

The Century Turns; The Movement Turns, 1881 to 1912

When Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony joined Julia Ward Howe in Europe for the initial meeting of the International Council of Women in 1883, they began to perceive more than a need for world unity. The gathering also demonstrated, on a very personal level, a glimmering of recognition that it was time to heal old wounds at home. Stanton's son Theodore, who lived in France, had worked with Howe on peace and progressive causes in Europe, and her daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch, also urged their mother to look at the wider world and to bury the rivalries and resentments between the National and American associations.

Blatch, who had been living in Europe, returned home in 1881 just in time to review the manuscript for the second volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. When she pointed out how unfair it was that the coeditors—all of whom were National association leaders—omitted any recognition of the American association, they allowed her to append a chapter correcting this bias. She returned to England, married an Englishman, and, like her mother, stayed intellectually active while living as a village housewife. Blatch earned a master's degree from Vassar College by correspondence, read the *Woman's Journal*, and urged her mother to move beyond the old animosities.

Alice Stone Blackwell, who grew up helping her parents edit the *Woman's Journal*, did the same. In the year that Blatch was rewriting her mother's second volume, Blackwell graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Boston University—in an all-male class that elected her president. She never married and instead—

like Susan B. Anthony—made the women’s movement the singular goal of her life. Together, these two young women urged their pioneer mothers toward reconciliation.

Thus, in 1890, after two decades of rivalry, the National American Woman Suffrage Association was born. Like a household expecting guests, the suffragists began cleaning up their unhappy past before the first international gathering held in the United States. Buried deep in the minutiae of the American Woman Suffrage Association was this item: “Resolved, that Mrs. Lucy Stone be appointed a committee of one from the American W.S.A. to confer with Miss Susan Anthony, of the National W.S.A., and if on conference it seems desirable, that she be authorized...to consider a satisfactory basis of union.”



Alice Stone Blackwell and the *Woman's Journal*. (Library of Congress)

An objective analyst must conclude that the American “lost” these negotiations, for the National won on all major points: Anthony successfully insisted that the word “National” be placed first in the new organization’s name and Stanton became the first president, with Anthony following two years later. Although they had no publication to offer in this organizational exchange, Stanton and Anthony, as the first presidents of the merged group, also inherited the prestigious *Woman’s Journal*. (The National had no publication at the time; Matilda Joslyn Gage, an excellent writer, had issued the *National Citizen and the Ballot Box* from 1878 to 1881, but it was a four-page newsletter and could not begin to compare with the American association’s *Women’s Journal*.)

Anthony even won on her insistence that annual conventions of the merged association be held in Washington, while Stone chalked up no particular points.

Moreover, it was women of the National who compiled the *History of Woman Suffrage*, and its fourth volume, which covers this era, came very close to not even acknowledging that there had been a merger. Just one paragraph spoke to the change, and it was hidden in the pages on the 1890 National American convention, which followed the 1889 National's report as though nothing differed. Future conventions would be referred to as the "twenty-fifth" or "twenty-sixth," for example, with no indication that the National American was a new organization, not one that dated to 1869.

Perhaps because Lucy Stone was closer to death's door or perhaps because—as the division over the Fifteenth Amendment showed—the American association was composed of women who valued tolerance, Stone allowed the National to be the clear "winner" in the merger. Her husband and daughter both spoke at the first National American convention—and she would speak again in 1891 and 1892—but she stayed in the background at the first crucial meeting of the merged rivals. She let Stanton and Anthony retain center stage and allowed the National to view itself as the negotiation's "winner."

Most women agreed that all were winners when they presented a united front, but a few did not. Matilda Joslyn Gage was perhaps the National association's most stereotypically demure woman, with her stylish wardrobe and her timidity about public speaking, but she became more ideologically radical as she aged, and she did not agree to the merger. Gage feared that the new organization would be too social and insufficiently political, and indeed, her trepidations would prove prescient. Although 66 years old, she did not resign herself to complaining from the sidelines, but instead formed an alternative organization, the Women's National Liberal Union. Always more historically astute than others, Gage had moved far beyond her old friends in matters of feminist theory, and they no longer understood each other. The fourth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage* would be written and compiled without her input.

