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A historical study of the woman suffrage movement in California, 1910-1911

Audrey Mackey Johnson

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE
WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
IN CALIFORNIA
1910-1911

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Audrey Mackey Johnson
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This thesis is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

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Dated May 15, 1962
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CHAPTER I

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT BEFORE 1910

The years before 1910 are filled with accounts of the gains made for woman suffrage in various parts of the United States as well as in countries overseas. There is evidence of agitation in Mexico, England, Ireland, and even in China. The California movement for woman suffrage was an important part of a world-wide movement.

I. THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT ABROAD

Women had gained the franchise in New Zealand as early as 1893,\(^1\) and by 1911 women voted in Australia, Tasmania, Norway, Finland, and the Isle of Man.\(^2\) In all provinces of Canada they enjoyed school or municipal suffrage or both.\(^3\) Municipal suffrage had also been granted to them in England, Iceland, Scotland, Wales, Sweden, Denmark, and Natal.\(^4\)

In other parts of the world active campaigns were under way to secure the ballot. In Mexico, in the summer of


\(^3\)Mrs. Oliver H.P. Belmont, "How Can Women Get the Suffrage?" Independent, LXVIII (March 31, 1910), 686.

\(^4\)Stockton Daily Evening Record, loc. cit.
1911, five hundred women signed a petition to the Minister of the Interior, demanding the right to vote and hold office.\(^5\) In Ireland, the Skeffingtons had been agitating for woman suffrage and had been jailed for their part in the movement.\(^6\)

Events in England made excellent copy for journalists. Late in 1905 news came in of a militant movement in London, led by one Emmeline Pankhurst.\(^7\) These women declared that unless King George pledged passage of a "conciliation bill," suffragettes would "take the warpath."\(^8\) There were riots and mass arrests.\(^9\) Apparently their activities had the gentlemen worried, for some went to the trouble of installing special alarm devices on the lawns of country clubs, cricket grounds, and golf courses. One such device looked something like a small lantern with a metal cylinder where the glass ought to be. The small metal canopy on the top was really a weight which was designed to drop down on the metal cylinder


\(^6\)Alice Park, "Autobiography," MS at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto.


\(^8\)Stockton Daily Evening Record, February 4, 1911, p. 1.

and touch off the loaded cartridge inside. The trigger which would drop the weight (thus setting off the charge) was a mesh of wires which were stretched across the grounds in various places. Placed close to the ground, these wires were nearly invisible even in the daytime, and it was hoped that women suffrage agitators, who sometimes roamed the countryside and burned these club buildings, would trip the warning device.  

The first martyr of the English suffrage movement was Miss Emily Wilding Davison. At Epsom Downs she sprang in front of King George's horse and tried to seize the bridle. A tragic accident followed in front of hundreds of shocked spectators. Mrs. Pankhurst was quick to make the public announcement that Miss Davison had died for the cause.  

Some women organized parades. One such demonstration, staged just a week before coronation, included an estimated forty to sixty thousand marchers, seven hundred of whom were the heroines of the occasion, the women who had been jailed for their suffrage activities.  

It was a five-mile spectacle.  

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11 "First Martyr," Colliers, LI (July 5, 1912), 15.
They even had the census-taker worried. Since London women did not have the vote, they were determined not to be counted for tax purposes. The law read that the heads of households were to report all persons who, "on the night of Sunday, April 2nd, were under said householder's roof." To foil the government, wives determined to stay out all night on the designated date. A midnight mass meeting was held at Trafalgar Square. When the meeting broke up many went to the Scala Theater and the big skating rink in King's Way. Restaurants in the vicinity stayed open all night to accommodate the crowds of women. Some conciliatory gestures were made by the government during this period, but it was almost a decade before English women gained full and equal suffrage.

II. THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

News of the agitation in England and other foreign countries reached California in the midst of the campaign for the state suffrage amendment, and speakers on both sides of the question made use of the material. They also referred to the history of the movement in the United States, for the idea of granting votes to women was not a new one; indeed, it

15Ibid.
reached deep into the past to the very beginning of the republic.

In a letter dated March 31, 1776, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, as follows:

In the new code of laws, which it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies. Do not put unlimited power in the hands of husbands. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.16

The future president's humorous and courteous reply began with the words, "I cannot but laugh . . . "17 This proved to be the keynote for the coming century, for the women who publicly spoke for woman's rights were frequently greeted with laughter; few were given serious attention or consideration.

It was not Mrs. Adams' protests but a legislative oversight which inadvertently gave the elective franchise to New Jersey women from 1790 to 1807, at which time the gentlemen of New Jersey corrected the "mistake."18 Then, in 1838, widows with children of school age were given school suffrage in Kentucky. Kansas granted school suffrage to

16Stockton Evening Mail, October 9, 1911, p. 5.


18Encyclopedia Britannica, op. cit., p. 787.
women in 1861, followed by Michigan and Minnesota in 1875. In the years from 1876 to 1894, the following states passed laws permitting women to vote in school elections: Colorado, New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Mississippi, Vermont, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, New Jersey, Illinois, Connecticut, and Ohio.19

In 1894 Iowa granted bond suffrage to women, and in 1897 Kansas granted them municipal suffrage. Women were gaining the ballot in small pieces, but the trend was unmistakable. Gradually other states granted such rights as giving the vote to women taxpayers, allowing them to vote for library trustees, or allowing all women to vote on questions of local taxation.20

Full and equal suffrage was another matter. By the time of Susan B. Anthony's death in 1906, there were only four states where women held unrestricted franchise. Wyoming21 was first, for the legislature insisted on keeping the provision when the territory was admitted to statehood in 1890. Colorado passed the measure in 1893, and Idaho in


20Ibid., p. 346.

21The Territory of Wyoming had permitted women to vote as early as 1869.
1896. In that same year Utah, like Wyoming, came into the union with suffrage for women already an accomplished fact.22

In territorial days in Washington, women had the right to vote.23 As early as 1883 the legislature had passed a bill to that effect, and they passed a stronger measure in 1886, only to have both bills declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court the following year. This did not end the dispute, for in 1888 the legislature re-enacted the measure. The state supreme court then promptly declared that legislatures did not have the power to grant suffrage to women, whereupon the proponents of woman suffrage made the first of three attempts to amend the Washington State Constitution by means of a state-wide referendum. In 1910, on the third try, the proposal carried by a two-to-one majority in every district.24

The story in Oregon was quite different. The Oregon State Legislature had been willing to submit such an amendment to a popular vote, but Oregon had lost four referenda, and in 1910 the suffrage amendment was again defeated.25

In view of these defeats, woman suffrage leaders such as Susan B. Anthony made repeated attempts to get some statement of support from the President of the United States. In 1904 Miss Anthony met Theodore Roosevelt, but the President issued no statement regarding woman suffrage at that time.

During the term of President Taft, Roosevelt was what could be described as "tepid" in favor of woman's rights. He considered that a woman's duties were more important than her rights. As early as November, 1908, he wrote the following to a determined suffragist, Harriet Taylor Upton: "Personally I believe in Woman's suffrage, but I am not an enthusiastic advocate of it because I do not regard it as a very important matter." Mrs. Upton tried to get some suggestion from him which might be of help. This is the report of the interview:

We hoped that the President . . . would have some practical suggestion to make in regard to our proceeding. He talked every moment we were there. Apparently he did not listen at all. We told him as best we could the situation and finally he said, "Get another state," just as he might have said, "Go buy an orange," or take a car ride, or something of that kind.


27 Stockton Daily Evening Record, March 27, 1911, p. 1.


29 Ibid.
When Katherine Reed Balantine interviewed him he said that "public sentiment was not yet strong enough for him to do anything." ³⁰ As a contributing editor to the Outlook from 1909 to 1914, ³¹ he had ample opportunity for expressing his views in print. Excerpts from the following article are typical:

I believe in woman's rights, but I believe even more earnestly in duty by both men and women. . . . They should have suffrage wherever they want it. . . . It should not be forced on them. ³²

Mr. Roosevelt refers to a referendum in Massachusetts in 1895 in which only five per cent of the women of that state turned out to vote on the subject. He goes on to say that woman suffrage is really not important, and he hints at a connection between immorality ³³ and the suffrage movement. The article employs and praises a statement of Ida M. Tarbell to the effect that the improvement of woman's condition is not dependent on her vote, and that she needs training which


³²Theodore Roosevelt, "Woman's Rights; and The Duties of Both Men and Women," Outlook, C (February 3, 1912), 262.

³³Mr. Roosevelt probably refers to a particular suffrage leader, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, unsuccessful candidate for President in 1872 and an advocate of "free love."
will help her to apply herself to domestic life. Roosevelt saw little improvement in social conditions in the West where suffrage had been granted.

In view of this series of statements on the question of woman suffrage, it is perhaps easy to understand why Harriet Taylor Upton wrote the following in a private letter to Mary McHenry Keith:

I feel as you do about Roosevelt. I will never feel happy until I have hit him or kicked him. I probably will not have a chance to do that in this world, but I will have it in the next. I despise him, but I must not talk about it.

After the Bull Moose campaign of 1912 and Roosevelt's connection with the Progressive party, there were signs that he was modifying his stand. In a statement to leading women of the Progressive party in New York he said,

I believe that the surest way of bringing about a realization of one feature of the Progressive Party program, that of securing the vote for women, is the constant development of what are already the social and industrial activities of women within the Progressive Party.

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34 Ida Tarbell quoted in Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 263.
35 Ibid.
36 Harriet Taylor Upton in a letter to Mary Keith, October 5, 1912, the Keith Papers, Bancroft [Library], University of California, Berkeley.
The candidate Roosevelt was obliged to stand on the Progressive platform, and the suffrage plank almost tripped him:

During the presidential primary campaign of 1912, a meeting was held in a small New Jersey town, at which Mr. Roosevelt was speaking to an audience of rural "rough necks." In the course of his talk he made certain references to "votes for women." A taunting voice from the rear of the hall heckled him thus: "You didn't think that way five years ago Colonel!"

The whole character of the man Roosevelt came out in his reply, which was instantaneous: "No, I did not know enough then, I was wrong. I know better now." 38

Probably the most famous figure in the national movement for woman suffrage was Susan B. Anthony. Most of the sixty years she spent in working for women's rights were devoted to the lecture platform. Her literary ventures were not really successful, for it was her speaking engagements which paid the debt of her one journalistic venture, The Revolution. 39 In cooperation with Ida Husted Harper the multi-volume A History of Woman Suffrage was produced. She handled the sale and distribution of the book herself. 40 The work found its way into libraries and onto the desks of many important people. Besides sending a set to Mary McHenry Keith, she shipped a copy via Wells Fargo to

38 Mr. Van Norman quoted in Wood, op. cit., pp. 163 f.
39 Katherine Anthony, op. cit., p. 171.
40 Susan B. Anthony in a letter to Mary Keith, November 28, 1902, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
Governor George C. Pardee in Sacramento. Unfortunately, the original plates of the History (along with a valuable portrait of Miss Anthony) were destroyed, probably by Lucy Anthony, and the work was soon out of print. Miss Anthony not only lectured and wrote, but she kept in touch with campaigns in many states by travel and by correspondence.

III. THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA

Miss Anthony was in contact with California suffrage workers as early as 1871. She made several trips to the Golden State. On her first trip with her devoted friend, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, she visited Yosemite Valley. Her second trip was in connection with the 1896 campaign when she and the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw came to San Francisco in May in response to an invitation to assist with the Woman's Congress. After this conference she and Reverend Shaw accepted invitations to speak in San Jose, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Riverside, Pomona, and San Diego. On July 2nd

41 Ibid., May 27, 1903.
42 Ida Husted Harper in a letter to Mary Keith, n.d., the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
43 Katherine Anthony, op. cit., p. 124.
44 Ibid., p. 264.
and 3rd they met with the state suffrage convention in Golden Gate Hall, San Francisco.45

It was also during this visit to California that Miss Anthony visited the Keiths. Mr. Keith, the famous landscape artist, presented her with one of his paintings, a picture of Yosemite Valley.46 This contact proved to be an important one for Mrs. Keith, Mary McHenry Keith, later emerged as one of the most prominent persons in the 1911 campaign. When Miss Anthony returned to Rochester she continued her correspondence with Mary Keith, correspondence which expressed an avid interest in the state of the defeated suffrage amendment. She was never "cast down, even if voted down,"47 and, late in 1895, she expressed hope for renewed application to the legislature for re-submission of the measure to a popular vote.48 Her interest helped to keep alive the organized movement which had formed years earlier.

There had been a state suffrage organization in


47The Woman's Journal, April 7, 1906, p. 353.

48Susan B. Anthony in a letter to Mary Keith, December 26, 1895, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
California as early as January of 1870. This was important since it meant that by 1911 machinery was extant and operating. From 1870 on a committee of women had done work in the legislature every session. Mrs. Laura DeForce Gordon was president from 1884 to 1894. Mrs. Gordon, a practicing attorney, attended national conferences and delivered addresses in many parts of the United States. In the political campaign of 1888, Mrs. Gordon and Mrs. Clara Shortridge Foltz were employed as speakers by the Democratic Central Committee.49

The question of woman suffrage was placed before the voters of California in 1896, the year William McKinley was elected President. Some blamed the failure at that time on the fact that the state issues were lost in the heat of the national campaign; the women themselves blamed the defeat on insufficient organization, too few workers, lack of funds, the immensity of the territory, the large foreign population, and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' League.50

A few women had worked hard. Susan B. Anthony scheduled many lectures; Anna Howard Shaw spoke every night for seven months. Miss Yates made about one hundred speeches. Carrie Chapman Catt spent two months giving

50 Ibid., p. 492.
several addresses every day. Sarah M. Severance appeared under the auspices of the W.C.T.U. 51 Mrs. Mary Wood Swift and Mrs. Mary Simpson Sperry helped many times financially. 52 Naomi Anderson represented the colored people, 53 and Ida Harper served as the press chairman for California. 54

The San Francisco Call, the Record, and the Post gave strong editorial endorsement. The Examiner gave space on the editorial page for Miss Anthony, but no official approval. The Bulletin was not friendly. The Populist press was favorable as were the socialist papers, Jewish papers, papers of the colored people, and foreign language papers. Against the suffrage amendment were the San Francisco Chronicle, the Argonaut, the Sacramento Record, Sacramento Union, and the Los Angeles Times. 55

Although suffrage leaders had declared that the press was friendly, 56 this was not generally the case. The verdict

51 Ibid., pp. 489 ff.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
55 Anthony and Harper, loc. cit.
of the unfriendly press, which was one indication of the lack of popular support, was confirmed on election day. The measure lost by about twenty-seven thousand votes.\(^5^7\) Even though there was a good majority in the southern part of the state and small majorities in the country districts, it was not enough to offset the three to one vote cast against it in San Francisco and Oakland. At first it was thought that the ignorant and foreign vote had been responsible, but upon examination of the precinct records, it was found that the negative vote had come equally from rich and poor; the districts in all parts of the bay area had turned it down by about the same margin.\(^5^8\)

The movement became dormant for a period of several years after the resounding defeat in the election of 1896. The state organization was not very active, but it did continue to hold annual conventions and elect officers. In 1902 Susan B. Anthony sold Mrs. Keith a four-volume set of the History and commented that it was a "good move" to have elected Mary Sperry president of the state suffrage association.\(^5^9\) During this period for the first time there was a

\(^{5^7}\)Ibid., p. 124.

\(^{5^8}\)Solomons, op. cit., pp. 3 f.; and Louise Herrick Wall, in Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 70.

\(^{5^9}\)Susan B. Anthony in a letter to Mary Keith, November 11, 1902, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
suffrage association formed in Los Angeles.  

Another organization which was destined to have a profound effect on the suffrage campaign in 1911 was being formed during this period. This was the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. Several prominent California newspapermen had become disgusted with the bribery and corruption in the California State Legislature. The Southern Pacific Railroad had become so deeply involved in state politics that they paid Abe Ruef, chairman of the San Francisco delegation to the Republican Convention at Santa Cruz in 1906, the sum of fourteen thousand dollars for the delivery of his delegation to the railroad candidate for governor, James W. Gillet. Edward A. Dickson, editor and publisher of the Los Angeles Press, and Chester A. Rowell, editor and publisher of the Fresno Republican, decided that reforms were necessary, and together they founded the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. They devoted the next few years to getting their reform candidates elected to key offices in the state. Their goal was to radically alter the composition of the legislature.

The legislature of 1909 was the last in a long series


61 J. Gregg Layne, "The Lincoln-Roosevelt League," The Quarterly, Historical Society of Southern California, XXV, No. 3 (September, 1943), 81.
of railroad-dominated bodies. It was not that the railroad men were in the majority, but the machine controlled the committees of both houses, selected the presiding officers, and picked the majority of the attachés.62 Thus they were not in a position to initiate legislation, but they could effectively block reform measures. The system was well entrenched. If the ineffective Act of 1880 is not included, the lawmakers had a perfect record of the non-passage of any railroad regulatory legislation since statehood.63 A direct primary bill did get through,64 but the machine amended it very much to its own liking.65 There were signs that the hold of the machine was weakening. The Walker-Otis Bill, which was popularly known as the Anti-Race Track Gambling Bill, passed because the reform coalition took a no-compromise attitude and had solid backing from public opinion.66 Senator Wolf warned his colleagues that the passage of this measure would wreck the Republican party in California.67

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63 Ibid., p. 121.
64 Wright-Stanton Direct Primary Bill, 1909.
65 Hichborn, op. cit., p. 69.
66 Ibid., p. 54.
67 Ibid., p. 55.
Actually the party was not wrecked, but it was replaced by the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, a group of reform Republicans. They were so successful that they succeeded in placing their reform candidate, Hiram Johnson, in the governor's chair.

In 1911 nationwide attention was focused on California. The suffrage amendment had passed the legislature by a comfortable majority and was to be submitted to the people in the fall of the year. Suffrage proponents remembered the election of 1896 when the same measure had been defeated by more than twenty-six thousand votes, and they were prepared for a long and vigorous campaign.

The struggle in California was crucial. Its importance may be measured not only in terms of the size and wealth of the state, but especially in the character of the participants and the political means they employed to change the status quo.

Succeeding chapters contain a brief exploration of the lives and personalities of political figures involved in the suffrage movement in California in 1910 and 1911 and a critical examination of the main elements of the campaign itself.

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68 Raker cited in Miller, op. cit., p. 354.
CHAPTER II
THE CALIFORNIA MOVEMENT IS ORGANIZED

Constitutional provision, judicial decision, and previous experience all pointed to the legislature as the logical place for the organized movement to first make itself heard and felt. There was room for optimism, since the composition of the legislature had been altered in the elections of 1910.

In the elections of 1910, the regular Republican organization was bypassed by the candidates of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League who had taken the political label of the Progressives. The Progressive candidates who were up for re-election won, and those who had opposed the reform were defeated.¹ Thus it was that the equal suffrage amendment, which had been placed before the legislature both in 1909 and 1911, received very different treatment from the latter group. The senate of 1909 had not even considered the bill, and the assembly had turned it down, fourteen votes short of the required number.²

²Ibid.
I. THE BELL AMENDMENT IN THE LEGISLATURE

In the 1911 session of the California State Legislature, they had hardly disposed of the business of inaugurating the new governor when senator Bell introduced the suffrage bill under the name of the Bell Amendment. Several women lobbyists were in Sacramento at the time, and hearings were held which offered an opportunity for both sides to state their views. During the five weeks of debate lieutenant governor Clinton Wallace and secretary of state Frank C. Jordan stood by the amendment. Senators Hans, Martinelli, Sanford, Wolfe and Wright were just as firmly opposed. Senators Cartwright and Burnett said that they would vote in favor of submitting the amendment to a popular referendum and reserve the right to vote against it at the polls.

Late in January it passed the upper house thirty-five to five, and early in February the assembly approved sixty-five to twelve. On the 22nd of March Governor Johnson signed, placing the proposal on the ballot for the special

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4Stockton Daily Evening Record, January 26, 1911, p. 1.
election to take place the following October. Suffrage workers in Sacramento sent flowers to the governor's mansion and the homes of some of the legislators. After a brief celebration they settled down to making plans for the coming campaign.

The weight of this campaign was to fall upon a multiplicity of well established organizations. Many of these organizations had names so similar that it was not easy to keep their activities separate. In the bay area alone there were the California Equal Suffrage Association, the College Equal Suffrage League, Votes For Women Club, Woman Suffrage League, Club Woman's Franchise League, Equal Suffrage League of San Francisco, Susan B. Anthony Club, the Wage Earners' League, and many others.

