THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN OHIO
PRIOR TO 1910

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Arts

By

Mary Harriet Stanton, B. A.

The Ohio State University
1947

Approved by:
Eugene H. Roseboom
TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER

I. THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR 1

II. THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1873-1874 12

III. THE ISSUE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1873-1874 23

IV. THE FIRST VICTORY OF THE SUFFRAGISTS 41

V. THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT FROM 1895 TO 1910 53

CONCLUSION 75

BIBLIOGRAPHY 77

756894
The theory of the divine right of kings disappeared from the United States with the American Revolution, but that of the divine right of men to rule over women remained unchallenged for many decades thereafter. Both the male and female portions of the population sincerely believed in this arrangement which received the blessing of the Church, the endorsement of the law, and the sanction of custom. The origin of this idea having long been lost in obscurity, men claimed their authority from the laws of God.¹

As long as the common man was engaged in his own struggle for political liberty and pioneer women were burdened with domestic duties, it was natural that the latter should be excluded from the processes of government and they did not protest. But with the emancipation of the common man, the exclusion of women from political life soon appeared in glaring contrast. The resulting moral and intellectual unbalance crystallized into a feminine revolt against the "tyranny" of men and a demand for political equality.²

Other factors also entered into the movement for woman suffrage. One of the most important of these was the gradual destruction of the domestic system of industry and the constitution of the factory system.

¹See, Carrie A. and Emlen,lette A., Woman Suffrage and Politics, p.

When the sound domestic economy in which women had shared as directors and workers gave place to the vagaries of capitalism, the necessity of survival forced millions of women to think in terms of competition with men for place, income, and power. Gradually they came to believe that only the ballot could protect them in the feverish rivalry of the market place.

The extension of civil marriage, the abolition of primogeniture, the rise of the public schools, the relaxation of divorce laws, and the fall of the growing cities all contributed further to the increasing roughness of women in their role of subjection. Slowly but persistently they began to invade the fields of industry, science, letters, and education. It was inevitable that they should gradually break into open revolt against masculine supremacy and demand a revision of the traditional code governing their place in society. If America were the land of opportunity for all, then where did women stand? This question which had been whispered in the eighteenth century was asked, one hundred years later, "in tones that could be heard by every editor, preacher, politician, and voter."

Revolution was in the air in this mid-nineteenth century, and in various parts of the world, many hearts responded eagerly to the call of freedom. In America a few courageous women felt its inspiration,
and begun to challenge the old regime in male-female relationships by initiating a daring crusade for their political, economic, and social rights.
CHAPTER I
THE ROLE OF OHIO IN THE PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR

Ohio was destined to play a leading role in the drama of the women's movement. Several reasons contributed to this early and more general agitation for their rights early on in the Buckeye State. One of these was that Ohio, which was separated from slave territory only by the Ohio River, had long been the battle ground for the rescue of black fugitives, and was the scene of many heated anti-slavery battles.1 The abolitionist movement did more than anything else to arouse the people to a consideration of the wrongs of woman, and to awake women themselves to struggles for their own elevation.

Differences of age, sex, religion, and race were of no consequence to the abolitionists. Men, thinking only of the slave, looked over the constitutions of their anti-slavery societies, and began to ask if women were not persons too. Women, forgetting all men were slaves, left the rest of their house for public life almost before they were aware of stepping over traditional barriers.2 An editorial in the anti-slavery Eagle published in 1836, Ohio, stated that in waiting for the emancipation of the slave, women must the discovery of her own spiritual subserviency to man, and gain courage

1. Stanton, Elizabeth C., Anthony, Susan B., and Gage, Matilda J.,
2. Woman, Ohio, Ladies in revolt, 76.
to accept calmly the reproaches heaped upon those who fought against the tyranny of custom. 3

The publication in 1843 of *A Scriptural View of Women's Rights* and duties by Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson of Units also called attention to the women's movement. Mrs. Wilson found in scripture a recognition of the political rights of women, stating that:

> It would appear...that women have not only the right of suffrage, but are eligible to offices by scripture authority. 4

These early assertions preceded public discussion of the new demands of women, and gave opponents, especially those who denounced them from the protection of the pulpit, something to think about. 5

Other publications also aided the women's cause. Among these were the aforementioned Anti-Slavery Eagle, a radical newspaper which advocated equal rights for women along with the abolition of slavery, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin which made Ohio classic sell and aroused women against injustices everywhere. 6

Ohio also furnished better educational opportunities for women than were customary at this time. As early as 1832 Catharine Beecher and opened a school in Cincinnati which offered higher education to girls, and Oberlin, founded in 1836, was the first college in the

---

3April 27, 1860.
world to establish co-education. These facts may explain why the women of Ohio were unusually responsive to the idea of greater freedom for their sex.

The more daring of the "strong-minded" women saw the only hope of achieving their other rights through the weapon of the ballot. The calling of a Constitutional Convention in 1850 to revise the laws of the state appeared to many an admirable opportunity for pressing their demand upon the Ohio Legislature.

In order to formulate their program the leaders of the women's movement held a convention in Salem, Ohio, in April, 1850. It was natural that Salem should be chosen as the place of meeting for women who believed in liberty of conscience lived there. The people of Salem had also endured persecution and ostracism from "good society," and had been variously styled as "free thinkers," "abolitionists," "fugitives," "agitators," and "anti-Galizes." A few rare exceptions could not have been made; and they welcomed the exiled women.

This meeting at Salem is believed to have been the first national women's suffrage convention. There had been a woman's rights
convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, but it was not called
to consider the political rights of women. These were discussed
there, however, but the political rights provision was added to the
list of women's rights only as an afterthought, largely because the
women wanted to have as many rights as were listed in the founding
fathers' Bill of Rights.\textsuperscript{12}

At the Seneca convention twenty-two resolutions were unanimously
adopted to be presented to the Constitutional Convention. These re-
solutions covered the whole range of women's rights including a pro-
vision that "not only their own welfare but the highest good of the
race demands of them, this woman as an imperative duty, that they
should secure to themselves the elective franchise."\textsuperscript{13}

Four hundred to five hundred women attended the two-day sessions
of the convention, but men were allowed no part in the proceedings.
They could not even utter a word of explanation, but were forced to
sit in silence however moved to speak their great thoughts. "The
could blush up for opposing women's rights with reason and honesty.\textsuperscript{14}

Despite the exclusion of the male voice from the proceedings,
the work accomplished was, "the most surprising acquisition of
those of theConvention. even reached the New York Times which
states that the sessions of the convention were conducted "with dignity,
propriety and ability, affecting a moral union congress, our

\textsuperscript{12}\text{\textsuperscript{144,}} \text{April 13, 1848.}
\textsuperscript{13}\text{\textsuperscript{Proceedings of the New York Woman's Convention,}}
\textsuperscript{\text{1851}d}.
\textsuperscript{\text{\textsuperscript{14}}}\text{\textsuperscript{Meeker's Annals,}} \text{October 17, 1848.}
\textsuperscript{\text{\textsuperscript{15}}}\text{\textsuperscript{Anti-Slavery Tracts,}} \text{April 27, 1848.}
Legislatures and other masculine assemblages might credibly initi-
tate. 16

Regardless of the pleadings of the women's advocates, the framers of Ohio's constitution remained unimpressed by female demands for the ballot. One lone delegate, Norton P. Timbrook of Loraine County, rose to support their claim, saying that women

...is man's equal in intelligence and virtue, and is therefore as well qualified as man to share in the responsibilities of government; and I can see no justice in making her merely a subject of government, rather than a partner to it, especially in her desires such freedom. 2

Other delegates discussed the issue in language so indignant that it was finally decided to strike those remarks from the record. 18 The final vote on the measure showed seventy-two opposed and eleven even in favor of women suffrage. 19 There were not even enough advocates of the amendment to raise the question to the dign-
ity of an issue. 20

Nothing daunted, the women of Ohio continued to bring their desires before the public and to attract new recruits to their ranks by holding further women's rights conventions. On May 28 and 29,

16 Wy, (1860).

the Adoption of the Constitution of the State of Ohio---At
Cincinnati, 1851, 656.


19 ibid.

20 ibid. op. cit., I, 42.
1851, such a gathering took place at Akron, Ohio. This convention is remembered for the presence there of Sojourner Truth, an Ama-
zonian type of colored lady who had been a slave in New York.21

Hearing of the Akron convention, Sojourner decided that it was well
worth attending. She thought that since there was so much "racket,"
something must be "out of kilter."22 Her utterances of good hard
sense got the attention and admiration of all who took part in the
convention. Thus Sojourner Truth rose in all the majesty of her six
feet of height crowned by an "uncouth bonnet," she sounded a
rashful warning to the lords of creation, stating:

"If we just move and ever move was
strong enough, we turn, do work up-
side down all alone, does women to-
udder...ought to be able to turn
it back, and get it right side up
again! And not day is adding to do
it, do we better let 'em.^a"

On May 16 and 17, 1852, at Cassillon, Ohio, the women went on
with their work of educating to right the world. A large atten-
cance at these meetings showed the increasing interest of the pub-
lic in the suffrage movement. The highly dignified sessions of this
convention were presided over by Mrs. Frances B. Gage, whose address
received much attention.24 Here too the Ohio ladies digni-

21 New York Tribune, June 4, 1851.
22 Forbes, op. cit., 115-16.
Association was organized. 26

The following year the first annual meeting of this association was held in Athens, Ohio. Mrs. Caroline L. Seaverne was appointed to prepare a memorial to the Legislature on the subject of women's rights. 27

Among the provisions of Mrs. Seaverne's memorial was one stating that "the constitution of Ohio shall be so amended as to enable women to the exercise of the elective franchises, and to the privilege of holding offices of trust and profit under government." 27 This document, presented to the Senate the next year, was laid on the table but ordered to be printed. 28

In October, 1868, the Fourth National Woman's Rights Convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio. A local newspaper stated that the sessions were most decorous and that many of the ladies displayed much talent. However, "the public position they assume, we would desire some of these women for a mother, wife, or near female friend."

The editor hoped further success of the "lady house" male delegates at the convention, describing them as displaying either the inoffensiveness of doves or the silly eccentricity of a class who waving their hair in the middle of the roadmen, stood in our own way, in curling it round wise crowns to hang upon their shoulders." 29

26 Mrs. Ohio Magazine, IV, 67 (January, 1869).
27 Ibid., 68.
28 July, 1862, 12 (1868), Appendix, 61.
29 Ibid., 69.
30 Daily Cleveland Herald, October 6, 1868.
Feminine readers were divided in their opinions upon the work of the convention. One wrote that women only did violence to her nature by participating in masculine occupations such as legislating or preaching. Another castigated the press for warning society against a feeble woman, and asked if the country were such a despotism that mere considerations of opinion justified such abuse.

By 1855 the women's movement had made such progress that a contributor to the Cincinnati Daily Commercial was able to write:

> Woman sense and Christian justice is gradually recognizing the fact that girls have souls.