Rev. Olympia Brown also believed that her former heroes were too comfortable with the status quo, too willing to spend their Washington winters reminiscing at the Riggs and preaching to the choir instead of lobbying the strangers they needed to educate. In 1892, she formed the Federal Suffrage Association, which aimed at creating coalitions with other, non-suffrage

organizations. Although neither Gage's nor Brown's associations would grow very large, they showed that from the beginning there were thoughtful people who viewed the National American Woman Suffrage Association as inadequate to the task that lay before it.

Brown was correct in seeing the need for coalitions with groups that did not specialize in suffrage. In the same year that the National American Woman Suffrage Association began, the club movement that Julia Ward Howe had pushed during the last two decades also coalesced into a huge body: the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) soon would grow to two million members. It was led by journalist Jane Cunningham Croly, an outstanding writer and organizer who knew that once women got involved in local civic clubs, they would come to understand the need for female enfranchisement from a practical point of view. She worked to help them take this first step.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) also showed suffragists a remarkable model for numerical success. The WCTU appended "World" to its name in 1891, and its first international meeting produced an astonishing seven million petition signatures appealing to governments around the world to control addictive substances. Frances Willard continued as its energetic president and like Croly, she gently pushed her members toward further feminist goals. Perhaps the most striking example of needs beyond the vote was reform of state laws on "the age of consent." This was the age at which a man could argue in court that he was not guilty of rape because the "woman" had consented. A turn-of-the-century WCTU study reported that in many states, the age was ten; in Delaware, it was seven. (See Chapter 10 for more.)

Willard was a particularly important mentor to Anna Howard Shaw, a WCTU employee who later became the National American's president. Licensed in Michigan as a Methodist minister in 1871, Shaw also earned an 1886 medical degree from Boston University, but never practiced either profession. She lectured instead, and her oratorical skill and conservative image appealed to mainstream women. The millions of WCTU and GFWC members lay between suffragists on the left and anti-suffragists on the right—and the latter also grew in this era. Massachusetts women had issued their first "remonstrance" against suffrage back in 1868, when some 200 Lancaster women asked the legislature not to give them the vote, lest it "diminish the purity, the dignity, and the moral influence of women." More than two decades later, the anti-suffragists began their first publication, which, like the *Woman's*

Journal, would be based in Boston. Initially edited by a man, *The Remonstrance* was taken over by a woman who attracted a national audience for the quarterly publication. Funded by some of New England's oldest families, *The Remonstrance* would scold against suffrage until its last losing battle in 1920.

Bostonians in this era unabashedly referred to their city as “the Hub of the Universe,” but it was the West that continued to establish the progressive



Reverend Doctor Anna Howard Shaw (Library of Congress)

milestones for an indifferent, even hostile, East. Congress demonstrated some of that hostility in 1890, when Wyoming came up for statehood. Although even suffrage opponents had to concede that women had a favorable influence at polling places in the Wild West, many congressmen objected to the fact that Wyoming women had voted for two decades. The territorial government was loyal to its women, however, and insisted on including them as full voters

under statehood. The congressional tally was close in both houses, but the state's women won.

Thus, when the National American association began in 1890, Wyoming was the only state in which women had full voting rights. Congress had denied the vote to Utah women with a special legislative act in 1887 and, in the same year, the Supreme Court had struck women's suffrage down in Washington. More than two decades after the suffrage associations began in 1869, they were going backward on this fundamental issue, not forward. Olympia Brown and Matilda Joslyn Gage had good reason to believe that women were losing their cutting edge, but the suffrage associations instead counted their victories in the half-loaf of partial suffrage. By 1890, 19 states had some version of partial rights. By far the most common was school suffrage; Kansas was the most liberal, allowing women to vote in both school and municipal elections—but not for congressman, governor, president, or any office of a very powerful nature.

The suffragists had not come close to achieving the goals they had set for themselves when they campaigned in Kansas just after the Civil War, and so, in 1890, the new organization tried again. They went out to South Dakota, which

along with North Dakota, had achieved statehood the previous year. But the lesson that Wyoming women had tried to teach—that the time for action was during the territorial stage—had been ignored, and the campaign could not have gone worse. Farmer and labor organizations that had promised to help—if women would just kindly wait until after their first goal of statehood was won—now had no reason to fulfill those promises. Even though the National American spent \$5,000 on this campaign, the women lost by a wide margin.