II. THE CALIFORNIA EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

One of the most important of the suffrage clubs was the California Equal Suffrage Association, founded by Mrs. Ellen C. Sargent and Mrs. Caroline Severance a decade before. The president during the important campaign years was Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson. Mrs. Watson took charge of the campaign north of the Tehachapi, while Mrs. Severance assumed

7Ibid., January 27, 1911, p. 1.
8San Francisco Call, September 14, 1911, p. 9.
responsibility for the area to the south. 9

The northern group organized themselves in the following manner. There were chairmen for precincts which were combined according to assembly districts. There were also chairmen for finance, press, literature, printing, lectures, training of speakers, advertising plans (this included posters and their distribution), dramatic entertainments, stereoptican talks, and moving pictures. There was an advertising council. They conducted a house to house canvass wherever practicable. The chairman of the press committee, Mabel Craft Deering, succeeded in securing a press chairman for every county in the state! 10 She also created a special press committee which was to discover articles on votes for women, make copies of such articles, and send a copy to each member of the committee. The group consisted of the chairman, Mrs. Deering, Dr. Minerva Goodman of Stockton, Dr. Charlotte Baker of San Diego, and Viola Kaufman of Sacramento. Mrs. Deering would answer the article on official stationery and the others would send their replies to the editor on plain paper. The design of the plan becomes obvious. The editor who had allowed the

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9Solomons, op. cit., p. 32.

anti-suffrage article to appear in his publication would get five different letters of protest from five different post offices on five different dates.\textsuperscript{11}

Since the ladies themselves were the first to admit that they had little organizational experience, they submitted their constitution to an attorney. The opinion came back, "very peculiar, but legal."\textsuperscript{12} Encouraged by the information that they were not outside the law, they went ahead with plans to hold more meetings. In a letter to Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Alice Park mentioned liking the plan Dr. Goodman had devised—a public meeting Friday evening which would include men. The Saturday business meeting would follow a hotel lunch, be semi-public, and provide for newspaper reporters.\textsuperscript{13} The meetings were not as important as might ordinarily be assumed. Much of the organizational work of this state association was done by correspondence.\textsuperscript{14}

They utilized the speaking ability of men prominent

\textsuperscript{11}Alice Park, "Autobiography," MS at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto.

\textsuperscript{12}Alice Park in a letter to Elizabeth Lowe Watson, December 17, 1909, the Keith Papers, Bancroft [Library], University of California, Berkeley.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}Helen Moore in a letter to Minerva Goodman, May 19, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.
in law and business, as well as that of Miss Gail Laughlin.\footnote{San Francisco Call, July 18, 1911, p. 18.} Mrs. Watson herself was active in filling speaking engagements.\footnote{Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, November 30, 1909, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.} Just before the election she spoke during twenty-three consecutive days in the Sacramento Valley,\footnote{Solomons, op. cit., p. 32.} and she also found time to come to Stockton and Lodi.\footnote{Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Minerva Goodman, May 21, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.} Mrs. Park spoke to a woman's club in San Francisco,\footnote{Alice Park in a letter to Minerva Goodman, May 12, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.} and Dr. Aked was engaged repeatedly.\footnote{Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Minerva Goodman, April 20, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.}

III. ORGANIZATIONS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mrs. Severance was the leader of the southern division of the California Equal Suffrage Association. She came to California in 1875, but even before that time she had been active in New England women's clubs. In 1891 she founded the Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles.\footnote{Caroline M. Severance, The Mother of Clubs (Los Angeles: Baumgardt Publishing Co., 1906), p. 85.} Her
home, "El Nido," became a center for intellectuals who were interested in the enfranchisement of women, free kindergarten associations, election of women to school boards, civil service reform, the municipal ownership of public utilities, and the organized protest against war.

Her work for peace was well-known. At the Hague in January of 1899 she had appealed for support of the czar's proposal for disarmament. This was endorsed by Phoebe Hearst, Jane L. Stanford, Mrs. David Starr Jordan, Julia Ward Howe, and Clara Barton. In the belief that it would promote international peace and aid in domestic reforms, Mrs. Severance gave her time and energy to the movement for woman suffrage. Rockwell Hunt called her a "peerless advocate of the right of women."

Augmenting the work of Mrs. Severance was Mrs. Clara Shortridge Foltz, an attorney who was president of the Votes for Women Club of Los Angeles. Also active was the Suffrage Workers' Federation of that city. Large tent meetings were scheduled in Pasadena and elsewhere. To accommodate the


23Severance, op. cit., p. 66.

24Ibid., p. 78.


26Stockton Daily Evening Record, July 24, 1911, p. 3.
huge crowds, outdoor meetings were held in parks. At one such meeting in Pasadena the crush was so great that six persons were injured when they fell into a storm drain.\textsuperscript{27} The Dreamland Rink, largest auditorium in San Francisco, was rented by the College League shortly before the election. At that time it was jammed with the largest crowd in the history of the rink, six thousand persons. After addressing the crowd in the auditorium, speakers went outside to make themselves heard before the four thousand people who could not get in.\textsuperscript{28}

In his book, \textit{Memory Pictures}, John Hyde Braly devotes an entire chapter to his work in the suffrage movement which he considered to be the "crowning work on his long life."\textsuperscript{29} Mr. Braly was not short on superlatives. He believed that woman suffrage would be the "greatest blessing humanity ever achieved at one time."\textsuperscript{30} He decided to do something about gaining the suffrage for women when he attended a meeting of the "last" suffrage society in Los Angeles, where "... the dear, good women were dispirited and depressed."..."

\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Stockton Daily Independent}, September 15, 1911, p. 1.


\textsuperscript{30}\textit{Ibid.}
Mr. Braly's method of organization was to gather the names of the most prominent and the most wealthy male citizens of Los Angeles and invite them to a free banquet as the guests of John Braly. This expensive method produced results. Mr. Braly was elected president of the newly formed organization, the Political Equality League of California.31 Sifting carefully through the rhetoric and the testimonials, it is difficult to find out exactly what Mr. Braly himself did. There is a brief mention of an automobile tour (again at his own expense he informs the reader)32 and some mention of precinct organization.33 One of his assistants was very busy. Mrs. David C. McCan, in charge of publicity, got ten thousand columns in the press. Every item that could possibly make a story was used. Interviews were planned and letters written to all parts of the world.34 After the California victory, Mr. and Mrs. Braly were sent to the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Louisville, Kentucky.35

31Ibid., pp. 224 ff.
32Ibid., p. 248.
33San Francisco Call, August 23, 1911, p. 9.
34Solomons, op. cit., p. 30.
35Watson, Proceedings, p. 199.
There was a Los Angeles Committee of Fifty formed in opposition to Braly, headed by Frank P. Flint, former United States senator. They maintained that, since the "great majority of women did not desire suffrage," it was their duty to "protect women from the ballot."36

IV. BAY AREA CLUBS

The oldest suffrage organization in California was the Susan B. Anthony Club. Its members were chiefly among the older generation of women, many of whom had been pioneers in the movement in California before the turn of the century. Originally established by Mary Simpson Sperry and Ellen Sargent, it was presided over during the campaign by Mrs. Sperry and assisted in the work by its fund-raising activities.37

In an attempt to organize self-supporting women who had not been approached before, Miss Selina Solomons of San Francisco organized the Votes for Women Club.38 There were many clubs by that name scattered throughout the state. Palo Alto was first to give the name, Votes for Women, to its own club; then the idea spread to the southern part of

36San Francisco Call, September 9, 1911, p. 11.
38Ibid., p. 16.
the state and back up the valley. 39 Many old clubs were re-named. What had been the Stockton Political Equality Club took the new name. 40

One of the clubs which was very active and had extensive financial support was the College Equal Suffrage League. Not all of the women were college women, and many "had brilliant minds." 41 Working in the bay area, they sought men and non-suffragists as members. Mrs. George A. Smith of Seattle addressed the first meeting. She favored a campaign of gentleness and thought that it was unwise to antagonize anyone. She attributed the success in Washington to the literature campaign and to the fact that many women talked to individual voters. They helped to publicize the campaign by wearing the suffrage emblem. 42

The officers and workers of the College Equal Suffrage League admitted women of all classes at their handsome offices facing Union Square. This club and the Susan B. Anthony Club were members of the California Equal Suffrage Association and as such worked in close

39Alice Park, one page leaflet, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.


42San Francisco Call, April 4, 1911, p. 7.
cooperation. There were inter-association conferences which met at College League headquarters and were presided over in turns by members of the various organizations. A joint meeting of all bay area clubs was held at the St. Francis Hotel to organize election day work.

The College Equal Suffrage League was originally organized by a college professor, Maud Park; the president during the campaign was Charlotte Anita Whitney. At this time when the Union Square offices were open there came . . . all sorts of funny visitors urging an audience—politicians who feel the need of rehabilitation and would hitch their rather muddy wagons to our star; people with things to sell to prevent brainfag; and helpful men and women too . . .

It is evident that there was an interlocking membership and leadership in several of these organizations. Lillian Harris Coffin, who presided at a meeting to organize all the California women's clubs was also the chairman of the civic section of the California Club and president of

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43 Solomons, op. cit., p. 25.
44 Ibid., p. 33.
45 San Francisco Call, September 14, 1911, p. 9.
47 Ibid., p. 382.
48 San Francisco Call, February 8, 1911, p. 24.
the Equal Suffrage League of San Francisco.49 Mabel Craft Deering, previously mentioned in connection with the press committee of the Equal Suffrage League, formed a local branch of the College and Professional Women's Equal Suffrage League.50 The names of a few California women, like Mrs. Keith, appeared on the membership rolls of almost all of the important state organizations. Besides her presidency of the Berkeley Political Equality Club, a community endeavor, she was also working in state-wide and nation-wide organizations as well. Her method of promoting increased membership in community organizations was to contact every local organized body and ask for a few minutes at one of the regular meetings.51

Other clubs in the bay area included the Club-Women's Franchise League, with headquarters in the St. Francis Hotel,52 and the Woman's Suffrage Party of California, guided by Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding. The leadership of the Wage-Earners' League was in the hands of Miss Maud Younger, with Mrs. Edward H. O'Donnell as president. They made their

50Ibid., p. 6.
51Ibid., pp. 26 ff.
52Ibid., p. 25.
headquarters at the San Francisco Labor Council. There were clubs in Albany, San Rafael, Santa Clara, Alameda, Marysville, and San Leandro. Plumas, Mendocino, Ukiah, and Butte counties had organizations. Even such small towns as Lathrop, Ripon, Angels Camp, Oroville, Walnut Creek, Richmond, and Lodi were organized.

The first suffrage meeting in the Mission District in San Francisco was held at the Valencia Theater. The Savoy Theater was donated each week during the campaign by the John Cort management. The Yosemite Theater in Stockton figured in the suffrage campaign also. These theater buildings were very frequently used for meetings because they were large and centrally located.