Having progressed this far, the women went on with their work and held another convention in Cincinnati, October 17 and 18, 1855, to secure equality with men in social, civil, and political rights. Large and enthusiastic audiences attended these meetings, curious to see women who could make speeches.

Many interesting sights reminded these one time to the convention. The ladies were arrayed in a "prepossessing" group of costumes from the most conservative mother to the gaudy styles. Some who did not dare go so far as to wear the latter were still wished to assert their new found independence were dressed with skirts just short enough to reveal the elegance of semi-white pantaloons, "the first

---

30 Ibid., October 18, 1855.
31 Ibid., October 7, 1855.
32 October 19, 1855.
33 Stanton, Anthony, and Crouch, op. cit., I, 1855.
step toward blanquism."

...many people of note attended this convention, among them Lucy Stone, one of the leaders of the women's rights movement. Although recently married to Henry Blackwell of Cincinnati, she refused to take her husband's name, believing that the loss of a woman's name was a symbol of the loss of her individuality.

An editorial in the Cincinnati Daily Commercial stated, however, that most women did not share the enthusiasm for the reform movement exhibited by such as Lucy Stone. This editor rose to defend the men against the charges of tyranny hurled at them by the suffragists, saying that those accusations were refuted by the fact that there were more than nine "women's rights men" than "women's rights women."

The women's movement appeared more hopeful to the advocates of women's suffrage by 1857. That year a select committee of the senate reported favorably on a petition of ten thousand signatures asking that women be given the right to vote. The report of the committee stated that the disfranchised class had become the victims of unequal and oppressive legislation, and that "it is certainly the same, to remedy these evils, and reduce to reason our favorite theory of government."

A resolution was adopted recommending a constitutional amendment to give the right of suffrage to all citizens of Ohio without distinction of sex.

---

33 Cincinnati Daily Commercial, October 10, 1856.
34 Blackwell, Alice S., Women's Place in Women's Rights, 172.
35 October 17, 1856.
Two years later the standing committee on the judiciary of the House of Representatives dashed to the ground the faint hopes raised by the favorable Senate committee report of 1857. This judiciary committee stated that the women suffragists were far ahead of the age in which they lived, and that the ballot was not even assented by many leaders of feminine emancipation.35

Unfortunately, the committee was correct in its appraisal of the usual feminine approach to the suffrage movement at that time. Lucy Stone, writing in the Theological Repository, typified the opinion of the majority of women then she stated:

...and it was a spectacle to give such sorrow, to see women forgetting her own mission, and struggling against nature and the God of nature, in the vain effort to become a man.

Mrs. Stone added that when women understood the absorbing nature of her own divine mission, she would stop striving for the ballot box and the senate, and content herself with forming character which would govern both.36

Besides the opposition of women in general to their participation in political life, other reasons contributed to the slow progress of the suffrage movement. The hostility of conservatives to any reform, the bitter objections of the clergy, the economy of social customs in an age that prized the proprieties above all else, and the lack of satisfactory publicity all played a part in the

---

failure of the suffrage enthusiasts to advance their cause to any considerable degree. 60

At this point the agitation for women suffrage nearly ceased, the attention and energies of the people being absorbed by the problems of the civil war. Those who had been engaged in the movement suspended their canvasses for the duration of the conflict, and gave their time and thought to the vital issues facing the country. 61

60Moore, Susan B., The Civil War Era--1860-1873, 257-34.
61Stanton, Theodore, and Blatch, Harriet A., Elizabeth Cady Stanton, I, 133.
CHAPTER II
THE WILSON SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT FROM THE CIVIL WAR
TO THE CONVENTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1873-1874

Paradoxically, the ruthless civil war which brought untold suffering to thousands of Americans proved a powerful aid to the suffrage cause. When women stepped forth from the sacred precincts of the home to perform various war services, their efforts received the highest praise. 'Not a cradle broken, not a hearthstone trembled, not a cit's ideals seem to have been shattered...under the barrage of the national struggle women advanced; she broke the tabus and yet she was not damned.'

Having once cooperated with men in public affairs, women were loath to return to their traditional sphere. Now the war committees were dismissed and the great Sanitary Fairs were no longer needed, life became unexpectedly tame. The new fashion of organization then swept the country, and women began to employ their war-time skills for purposes of their own.

During this period women had been studying laws and political questions as never before. When they saw millions of colored men being given the full rights of citizenship they began to ask if they were not entitled too and entitled to all the corresponding privileges.

Despite the suffragists' hope that their war efforts would be rewarded by the conferring of the franchise upon women, they soon found

1Hutchins, op. cit., 167.
2Ibid., 168.
to their dismay that their cause was bound up with the two pressing political questions of what to do with the negro and how to keep Republican control of the South. Politicians felt that the disfranchisement of the Negro was an absolute necessity, and must be kept distinct from the controversial women's suffrage issue. They realized the difficulties that they would have in trying to force a Negro suffrage amendment through the state legislatures were bills for the local disfranchisement of the freedmen had been turned down this fall before.

These leaders felt that they could not risk the addition of another unpopular cause, like woman suffrage, and told the women that this was the Negro's hour.

The suffragists of Ohio, together with their sisters all over the country, now redoubled their efforts to hasten the women's hour. In 1869 a local branch of the American Equal Rights Association which worked for the disfranchisement of both women and negroes was set up in Cincinnati. The following year the Toledo Women Suffrage Association was formed. This society held regular meetings for fifty years, and made many valuable contributions to the women's movement.

In 1870 Lucy Stone Blackwell went "in obscurity and longing" across the Ohio House of Representatives on the subject of women's suffrage. Although her speech was pronounced "eloquent and interesting" by the members, it was completely overlooked. A little later...

6 National American Woman Suffrage Association, History. 67.
7 Ohio, Hans. Journals of the Senate, 1869-70.
when the House defeated a proposed woman suffrage amendment to the constitution by a vote of forty-nine to thirty-six. 9

That same year a meeting was held in Cleveland to organize the American Woman Suffrage Association. Judge Bradwell of Chicago acted as temporary chairman of the convention. He stated that the purpose of the national association was to secure for women equal voting rights with men, and also to effect a change in the various state laws which were oppressive to women. 10

Ninety-four delegates representing twenty-one States attended the sessions of the convention. 11 They approved a constitution of seven articles for the new association, providing for permanent organization, annual meetings, amending, the formation of auxiliary state associations where non-existent, and for cooperation with those already in existence. 12

Colonel Thomas J. Woodruff, selected as President of the association, was awarded when he heard that J. J. Stevens, Esq., had kindly offered to furnish carriages free to all those members of the convention who wished to see the city during their stay. He said that in the early days of the suffrage movement he remembered a rivalry among the livery stables to take suffragists out of town, and regarded the present offer as a singular contrast. 13

The president of the convention also stated that it was essentially

8 Ibid., 374.
9 Cleveland Plain Dealer, December 30, 1869.
10 Ibid., November 20, 1869.
11 Ibid., November 22, 1869.
fitting that the meeting be held in the great State of Ohio. Pointing out that Ohio was the first to organize a state women suffrage association and the first in which a committee of the legislature recommended the extension of the right of suffrage to women, he said:

It is fitting, then, that this convention should choose Ohio as the stepping stone from which an American suffrage association shall arise into existence.14

One of the local newspaper scenes skeptical of the whole movement. The Cleveland Herald pointed out that it was not the case overthrown the old barriers in male-female relationships, and if he could not be trusted to right the wrong of women, "...let us, as a far more hope, have theCHE design to save women suffrage—but not sooner."15

The Cleveland Plain Dealer was also doubtful about the value of the convention's work. The editor said that it would take more than a ten-day session of about thirty women to change the mind of any community in the subject of women's rights. He also stated that fourteen-fifteenth of the large crowds attending the meeting was there from merely curiosity, not because of their desire to promote the woman's movement. Having so, he asserted his belief that "...neither the women at Cleveland, nor of any other locality, the yet (if they ever will be) prepared to open in the union particularly, into the true spirit of what is called women's rights."16

The Cleveland Ledger seemed more willing to be convinced by the

15. Cleveland Plain Dealer, November 20, 1868.
suffragists. This paper regarded the convention as an indication of the growing strength of the movement, and predicted that it would give the suffrage proposal much greater prominence, and would "demonstrate that discussion which is always most favorable to the advancement and development of truth." 17

Further evidence of the increasing number of converts to the suffrage cause was given by the Legislature in 1870. A joint resolution was then proposed recommending that a petition be submitted to the electors of the state at the annual election the next year. Although the resolution was rejected, the close vote of fifty-four to fifty-one was an encouraging sign to the suffrage enthusiasts. 18

In November, 1870, the Ohio women's suffrage Association held its annual meeting in Columbus. Mrs. M. V. Longley told the delegates that the great object of the convention was to keep people reminded of the general government's failure to protect them against oppressive laws by which they were being denied rights and privileges which other citizens enjoyed. 19

The Vice President of the Association, Mrs. M. H. Dale, stated that it was not only our duty that they were so far from the franchise, but advised the convention leaders to do the work in some suffrage at home to hundreds of women while they were waiting in

November 24, 1870.

17 Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 50 session, regular sess., LXVI (1870), 140, 327.
18 Ohio State Journal, November 18, 1870.
clippers and wrappers with their coffee before them.\textsuperscript{20}

The delegate from Athens, Mrs. Brown, was one of the most picturesque ladies attending the convention. She "shook her beautiful fist in the air" and declared that America was a republican country.

Mrs. Brown said that this was impossible as long as "fifteen millions were governed by the unwary, mean.\textsuperscript{21}

The newspaper editor of the Ohio State Journal predicted that the women's claims for the ballot were founded in justice. However, when he asked the ladies attending the convention how the question of women's wages could be reached by legislation or by any other way than the unwritten law governing labor, he reported that he was "set upon with such a cry as made life a burden, and accused of having no mother, and being a heartless assessor, and what not.\textsuperscript{22}

Reporters considered the Columbus convention rather tame and looked forward to the first annual meeting of the American women's suffrage association to be held in Cleveland the following week. The Columbus delegates were so that they were not disappointed. These ladies enlivened the proceedings for the convention by their loud and Brilliant demonstrations of a reporter who secured one of them of being hostile to marriage.\textsuperscript{23}

Many-a-colorful representative, twenty states entered this national convention. Their chief object was to further the women's campaign for the ballot, particularly by uniting the two wings of the

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Cincinnati Commercial}, November 17, 1870.

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Cincinnati Commercial}, November 17, 1870.

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Cincinnati Commercial}, November 17, 1870.

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Cincinnati Commercial}, November 22, 1870.
suffrage movement.26 In 1869 a National Woman Suffrage Association had been organized in addition to the American Suffrage Association. The former concentrated mainly upon Congress while the latter emphasized State work.28

The editor of the Cleveland Leader urged the representatives of the National Association to give in to the American. He said that nothing had come so much harm to the woman's movement as the course pursued by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony, who were the leaders of the national suffrage association. The editor added that Mrs. Stanton's opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment and her "shocking unction" of her views on the divorce question had driven many who were almost persuaded to join the suffragists.29 Despite the Leader's warnings the delegates attending the convention refused to give up their quarrel and voted down the proposed union by the overwhelming majority of one hundred thirteen and one-third to forty-seven and two-thirds.