The language of the South Dakota report in the *History of Woman Suffrage* shows how, instead of joining with the women of oppressed groups, suffrage leadership continued to decry political participation by immigrant and other minority men. At the 1891 convention, Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw spoke of the “much greater consideration the Indians received from the men of that State than did women.” While women won only 37 percent of the vote in the South Dakota election, 45 percent of the voters cast ballots for “male Indian suffrage.” Shaw lamented that “Indians in blankets and moccasins were received...with the greatest courtesy, and Susan B. Anthony and other eminent women were barely tolerated.” At the 1893 convention, Carrie Chapman Catt continued the disparaging theme: she spelled out “the contrast between the Government’s treatment of the Sioux Indians, [who are] exempted from taxation and allowed to vote, and law-abiding, intelligent women in the same section of the country, compelled to pay taxes and not allowed to vote.”

But women in the Far West inched further forward. In 1892, Wyoming Republicans elected Theresa A. Jenkins as the first fully credentialed delegate to a major party’s national convention. Democrats in Utah followed in the next presidential year and elected Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, who demonstrated her independence from other Mormons by voting for a candidate who had been excommunicated from the church. From then on, both political parties would include women as delegates to national conventions, decades before most women could vote for the candidates that they nominated.



Carrie Chapman Catt (Library of Congress)

It was Colorado, however, that provided the only real ray of hope in the 1890s. In November 1893, Colorado men made their state the second in the nation in which women had full voting rights. Newcomer Carrie Chapman Catt managed the campaign. When Catt joined the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association in 1887, she had life experience far beyond her 28 years. Within three years of graduating first in her class at Iowa State Agriculture College, Carrie Lane was so recognized by her community that she was promoted to superintendent of the schools in Mason City, Iowa. This early career success contrasted greatly with the experience of Eastern suffragists, and the relative lack of discrimination against women on the frontier was a political point that Catt never forgot.

She married journalist Leo Chapman in 1885 and followed him to California—only to discover that he had just died. She worked as a San Francisco journalist before returning to Iowa to marry George Catt in 1890; he signed a prenuptial agreement promising that she could travel for the women’s movement four months of every year. Having grown up on virgin Iowa land, Catt understood the pioneer mentality; she related far better to Western men than did the Easterners who had dominated previous campaigns. The key to her victory in Colorado was that she did not allow the damaging prohibition link to develop.

At the very next opportunity, Colorado elected three women to its House of Representatives. In November 1894, Clara Clessingham, Carrie Holly, and Frances Klock became the nation’s first women in a state legislature—more than 25 years before most American women voted. The three were liberal Republicans, and both that party and the new Populist Party organized women’s divisions for this election. Even the state’s Democrats, although they had “no chance of electing their ticket,” organized 12 women’s clubs in Colorado. Once women had the vote, men took them seriously on issues and as candidates.

In the same year, Wyoming set still another precedent. Esther Reel not only won her race for state superintendent of public instruction, she was the first woman anywhere to win a statewide race for an executive position, and she collected more votes than any candidate in the state’s history. Later she would be the first woman confirmed by the U.S. Senate for a national position, the superintendent of schools for American Indians. Wyoming voters continued to elect women to head the state’s educational system for years into the future.

to form the National Legislative League. Both women were aging and unable to develop a strong organization before they died, but their league did predate the League of Women Voters in many ways, especially in its emphasis on issues other than feminist ones.

The era continued to be one of organizational expansion. African American women had brought many groups together under the umbrella of the National Association of Colored Women in 1895. With Margaret Murray Washington, the wife of Booker T. Washington, as its initial president, and with famed freedom fighter Harriet Tubman and Frances Watkins Harper among its founders, the association had delegates from 25 states at its first meeting in Washington D.C. Mary Church Terrell soon took over its leadership: with an 1888 master's degree from Oberlin, she was an extremely effective president. The association was only slightly to the left of mainstream; it did not endorse suffrage and worked instead toward such goals as "care for the children of absentee mothers."