Various methods were used by these clubs to reach the vote of those who did not speak English. They hired an Italian theater for a meeting which was presided over by an

53Ibid.
54San Francisco Call, August 20, 1911, p. 51; August 22, 1911, p. 7; and Eleanor Smith De Voe in a letter to Minerva Goodman, May 23, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.
55Stockton Daily Evening Record, May 26, 1911, p. 1; July 21, 1911, p. 1; and Stockton Evening Mail, October 12, 1911, p. 7.
56San Francisco Call, July 18, 1911, p. 18.
57Ibid., April 4, 1911, p. 7.
58Dean, op. cit., p. 36.
Italian banking attorney. All addresses were in Italian. In the case of some of the other foreign groups, such as the French and German speaking groups, it was found to be more economical to send speakers to their own gatherings. ⁵⁹

Many writers comment repeatedly on the demand for suffrage speakers. ⁶⁰ The most welcome variety were those who were "merrily earnest" and who lightened the suffrage argument with fun. ⁶¹ Welcome also were those ladies sent in from other states: Gail Laughlin from Colorado, Jeannette Rankin from Montana, and Helen Hoy Greely ⁶² and Maud Younger from New York. ⁶³

The list of California speakers is too long to catalogue; many of their names have already appeared in connection with other subjects. However, one unusual speaker deserves mention. Mrs. Robert Hargrove, society woman and president of the Federated Women's Clubs of the San Joaquin Valley, conducted a personal speaking tour on

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 39.
⁶⁰ College Equal Suffrage League, Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 34.
⁶¹ Wall, op. cit., p. 383.
⁶³ Stockton Daily Evening Record, August 28, 1911, p. 7.
horseback! Riding through the hills and mountains of northern Madera County, she attempted to explain the cause of woman suffrage to the Italian women and the quarry workers in that area. 64

There is some evidence that California suffrage organizations had international contacts. The College Equal Suffrage League arranged for an address by Sylvia Pankhurst, daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst, who was the leader of the militant suffrage movement in England. She spoke in one of the large theaters in San Francisco at about the time when their campaign was beginning in earnest. 65 Also, Susan B. Anthony mentions sending suffrage material to San Francisco for Miss Ida Goldstein of Australia as early as 1902.66

V. THE STOCKTON CLUB

Besides the large organized bodies in the cities of California, there were active suffrage clubs in many of the valley towns. One of the most important of these clubs in the San Joaquin Valley was in Stockton. In 1910 this inland port was a bustling hub near the conflux of the San Joaquin

64San Francisco Call, August 16, 1911, p. 7.
65College Equal Suffrage League, op. cit., p. 30.
66Susan B. Anthony in a letter to Mary Keith, July 6, 1902, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
and Sacramento rivers. The "Mosquito fleet"\textsuperscript{67} shuttled back and forth across the channel and darted in and out of McLeod's Lake.\textsuperscript{68} Steamers puffed their way up the sloughs of the delta carrying millstuffs, grain, lumber, beans, potatoes, and an occasional horseless carriage which would soon replace the horse-drawn vehicles on the city's streets. In the nearby farmlands the competition was the gasoline "cat,"\textsuperscript{69} which focused its glass eyes on the long furrows at night, and left the horses to pull the asparagus wagons in the daytime.\textsuperscript{70}

The wharves of the California Navigation and Improvement Company squatted against the mud levee near a double-decker riverboat as it rode low in the water with its human cargo and puffed its way toward a thirteen-hundred-acre asparagus patch. There the passengers, Asiatic laborers, daily would cut "tons of fat, glistening white grass," which was washed, crated, and sent by train to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{67}A fleet of about one hundred and fifty small gasoline-powered launches.
\item \textsuperscript{68}Really an arm of the channel filled in during World War II and now underlying a parking lot in the vicinity of Fremont and El Dorado Streets.
\item \textsuperscript{69}The Caterpillar tractor, invented and manufactured by the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton.
\item \textsuperscript{70}Advertising Bureau, Stockton Chamber of Commerce, Stockton, San Joaquin County, California (Stockton: The Printery, 1912), p. 17.
\end{itemize}
San Francisco or to the cannery upstream.footnote{71}

McLeod's Lake "looked awful"footnote{72} in 1910. The water, which was far from fresh, floated houseboats among the straggling tules around its rim. The residents of the lake were mainly single men and were called ark dwellers. They and their floating houses constituted a social problem for the city fathers.footnote{73}

To the south, the courthouse looked down on lesser structures. It stood in the heart of things, surrounded by the horseless carriages of its citizens, its immobile and imposing granite face a silent testimonial to the veracity of the Chamber of Commerce booklets. North of the courthouse was Stockton's most imposing privately owned building. This was the latest, largest, and finest hotel in Stockton. Called simply "The Stockton," it had been opened for patronage in June.footnote{74} To the east was the Yosemite Theater, a five-storied brick buildingfootnote{75} which had seen one-night live performances by Mary Robeson, John Drew, Walter Hampton, and

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footnote{71}Ibid., p. 16.

footnote{72}George Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.

footnote{73}Ibid.

footnote{74}Stockton City Directory, 1910, p. 7.

footnote{75}Crockwell and Williams, Stockton Illustrated in Photogravure (New York: Albertype Company, 1894), p. 36.
Sarah Bernhardt. There were orchestra seats in a raised center section, side balconies, the regular balcony, and a third balcony furnished with wooden benches.76 This theater was the location of Hiram Johnson's speech during the suffrage campaign in Stockton.

There were numerous large business enterprises. Austin Sperry had established his first flour mill in the city as early as 1852,77 and by 1910 the output of the mill was thirty-five hundred barrels a day.78 Mary Simpson Sperry, who was the president of the Susan B. Anthony Club in the bay area in 1911 and who had been president of the state association before Miss Watson, was the wife of Austin Sperry. Margaret Simpson, the treasurer of the Stockton Votes for Women Club, was the niece of Mary Sperry.79

The city also boasted of a traction engine company, the Buell Lumber and Planing Mill, the Weber Gas Well Baths, an El Dorado Brewery, a tannery, a carriage factory, and woolen and paper mills.80 Some of the historic cable cars of San Francisco were built in a California Street plant.81

76Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.
77Crockwell and Williams, op. cit., p. 20.
78Advertising Bureau, op. cit., p. 41.
80Crockwell and Williams, op. cit., p. 20.
81Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.
At 219 North Sutter Street was a building destined to serve as the backdrop for much of the suffrage activity in Stockton. The Budd House was already a part of history. It had been purchased from a Spanish general by the Budd family in the 1860's and was owned by them and their descendents until it was wrecked to make way for a parking lot in the 1950's. It was the private home of the Budd family until about 1895 when Lucinda M. Budd was persuaded by friends to open her home to guests, since it was comfortable and she had a cook. It was in that same year that James H. Budd left the house for the governor's mansion in Sacramento, which circumstance would have left the large house quite empty if it had not been opened to about two dozen guests. The people who stayed there were socially prominent. Charles Webber, members of the Sperry and Crocker families, and many others at one time or another called the Budd House home. Dr. Goodman was a resident for many years. She recalls informal meetings for suffrage campaign planning that took place at the Budd House when she was there.

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82 Stockton City Directory, p. 7.
83 Mrs. Lucille Stephens, interview, January 17, 1962.
85 Goodman, interview, January 5, 1962.
Other meetings convened at Dr. Goodman's office in the Physician's Building,\(^86\) at the Chamber of Commerce Building,\(^87\) in Pioneer Hall, or in the homes of the various members. The club was very active from January, 1904 until the election seven years later.\(^88\) During these years the names of a relatively small group of women appear again and again as executive officers. As is true in many organizations, there were dozens of members, but a few key people did the work:\(^89\)

Truly did it seem a rank injustice that the same few hands and brains must do it all. . . . It is to these . . . that the women of California are today indebted for their political freedom.\(^90\)

Dr. Goodman was at one time secretary to the organization, served a term as president, and did valuable press and publicity work during the campaign. Miss Margaret Simpson was treasurer. Dr. M. H. Smyth, Dr. Mary Taylor, Mrs. Mary Merrill, and Mrs. Elizabeth Jory helped in various capacities.\(^91\)

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\(^86\) *Stockton Daily Evening Record*, May 8, 1911, p. 1.

\(^87\) *Stockton Evening Mail*, September 21, 1911, p. 4.

\(^88\) "Minutes," the Stockton Votes for Women Club, January 14, 1904, to February 7, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.

\(^89\) Goodman, interview, January 5, 1962.

\(^90\) Solomons, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

\(^91\) "Minutes," the Stockton Votes for Women Club, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.
Dr. Goodman didn't call this work. She mainly remembers the fun they had. There was the meeting at which Grove Johnson was to speak against suffrage. She and her friends loaded the audience with labor sympathizers who applauded at all the wrong places in the speech. Grove Johnson retired from the platform confused.92

Since the club had very little money they used their ingenuity instead. One of their favorite ideas was to make use of the meetings of the opposition. On one such occasion, when an especially well-attended opposition gathering was breaking up and leaving the Yosemite Theater, they set up a showing of suffrage slides on the courthouse lawn. Slides were a novelty in those days, and a good part of the crowd crossed the street, stopped traffic, and remained to watch the free suffrage entertainment. Both the police and the opposition were caught unprepared.93

These organizations probably made the difference between passage and non-passage of the suffrage amendment. They were formed early enough to have an adequate skeletal staff already functioning. This permitted them to concentrate on gaining the attention of the public rather than being forced to use valuable time in building an organization.

93 Ibid.
This was important, since the campaign period was short. Also, the socially prominent women who were the leaders of these organizations gave the movement prestige and respectability, characteristics with which it might not otherwise have been associated.
CHAPTER III
THE LINEUP ON THE QUESTION

I. PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS

Candidate Hiram Warren Johnson had won the August 16th primary, some said because the votes of his opponents were divided among a number of candidates.\(^1\) In the San Joaquin Valley, which he had stumped, he had shown great strength.\(^2\) After the primary returns were in, the party leadership met to form plans for the campaign for the general election. The successful nominee was urged to broaden his scope of issues, but Johnson still wished to campaign mainly against the railroad and for the tangent initiative, referendum, and recall. As for the suffragists,

When urged to express himself on Woman Suffrage . . . Johnson, who was emotionally opposed to women in politics, dodged by saying that he would speak neither for nor against the question.\(^3\)

After he was elected governor, Johnson kept the promise made during his campaign that he would support the

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\(^1\)J. Gregg Layne, "The Lincoln-Roosevelt League," The Quarterly, Historical Society of Southern California, XXV, No. 3 (September, 1943), 97.


\(^3\)Ibid., p. 132.
suffrage plank. Although many members tried to wriggle out of supporting the amendment, he used his influence in the legislature to prevent them from throwing it out.\(^4\) On January 11, 1911, when the Bell Amendment was before the legislature, he endorsed the idea of submitting the suffrage question to a vote of the people "inasmuch as it is in the platform."\(^5\) At the same time, he predicted victory for the amendment in September of that same year.\(^6\) The president of the state suffrage association, Elizabeth Lowe Watson, reported to a friend in September of 1911 that "Governor Johnson is out for the amendments and will include ours with the others."\(^7\) This proved to be a very optimistic statement, for it did not appear on the list of the preferred twenty-six amendments sent out by the Republican party, and Governor Johnson did not even mention it on his speaking tour.\(^8\) The Calhoun press was saying that he had


\(^7\) Elizabeth Watson, in a letter to Jennie McBean, September 3, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

\(^8\) Solomons, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
abandoned the suffrage cause and took no stock in it.9

This was the situation when the Stockton Votes for Women Club discovered that the Progressive Republican governor was coming to the Yosemite Theater to speak. Dr. Minerva Goodman and her friends in the club decided to make use of the situation to advance their cause. They obtained the permission of the chairman of the county central committee, Charles L. Neumiller, to show suffrage slides while the crowd was gathering. To the people who came to the theater that night it looked as if Johnson had personally endorsed the movement. When he did come on the stage he was so angry with the arrangement that he actually refused the large bouquet of flowers offered in the name of the Votes for Women Club by eight-year-old Eleanor McLeod.10

Little Miss McLeod, now Mrs. Eleanor McLeod Meadows, remembers giving the flowers to the wrong man,11 but the Record, staunch in support of Johnson, merely reported that "little Miss Elinor [sic] McLeod presented [sic] the Governor with a bouquet of huge chrysanthemums--the compliments of the

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9Stockton Daily Evening Record, September 20, 1911, p. 1.