Ohio received special recognition at this convention since Mrs. Hannah Herrick Butler of Cleveland was elected president.30 Additional work which was achieved by the Ohio suffragists was a "... v. Longley's report that much progress was being made in this state. She said that thirty-two suffrage societies had been organized here, and that in some places people had never before been addressed by a woman even in words, even in a heavy rain, to hear the suffrage cause.

26 Cleveland Plain Dealer, November 20, 1870.
30November 24, 1870.
27 Ibid., November 20, 1870.
advocated. 28

The Cleveland Leader noted that this convention was not as successful as the one held there the previous year. The ladies did not take hold of the matter with the same energy and enthusiasm, there was not such an array of talent from abroad, and the quarrel between the two suffrage associations harmed proceedings. However, the importance of this meeting was proved by the attention of the press, not only of Cleveland, but of the whole country, and it did constitute "another step forward in a movement which is already one of national significance." 29

In 1871 and 1872 many women took matters into their own hands and marched to the polls along with the men to cast their ballots. They were influenced by the assertions of several congressmen and prominent lawyers who believed that under the Fourteenth Amendment they were entitled to the franchise. Acting upon the advice of their national leaders, the leaders of the suffragists decided to test this possibility. Some of these were young, brave women who inspired their under sisters by their example. 30

The voters were astonished at this display of womanly defiance and often plotted revenge upon the suffragists. The ladies of South Carolina endured a particularly sufocating experience. TheIsother of them went to the polls to apply for ballots, they found the place so full of cooks and maids that they could not move in and had to return home. They discovered later that the men had hired a number of young boys to help them vote all day long so that the women could be

28 Ibid., October 24, 1870.
29 Ibid., October 26, 1870.
30 Scott and Miller, op. cit., 92.
driven away. 31

The spirit of battle only strengthened the suffragists' determination to secure the franchise. Then the National Liberal Republican Convention was held in Cincinnati in June, 1872, the women considered this an opportunity not to plead their cause before the party leaders. Although they were treated politely and were given seats on the platform, they were not allowed to appear before the convention and no attention was paid to their resolution. The ladies were especially hurt by the neglect of Francis Breck, George A. Julian, and Theodore Gillon, who had seen their valued friends, but they learned once again that their friends could not be induced upon to sacrifice political uprightness for the sake of the doubtful woman's cause. 32

The suffragists experienced another disappointment the next year at the hands of the Legislature. A resolution then introduced by Albert Bessey of Indiana proposing that the judiciary committee be instructed to inquire into the legality of the right of voting women to vote in school elections was not well received on school boards was buried in committees. 33

In spite of their constant efforts the women of Ohio refused to give up their struggle for the ballot. In vain they tried to pass the amending Constitutional amendment with plans for an amendment giving women the right to vote, on the printed ballots. Women's Convention held in Sandusky in January, 1878, the women

31 Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 9, 1873.
32 For more information on Susan B. Anthony, see...
33 Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.
discussed this important project. Mrs. Miriam H. Cole, the President of the organization, made an eloquent address in which she asked the privilege of suffrage for women "not only because it is my right, but because it is best, and I went the delegates to the Constitutional Convention to see regard it and recommend it to the people, as the wisest and most just action on their political record."

The ladies here agreed to a resolution stating that if the Constitutional Convention adopted a provision abridging the right of female citizens, this act would put the stamp of tyranny upon the new state government. Mrs. Cole then observed the delegates with her report that the cause was going steadily forward. She informed them that both the Democrats and the Prohibition Party in Ohio had incorporated woman suffrage planks in their platforms.

Such disappointment resulted, however, from the failure of many national suffrage leaders to attend the convention. Only the ever faithful Susan B. Anthony appeared to encourage the Ohio suffragists.

The Toledo Morning Express paid respect to Miss Anthony's persistence even while it made fun of her by saying that if she were left alone with the last man on earth, she would "utter her last few words of her existence by repeating before his shrinking eyes and dribbling his shrinking ones with success of single acts and suffrages."

Mrs. Cole here have their but not by Ohio of a Miss H. Cole."

---

"Toledo Morning Express," February 16, 1873.
"Ohio," February 20, 1873.
"Ohio," February 21, 1873.
Oberlin University was able to report to the American Woman Suffrage Association that in Ohio there was more sober candor talk on the subject of woman suffrage than ever before. Women students in the university were asking questions about the movement, and many politicians were stating that the enfranchisement of women was the one thing needed.

In this attitude Ohio stood on the threshold of the Constitutional Convention of 1873-1874. Women had progressed a long way from the days when it was necessary for Catherine Beecher to deliver an address in Columbus by sitting silent in the pulpit while her brother read her message for her. Ladies could now preside at public meetings, and even read and speak before assemblies without shocking public taste. A few years before, only those assuming "masculine bravado" dared to do these things.

A long hard road still lay ahead of the women, however, before they were to attain political equality with men. In the debates of the Constitutional Convention were found the chief mental obstructions which hindered the attainment of the suffragists' goal, and the arguments of their defenders were sought to remove these barriers to their emancipation.

---

30 John Brown, Women, p. 347. See also, pp. 344, 345.
31 Ashburn, p. 111.
32 John Brown, Women, p. 344 (October, 1873).
CHAPTER III

THE ISSUE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1873-1874

The question of woman suffrage was not one of the leading issues at the Constitutional Convention of 1873-1874. Some idea of its importance may be gained from the fact that three hundred and thirty speeches were made on the subject by the legislative department, more than one hundred by county and township organization, temperance, and public debts, twenty-seven on revenue and taxation, twenty-five on education, and twenty on the extension of the franchise to women. Although few in number, the debates on woman suffrage were intense with feeling, some of the senators believing that the fate of home and society rested upon the outcome of this issue.

The supporters of political rights for women were determined to have a special committee appointed at the Convention to consider this question. They believed that the members of the committee on elective franchises, where this subject would normally be disposed of, were all decidedly opposed to woman suffrage and would use every opportunity to get it voted down. This proposal of a separate committee occasioned very protests, one delegate saying that it would be highly discourteous to the ladies on elective franchises and would establish a bad precedent of setting business apart from the men where it belonged. Mr. William Ewing of Audrain county believed that any proposition coming from the ladies, or in their

Lindsay, William N., Missouri, Henry C., History of Miss. IV, 331.
favor, or even the ladies themselves would be safe in the hands of
the elective Franchise Committee. 2 However, the friends of women
suffrage finally had their way, and a select committee of seven was
chosen to consider this issue. 3

The initial victory having been won by the advocates of the
enfranchisement of women, the opponents of the measure marshalled
their forces to defeat it on the Convention floor. After Mr. Alvin
G. Vorus of Summit County introduced his proposition till a flood of
rhetoric against it swept over the delegates. His proposal stated
that:

Every citizen of the United
States of the age of twenty-
one, who shall have been a
resident of the State one
year next preceding the elec-
tion, and of the county, town-
ship, or ward in which he or
she resides such time as may
be provided by law, shall
have the qualifications of an
elector, and be entitled to
vote at all elections. 4

If Mr. Voris's proposition were accepted, it would be substitu-
ted for Article I. Section V of the 1861 Constitution which gave only
male citizens the privilege of voting. His adversaries were deter-
mined, however, that the old constitution should never be deserted
in this way, and used all their ingenuity to increase the numbers of

2Official Report of the Proceedings and Debates of the Third
Constitutional Convention of Ohio, 1, 338-39. (Hereafter
referred to as Proceedings and Debates).

3Ibid., 338-39.

4Proceedings and Debates, 73, Part 8, 363.
the Convention that woman suffrage would be a dangerous innovation.

The arguments against woman's voting roll fell into several main categories. One of these was that woman's character would be degraded by participation in political life, and that therefore she would lose respect for her. Mr. Thomas R. Powell, the delegate from Allegheny County and one of the principal opponents of the suffrage bill of the fair sex, said that the granting of voting rights and offices to women would produce a revolution in their manners and tastes. He thought that women were already anxious to be able to do more than men could do. They were imitating his manners, dress, and also, wearing his garments and long boots, carrying pistols, and using them on lovers who crossed their paths.6

Mr. Gilliam, a state of Connecticut also believed that if women continued along these lines, abandoning their traditional methods of wielding influence through love, tenderness, counsel, persuasion, and courtesy, and sought to exercise control by using authority, they would meet the same resistance as any other person. In this way women would lose the respect of men and their influence be remain.6

According to this belief, the Dayton Daily Journal quoted an article from the London Northern during which exercised against the statistics were for excitement and publicity. It was charged that this caused the weakness of woman's nature and vice society qualities, and went in her nature. For excitement, she put more anger.
of losing more than she could gain. 7

Dr. Powell also argued along these same lines. He cited the
case of a man who saw a lady getting into a street car, but before
giving her his seat asked if she believed that women should vote as
too men did. The lady asserted vigorously that she certainly did be-
lieve this. On hearing her answer the man said that she could stand
and take her chances like any other voter. 8

The opponents of woman suffrage also maintained that in a po-
litically causal where men and women must work on terms of equality,
men would not be accorded the deference they were given in the
ordinary mingling of people. They described political leaders as
object slaves who, in order to avoid seeming superior, descended to
"disgusting servility and degradation." Women would have to become
familiar with such things, and they would not be the better for it. 9

Delegate Volney C. McRae of Ohio concluded that participa-
tion in political life would result in the removal of women from
an elevated position in the home which in turn would cause the
loss of her moral influence. He stated:

The ballot cannot compensate for
the loss of the influence of the
man; official position can ne-
ever repay her for the loss of
that deeper influence which must
be through men than the society
of the family relation is formed
by the duties and responsibilities
of political station. 10

March 19, 1924.

8Proceedings and Minutes, II, part 3, 1924.

9Ibid., 1924-25.

10Ibid., 1923.
Many arguments against women's suffrage stemmed from this belief that the home and therefore society would suffer from women's exercise of the ballot. Mr. Powell pictured the dismaying results of granting women the franchise such as disrupted families and politicians' calling on wives to tell them how to vote. He also states that the women with the ballot in her hand especially rejected matrimony and even continued marriage unless founded upon mutual sympathy. Those women said that it was a crime for a man and woman to remain together unless such sympathy were present. In other words, true love was their watchword. Mr. Powell was indignant that the medical authority for the superiority of men in the family was being upset by the advocates of women's suffrage. He said that the attempt to exercise divided power had in most cases resulted in disaster, and that strife and rivalry would replace the peace and harmony of the home if wives attempted to upset the natural order in the family.

A third group of arguments centered upon the tale that women were not entitled to the franchise by right as they had claimed. Mr. Powell denied that voting is the common right of all citizens as civil rights are. He stated that the franchise is dependent upon civil and discretion of those who have obtained possession of the government, and that it is generally conferred on those who can by their persons, add to the security of the state in this or peril.