It was not progressive enough for Ida B. Wells-Barnett, who continued to set her sights higher. She met with some success, for already in 1898, she had



Ida B. Wells-Barnett pictured in *The African-American Press and Its Editors*, 1891. (Library of Congress)

gone to the White House to lobby President McKinley for a federal anti-lynching law. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin was another black woman of this era who resisted a secondary place. When she went to Milwaukee for the annual convention of the GFWC, officials refused to seat her in her role as president of an all-black Boston club, even though that club was a GFWC affiliate. They did offer to seat her with other integrated clubs of which she was a member, but she would not accept this insult to her race and left the convention.

It was still another example of the failure of even progressive white

women to work with African American activists, and the same generally was

true of the suffrage movement's attitude toward white working-class women. To the extent that suffrage leaders attempted to work with labor unions, they sought out the male leadership, not the female members. It was not an unreasonable strategy, of course, given that men had the vote and women did not, and suffragists did garner some success with the men. As early as 1891, Lillie Devereux Blake, who chaired the National American's platform committee, reported on "cordial" meetings with Terrance Powderly of the Knights of Labor and Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. A decade later, at the 1899 convention of the American Federation of Labor, delegates listened to Susan B. Anthony speak and then unanimously adopted a resolution asking Congress to pass the Sixteenth Amendment. Still, when the Women's Trade Union League began in 1903, it was viewed as a stepchild by both men in the labor movement and by women in the suffrage movement. Not until two giant strikes took place in New York and Chicago did suffragists begin to see the potential power of working-class women.

Coalitions with prohibitionist women also became more complex with the emergence of Carry Nation in 1900. A poor Kansas woman whose life had been



Carry Nation with her trademark hatchet. (Kansas State Historical Society)

ruined by male alcoholism, she armed herself with rocks, bottles, and the hatchet that became her symbol, and began assaults on saloons. She did serious property damage, and arrest did not deter her. Her supporters sang and prayed outside of jails, and as soon as she was released, she repeated her crimes. WCTU women who initially applauded her soon had second thoughts, and in 1904, when she started selling hatchets in a Coney Island sideshow, they expelled her.

But the issues she raised continued to be important, even if her family history of mental illness made her an easy target for ridicule.

While most prohibitionists disassociated themselves from Nation's lawbreaking, a few pointed out that she was right not only morally, but also legally: many of the saloons she attacked were in areas that were supposed to

be “dry,” and the liquor sellers were violating the law. They, however, had the protection of politicians, and when she smashed the capital city’s favorite bar, her Kansas career was effectively over. She roamed the country until finally, in 1910, a female bar owner in Montana beat Carry Nation so badly that she died six months later.

Although few saw past the caricatures to the legalities, Carry Nation’s case raised a significant point: Kansas women (and men) voted in elections that determined alcohol sales, but even after the prohibitionists won, saloons continued to operate. Women’s votes made no practical difference in their lives—and this became still another argument for apathy. Like Carry Nation, the era’s famous labor leader “Mother Jones” (Mary Harris Jones) also did not consider suffrage to be worth the bother. An economic radical, she was a social conservative; a widow, she was a devout Catholic who believed that men should earn enough to support their wives, who in turn should limit their lives to motherhood. The only role Mother Jones saw for women was in auxiliaries that supported the men’s goals, and suffrage, she said, was a distraction: “The plutocrats have organized their women. They keep them busy with suffrage and prohibition and charity.... You don’t need a vote to raise hell.” Anti-suffragists, of course, were delighted to have support from such unexpected quarters, and the true plutocrats continued to fall under their organizational umbrella.

In 1911, they came together as the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the organization that would be the conservatives’ banner-carrier until they finally lost. With Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge as president for most of their existence, the association established a headquarters in New York. The officers were all from the Northeast, where full suffrage remained unknown. In 1912, they began publishing *Woman’s Protest*; in 1918—at the peak of American involvement in World War I—the name was changed to the less rebellious-sounding *Woman Patriot*. Suffragists never took these women very seriously. Their membership remained small—as might be expected with a determinedly elitist group of women. Their anti-labor, anti-immigrant views ultimately became a boon to progressives, especially with independent-minded Jewish women in urban areas. That was not yet the case, however, and it never would be in rural New England, where the second Eastern suffrage referendum finally took place in 1902.