Stockton suffragists.  

Suffrage organizations in other parts of the state did what they could to make it appear that they had the governor's support. The College League used an alleged endorsement in San Francisco street car advertising.  

Apparently this was done without the governor's protest but also without his consent.

While Johnson did not give the Bell Amendment active support, he did not yield to the temptation to publicly withdraw endorsement. Governor James W. Gillett was not so scrupulous. At the Santa Cruz Convention in 1906 he approached Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, the chairman of the State Central Committee for the California Equal Suffrage Association:

"I am James W. Gillett," he said, introducing himself to her. "I know who you are, and what brings you down here. I wish to tell you that I am in sympathy with that object, and should I be elected Governor, will do all in my power to help you in getting your measure through."  

When Mrs. Coffin called on the newly elected Governor Gillett the following year he loudly declared his
antagonism to woman suffrage, and when he was reminded of his Santa Cruz pledge he replied, "O, I was only fooling."\textsuperscript{15}

Of importance in California was the work of Miss Minnie Bronson. Miss Bronson was a former special agent of the departments of Labor and Commerce to investigate working conditions of women and children in industries. She had represented the United States Bureau of Education at the International Congress of Education in Belgium in 1905, been with the Paris Exposition in 1900, and acted as chief of the education department at the Pan-American Exposition. She came to San Francisco to form a branch of the anti-suffrage association which she headed in New York. In Los Angeles alone she was reported to have gained 1,200 members for her organization.\textsuperscript{16}

One of the most interesting and unusual men supporters of woman suffrage was a Pasadena gentleman who had been vice-president of a San Jose normal school and also was a one-time millionaire.\textsuperscript{17} Mr. John H. Braly organized and presided over the Men's Equal Suffrage Campaign League. The purpose of the club was to organize the precincts to

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 8 f.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{San Francisco Call}, February 5, 1911, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{17}Bertha Damaris Knobe, "Recent Strides of Woman Suffrage," \textit{The World's Work}, XXII (August, 1911), 14735.
help the Votes for Women Club of Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{18} He took up the task with more religious zeal than practical organization. Learning of his work, northern suffrage workers dubbed him, "The Moses of the South."\textsuperscript{19} Another prominent gentleman who lined up with the suffrage cause was David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, who proved to be a valuable asset during the campaign.\textsuperscript{20}

Some important California women whose support was actively sought by suffrage workers remained neutral during the debate. In more than a few cases they were apprehensive that a public statement supporting either side might have an adverse effect on their husbands' businesses or professions.\textsuperscript{21} Phoebe Hearst yielded to pressure and endorsed the movement almost on the eve of the election.\textsuperscript{22}

Women came in from other states to help with the campaign. Maud Younger, daughter of a wealthy New York family, left home to labor among working girls. She organized the garment workers and assisted with strikes. She

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18}Stockton \textit{Daily Independent}, August 23, 1911, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{19}Elizabeth Lowe Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, October 14, 1910, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
\item \textsuperscript{20}Stockton \textit{Daily Independent}, March 11, 1911, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{21}George Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.
\item \textsuperscript{22}The Berkeley \textit{Independent}, October 6, 1911, p. 1.
\end{itemize}
came to California to help with the passage of the eight-hour work law and remained to speak for suffrage. Sylvia Pankhurst came all the way from England to speak in San Francisco.

California also welcomed Miss Gail Laughlin, lawyer from Colorado. She came to Stockton as early as May of 1908, when she was the guest of the Stockton Votes for Women Club. Miss Laughlin brought news of the progress of woman suffrage in Italy, France, England, and Ireland. She also explained some of the laws of the United States which were unfavorable to women. This enthusiastic young speaker was a graduate of Wellesley College in the class of 1895, and was admitted to the bar in San Francisco. Judge George Buck described her as he remembered the young lawyer when she spoke at a meeting in Clements in 1911:

Miss Laughlin wore a distinctive long blue cape. Her appearance was a bit mannish, but she was a charming speaker with an easy pleasant manner, a nice voice, and a brilliant mind.

During the campaign she spoke frequently in

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23 *Stockton Daily Evening Record*, August 28, 1911, p. 5.

24 Solomons, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

25 "Minutes," the Stockton Votes for Women Club, January 14, 1904, to February 7, 1911, MS in the Martin Library, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

26 George Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.
California. 27 Through this suffrage work she met the daughter of Mary Simpson Sperry, and the two became fast friends. 28

A few wealthy women were the "angels" of the movement. Mary S. Sperry, wife of the founder of the Sperry Flour Mills, gave liberally to the Stockton Club. 29 A well-to-do resident of Palo Alto, Mrs. Alice Park, traveled and wrote for the cause. She kept up her membership in the state organization for forty-three years. 30 This founder of the Votes for Women Club of Palo Alto not only worked in the California fight, but also went to help with campaigns in other states: Arizona in 1912, Alaska in 1913, and Iowa in 1916. Mrs. Park was a voracious reader and interested in almost everything from pantheism to the humane society. 31 Candid and to the point, often delightfully humorous, her prolific correspondence makes fascinating reading. 32

29 Ibid.
30 Alice Park in a letter to Mary Keith, May 14, 1947, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
31 Alice Park, "Autobiography," MS at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto.
explained the relationship between voting and domestic
duties as she saw it:

I registered to vote in Massachusetts as soon as I
was twenty-one. Later I voted in Montana and Colorado.
I darned the family stockings on all the days I wasn't
entirely occupied in voting, and my children were not
neglected at any time, even election days.

I did not run for office. Divorce was not visited
upon me. My strength proved equal to lifting the
ballot and dropping it also. It really took more time
to be a suffragist than it takes to be a voter.33

II. CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The state board of control of the Socialist party of
California in session at the Labor Temple in Los Angeles
passed a resolution endorsing woman suffrage.34 Some saw
this as just one more piece of evidence of an obvious con-
nection between socialism and the suffrage movement, and
there was concern expressed that the socialists would win
the coming elections in Los Angeles35 and elsewhere36 if
women were given the ballot. Was there reason for such
concern?

34Stockton Daily Evening Record, September 2, 1911,
p. 1.
36Ella C. Bréhaut quoted in Great Debates in American
History, v. 8, Civil Rights: Part Two, Marion Mills Miller,
editor (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1913),
p. 397; and Molly Elliot Seawell, The Ladies’ Battle (New
Some of the leaders of the woman suffrage movement were socialists. Caroline M. Severance, president of the Los Angeles suffrage organization, said, "Christianity has an aim in accord with socialism. The Golden Rule is the only just basis for business and political activities." In a letter to a millionaire she suggested that he consider a profit-sharing plan for his employees. She and J. Stitt Wilson, the socialist mayor of Berkeley, organized clubs in Los Angeles. Mrs. Severance called her own ideas socialism.

There were other prominent leaders with socialist sympathies and connections. Mary McHenry Keith, who financed much of the northern California suffrage activity, held socialist convictions, probably based on her strong sympathies for the underprivileged. As president of the Berkeley suffrage organization and a source of income for other groups, she was in a politically influential position. Harriet Taylor Upton, national suffrage leader, wrote the following to her in a personal letter: "I am glad to have

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38 Ibid., p. 94.
39 Ibid., p. 62.
40 Ibid., p. 65.
41 See the chapter on finance, pp. [79]-88.
you say you are going to vote the Socialist ticket, for I don't know what under the sun you could vote if you don't.\textsuperscript{42}

Down the peninsula in Palo Alto there was an unofficial "literature headquarters" for northern California suffrage groups. The president of the local organization, Mrs. Park, who handled the voluminous quantities and varieties of suffrage propaganda, wrote in her autobiography that she registered as a voter and a Socialist in 1911 and voted the ticket regularly.\textsuperscript{43} She and Mrs. Ellen C. Sargent attended classes together, and "nearly all of the class were avowed socialists by the end of the term."\textsuperscript{44}

Braly probably was not. Speaking at a convention of the California Equal Suffrage Association at the Palace Hotel he referred to the "good government" of Los Angeles (which had just jailed two hundred socialists for violating a city ordinance prohibiting street meetings) and was loudly hissed and booed by a packed audience of men of the Socialist party. Confused by the reaction, Braly hesitated, floundered, but failed to retract the statement which had caused the disturbance. Friends and associates later

\textsuperscript{42}Harriet Taylor Upton in a letter to Mary Keith, October 5, 1912, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

\textsuperscript{43}Alice Park, "Autobiography," p. 129.

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., p. 113.
explained to him why the crowd had behaved in the way that it did, and which of his remarks was the offending one.45

Socialists in the movement presented a problem to some organizations since they were thought to antagonize the Catholic voter. The College Equal Suffrage League decided to "steer clear" of J. Stitt Wilson and the socialists for this reason. To offset the charge of socialism, they were prompt in securing the services of Father Gleason as a suffrage speaker.46

In the local valley towns, such as Stockton, there was little, if any, socialist influence.47 Subsequent selections demonstrated rather clearly that the vocal, left-of-center leadership of a few of the suffrage clubs did not speak for the majority of their members on this particular question.

Other political parties took various stands on woman suffrage. In 1910, the state Democratic party did not endorse the measure.48 The old machine element of the Republican party classified equal suffrage with anti-race

45San Francisco Call, October 1, 1910; and San Francisco Examiner, October 1, 1910, p. 1.
47George Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.
48Solomons, op. cit., p. 12.
track gambling, and was a formidable opposition element.49 Since their ties with the railroads were a matter of public knowledge by this time, the attitude of the railroad can perhaps be inferred. The control of the Republican party had been wrested from the machine by the new Lincoln-Roosevelt League and Hiram Johnson. Now known as the Progressives, they had adopted a plank in favor of equal suffrage,50 and it was because of their efforts it was placed on the ballot along with the initiative, referendum, and the recall for the special election of October 10, 1911.

The National Prohibition party endorsed equal suffrage.51 The W.C.T.U. in California was very active in its support; they placed frequent articles in local newspapers.52 Elizabeth Lowe Watson, in her report to the National-American Suffrage Association, acknowledged that the W.C.T.U. had "rendered great aid" in the California campaign.53 In fact, it is generally agreed that there was

49Frank Hichborn, Stockton Daily Evening Record, August 26, 1911, p. 2.
50Ibid.
51Miller, op. cit., p. 400.
52Stockton Daily Evening Record, November 4, 1911, p. 5; and September 18, 1911, p. 1.
a close connection between the two movements. Thus it was to be expected that one of the opposition groups would be the liquor interests; suffrage leaders vehemently blamed such interests for defeats at the polls. One writer saw the contest as one between the brewers and rich women.