---

11bid., 1856.
12bid., 1852.
13bid., 1854.
14bid., 1856.
Mr. Powell also attempted to refute the argument that women were entitled to vote because they owned property and paid taxes. He said that in England and in the United States the privilege of voting does not depend on the ground of property. It is only maintained that those who are taxed should be represented. Powell contended that not even our founding fathers believed that because men and women have property or pay taxes they must vote. They only objected because they were not represented in the British Parliament.\textsuperscript{16}

One of the most powerful arguments of the opponents of woman suffrage was that most of the women themselves were not in favor of it. Mr. Potter, Nash, or Corney said that the very ones who were agitating for the franchise did not wish the question to be left to the women of the States to decide upon. He felt that if they were satisfied that a majority of the women favored it, they would be glad to leave the issue in their hands.\textsuperscript{16}

Mr. Powell stated that it would be tyranny and oppression to force the ballot upon women than the best part of them rejected it.\textsuperscript{17} In supporting this stand, Mr. Moore said that not one in four, perhaps not one in eight, of the women desired to vote.\textsuperscript{16} Another reason which the opponents of the suffrage of women advanced to fulfill their position was that women were already sufficiently cared for and protected by the male voters, and that

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., 1897, 1898.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 1898.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., 1898.
they did not need the ballot in order to secure their rights. Mr. Powell admitted that in some places women were treated unjustly, but denied that this was true of all. Here, he said, everything yielded to the request of women. Delicate Powell felt that women had such divine influence over her husband and sons that they found it impossible to refuse any of her just demands for rights and privileges. 10

In addition to this, it was argued that there was a natural division of labor between man and woman which the granting of the ballot to women would upset. Mr. Powell also upheld this principle, stating that to put women in the hard and rough duties of war and government, and to women the gentler cares of the home and domestic relations, therefore women should not be allowed to vote because the duties pertaining to the franchise were rough, rude, and inconsistent with their character. 23 As Mr. Pople so eloquently put it:

"Such a principle can change his plan, or the leopard his spots, then say the efforts of wickedness uselessness overwrought the plan of the creator and made those equal on whom were bestowed at their creation intrinsically different, manifesting through their entire being." 24

Those who supported the enfranchisement of women as a violation of the social rules afflicting the country, also contended that the proposal also had no merit. They said the important concern for example, denying that women's votes would

10 ibid., 1880-81.
23 ibid., 1830.
24 ibid., 1880.
solve the problem of drunkenness. Mr. Sample stated that there was a thoughtless impression abroad that if there were stronger laws the evil could be removed. A law was of no value, he said, unless it could be enforced, and even the laws then existing were not being properly applied. 22

The Cincinnati Daily Gazette joined with Mr. Sample in denying the value of woman suffrage in this regard. It states that the selling of "spiritsuous drinks" was already abolished and still the problem existed. The editor also believed that it would be a fearful thing for women to work against the selling of alcoholic beverages in opposition to the views of their husbands. This might even lead to the dissolution of families. 23

Although some of the delegates to the convention would have nothing whatever to do with the question of political rights for women, others were willing to submit the issue to the voters for the final decision. The Cincinnati Daily Gazette roundly approved this stand, stating that the suffragists had modestly positioned the convention to let the voters decide upon their request, and that "...they could hardly ask less and might be expected to ask more." The editor believed that the delegates could scarcely have the "face" to refuse this vote to the ladies. He thought that even if the members of the convention were personally opposed to the suffrage billment of women, they were not justified in refusing to submit the issue to the voters. 24

22 Ibid., 1906.
23 March 26, 1874.
24 March 12, 1874.
In order to bring the question of women suffrage before the electorate, the defendants of the "strong-minded" women eloquently pleaded their cause at the Convention. One of their arguments was based on the assertion that women were entitled to the ballot by right. Mr. Asher Cook of Good County stated that the elective franchise was a political right which people acquire on entering a state of society and for which they give up some of their natural rights. Therefore all who enter this state should have the suffrage. He added that nothing but the arbitrary act of men enforced by physical power deprived women of the enjoyment of her right to vote.26

Mr. Allin H. Phillips, the delegate from Harris County, maintained that women possessed the ballot through the Fourteenth Amendment. He argued that this Amendment declares that all persons born in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside, and that women are such persons. They are therefore citizens in a legal sense and have certain privileges, one of which is the elective franchise. Mr. Phillips asked what guarantee of political liberty was left if a state could disfranchise its citizens at will. disfranchisement of all who do not reach a certain standard of morals, or property, or political opinion, he believed, was as unjustifiable as disfranchisement on account of sex.

Delegate Phillips also asserted that the Constitution gives the people the right to assemble and to instruct their representatives, so added her organs but the voter could give instructions.26

26Proceedings and Debates, 11, part 2, 1869.
26Id., 1076-78.
Mr. Asher Cook of Rock County found further evidence to support this point in the national Bill of Rights. This document maintains that all political power is inherent in the people. Women are a part of the people. Therefore Mr. Cook deduced that this solemn declaration admitted that the political power of the state inheres directly in women as well as in men. 27

Mr. Alvin C. Voris, the delegate from Stark County and chief standard bearer for the women beseeching the convention, deplored the use of the Bible to deprive women of their right to the ballot. He called this "a wicked perversion of its sacred mission," and declared that "...every tyrant in Christianity for the last eleven centuries has bolstered up his unwarranted pretensions by the same subterfuge." For example, Mr. Voris mentioned the use of Biblical authority to prove the divine right of Kings, the divine approval of polygamy, slavery, and the existence of idolatry, and to deny the resurrection of the earth as its chief, the circulation of the blood, and other truths which have been proved beyond all question. He concluded by stating:

I hope never again to hear the sacred Word of God prostituted to the base work of denying political privileges and of the rights which man the common law and free actions. 28

The arguments of women suffrage were also quick to refute the argument that women would be degraded by participation in political life. Delegate Henry W. Sage of Plattsburg asked if men had been

27 Ibid., 1900.
lowered in the scale of civilization since he became a voter, and if
the taxpayer lost dignity after he cast his first ballot. Mr. Page
declared that he all believe that voting is the privilege of a free
man only and that it augments independence, self-respect, and dig-
nity of character. He questioned why the elective franchise would
have a contrary effect upon women if these were its results on men. 29

Supporting this argument, Mr. Votis asked the opponents of wo-
men suffrage if the exercise of political rights had made them de-
praved or immoral. He maintained that the use of the ballot does not
change people. The good and pure remain that way; the bad and indif-
fent go back to their private affairs just as they once.

Contrary to the detractors of the suffragists, Mr. Votis be-
lieved that the use of the ballot would elevate rather than degrade
women. He also thought that this would make women's influence greater,
giving her additional moral force. 30

In line with this defense was the assertion by many of the dele-
tees that the exercise of the suffrage by women would tend to re-
duce corruption in politics and government. Mr. John B. Young of
Cumberland County declared that the truest and most heroic devotion to
home and country is found in women, and that in pure and lofty in so-
ciety and government can be traced more to their influence than to
that of men. He also believed that women were better than men in all
the elevations of nature, and therefore did not fear their participa-
tion in government. 31

29 Proceedings and Debates, 11, part 8, 1849.
30 Proceedings and Debates, 11, part 8, 1840-46.
31 Proceedings and Debates, 11, part 8, 1842-43.
Another delegate, William H. West of Logan, thought that the women’s votes would give our laws and institutions a moral character impossible to derive from them in their present state. He believed that there would be less hunger and mendicancy, less misery and immorality, if women were given the ballot.  

pointing to the corruption in political affairs at that time, Mr. West declared that the state could not afford to throw away the influence and power of any of its virtuous, high-minded, and patriotic citizens. He said that the danger was not from those if they acted, but from the lower sort who would act, if not from their own volition, as tools of other designing people.  

The Reverend H. L. Withrow, writing in the Methodist Ladies Repository, agreed with this defense of woman suffrage. He stated that the extension of this franchise to women would rescue the government from corruption, especially in the industrial centers with large foreign populations where politics were often handed over to the whisky and sporting rings.  

Contrary to the views of the opponents of the enfranchisement of women, many delegates thought that this was necessary for the protection of the weaker sex. W. H. Johnson, representing Dupage County, showed the contrast between the idealistic pleasure of women as divinely beautiful goddesses and mortal Wells of agony and the true picture of the great majority who need work here for the very
necessities of life. He asked if it were not right that these women should be protected from the selfishness and cupidity of the world, and questioned if there were any greater instrument for this protection than the franchise.\textsuperscript{35}

Mr. Veris contended that his opponents' argument that women were already protected by the ballot was utterly false. To prove his point he contrived the case of the villain who stole a man's shot gun worth thirty-five dollars and was sent to prison with that of the wife heater who was fined five dollars and costs.

A further example used by Mr. Veris was that of the oppressed English laboring classes who did not share in the political power of the upper classes. He showed the difference between their lot and that of the American laborer who enjoyed the power of the ballot.\textsuperscript{36}

Another reason advanced by the women's opponents for excluding them from the suffrage was that if the women were allowed to vote, they would be able to impose burdens upon the government without being able to share in the duties which these impositions required. An example given was that women could not perform military service. Mr. Young and Mr. Veris both refuted this argument by pointing out that only men of a certain age and physical condition were required for military duty, and not all men of twenty-one could vote. Mr. Young declared that if military service were the criterion for voting, about half the electorate of Ohio would be denied the use of the ballot.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35}Opposition and Reasons. II, Part 2, 1866.
\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., 186-81.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., 1888, 1891.
The advocates of women suffrage also thought it most inconsistent that mothers who were entrusted with the care and training of children were not trusted with the franchise. Since the mother influenced the young citizens who cast the ballots of the future, it seemed rather ridiculous to see some of the delegates deny her the privilege of voting herself.\textsuperscript{33}

The argument that the conferring of political rights upon women would disrupt the peace and harmony of the family evoked vehement denials from the champions of the suffragists. Mr. Veris stated that according to the reasoning of his opponents, any independent exercise of power by either member of the family which might disrupt its peace and harmony should be denied. He maintained that this would prevent women from having any control over themselves or their property, which was absurd since it would deny their freedom and humanity. Even the fees of visits, he pointed out, gave women protection in the independent management of their property although grievous infelicities in the family grew out of this arrangement. However, the opponents of women suffrage agreed to these facts.

Mr. Veris declared further that there can be no true love or unity in the home where the legal rights of the wife are sacrificed for the sake of family honor. He thought that a woman secured on these humiliating terms would be at the loss of every essential quality which makes the family relation worthy of preservation, and believed that the family could reach its highest fruition only by recognizing the wife as a human being and a free moral agent with...
full equality of rights. 39

The Cincinnati Daily Gazette was a little skeptical of this
assertion by the defenders of the vote-renders ladies, although the
editor did tell of a case in 1870 where a wife ran for office on
the democratic ticket with her husband as her republican opponent
without disturbing the family harmony. The editor found this case
quite remarkable, however, and gave examples of the many difficul-
ties which might ensue if wives dabbled in politics. 40

Despite the cold logic and rhetorical flights of the women's
champions, a majority of the members of the Constitutional Convention
remained unconvinced of the value of women suffrage. When the test
vote on proposition 311 was taken on April 16, 1874, it lacked just
four votes of the number required for passage. The final tally showed
forty-one nays and forty-nine yea, with thirteen members abstaining.