The first had been in Rhode Island in 1887 and this one also was in a very small state: New Hampshire. Although the women organized well and the

National American sent campaign workers, the opposition did the same, and New Hampshire's men rejected female suffrage 21,788 to 14,162. Meanwhile, Western women, especially Abigail Scott Duniway, could not help but notice that the large states of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania—where the women's movement was born—did not even hold elections. They grew understandably resentful of Eastern women who rushed to give them advice, while failing to do anything at all in their own backyards.

The National American did reach out beyond its eastern seaboard base with conventions in 1903 in New Orleans and in 1905 in Portland. New Orleans, however, only confirmed the organization's conservatism: Ida Husted Harper revealed more than she may have intended when she recorded, "notwithstanding the utmost care and tact on the part of those who had the convention in charge, the 'color question' kept cropping out." The president of the Mississippi Suffrage Association titled her speech "Restricted Suffrage from a Southern Point of View," and discussed possible mechanisms that would allow white women to vote while denying that right to blacks of either gender. "Educated suffrage" was again the favored solution, and the audience applauded a Louisiana man who reminded them of the Fifteenth Amendment: he "spoke of the crime of enfranchising 'a horde of ignorant negro men when...nearly 4,000,000 intelligent white women...[are] denied.'"

Knowing they were not welcome at the convention, New Orleans's black women held their own feminist assembly, which Harper covered in a small-

print footnote in the fifth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Old abolitionists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Smith Miller, along with Alice Stone Blackwell, the daughter of abolitionists, had the grace to respond to an invitation from the Phillis Wheatley Club, which ran a kindergarten, a night school, and a training school for nurses. The only Southern white woman who went with them made for a portrait in irony: Elizabeth M. Gilmer was nationally known as "Dorothy Dix," a



Sylvanie Williams, an African American suffragist leader in New Orleans.

New Orleans advice columnist who presaged Ann Landers and others. Club president Sylvanie Williams presented Anthony with a bouquet and said:

Flowers in their beauty and sweetness may represent woman....
Some flowers are delicate and fragile, some strong and hardy, some are carefully guarded and cherished, others are roughly treated and trodden under foot. These last are the colored women. They have a crown of thorns continually pressed upon their brow, yet they are advancing.

The next non-Washington convention was held in Portland, Oregon. Abigail Scott Duniway convinced the others to come west for the first time because of the 1905 centennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The women used this opportunity to draw attention to the role of a woman, Sacajawea of the Shoshoni tribe, who helped lead Lewis and Clark and their all-male corps hundreds of miles across Dakota prairie and into the Rocky Mountains. National American leaders unveiled a statue of Sacajawea, done by Denver sculptor Alice Cooper, and the convention report ended by noting “a very significant...changing sentiment toward women.”

Indeed, a changed sentiment was necessary, for Sacajawea was a very different role model from the Victorian image of women. Younger, more vital role models were bolstered by Republican Theodore Roosevelt, who assumed the presidency when McKinley was assassinated in 1901. Although Roosevelt was more progressive than any president since Lincoln, he did disappointingly little to truly advance women’s agenda. When he met with Susan B. Anthony in November 1905, she presented seven specific items for his attention. They ranged from endorsing the Sixteenth Amendment to a timidly phrased request that he appoint “experienced women on boards and commissions relating to such matters as they would be competent to pass upon.” All were ignored; instead, the White House placated National American leaders with invitations to social functions.

A few months later, Roosevelt was among those who sent greetings to Susan B. Anthony for her eighty-sixth birthday. This year’s birthday was two days after the end of the National American’s annual convention, which was

held away from Washington—but only slightly away, in Baltimore. Ida Husted Harper called Baltimore “the very heart of conservatism,” and it was true that Maryland’s women had never done much for the vote. The association, however, was responding to hospitality from Mary E. Garrett, a wealthy woman who opened her mansion to Anthony, as well as to Bryn Mawr president Dr. M. Carey Thomas, who never used her first name, Martha. She and other academic women used this opportunity to begin the college-based Equal Suffrage League.

The convention’s “College Evening” seemed to fit Baltimore’s conservative image: all speakers were from the “Seven Sisters” colleges, to which the nation’s wealthy sent their daughters. They were Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley professors; the presidents of Bryn Mawr and Mount Holyoke; a Vassar trustee, and a Radcliffe graduate. The meeting was presided over by the male president of Johns Hopkins.

