | 2,339 | 2,145 |
| Osborne | 1,408 | 1,314 |
| Ottawa | 1,375 | 1,157 |
| Pawnee | 1,196 | 871 |
| Phillips | 1,614 | 1,387 |
| Pottawatomie | 1,665 | 2,094 |
| Pratt | 1,333 | 897 |
| Rawlins | 682 | 575 |
| Reno | 4,288 | 3,352 |
| Republic | 1,844 | 2,085 |

| <u>County</u> | <u>For</u> | <u>Against</u> |
|---------------|------------|----------------|
| Rice | 1,746 | 1,406 |
| Riley | 1,883 | 1,724 |
| Rooks | 1,276 | 873 |
| Rush | 652 | 1,093 |
| Russell | 964 | 1,367 |
| Saline | 2,004 | 2,500 |
| Scott | 361 | 204 |
| Sedgwick | 7,512 | 6,800 |
| Seward | 545 | 401 |
| Shawnee | 6,936 | 5,539 |
| Sheridan | 583 | 458 |
| Sherman | 660 | 296 |
| Smith | 1,959 | 1,623 |
| Stafford | 1,343 | 1,152 |
| Stanton | 156 | 92 |
| Stevens | 313 | 219 |
| Sumner | 3,242 | 2,632 |
| Thomas | 557 | 316 |
| Trego | 544 | 538 |
| Wabaunsee | 1,177 | 1,540 |
| Wallace | 305 | 187 |
| Washington | 1,691 | 2,608 |
| Wichita | 179 | 187 |
| Wilson | 2,171 | 1,659 |
| Woodson | 1,177 | 1,036 |
| Wyandotte | 7,506 | 6,968 |
| TOTAL | 175,246 | 159,197 |

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Appendix 13

Hand written note found in Lucy Browne Johnston's scrapbook.
Original in the possession of the Kansas State Historical
Society.

Constitutional Enactment ^{by} Legislation favorable to women of Kansas.

School Suffrage — 1861.

Prohibition Amendment — 1886. ✓

Municipal Suffrage — 1887. ✓

Bond Suffrage — 1896.

Traveling Library — 1899. ✓

Industrial Training — 1903. ✓

Kindergarten Schools — 1907. ✓

Full Suffrage — 1912. ✓

White Slave Law — 1913. ✓

Factory Inspection — 1913. ✓

Teachers Pension — 1913. ✓

Women & Children Wellfare 1915. ✓

Mothers Pension — 1915. ✓

Child Hygiene — 1915. ✓

Wife & Child Desertion — 1915. ✓

Moving Picture Censorship — 1915. ✓

All Campaigns & Legislative Bills worked for by Lucy B. Hamilton

Kansas.

First Campaign for Suffrage — 1867-68. ^{Legislation voted} ✓

Second " " " — 1893-94. ✓

Third " " " — 1911-12. ✓