The defeat of the women suffrage proposal was due partly to the
dearth of the liquor interests at the convention. 42 Ohio was first on
the list of states in the brewing industry, 43 and these beer produ-
cers felt that women, who were generally prohibitionists, would en-
danger their livelihood if given the ballot. Harriet Taylor Upton,

39 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 6, 1874.
40 April 6, 1874.
41 Connecticut and Debaters, II, part 3, 1874.
42 Connecticut, Anthony, and Chase, op. cit., XII, 203.
President of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association for many years, wrote:

It was true that our deadliest enemy was the organized liquor force... Their money flowed like water and their influence was great. Students who are now looking into the question of woman suffrage... universally report that in no state of the Union was there any such vicious attack made upon suffrage as was made by the liquor men of Ohio, on Ohio suffragists.44

Several pro-suffrage editorials on the defeat of the woman suffrage proposition soon appeared in the Ohio newspapers. Among them was one in the Columbus Daily Dispatch which took an optimistic view of the situation. This editor stated that time might bring the women to the polls along with the other voters. He also pointed out the fact that the Convention had tried to unite women to the legislature by providing that women could hold any office under the school laws from teacher to the state school commissioner.45

The Cleveland Plain Dealer endorsed even this faint ray of hope with the following comment:

The strong-minded that it rough sledding all around. Some the 'young' will improve in two or three hundred years more, but we could not like to put it off on it.46

45April 17, 1874.
46April 18, 1874.
**VOTE OF THE DELEGATES ON THE PROPOSAL FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>Van Wert</td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbe</td>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Andrews</td>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnett</td>
<td>Preble</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Aber</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>Seneca</td>
<td>B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Auer</td>
<td>Sandusky</td>
<td>B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbery</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Axline</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Bagley</td>
<td>Locke</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>Burns</td>
<td>Highland</td>
<td>D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Ross</td>
<td></td>
<td>Myer</td>
<td>Hancock</td>
<td>D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coats</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td></td>
<td>Corteen</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td></td>
<td>D. O'Hagan</td>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham</td>
<td>Allen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Codrey</td>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doss</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The party affiliations of the delegates are taken from an incomplete list of names for members of the Convention.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fripp</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Meckling</td>
<td>D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualle</td>
<td>Trumbull</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Lib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Summit</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson</td>
<td>Huron</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test</td>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>Mahoning</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodbury</td>
<td>Ashtabula</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Champaign</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Noble</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV
THE FIRST VICTORY OF THE SUFFRAGISTS

Although women were again denied the ballot by the delegates at the Third Constitutional Convention of Ohio, the suffragists did not despair of their cause. Instead they took comfort in the fact that they were defeated by such a small majority. In comparison with the seventy-two to seven vote which had overridden a women's suffrage proposal at the convention of 1860-1861, the vote of forty-one to forty-nine at this latter convention did show remarkable progress in the women's movement.

More determined than ever to hasten their hour of victory, the women of Ohio continued to form new suffrage clubs and to swell their ranks with an ever-increasing enrollment. In 1874 the South Kansas Women's Suffrage Political Club consisting of twenty-four ladies was founded. This was the second Iowa suffrage club in Ohio and one of the first in the United States. 1

The explosion of a bomb could not have caused more strike and consternation than did those start-up suffrage clubs of south Kansas. Some of the women carried arms lined up for or against them. Parties were divided against themselves and neighbor against neighbor. Some of the men and law courts treated the suffragists as women, but remained quietly outside the women's movement, regarding these ladies as civilians of equal political stature. 2

1Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 30, 1934, and Miami County News, October 1, 1911.
2Address delivered at a D. A. R. banquet, Sharon, Ohio, October 14, 1920.

41
Evidently a majority of the members of the State Legislature then shared this opinion. When Mr. Richard Henry of Adams County offered for adoption in December, 1876, a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to allow women to vote, it was laid on the table and ignored.\(^3\)

In April, 1876, the editor of the Cleveland Leader explained the failure of the suffragists on the grounds of expediency. He acknowledged the legal right of women to the ballot, but said that if the emancipation of women should occur, a social revolution would follow, exerting a radical influence upon all the social duties and relations of women. He added that this was the only point at issue in the arguments about women suffrage, all others being unnecessary.\(^4\)

Threats of a social revolution did not frighten the suffragists any more than those of a more immediate and violent nature. They were too busy thinking of another revolution, that of the American colonies under George III of England, which had taken place one hundred years before. While the nation was engaged in celebrations commemorating the days of Lexington and Concord, women were saying: "All Americans to hear the bells which the crest of valor performed there could teach. Wise were the forefathers, an nation wise suffragists, founded upon public duties and rights of the nation was "as early included as a voice in the government and as freely taxed as ever were the resisting heroes of the revolution."\(^5\)

---

\(^3\)Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 19th Biennial Session, 43d.  1776.

\(^4\)April 9, 1876.
she begged the men of America to throw off their selfishness and indifference, and to take a firm stand for the principles of justice. In conclusion she asked, "Shall not the 'hate of the brave' become indeed and in truth 'the land of the free'?"

By 1877 some suffragists had decided that action was needed rather than words. Taking their cue from the labor leaders, these women adopted the boycott to gain their objective. Certain Cleveland leaders who voted the ballot resolved that they would not trade with merchants who refused to sign a petition in favor of a constitutional amendment granting the franchise to women. Cincinnati suffragists went even further. There the members of a ladies' society resolved to support no church whose ministers did not advocate woman suffrage.

The women of Cincinnati seemed to be particularly receptive to the arguments of the suffrage enthusiasts, for their city was chosen as the site of the annual meeting of the American Women Suffrage Association held in November, 1872. They showed some encouraging signs to the supporters of the women's movement when the report of a pre-convention interview just before the close of woman suffrage was being heard in Congress was favorable to their cause. The woman of 1872 was more woman, although she was slow in coming, and was acknowledging this fact in public.

---

*Cincinnati Daily Regulator, April 18, 1873.*

*Cincinnati Commercial, January 22, 1877.*

*Tulip, March 16, 1877.*

*Cincinnati Daily Regulator, November 4, 1879.*
The Cincinnati Daily Gazette agreed with Lucy Stone that more women were becoming interested in the suffrage movement. It reported that the large hall where the convention met was nearly filled, the greater proportion of the audience being women. This paper also paid tribute to the intelligence and good standing of the ladies who were attending the sessions of the convention.

Rev. W. J. Read made the address of welcome. He stressed the necessity of the ballot above all other women's rights, saying:

Leave out the ballot, and women's rights is like a pyramid without the apex, or, better still, like building a temple without the corner stone.

Rev. Mr. Read also predicted that the law would be purified and the disgraceful scenes around polling places abolished if women were allowed to vote. The Gazette took him to task for these remarks, stating that women did not forbid the bringing into their houses of newspapers describing the vile scenes presented in the city, and even read them without a sign of disquiet. This editor required much more evidence before he would be convinced of the value of women's suffrage as a purifying element in the political atmosphere.

A highlight of the convention was the address of Dr. F. E. Halsey, the only man allowed to speak at the last meeting of the delegates. Being influenced perhaps by his graduation, Dr. Halsey urged the ladies to attend the through their states to gain their objectives. He told them to threaten women by saying:

If you won't give us the ballot you can't have any equality for women, nor rest here for

---

[Date: November 8, 1878]
Political leaders remained impervious to the ominous warnings of suffrage enthusiasts, however. At the Democratic National Convention held in Cincinnati in June, 1880, the woman's delegation was treated with unexpected courtesy, but when the platform was drawn up it did not contain the slightest reference to the suffragists' claims or even to their existence. 11

That same year another attempt was made in the state legislature to advance the women's cause. Mr. George Clement of Lake County then introduced a bill granting women the right to vote for members of school boards and to be eligible to serve on school boards. Like many previous women suffrage bills, this one was buried in committee. 12

The first stirrings of the anti-suffrage movement in the early 1880's may nearly explain the failure of the suffragists to make any gains through legislators and politicians. This movement, which began by private circulation of literature to newspapers, legislators, libraries, and prominent men and women, gradually became organized into committees and associations, and helped convince political leaders that most women did not desire the ballot. Attributed to the personal prejudices of key in-power, the anti-
suffrage movement became an important factor in retarding the pro-
gress of those who advocated the enfranchisement of women.13

With so many forces arrayed against them, great courage was
required of the Ohio suffragists to go on with their work. Those
valiant crusaders refused to be discouraged, however, and continued
to hold conventions in an effort to raise the public to a favor-
able consideration of their petitions.

In June, 1886, the Ohio Women Suffrage Association convened
in Columbus. Under the headline "Feminine Frivolities" the Ohio
State Journal described the proceedings. This newspaper reported
that prohibition conventions and conventions for the attention
of many ladies elsewhere, not only a larger audience assembled to
hear the suffragists advocate their cause.

The most important item discussed was a change in the consti-
tution of the State Association to allow an organization which
would be composed of all the local clubs then in existence. Some
women conceded that the new worked in this way but that they should
be followed in this respect. Other delegates opposed the change be-
cause of the small number of representatives present. They did not
want to tamper with the constitution until a larger number of dele-
gates had expressed their opinions on the subject. It was finally
agreed to postpone the change for the time being.

At this point some of the ladies wished to adjourn, but Mrs.
Elizabeth Joffe, a leading Columbus suffragist, objected, saying that
the constitution called for the election of officers at the first
year's session. Mr. Joffe was asked not to insist on expeditious

13Jordan, Caroline F., Ohio's Women in America. 4.
with the movement, especially the men, would laugh at the women if they did not follow their own constitution and by-laws. The threat of further ridicule was enough to dispel the impatience of restless delegates, and the elections were duly held. Judge Sara B. Taylor was chosen President of the association. 14

The next day encouraging news was given by the delegates from Cleveland, Painesville, and Toledo, who reported that their suffrage clubs were flourishing. Painesville ladies were especially proud of the fact that their organization, which had been founded only the year before, now counted one hundred members and was the largest in the state. 15

This convention bore fruit one year later when a Columbus Women Suffrage Association was formed. 16 At least some ladies had been convinced of the value of the women's movement by the convention on duty.