Susan B. Anthony had caught a cold when she left Rochester and became ill at Garrett’s home. Garrett brought in Baltimore’s best physicians and nurses, and although “white and frail,” Anthony rallied enough to make her final speech—which included the phrase that became the movement’s battle cry, “Failure is impossible.” While she lay in bed, Garrett and Thomas asked her what they could do for the cause, and the ever-practical Anthony replied that the movement needed better funding. They promised to “find a number of women like themselves who were unable to take an active part in working for suffrage but sincerely believed in it, and who would be willing to join together in contributing \$12,000 a year for the next five years.” This cheerful news may have helped Anthony make her return trip, but she was still ill. She died in the second-floor bedroom of her Rochester home the next month.

Anthony had outlived the giants of the early movement, for Elizabeth Cady Stanton had died in 1902. Even in death, however, Stanton breathed new life into the movement through her daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch. Blatch, who moved back to America from England when her mother was dying, was appalled by the conservatism and apathy of the association that had become so timorous that it condemned her mother’s writing. Blatch introduced the new organizational model of British suffragists, beginning by reaching out to working-class women with the New York-based Equality League of Self-Supporting Women. Within a decade, it had a membership of 20,000 women who had been overlooked by the longtime suffragists.



Elizabeth Cady Stanton with her daughter Harriot Stanton Blatch on the right and granddaughter Nora on the left, circa 1890. (Library of Congress)

The death of her old “Aunt Susan” left Blatch emotionally free to work independently of the *National American*, which was indeed spinning its wheels in reverse: after Anthony no longer spent winters in Washington, its headquarters moved to Warren, Ohio, in the home of its current treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton.

Other suffragists continued to develop what they hoped would be more effective groups, some of them more or less under the aegis of their *National American* mother. Such was the case of the Equal Suffrage League, which was recognized by NAWSA in 1906 as the organization for feminists on college campuses. Led by Maud Wood Park, a Radcliffe graduate who was the youngest delegate at the 1900 *National American* convention, and by Bryn Mawr president M. Carey Thomas, the league attracted more professors and administrators than students. Although it never developed into a great political force, at least it was a beginning: it had taken 60 years for the academics who benefited from the Seneca Falls platform to join the women who had made their careers possible.

The 1907 *National American* convention was held in Chicago; coincidentally, 1907 was the high point of American immigration, with more than a million people arriving at Ellis Island. Chicago was far better organized than any other interior city to receive them, and its “settlement house” model was the creation of two women, Jane Addams and her friend Ellen Gates Starr. In 1887, they opened Hull House, a welcoming place where they offered assistance to Chicago’s newly arrived. Addams soon attracted a coterie of progressive,

well-educated women, many of whom also were associated with the University of Chicago; among the most notable were Edith and Grace Abbott, who were pioneer sociologists and economists, as well as Julia Lathrop, who later would head the federal Children's Bureau. These liberals supported suffrage—especially municipal suffrage on the issues that most affected their immigrant clients—and their leadership at the 1907 convention helped reduce the anti-immigrant bias of Eastern suffragists. They also understood how to work with coalitions, and this convention brought the news that National Grange, a farmers' union, and the American Federation of Labor had unanimously endorsed the vote for women. Another indication of Chicago's democratic attitude was the presence of black leader Fannie Barrier Williams on the dais.

State legislatures were meeting in February at the same time as the 1907 convention, and while the women were in Chicago, an amazing amount of news



Fannie Barrier Williams, a leading African American in Chicago's suffragist movement. (Wikimedia)

was developing elsewhere. In Nebraska, suffrage had lost on a tie vote in the Senate; in Oklahoma, the vote in a constitutional convention was so close that a change of seven hearts would have carried it; and it lost by exactly the same number in South Dakota's House. Just before the convention, suffrage went down in Vermont's Senate by a mere three votes; during the convention, the West Virginia House passed it 38–24, but its Senate had yet to vote.

It hardly took a keen understanding of political science

to recognize that these women should have been home lobbying their own legislatures at this crucial time of year, but many delegates truly seemed to prefer preaching to the choir at national conventions. Oblivious to the states' political calendar, they clung to their February national convention dates, even though they were no longer in Washington, and even though Susan B. Anthony was no longer alive for birthday celebrations. The unspoken coincidence, however, was that National American president Anna Howard Shaw also