The alliance between temperance and suffrage movements was one of long standing. In a letter to Amelia Brown in 1852, Susan B. Anthony had exclaimed:

Oh! if women would but speak out—if they would but rise en-masse, and demand that their interests be truthfully represented in our legislative halls, then would man no longer inflict upon us and upon society, the vile curse of the liquor traffic.

Members of the California W.C.T.U. did go to the legislative halls seeking corrections of social problems. Their reception amply illustrated why women needed the ballot to accomplish reform:

Forty prominent women of the W.C.T.U.'s Committee on public morals went before the California Legislature to plead for protection for young girls. They represented


55Lyman Abbott, "Editorial," Outlook, Cl (October 26, 1912), 375 f.

56Knobe, op. cit., p. 14733.

fifty thousand California women. They were told, "Well you are no more than fifty thousand mice! How many votes can you deliver?"\(^8\)

Once in a while an incongruity turns up. For instance, in a small town in Contra Costa county some suffrage workers stumbled upon a Susan B. Anthony enthusiast. A cheery old Frenchman explained that he had once heard the great Miss Anthony speak. The odd part of the incident was that this Frenchman was the proprietor of the local saloon.\(^9\)

Closely associated with the W.C.T.U. were many of the religious groups of the state. In southern California, especially, the movement took on strong religious overtones. Mrs. Severance was a devout Christian, and she was helped in her suffrage work by ministers of several of the Christian churches, especially of the Unitarian sect. The Ministerial Union of Southern California went on record for suffrage,\(^60\) as did the Christian Socialists.\(^61\) The Y.M.C.A. sponsored suffrage meetings.\(^62\) Gratitude was often expressed for the favorable attitude of the pulpit and clergy.\(^63\)

\(^{58}\)Solomons, op. cit., p. 2.

\(^{59}\)San Francisco Call, August 17, 1911, p. 5.

\(^{60}\)Stockton Daily Evening Record, May 18, 1911, p. 1.

\(^{61}\)San Francisco Call, August 30, 1911, p. 7.

\(^{62}\)Ibid., June 13, 1911, p. 2.

\(^{63}\)Watson, Proceedings, p. 102.
There were members of the Catholic clergy who were sympathetic. Father Gleason has already been mentioned. The College League was also successful in obtaining a testimonial from T. J. Brennan, assistant pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Berkeley. Some priests allowed their churches to be used for the distribution of suffrage literature. Generally, however, when they were contacted for public statements they would explain that they didn't want their names used because the matter was a political question, even though they were personally in favor of equal suffrage.

The role of the Quakers in the movement is a long and interesting one. Susan B. Anthony herself had been reared in a Quaker home and there were Quakers active at the first national meeting of the woman suffrage movement at Seneca Falls, New York:

It was James Mott, tall and dignified, in Quaker costume who was called to the chair. Frederick Douglass, Samuel Tillman, Ansel Bascom, E. W. Capron and Thomas McClintock took part throughout the discussions.

Anna Dickinson, the attractive young suffrage speaker who had first effectively ended the opposition to women

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64 Leaflet in the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.

65 Thomas Lantry O'Neill, chaplain of Newman Hall, in a letter to Mary Keith, August 17, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

orators, was the daughter of a stalwart liberal Quaker from whom she had inherited the gift of oratory. 67 There were a large number of Quakers in the national woman's party, 68 primarily in the East. Probing a little further back in history, one discovers that the first society formed in England, the Sheffield Female Political Association, was led by a Quaker lady, Anne Kent of Chelmsford. 69

In California in the first decade of the twentieth century, there were a few meetings of the Society of Friends which were well established. The meeting at San Jose had been in existence since 1861. 70 There is nothing in the Minute Book of the group which would indicate that they took interest in the suffrage movement, 71 but it is believed that some members of the Whittier group were interested and active in the campaign of 1911. 72


Attitudes of other groups ranged from lukewarm acceptance to enthusiastic support. Although the Sacramento businessmen "buried the hatchet" at a suffrage celebration at the State Fair in Sacramento in 1911, Dr. Rachel L. Ash of the College League reported that her work among the retail businessmen in the bay area was a failure. There was solid support from the American Federation of Labor and from the California State Federation of Labor, but a notable lack of interest. Maud Younger and others active in the labor movement had been embarrassed by Lillian Harris Coffin's stand against the eight-hour labor bill in the state legislature. Other groups which endorsed it were: The National Education Association, the California Teachers' Association, the Farmers' Institute, the League of Iroquois Clubs, social settlements, humanitarian and civic betterment leagues, the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

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73 San Francisco Call, August 16, 1911, p. 9.
74 Rachel L. Ash, "To the Commercial Bodies," Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 77.
75 Bréhaut, op. cit., p. 394.
76 Suffrage scrapbook, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
78 Watson, Proceedings, p. 102.
79 Suffrage scrapbook, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
Single-Taxers, and the Native Daughters of the Golden West. 80

The Native Sons of the Golden West saw things in a different light. In a meeting at Santa Cruz there was a heavy vote against the constitutional amendment, and the group refused to admit Maud Younger for a hearing because, "it is a political question." 81

There was an anti-suffrage association in existence at this time. It consisted of various state groups, which were not welded into a national association, but were nominally led by the New York group headed by Mrs. Francis M. Scott. 82 The Northern California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was presided over by Mrs. C. L. Goddard, but the group proved to be politically ineffective and received little publicity.

Pro-suffrage enthusiasts resorted to the familiar political technique of linking the opposition with all of society's undesirable elements. The following will serve as a sufficient example:

The vicious and the criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women. . . . All of those who thrive on the violation of law in any way, or

80 Solomons, op. cit., p. 30.
81 San Francisco Call, June 13, 1911, p. 3.
82 Mrs. Barclay Heyard, "New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage," Chatauquan, LIX (June, 1910), 64.
upon corruption in politics, are the bitterest enemies of women suffrage. . . . Every gambler, every ballot-box stuffer, every political thug, every professional debaucher of the public morals, and every conceivable variety of crook will never cease exhausting his vocabulary cursing woman suffrage.

If we exclude the "political thugs" and "ballot-box stuffers" from the ranks of the interested male voters in California in 1911, it is to be hoped that the remaining group would be fairly large and would contain persons who voted "no" for other reasons. There are many and diverse factors operating on a voter's choice of a measure or a candidate, but it is generally agreed that his family or origin has an important influence. Cultural patterns influence the vote among groups of unassimilated foreign immigrants. "Woman's place is in the home," a social belief inherited from some of our overseas ancestors, was believed to be a determinant in the vote of the Japanese, Chinese, German, and Italian settlements. Conservative Jewish communities also tended to vote against woman suffrage despite the pro-suffrage declarations of prominent rabbi leaders.

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83 Edward Taylor quoted in Miller, op. cit., p. 370.
85 Stockton Daily Independent, August 26, 1911, p. 1.
"For many voters political preferences may be considered analogous to cultural tastes. . . ."\textsuperscript{87}

The opposition element which was the greatest concern to the suffrage workers was the same one which had plagued reformers for centuries. The Reverend Anna Howard Shaw put it this way: " . . . and it is their indifference which terrifies me, for nobody knows how to reach indifference."\textsuperscript{88}

Like Theodore Roosevelt, many of the ordinary male voters saw the whole issue as simply not important; men had other more crucial affairs with which to concern themselves.

\textsuperscript{87}B. R. Berelson quoted in \textit{American Voting Behavior}, p. 151.

\textsuperscript{88}Anna Howard Shaw in a letter to Mary Keith, November 24, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
CHAPTER IV

PUBLICITY

The Stockton Votes for Women Club had some novel ideas concerning the best kind of publicity, but they would have been the first to admit that there was no shortage of interesting and unusual ideas that year. "In California in 1911 nothing that had been attempted before was overlooked, and much was entirely new. . . . "¹

I. DIVERSE AND UNORTHODOX METHODS

From the Wage-Earners' League came the idea of "Equality Tea." They had this tea processed for their organization, and the clubs attempted to market it as widely as possible. Those who believed in woman suffrage were asked to buy this particular brand.² In Oregon they had used the same idea with seeds--the packet offered for sale had a picture of Sacajawea on the front and carried a suffrage slogan.³


³Seed packet among the Keith Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
They did not hesitate to make use of any holidays that came along. Besides entering the expected floats in the Fourth of July parades, they named the holiday "Independence Day for California Women." Women's Day at the California State Fair that fall offered another opportunity. The College Equal Suffrage League chartered a special railroad car from San Francisco to the state capital. This "Yellow Special" of the Western Pacific transported a large group of ardent suffragists to Sacramento's Oak Park where they led three thousand persons in a special suffrage celebration. They also staged a parade on Main Street.

Yellow was selected as the best color for suffrage advertising because the women did not wish to confuse their publicity with patriotic decorations, and it was believed that yellow would show up well against most backgrounds. This was the color which had been used in other state campaigns, and California decided to use it also.

There were new media for advertising and communication. Mrs. Lucretia Watson Taylor of the state association was in charge of slides and stereopticon talks. They were

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5San Francisco Call, August 9, 1911, p. 8; and August 16, 1911, p. 9.
believed to be most effective in the outlying areas. It was suggested that they be "slipped in between the moving pictures," that a "tactful committee" might get them placed in between acts in a theater production, or that they could be thrown on the outsides of buildings the last week of the campaign. These slides were mainly an emotional appeal. One frame showing the flower of American womanhood bore the caption, "These are widows." In another there was a little baby holding a sign which read, "I wish Mother could vote." The concluding frame might be an appeal in verse:

For the long work day
For the taxes we pay
For the laws we obey
We want something to say.

GIVE THE WOMEN A SQUARE DEAL ON OCTOBER 10th!

On the first of September, Mrs. Elizabeth Watson and Mrs. William Keith went to the offices of the National Wireless Telephone and Telegraph Company in the Williams Building. For the first time in the history of this new "wireless telephone" machine, women talked into it. They

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7Lucretia W. Taylor in an open letter, n.d., the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

8Lucretia Taylor in a bulletin, n.d., the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
broadcast a message to men for four hundred and fifty miles in all directions! A campaign appeal had been made over the infant radio.9

Generous use was made of signs. One determined bay area suffragist used the Oakland waterfront for a billboard. Working from a small boat, she tacked up large cloth signs on "the crazy structures on the bay called duck blinds" in such a way so as to make them visible to the commuters. Before long one of the signs had been changed to read: Vote for _men. Even though the "better half" had been removed from one of the posters, the others remained intact until election day.10

Enterprising women in Los Angeles gave away doughnuts and coffee in the city parks to those who would stay and listen to suffrage speeches. When the police told them it was illegal they sang the speeches instead. At this turn of events, the police merely stayed away from the gatherings.11

There were those who turned to song-writing. "Rueben and Rachel" was changed as follows:

9San Francisco Call, September 1, 1911, p. 1.
11San Francisco Call, July 15, 1911, p. 9.
Rachel, Rachel, I believe, dear,  
Woman's proper sphere's the home,  
From the cook-stove and the wash-tub,  
She should never wish to roam.\textsuperscript{12}

There was another parody written to the tune of "John Brown's Body." The old German air, "Ach du Lieber Augustine," was retitled "Another Star," and it went this way:

\textbf{Verse}
There are five a-light before us  
In the flag flying o'er us,  
There'll be six on next election  
We bring a new star!  
We are coming like the others,  
Free sisters, free brothers,  
in the pride of our affection  
For California.