In May, 1868, the annual Ohio Women Suffrage Association convention was held in Painesville. From the "varied activities" outlined a year ago the women suffragists had now graduated to "a large and enthusiastic aggregation of brains, beauty, flesh, and opinions." A dazzling sight was on display. The audience attending this convention, a reporter described, was made up of "one of the finest assemblages of women ever gathered here....Mary Too, with nearly an exception,

June 23, 1868.  14

Ohio State Journal, June 20, 1868.
beams the impress of intellectual culture and refinement, while there are many really handsome ladies of graceful and dignified bearing, and all are tastefully and fashionably dressed, many of the visitors being most richly ornamented. 17

Evidently this Palmyra gathering was an exceptional one, for the celebrated foreign observer, Jesse Bryan, stated that the woman suffrage movement in America had found scarcely any support among the upper classes. He added that suffragists were supposed to be among a lack of culture and refinement, and was considered "bad taste" by well bred ladies. 18

Whether they could have social appreciation or not, the women assembled at Palmyra were determined to secure the ballot. To hasten the achievement of their goal, the suffragists had reorganized their State Association as had been promised the year before at Columbus. They also chose Mrs. Frances E. Cocking of Palmyra as president of the society. 19

The reporter from the Cleveland Leader considered this convention a success in every respect. He stated that the most important person in attendance was and is one of the State of the suffrage movement in Ohio, the keynote of the quiet earnest zeal of every member of the convention. 20

In 1886 another change was made in the legislature to secure

17Cleveland Leader, May 14, 1886.
18Bryan, Jesse, The Abbeian Correspondent, III, 446.
19Cleveland Leader, May 14, 1886.
20May 10, 1886.
the adoption of a bill giving women the right to vote in school elections. This time the measure at least came to a vote, but was defeated, the final count being forty-two to thirty-three.21

A Cleveland editor reported in January, 1887, an astonishing advance in intellectual growth among women. He stated that except for those who were devoting their energies to the trivialities of society, women generally were working like men to elevate their sex and to gain equality with men.22

The Ohio ladies most interested in the suffrage movement held their annual convention in Cleveland that year. According to a local paper, Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace, mother of General Lew Wallace, made the best address at the meeting. In her remarkable clear and distinct voice Mrs. Wallace warned the ladies not to allow men to insult them by calling America a government of the people. She said that the world had not yet seen a republic, and would not until the suffragists secured what they asked for women.23

Mrs. Willoise Courvoisier made interest in the convention members how they could tell by looking at men whether they were in favor of the women or not. According to Mrs. Clinton's theories, broad shoulders and could be depended upon by the suffragists, but "little waists up, thin shoulders" men were sure to be afraid that were women could be bigger than they, and feared the women's movement. And

22 Cleveland Leader, January 25, 1887.
23 Ibid., May 26, 1887.
also said that "walking beer barrels" thought that woman's place was in the home and could be considered outside of the suffrage cause.

"Breezy" and "pointed" were the adjectives used by the Cleveland Leader to describe the discussions of this convention. Although the editor thought that "the world at large, and the state of Ohio in particular," would continue to cherish the "orthodox" views of the time, he asked that the Ohio Suffrage Association be given a fair field. In summing up he said that the suffragists had a big job on their hands, but that they were working away "with true American grit."

At the November elections that year, sixty-five women in Oberlin, Ohio, protected publicly against their disfranchisement by voting with the men. Mrs. A.L. Webster explained that this action was no meaningless scare or empty show, but was designed as an object lesson in the eternal laws of equality and justice.

In May, 1887, at Chillicothe, the Ohio suffragists gave further instructions about the laws of equality to a doubting public. Since this was the first convention of its kind ever held in southern Ohio, the people of Chillicothe attended the sessions in large numbers, enjoying the novelty of seeing a gathering of women presided over by a man, with all business transacted by women. At this convention the suffragists expressed their great disappointment in the failure of Governor Jocelyn to respond to

---

22Chillicothe advertiser, May 4, 1887.
23The Women's Journal, April 27, 1887 (November 10, 1887).
24Chillicothe advertiser, May 27, 1887.
consideration of the women's demands in his annual message to the Legislature. Since all previous governors had at least replied to the letters in autographed letters, the total disregard of the suffragists by Governor Foraker placed him in an exceedingly bad light with the women's advocates.

Despite the governor's attitude, Henry Blackwell advised the delegates to work for municipal suffrage. Having lived in Ohio from 1836 to 1868, Mr. Blackwell was familiar with the Ohio constitution, and pointed out the fact that this document enabled the legislature to confer municipal, school, and presidential suffrage upon women if it so desired.27

Henry Blackwell was also among the most prominent national leaders attending the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Woman Suffrage Association held in November, 1888. Fifty-three delegates representing nine States and the District of Columbia then assembled in Cincinnati to further the women's cause.28

An interesting figure at this convention was Frederick Douglass, a noted colored man associated with the suffrage movement. Mr. Douglass paid tributes to the women for their help in the coition of slavery, and told them that it was now time for women to speak in their own behalf.29

The large audience "heartily applauded every word in representation of women's masculinity," also listened attentively to the speakers.

---

27The Women's Journal, IX, 188, 163 (May 19, 1888).
28The Woman's Journal, November 26, 1888.
29Ibid., November 26, 1888.
of Mrs. McClellan Brown of Wesleyan Female College. Mrs. Brown recalled that less than fifty years before, there was fought on women a battle that secured the establishment of a college for the higher education of women in Cincinnati. 30

Many still doubted the wisdom of higher education and advancement for women when they set more and more of them becoming interested in politics and government, formerly the exclusive realm of men. The doubts were becoming fewer each year, however, as the annual State suffrage convention held in Akron in May, 1889, clearly demonstrated. The Summit County Beacon spoke of the great contrast between the reception given to the members of the 1889 convention and that which the delegates at the 1881 Akron gathering had received.

Large and interested audiences listened to the papers read by the delegates at the 1880 convention, and decided that these ladies "had minds of their own." They were further convinced of this when the town adopted a resolution stating that the defeat of the proposed municipal suffrage bill in the Legislature the past winter had only made them more determined than ever to join the franchise and to strike the word "male" from the constitution. 31

The Beacon's journal pronounced this convention highly successful, stating that seventeen societies and fifteen counties were represented by delegates. It also reported that it was voted to make the Ohio Equal Suffrage Association an auxiliary of the National

30 Child, November 21, 1889.
31 May 29, 1889.
American Woman Suffrage Association at this meeting. 32

An Akron editor commented that "public sentiment and the sentiment of women suffragists have been approaching." He thought that the future of the movement would depend upon the results of the moderate concessions already given to women, and that progress would consist chiefly in the extension of the franchise to let women help determine questions of the schools and the management of public schools. 33

Ohio suffragists entered the Gay Nineties cheered by the news that Judge Levi H. Taylor of Warren, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, had made the first majority report favoring woman suffrage ever delivered in the national House of Representatives. 34 Judge Taylor had been a suffrage enthusiast for several years, and it was through his influence that the Judiciary Committee was persuaded to issue its report advocating a constitutional amendment to give women the ballot. 35

At the annual woman suffrage convention held in Warren in 1891, Judge Taylor was one of the principal figures. He told the delegates that the Speaker of the House, Mr. Reed, was also an ardent suffrage advocate. "Like other reformers he is ardent and everywhere else... he would not vote, even in Congress," commented Judge Taylor. 36

---

of the reasons why women wanted equal suffrage. Miss Shaw's brill-
iant, witty address drew more applause than any of the other
speeches. 50

The Salem Daily Herald upheld the earnest women who were striving
to equalize the sexes "in all the better conditions of life." The ed-
itor had no use, however, for those "whose whole desire in life is to
supercede men." These he condemned for wearing divided skirts, gentles-
men's white shirts and ties, dress coats, high hats, eye glasses,
watch guards, and the very latest fad of gold embroidered suspenders
fastened to a dress skirt, "replete with all the necessary adjuncts
that is to be found in that article worn by gentlemen for a very
necessary purpose." The editor stated that the antics of these wo-
men were one of the greatest impediments to the suffrage cause. 51

Regardless of women adorned with gold embroidered suspenders,
the cause of the suffragists was advancing each year. The Ohio House
of Representatives gave testimony to this fact in 1893 when it recon-
sidered a bill granting women the right to vote for school officers.
Although the proposal was defeated again, the vote this time was
fro-seven votes to thirty-nine nays, a greater majority being in
favor of the measure than in the previous year. 52

In May, 1893, female candidates took possession of the city
corporate house in Salem, Ohio, for their annual women convention.

50 Ibid., May 20, 1893.
51 Ibid., May 26, 1893.
52 Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.
70 sess. 2d adjourn sess., 42 (1893), 536.
Although a large number of people first attended from curiosity, they were held by the interesting progress arranged by the ladies. The delegates made a favorable impression on the citizens of Delaware and aroused such interest in the women's movement. As the Delaware Semi-weekly Gazette put it, "...back in women's rights is on the rise."

The following year the hopes of the suffragists began to be realized when the Ohio Legislature finally passed a bill giving women the right to vote in school elections. By a vote of twenty to six in the Senate and fifty-five to twenty-six in the House, the bill was passed to share a few of their political responsibilities with the men.

Some advocates of the enfranchisement of women opposed this grant of partial suffrage. Harriet Taylor Upton said that women were always held responsible for whatever happened that was politically bad in states where they had partial suffrage. It was also believed that the fact that women were allowed no votes in public schools was a good building point for the suffragists and should be held as a weapon. There was too the feeling that perhaps women would not vote in large numbers if they had only partial suffrage, and this...
right react against the granting of full suffrage. 42

The editor of the Ohio State Journal also believed that women were on trial in the matter of suffrage as a result of the recent law. He stated that if the women took advantage of their new privilege, this measure would probably be followed by a still more liberal enactment. However, if this law were allowed to remain a dead letter on the statute books, he warned, it would soon be repealed. 43

For better or worse, the suffragists of Ohio now saw a partial fulfillment of their hopes for political equality with men. This first victory only strengthened their determination to carry on their work until the total enfranchisement of women was accomplished. They realized that a radical change in public opinion on the women suffrage question had taken place since they had begun their crusade, and that further effort would bring about an even more favorable change in the future. 44

42 Malboeuf, op. cit., II, 331-32.
43 April 23, 1894.
CHAPTER V

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT FROM 1895 TO 1910

Some of the male voters of Ohio refused to give up their exclusive control of the political world without a struggle. Then feminine skirts began to swirl through the registration halls, it was too much for those disgruntled men whose vacation culminated in a suit against the vote-minded ladies. Mrs. Ida H. Barnhart was singled out as the target for masculine wrath. Since she was the wife of Senator H. B. Barnhart who had championed the bill to give school suffrage to women, it was natural that her attempt to vote should be particularly galling to the decrepit lords of creation.

In January, 1895, Mrs. Barnhart's case was argued in the circuit court of Franklin County. A month later the school suffrage law was upheld. The case was later carried to the State Supreme Court which concurred in the decision of the lower court. Having thereby been assured of their right to the ballot, thirty thousand Ohio women voted at their first opportunity following this court ruling. 1

Their spirits encouraged by recent victories, Ohio suffragists now pushed forward their work of organization among the women. In late November Misses P. H. Moore, a Universalist minister from Springfield, Ohio, and Miss Laura H. Proctor of Kansas visited several towns and cities in the interest of the state women suffrage association. Their efforts were rewarded by the formation of numerous

1 Anthony and Harper, 22, 238, 362.
suffrage organizations.2

As time went on and their first ardor had cooled, however, the women of Ohio ceased to lose interest in their suffrage privilege. The Cleveland Leader reported that comparatively few women took the trouble to register and vote in 1897. The editor cited the women of Cleveland as an example, stating that fewer than one thousand of them had taken part in the recent primary elections for school council candidates. The Leader regarded this as an indication that women were perfectly willing to let men run the politics of the schools.3

A feministic reader answered this editorial by saying that if women were given the right to vote on larger issues, they would gladly exercise their privilege. This lady thought that the granting of the ballot to women on school questions only was "but the giving of a toy to those who had long ago outgrown such trifles." She asked how many men would vote if they were allowed the franchise only on minor issues, and added that women would not feel it worth their while to become enthusiastic voters until they believed that their eyes and noses counted in the large affairs of the nation.4

When a bill was introduced into the legislature the following winter to repeal the school suffrage law, however, a storm of protest arose from the ladies. Even if many of them did not care to use their privilege, they were not going to be deprived of it without a struggle. Others were sent to all the suffrage clubs by the over-hard, prominent people were urged to use their influence against the

2Ibid., 679.
3April 6, 1897.
4Cleveland Leader, April 6, 1897.
bill, and protesting petitions totaling more than forty thousand names were received by the legislators. Members of the State Woman Suffrage Association also appeared before the House Committees on Election to speak against the measure. Masculinity was unable to withstand this barrage from the suffragists and voted seventy-six to twenty-one against the report of partial suffrage for women.

That same year a Senate joint resolution which would grant complete suffrage to women was also proposed. A sufficient majority of the legislators were yet unwilling to go that far, however, and a vote of seventeen to fourteen negatived that the measure come up for approval.

The suffragists experienced another disappointment in 1898 when the State Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the partial act which would have allowed women to be notaries public. This decision was based on Article XV, Section 6 of the constitution, which stated that no person could be elected or appointed to office unless he had the qualifications of an elector.

As long as such provisions remained on the statute books, women suffrage advocates of Ohio were determined to carry on their agitation for political equality. In October, 1898, they held another

11. Cleveland Leader, June 30, 1898.
State convention in Cincinnati to determine "whether people of human ideas and un purchasable opinions shall continue to be submerged with infants, idiots, and criminals."

Distinguished guests such as Mrs. Elizabeth Coit of Columbus, "who, whose venerable face bespeaks the courage and peace of a victor," increased local interest in the gathering. Mrs. Coit spoke of the progress in the women suffrage movement and of the change in society attitude since the early years of the crusade. Formerly, she said, people made fun of the suffragists, but now they were received with the utmost consideration, were entertained in the loveliest houses, and even had carriages placed at their disposal.

The Reverend Dr. More, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, confirmed Mrs. Coit's account of the progress of women suffrage by quoting a statement made by former President James A. Garfield. Mr. Garfield had said:

"Laugh as we may, put it aside as a joke if we will, keep it out of Congress or political campaigns, still, the woman question is rising in our horizon larger than the size of a man's hand; and some solution, one long, that question must find."

Better than any of the addresses made at the convention, an editorial in the Cincinnati Leader describing this meeting showed the great strides made by the suffragists since they had begun their campaign for the ballot in 1850. The Leader boasted that no other

9bid., October 17, 1896.
10bid., October 19, 1896.
11bid., October 20, 1896.
State in the union possessed "a greater galaxy of lights" than that which illuminated Ohio's suffrage work and workers. The editor added that these women were not only brave and intellectual, but most of them had been "the most beautiful women of the state, gracing the highest circles of society in the various places they have lived." Such extravagant praise must have completely overwhelmed such veteran suffragists as Mrs. Cott, who could remember the days when she was ridiculed and accused for lecturing on the subject of votes for women, and counted many a slandersous letter among her souvenirs.

The press also gave favorable accounts of the cruel suffrage convention held in Akron the following year. The Beacon Journal stated that this convention promised to be one of the most interesting ever held in the State. The presence of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a national suffrage leader, helped the gathering to live up to expectations.

Mrs. Cott explained women's leaving the home to take more gainful occupation by describing how home industries such as the making of table linens, the preserving of meat, the canning of food, and the making of clothes had gradually been taken over by factories. This forced women either to "sit down in indefinite idleness" or to perform men's work outside the home, Mrs. Cott maintained. She also listed the necessity for so many articles which required paid persons for the consequent burdens upon the men as another reason for

---

12 1897, October 17, 1897.
13 "That's Who Arose Ohio Finnegin Woman," 1, 112.
14 October 2, 1897.
women’s employment beyond the sacred precincts of the home.

"You cannot turn back the wheels of progress. You cannot put
women back within the four walls of her home," said Mrs. Catt. She
thought that woman suffrage was equally inevitable, and stated that
the only question was when and where and how it would come about.15

As the nineteenth century drew to a close the men, where, and
how of woman suffrage were still veiled in mystery. Then the women
drew up their balance sheet of the century’s work; however, they found
that their cause had risen to comparative respectability. No longer
could bigoted opponents confound it with false love. In most circles
woman could express a desire to vote without being branded as comic
or eccentric.16 A united and organized suffrage movement now battered
away at the stubborn doubters fortified behind their age old walls of
prejudice.

The President of the State Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs.
Harriot Taylor Upton, was particularly active in organizational
work as Ohio stepped across the threshold of the new century. In
the spring of 1900 she visited fifteen Ohio towns preparing them for
organization and made plans for others by correspondence. A campaign
was also conducted that year to ascertain the sentiment of the people
about woman suffrage and to organize the northwestern part of the
state. Mrs. Upton was assisted in this work by Miss Alice Howard
Clark, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and two national organizers, Miss
Carrie Groce Mills and Miss Mary S. Day. The results of this work

15Woman Journal, October 5, 1899.
16Idem, op. cit., 262.
appeared at the close of 1900 when it was discovered that the Ohio State Woman Suffrage Association numbered twice as many members as in the previous year.\footnote{17}

The annual State convention was held at Athens in October, 1900. The event does not seem to have made much of an impression upon the local populace, for the Athens Journal, aside from a description of Mrs. Upton and an announcement that Susan B. Anthony was to be present,\footnote{18} did not bother to mention the event. The paper was lavish, however, in its praise of the State President, Mrs. Upton, saying that she was an "all round woman," a good housekeeper, socially popular, a member of the board of education in her town, and possessed keen business sense. The editor concluded by saying that Mrs. Upton would preside at all the sessions of the convention, and that "those who know her, know that there will be no dull moments while she is in the chair."\footnote{19}

Despite all the efforts of Mrs. Upton and the other Ohio suffragists to extend their voting rights, the legislature continued to ignore them. Perhaps believing that they had been generous enough in passing the school suffrage bill, the Senate buried in committee a joint resolution offered by Mr. Philo B. Burman in 1900, which proposed a constitutional amendment to allow women complete suffrage privileges.\footnote{20}

\footnote{17} Anthony and Harper, op. cit., 379-80.
\footnote{18} Athens Journal, September 27, 1900.
\footnote{19} Athens Journal, October 4, 1900.
\footnote{20} Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio, 72d Assembly, Regular Session, XXV (1902), 401.
Impervious to successive defeats at the hands of the legislators, Ohio suffragists held an enthusiastic convention in Sandusky the next year. Various progress reports made there showed increasing public interest in the woman's movement. The president told the delegates that a card register of suffrage advocates began the previous year now included 3,300 names representing 371 towns. She then recommended that organization be made the chief work in the coming year.

The chairman of the press committee stated that she had sixty-four newspapers on her list of those who regularly received and used the press articles of the suffrage association. She also said that through the members of her committee, twenty additional newspapers were reached. 11

The Sandusky Register seemed particularly impressed by the address of the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw. It reported that she "spoke so one inspired," and held her audience spellbound for nearly two hours. Of the whole, the Register considered the convention a very successful one from the number in attendance and the amount of enthusiasm displayed. 12

At this time Ohio suffragists held their heads a little higher than they had at the headquarters of the National Woman Suffrage Association, were being established in Corwin, until 1900 the central office of the National Association remained in Corwin under the joint management of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton and Miss Elizabeth Cessions. The headquarters were located for several years on the ground floor of

21 Sandusky Register, October 16, 1908.
22 October 17, 1908.
the Court House, the only time that the main office of a national suffrage association was in an official building. 23

For presence of the National Association headquarters in Ohio perhaps gave further impetus to the state suffrage work, for then the annual Ohio Women Suffrage Association convention was held in London in October, 1904, the delegates received an enthusiastic welcome from the citizens of the town. Merchants and business men even decorated their store windows with yellow bunting, ribbon, and orange paper, yellow being the official color of the suffragists. 24

So many people crowded into the sessions of the convention that a number could not find seats and had to return home. 25 Those who were fortunate enough to find seats in the convention hall heard the president describe the remarkable amount of activity in the suffrage movement during the past year. Six new clubs had been organized, 26 much legislative work had been done through correspondences, over four thousand press articles had been sent out, and a constant increase of suffrage sentiment throughout the state was reported. 27

The London enterprises displayed pictures of the leading suffragists with an account of their work in the movement. Among those so honored were Miss Harriet Taylor Lyon, whose "personal manner and

24 London Free Press, October 11, 1904.
25 Ibid., October 12, 1904.
26 Hoover, Harriet, ed., Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, 8.
27 London Express, October 12, 1904.
untiring efforts have made her a general favorite with women throughout the state," Miss Susan B. Anthony, "the brightest star in the suffrage constellation," the president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Rev. Anna F. Shaw, Dr. Carrie Chase Davies of Kentucky, the recording secretary of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, who "stands well with the men doctors in her community," Dr. Sarah F. Gorton, who was the auditor of the state suffrage association and the first lady doctor to try her fortunes in Hills, Ohio, and Mrs. Bertha Sanders Behman, the only woman lawyer in Columbus. 28

Altogether, the Enterprise considered the London convention profitable and "a rare treat to our people." It also desired that the meeting was one which would leave many happy memories for the members of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association and the citizens of the town. 29

Although the enthusiasm with which they were received in London gratified the Ohio suffragists, they were still disappointed in their failure to make any progress with the Ohio legislators. In 1904 two new landmarks were added to the list of women suffrage bills buried in the Senate Judiciary Committee. One of them proposed a constitutional amendment to give the ballot to women. 30 The other was a partial suffrage measure which would allow women to vote at special

---

28 London, October 1, 1904.
29 October 10, 1904.
elections to determine whether the sale of intoxicants should be prohibited.\textsuperscript{31}

The call for the twentieth annual Ohio woman suffrage convention seemed to be addressed particularly to the recalcitrant legislators of the State. In this proclamation the suffragists emphasized the law makers, saying:

\begin{quote}
You cannot have one-half of your statute book Jewish and the other half Christian; one-half the statute book Oriental, the other Mason. You have granted that women may be hung, therefore you must grant that they may vote.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

This twentieth annual convention was held in Akron in October, 1906. Situated in the heart of the liberal Western Reserve, Akron assured the women a "respectful and sympathetic hearing."\textsuperscript{33} The Mayor gave the ladies the freedom of the town, and a large number of the people came to hear them plead for a share in the political life of the State.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton encouraged the delegates with her statement that she had never before realized the great increase of suffrage sentiment in Ohio as she did then. She also assured them that if they had money for the simplest organs and sufficient workers, they could see the realization of their hopes immediately.