\textbf{Chorus}
A ballot for the lady!  
For the home and for the baby!  
Come vote ye for the lady,  
The baby, the home!\textsuperscript{13}

To the songs they added a few slogans: "We prepare children for the world; let us prepare the world for children."\textsuperscript{14} There was no shortage of buttons, banners, and badges. As one would expect, the message on the buttons varied greatly, but perhaps the simplest and most effective was the one which referred to the number of the suffrage.


\textsuperscript{13}Charlotte Perkins Gilman, \textit{Los Angeles Times}, April 18, 1911, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{14}Stockton \textit{Daily Evening Record}, May 6, 1911, p. 1.
amendment, "Amendment e."15

Pro-suffrage cartoons generally made much of the fact that unenfranchised women were being classed with the idiots, incompetents, the Chinese, or social undesirables. One side of a cartoon might show a picture of a modest, attractive woman with two children, while the other would depict a bum beside a refuse can. To make sure the reader got the message, an appropriate title would be added.16

Some publicity activities were organized mainly for the ladies. In reviewing these, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether they were designed primarily to publicize, to entertain, or to raise funds. The Votes for Women Club of San Francisco presented a "Human Flower Show," and there were suffrage bazaars,17 bridge parties,18 and luncheon clubs.19

The ladies also wrote and produced plays. One of these plays, "The Conversion of Aunty Suffridge,"20 had a

15Solomons, op. cit., p. 28.
17Votes for Women Club, Annual Report and Announcement for the Campaign, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
18San Francisco Call, March 31, 1911, p. 7.
19Solomons, op. cit., p. 16.
20Selina Solomons, The Conversion of Aunty Suffridge (San Francisco: Votes for Women Club, 1911).
wide circulation. The English play, "How the Vote Was Won," was humorous and "appealed to everyone."21 It was performed in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Fresno, Colusa, San Jose, Stockton, Parkfield, Nordhoff, Hayward, Martinez, and Lodi. Also popular were "The Converting of Senator Jones," and "Lady Geraldine's Speech." The groups giving these plays sometimes charged a small admission to cover expenses, but the outlay was small since performers donated their talent and were reimbursed only for hotel bills and railroad fare.22 For example, an admission of twenty cents was charged for the performance at the Tokay Theater in Lodi which used "home grown talent."23 Almost all of these performances were free, since it was found rather early in the campaign that people were not willing to pay to be converted.24

The first suffrage parade in California was held in Oakland just before the Republican Convention in 1908. Lillian Harris Coffin led three hundred women down the main streets of the city.25 One of the last parades of the

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22Ibid.

23Handbill among the Goodman Papers, Martin Library, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

24Moore, loc. cit.

25Solomons, How We Won the Vote in California, p. 9.
campaign took place in Berkeley just a few days before the election. This suffrage parade consisted of fifty automobiles decked with yellow streamers led by a brass band playing patriotic music. It left the Hotel Shattuck and moved slowly north to University Avenue, and then counter-marched to Center Street where the speeches were made. The crowd was addressed by Mayor J. Stitt Wilson, the socialist who "had taken such an active interest in the campaign." 26

II. THE AUTOMOBILE IN THE CAMPAIGN

Automobiles were found to be a good way of reaching the voter. They were used as platforms for speakers at the State Fair in the evenings. 27 They were used to reach city street crowds and farmers in remote towns. They were used in the San Joaquin Valley because

In the great farming valley of California automobiles are ordinary possessions. Through suffrage sympathizers it was easy to get the use of an automobile for almost any evening. . . . Street crowds are usually more responsive provided you get their attention at the start. 28

One automobile became famous. This was the "Blue

26 Berkeley Independent, October 4, 1911, p. 3.
28 Ibid., p. 61.
Liner" of the College Equal Suffrage League, a 1910 model of a seven passenger touring car which had been used previously in the Washington campaign. This rolling advertisement was cranked up about six months before the election to take a carload of mock debaters down the peninsula. The San Francisco Call ran a picture of the car and later announced that the suffrage vehicle would tour the state, that it was equipped for long distance travel, that it carried a number of capable speakers, and that it would transport the never-failing supply of literature. The "equipment for long-distance travel" was probably a toolbox attached to the side of the car or else it was the hardy constitutions of its passengers! The Woman's Journal explained that the members of the party would distribute small "snipe posters" and buttons. The Blue Liner also carried the acting troupe of "Votes for Women," met out-of-state visitors at the ferry, shuttled speakers from hall to

29 Flexner, op. cit., p. 255.
30 San Francisco Call, August 16, 1911, p. 7.
31 Ibid., October 24, 1911, p. 7.
32 Snipe posters were the 1910 suffrage version of the 1930 Burma Shave signs. They were narrow strips of tough manila paper meant to be tacked on fence posts. One read: "Abraham Lincoln said, 'Women should vote.' What do you say?"
33 Woman's Journal, September 16, 1911, p. 290.
hall, hauled the lumber for the Labor Day float, and was "the general messenger-boy and magic carpet of the College League." When on the campaign missions, she had two yellow pennants on her windshield and a yellow apron lashed on behind which proclaimed:

Votes for Women
Blue Liner Campaigning Committee
College Equal Suffrage League of San Francisco.

Madam Nordica sang for the suffrage cause from the Blue Liner, and the automobile didn't even rest on election day, for it was employed to carry old men to and from the relief home to vote for woman suffrage:

The automobile had not entirely replaced the horse. It was the horse that pulled the wagon transparencies. The College League hired Von Der Meyden's Band to play up and down the streets of the Mission district from a horse-drawn Tally-ho.

III. SUFFRAGE LITERATURE

One of the largest items on the budgets of many of the suffrage organizations was the bill for the printing of

34Wall, Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 63.
35Ibid., p. 64.
36Ibid., pp. 72 f.
37Constance Lawrence Dean, Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 56.
Every organization either printed its own or obtained it from some other suffrage group. Campaign headquarters always displayed a good supply. Of the leaflets alone, nine hundred thousand were printed. The literature distributor was Alice Park in Palo Alto:

Some day when you come to see me I'll show you what the house and basement and all the corners looked like when the literature lady was at high water mark. Leaflets in bureau drawers on top of one or two clothes. Leaflets on the floor. Letters in mountains on four corners of desk--four separate mountains with a more or less level spot in the middle for work. Now that the tide has carried off a lot of it--there still remain moraines (terminal ones) and other heaps and mounds of ancient character--with modern strata all thru--

It was just about time for me to save my life.

Not only were these leaflets printed in English, but translations appeared in French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Portuguese:

Juana Adams [sic] Quiere Votar
Si deve accordare alla Donna il Diritto elettorale
Frauen Haben Eine Allgemeine Wahlstemme
La Vraie République es fondée sur la coopération de l'homme et de la femme.

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38 See Appendix B.

39 Solomons, How We Won the Vote in California, p. 16.

40 Kate Brousseau, "Report of the Literature Committee," Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 43.

41 Alice Park in a letter to Minerva Goodman, May 12, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.

42 Brousseau, loc. cit.

43 Leaflets in the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
Mrs. Park learned "votes for women" in the languages of ten different European countries.\textsuperscript{44}

Sometimes the literature took the form of dodgers. These were small handbills used to advertise a public meeting. Just before the Pankhurst lecture suffragists distributed them on the streets of San Francisco in the pouring rain until they found out that they were violating a city ordinance. They then had to urge them upon merchants, distribute them through churches, or give bunches of them to friends and employees.\textsuperscript{45}

During one whole week of the summer, merchants donated their window space for suffrage advertising.\textsuperscript{46} In Palo Alto they gave continuous space for suffrage bulletin boards.\textsuperscript{47} Special yellow stationery and post cards were printed.\textsuperscript{48} There were billboard posters, banners, floats, debates, prize essay contests,\textsuperscript{49} decorations, emblems, and

\textsuperscript{44}Alice Park, "Autobiography," MS at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto, p. b.

\textsuperscript{45}Louise Herrick Wall, "Moving to Amend," \textit{Sunset} (October, 1911), p. 380.

\textsuperscript{46}Dean, \textit{Winning Equal Suffrage in California}, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{47}Alice Park, "Autobiography," p. 38.

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., p. 27.

\textsuperscript{49}College Equal Suffrage League, \textit{Winning Equal Suffrage in California}, pp. ll f.
pennants. They even printed suffrage calendars.

Propaganda leaflets were sometimes sold to local organizations for free distribution. Late in the campaign they were given away. Some of this literature went through the mails as circulars. Bay area workers said that it was not possible to judge the results of circularizing, but the Stockton suffragists reported that every district which they had circularized carried for suffrage, and those not circularized did not carry. They did agree that they got the work done for about one-fifth of what a political party usually paid for the same job. Mrs. Rose M. French, state literature chairman, reported that nearly three million pages of printed matter went all over the state. "California used more literature . . . than any other state has used during a campaign, even considering its size."56

50Solomons, How We Won the Vote in California, p. 40.
51Ibid., p. 27.
52Elizabeth Watson to Jennie McBean, October 4, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
55Brown, loc. cit.
56Solomons, op. cit., p. 37.
IV. MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

California had no suffrage magazine of its own, but members of many organizations were asked to subscribe to *Equal Rights*, the official organ of the National Woman's party. There was also a national newspaper, the *Woman's Journal*, a weekly founded by Lucy Stone and published in Boston.\(^57\) Alice Stone Blackwell was editing this paper in 1909. She expressed pleasure that California was going to make use of the journal and disappointment in her own inability to increase the circulation. She "lacked the business push which anyone must have to work up a large circulation, especially for a reform paper."\(^58\) The Board of the California Equal Suffrage Association decided to support this publication rather than attempting one of their own.\(^59\)

There were some courageous, but short-lived, experiments with suffrage newspapers. Susan B. Anthony had published the *Revolution* from January of 1868 to May of 1870. Miss Anthony spent many years lecturing in order to pay the

\(^{57}\) *The Woman's Journal*, August 30, 1902, p. 280.

\(^{58}\) Alice Stone Blackwell in a letter to Mary Keith, July 9, 1909, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

\(^{59}\) Elizabeth Watson in a letter to the Stockton Equal Suffrage Club, January 14, 1911, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.
debt incurred by the Revolution. California had a suffrage newspaper of its own for a time. Katherine Reed Balantine, daughter of Speaker Reed of the House of Representatives, edited and published The Yellow Ribbon at her own expense. The paper died when her husband was transferred from the area. Mrs. Balantine was disappointed with the brief experiment.