Inspiring them with a sense of mission, Mrs. Upton told the suffragists that the political freedom of the women of Ohio was 

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Idem.}, 1905. \\
\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Cleveland Leader}, September 21, 1906. \\
\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Western Reserve Chronicle}, October 12, 1906.
\end{flushright}
to their care, and that they should "sink self and be true to our trust."

Mrs. Edward F. Houlton brought greetings from the State Federation of Women’s Clubs. She informed the members of the convention that although the president of her organization could not be present, she considered the suffrage cause a "beautiful" movement.

One of the chief subjects of interest discussed at the convention was an article written by Grover Cleveland for the Ladies’ Home Journal which condemned the attempts of men to enter the political arena. Mrs. Alexander of Columbus was particularly indignant, stating:

The idea of this man, above all others, standing up as if he had a special revelation from God, or heaven, to teach women what they ought to do, all his needs to complete his celestial environment and appearance is John Alexander Dowie’s long beard.39

The Reverend Anne Howard Sher, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, effectively squelched Mr. Cleveland and all others of a like mind. She announced that it had been evidenced that a larger per cent of American women possessed a greater amount of intelligence and education than men.38

In spite of the women’s claims to superiority, the Ohio legislators in the following year refused to allow that we vote even at special elections held to determine whether the sale of liquor should be prohibited or not. By a decisive vote of sixty-six says to fifty-

---

October 26, 1898.

---
one year, the members of the House of Representatives reassessed the masculine prerogative to decisions on the liquor question.\textsuperscript{56}

The editor of the Toledo Blade comforted the women in their numerous disappointments by reminding them that no great question had ever been settled in a day nor without opposition. He stated that they had made a valiant fight and now were more determined than ever to win their political rights. The Blade gave special honors to the Ohio suffragists, saying that their singleness of purpose had provoked the greatest admiration, and that when victory finally came, they could claim their full share of the glory.\textsuperscript{57}

At this time Toledo welcomed the twenty-first annual State women suffrage convention. For many decades this city had been active in the women's movement, and now boasted eight suffrage clubs.\textsuperscript{58}

It was reported at the Toledo convention that the State U. C. I. U., the Ohio Grange, and the State Letter Carriers had adopted resolutions favoring woman suffrage, and that the Democrats of Lucas County and the State Prohibition party had included pledges in their platform advocating the enfranchisement of women. Further evidence of increasing Ohio interest in the work of the suffragists was the fact that the Trumbull County Suffrage Institute had ordered the suffrage address given before it by Dr. Louise S. Hurst to be printed in the school paper. The president of the Ohiosass

\textsuperscript{56}Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 77th General Assembly, Regular Session, 20th Day (1907), 35, 36.

\textsuperscript{57}October 4, 1906.

\textsuperscript{58}Toledo Blade, October 4, 1906.
Suffrage Association also said that county and local organizations of various kinds had discussed the question, and that several new clubs had been formed.

Mrs. Florence Kelly of New York told the delegates that there was more "an immense disposition to let women do what they want to do, if they know what they want and how they want to get it." She advised the ladies to take advantage of this opportunity by examining the candidates for Congress with their demands for the ballot.

Much time was devoted to the question of child labor at this convention. The women felt that this important matter was not being properly handled, and quoted the chief of the State Board of Inspectors as saying that it would not be taken care of until women were placed on the Board. The protection of children was another reason which prompted the suffragists to work for the enfranchisement of women.

Regardless of all the excellent reasons of the ladies, the Ohio Senators refused to come to any definite decision when the matter of women suffrage was again brought up before them in 1906. The new propositions, one to assure women complete equality of voting rights with men and another to allow women to vote at special liquor elections were then discussed, but both were submerged in the press of committee business.

---

89 [Bold], October 6, 1906.
80 [Bold], October 6, 1906.
In spite of the attitude of many of his colleagues, Senator F. C. Hows of Cleveland had been entirely won over by the arguments of the suffragists. His address at the state suffrage convention held in Columbus in September, 1908, showed his complete conversion to the woman's cause. At that time Senator Hows prophesied:

Society itself is making woman suffrage inevitable. It is a part of a larger movement—a big social democracy that is the next development in the evolution of our government.42

To hasten the development of a true democracy in America, the suffragists of Ohio adopted a plan of work at their Columbus convention. Included in their scheme were recommendations that the State Suffrage Association secure a woman's day at the State Fair, that it continue to secure endorsement from State conventions of labor, religious, philanthropic, and educational associations, that suffrage literature be distributed at these meetings, that the question of the enfranchisement of women be introduced into the public schools by debates, prize essays, etc., that attention be directed to the movement by the celebration of the birthdays of suffrage leaders, that at least one address on woman suffrage be included in popular or church lecture courses, and that the societies of the State Association remember that their primary purpose was to secure equality before the law, and not to provide entertainment for each other.43

Through their national president, the Governor made award June, 1908.

42Columbus Citizen, September 30, 1908.
Ohio women suffragists threatened more drastic action at their annual State convention the following year if their demands for the ballot were not met. Miss Shaw warned that the suffragists in the United States might imitate their militant English sisters who were then causing an uproar in London. She described the actions of these English women, saying that they had petitioned the British premier for fifty years without success, but after two years of fighting, they had aroused world-wide interest in woman suffrage than ever before. Miss Shaw concluded by warning the American public that the suffragists were going to present to Congress that year the largest petition ever given to any legislative body in the world, "and if we don't get some action, then we will have to fight."  

As the first decade of the twentieth century drew to a close, suffragists might squirm impatiently under the yoke of masculine supremacy, but there were still too many women who did not object to male overlordship in the realm of government. To convince these women of the necessity for feminine participation in the political world, suffragists were required to spend another ten years in exceeding effort. This they did gladly, believing that even enough of the women classed the ballot, legislators would eventually succumb to their wishes. The editor of the Cleveland Leader shared this opinion, stating that:

When the girl who is good and gentle and sweet and lovely, who is so kind as wife or sister or mother, and the man who admires and loves her to vote the ballot into her capable hands.

---

Cleveland Leader, October 22, 1909.
she will not be refused. Rather, mankind will jump to do her bidding....

September 27, 1909.
CONCLUSION

The noted foreign observer Alexis de Tocqueville once commented:

"...if I were asked...to what
the singular prosperity and
growing strength of that
people [of the United States] ought mainly to be attributed,
I should reply, To the superior-ity of their women."

Although the women of America exhibited these qualities which
single them out for special commendation in various ways, their
campaign for political equality perhaps demonstrates these attrib-
utes more clearly than any other particular movement. For over
seventy years the suffragists of the United States fought ignorance,
prejudices, and scorn; legislators, clergymen, and judges, and even
thousands of their own sex who preferred to remain aloof from the
problems of government. The vision and courage, the patience and
indomitable which the suffrage advocates displayed in this crusade
eventually won for them the ballot and the admission of the entire
country.

The suffragists of Ohio secured for themselves a special place
of honor many the list of those who labored for the emancipation
of the American woman. Having launched their campaign for the
ballot at their Salem convention in 1850, these courageous women
were among the first in the country to storm the insurmountable

1De Tocqueville, Alexis. Democracy in America. 11, 226.
with demands for the franchise.

Although the women suffragists of Ohio were among the earliest to agitate for the franchise, they lived to see many of their sisters in other states secure the long sought prize before them. The special hardships and difficulties which the suffrage advocates of Ohio were forced to endure, however, won them additional laurels when the complete enfranchisement of women was accomplished.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the women of Ohio who were working for the ballot still owed a long way from their goal. After sixty years of persistent labor they had made only one break through the mechanical defenses in the school suffrage law of 1894. Further attempted onslaughts had all been repulsed, but the suffragists' lines remained intact. Successive defeats did not dull the enthusiasm which enabled them to domesticate the remnants of their foes a few years later. Until the final victory was won, the women suffragists marched forward, their morale kept high by such songs as the following:

There's a good time coming, girls,
A good time coming,
There's a good time coming, girls,
Not a little longer.

We hope to live to see the day,
For we can hear it on the way,
This good time coming.

Women's rights are not for us,
But votes are women's property,
We'll ram our battle by their side,
Not a little longer.

---

The Women's Journal, J 4, 10 (January 14, 1909).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

Letters from Harriet Taylor Upton to Lucy Bing, April 3 and 12, 1945.
Upton, Harriet T., "Along A Joyous Road."
Upton, Harriet T., "Sandusky Recollections."

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Journals of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.
Various printers, Columbus, 1859-1907.

Journals of the Senate of the State of Ohio.
Various printers, Columbus, 1854-1907.


NEWSPAPERS

Anti-Slavery Eagle (Galena, Ohio).
Athens Journal.

Barren Journal (Airon, Ohio).
Chillicothe Advertiser.
Cincinnati Commercial.
Cincinnati Daily Gazette.
Cincinnati Enquirer.
Cleveland Leader.
Cleveland Plain Dealer.
Columbus Citizen.
Daily Cleveland Herald.
Daily Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio).
Dayton Daily Journal.
Delaware Semi-Weekly Gazette.
Geauga County News (Chardon, Ohio).
London (Ohio) Enterprise.
New York Tribune.
Ohio State Journal (Columbus, Ohio).
Seesen Daily Herald.
Sandusky Register.
Summit County Beacon (Akron, Ohio).
Toledo Blade.
Toledo Evening Commercial.
Tribune.
Western Reserve Chronicle (Warren, Ohio).
Western Reserve Democrat (Warren, Ohio).
GENERAL AND LOCAL HISTORIES


Atkins, Carl, ed., The History of Ohio. 6 vols. Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, 1894.

BIOGRAPHIES AND HISTORIES

Blackwell, Alice Stone, Lucy Stone--Mother of Woman's Rights. Little Brown, Boston, 1895.


**SPECIAL HANDMATERIALS**


PERIODICALS


Anonymous, "Ohio Annual Convention." The Woman's Journal, XX, 179 (June 8, 1889).


Boyle, Mary S., "Ohio Suffragists of Olden Days." The Woman Voter, 6-8 (August, 1912).


Kothbauer, Miss M., "Woman's Work." The Ladies' Repository, XXXII, 242 (October, 1873).


MISCELLANEOUS

Ratner, Maria, "HINTS OF THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE OHIO WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. TERRY-STATEN, CINCINNATI, OHIO, 1896."

Proceedings of the Ohio Women's Convention. Wood and Cooke, Cleveland, 1890.