It was not strange that women invaded this field and attempted to use the press, an important medium of free speech in America since colonial times. Feminine ancestors had done the same thing. Ann Franklin printed the first newspaper in Rhode Island in 1732, at which time she was made official printer of the colony. Cornelia Bradford carried on the Philadelphia Mercury after the death of her husband, as did Mrs. Peter Zenger with the New York Weekly Journal.

Press work became very important in the California campaign. Mrs. David G. McCan's work has been mentioned.


61 Solomonos, How We Won the Vote in California, p. 5.

62 Katherine Reed Balantine in a letter to Mary Keith, March 7, 1907, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

She made newspaper articles more effective by mailing over sixty thousand letters to individuals telling them that certain articles would appear in local papers.\textsuperscript{64}

Mabel Craft Deering, press chairman for northern California, began her work early. After the earthquake and fire in San Francisco in 1906, she found herself with few social contacts and decided to use her time in suffrage work. Of the seven hundred papers in California at that time, the national organization had the addresses of only thirteen. Mrs. Deering sent letters to each of the seven hundred, and received replies from about four hundred. She secured press chairmen for each of the forty-eight counties in northern and central California, and extra workers for the heavily populated areas. There were seventy in all, and every county had at least one, with the exception of one small mountainous county in the north.\textsuperscript{65} Mrs. Deering's advice was to "get local women to look after local papers."\textsuperscript{66} The press work was not expensive. Foreign language papers were paid for using the material, but other newspapers were

\textsuperscript{64}\textit{Mrs. David C. McCan, "Six Months of Woman Suffrage in California," \textit{West Coast Magazine}, XII (July, 1912), 424.}

\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Mabel Craft Deering, "Press Work of the California Campaign," \textit{Winning Equal Suffrage in California}, pp. 17 ff.}

\textsuperscript{66}\textit{Ibid., p. 24.}
Mrs. Watson wrote that "the Press Committee is furnishing material for over two hundred newspapers at a cost of about eight dollars a month."68

One month before the election Mrs. Watson wrote, "The newspapers are tumbling over each other in their eagerness to serve us and seizing every opportunity for sensational items."69 This was by no means true of all of the important California newspapers. The powerful Los Angeles Times was opposed as were the San Francisco Argonaut70 and the Oakland Tribune.71 Senator Sanford published a strong anti-suffrage paper in Ukiah.72 Generally, however, the attitude of the press was much more favorable than it had been in 1896, and it was more favorable than it had been in 1902, when Miss Anthony wrote:

The most encouraging sign is the attitude of the press. Although country papers occasionally refer to the suffragettes as hyenas, cats, crowing hens, bold,

67Ibid., p. 22.
68Elizabeth Lowe Watson in an open letter, January 14, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
69Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, September 3, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
70Solomons, How We Won the Vote in California, p. 41.
71J. Gregg Layne, "The Lincoln-Roosevelt League," The Quarterly, Historical Society of Southern California, xxiv, No. 3 (September 1943), 92.
72Deering, in Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 21.
wanton, unsexed females and dangerous home-wreckers, expressions which were common a generation ago, they are no longer found in metropolitan newspapers. Scores of city and country papers openly advocate the measure and scores of others would do so if they were not under the same control as the Legislatures. Ten years ago it was almost impossible to secure space in any paper for woman suffrage arguments. To-day several of the largest in the country maintain regular departments for this purpose. 73

The changing attitude of the press in California was influenced by factors which had little or nothing to do with woman suffrage. The most important factor was the general concept of reform behind the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. This movement had been started by a few men who became disgusted with the corruption in California state politics. The founders of the league, Chester A. Rowell (later campaign manager of Hiram Johnson) and Edward A. Dickenson, called together those California newspapermen who were also interested in reform. The first meeting of the League took place on May 21, 1907, at Levy's Cafe in Los Angeles. Of the fifteen persons present, eight were editors and publishers of newspapers. Irving Martin of the Stockton Record was there. Other newspapers represented were the Fresno Republican, Modesto Herald, Oakland Inquirer, Sacramento Union, and the Los Angeles Express. Soon more than half of

the newspapers of the state were supporting the League.74
A leading historian of the time, J. Gregg Layne, called it a "newspaper directed reform movement."75

These men looked upon the idea of woman suffrage as a tool for the reform; they endorsed it together with seven other reforms at that first meeting.76 Many newspapers had already begun to give favorable publicity to woman suffrage news items. The San Francisco News was first among the dailies to do this. In 1905 Mr. Wasson, the editor, printed woman suffrage articles. Mrs. Park believed that his help was of great value, and that he was instrumental in gaining the endorsement of the Scripps papers of the Pacific Coast.77

By 1911 the California newspapers could be divided into several groups. There were those who were decidedly opposed, such as the San Francisco Argonaut; there were those that attempted to remain neutral and accepted signed articles, and there were a few papers that gave editorial support and a great deal of favorable news coverage. Probably the San Francisco Call was the most outstanding in its support. On Sunday, August 6, 1911, the Call came out with

74See Appendix A.
75Layne, op. cit., p. 90.
76Ibid., p. 88.
a full page editorial spread endorsing the suffrage amendment. Thereafter there was continuing editorial endorsement and much space devoted to suffrage news. They even printed appeals for election day help for the suffrage organizations which gave such details as the names and addresses of people to contact.78 When the votes were partially counted and issue was much in doubt, the Call published an encouraging editorial and a headline claiming victory. Two days later when the country districts had made the verdict certain, they gleefully reproduced election night headlines from the Examiner, the Chronicle, and the Bulletin saying that woman suffrage had lost.79

Most of the other bay area papers were for equal suffrage, but they did not give it the attention that the Call did. The Examiner, the Post, and the Bulletin advised their readers to vote for amendment eight.80 The Daily News was favorable.81 The Oakland Inquirer gave a weekly column to Mrs. Keith.82 Although the editorial policy of the

78San Francisco Call, October 7, 1911, p. 26.
79Ibid., October 13, 1911, p. 1.
80Deering, Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 23.
81Solomons, op. cit., p. 41.
Los Angeles Times was one of opposition, the staff of that paper was said to be friendly.83

With a view to influencing the attitude of the Examiner and the powerful Hearst chain, efforts were made to get Phoebe Hearst to serve on the board of trustees of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund.84 The attempt was unsuccessful, but the Examiner continued to give the suffragists half a column daily.85 When Mrs. Hearst did give an endorsement a few days before the election, it was the Examiner that donated Dreamland Rink for the huge suffrage gathering.86 The women of California were to be its guests to hear the election returns.87

Of the Sacramento papers, the Sacramento Bee gave good service to suffrage, and the Sacramento Star and Sacramento Union were also friendly.88 On the peninsula the San Jose Mercury was favorable.89


84Mrs. Avery in a letter to Mary Keith, January 18, 1907, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

85Helen Moore in a letter to Jennie McBean, August 19, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

86Solomons, op. cit., p. 60.

87Oakland Examiner, October 8, 1911, p. 1.

88Peering, Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 23.

89Watson, Proceedings, p. 102.
of the Surf actually asked for more copy, and the two other papers published articles. The Palo Alto Times published a series of articles on equal pay for women teachers.

The Woman's Journal stated that all the papers had individual chairmen, and that even the Chinese papers had suffrage articles. Italian papers were said to be unfriendly, but were willing to publish signed articles without payment. One Italian paper did give editorial support. One French paper opposed suffrage, and another would print articles if they were furnished. Both German papers opposed suffrage, but the Swiss papers were sympathetic, and they were the only ones who did not ask to be paid. Portuguese papers gave editorial support as soon as they received suffrage advertising. The editor of one Chinese paper was an outspoken friend.

E. L. Collins of the Stockton Mail was interested in suffrage. Mabel Craft Deering believed that the best

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90Emily S. Secombe in a letter to Jennie McBean, September 9, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
91Alice Park in a letter to Mary Keith, November 16, 1909, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
92Woman's Journal, September 16, 1911, p. 291.
suffrage editorial on anti-suffrage activities appeared in the Mail. She had it syndicated, and it was printed in hundreds of California papers.95

The San Francisco Chronicle96 and the Stockton Record attempted to remain neutral. Although the Record officially made a statement favoring equal suffrage in January of 1911,97 the actual articles appearing in the paper told a different story. A study of the paper from January to October reveals that there was a close parallel with the attitude of Hiram Johnson. After the initial statement of support, the paper almost entirely ignored the issue for a time. On Labor Day they endorsed the statement of Samuel Gompers on the equality of men and women. The same issue of the paper ran an article saying that it was feared that the women would elect a socialist in Los Angeles.98 Articles by the Stockton Votes for Women Club and the W.C.T.U. were buried on back pages with headlines set in small type. When they covered an address by Anna Howard Shaw, almost the entire article was devoted to Governor Hay's remarks on

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95Deering, Winning Equal Suffrage in California, p. 21.
96Ibid.
98Ibid., September 20, 1911, p. 1.
judicial decisions. The type of story which made page one was, "Booze and Politics Brought This Woman to a Sad and Bitter End." Irving Martin, owner and editor of the Record, was plainly loyal to Governor Hiram Johnson. When the governor was inaugurated the Record commented as follows:

None who heard that address and none who read it will question Governor Johnson's sincerity, his determination, or his ability to make good his words in deeds.

On the night that Governor Johnson spoke for the initiative, referendum, and the recall in the Yosemite Theater in Stockton, it was Irving Martin who stood beside him on the platform and to whom Miss McLeod gave her bouquet in her confusion. Oddly enough, three years later C. L. Neumiller found it necessary to write the following to Governor Johnson: "... this particular paper [the Record] is genuinely supporting you and that Mr. Irving Martin, its editor, is sincere in his support of you."

99Ibid., September 14, 1911, p. 1.
100Ibid., September 2, 1911, p. 1.
103C. L. Neumiller in a letter to Hiram Johnson, February 23, 1914, the papers of Hiram Johnson, Bancroft.
CHAPTER V

FINANCING THE CAMPAIGN

I. THE EXTENT OF THE RECORDS

The money for the campaign came from a variety of sources, some of which defy the most rigorous examination. In the cases of many of the small local clubs, the treasurers' reports were neglected when the members felt the press of the last few months of heated campaigning,¹ at a time when the budgets would have been large and the sources of income the most significant. In some organizations there was a confusion regarding disbursements especially,² which was probably a consequence of the necessity of utilizing inexperienced personnel. Fatigued by her responsibilities as the leader of the state-wide suffrage association in the midst of a hard campaign, Mrs. Watson repeatedly requested truncated reports: "Now, my dear, I want to say that in making out your annual report, give only the main

¹"Minutes," the Stockton Votes for Women Club, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

²Elizabeth Watson in letters to Jennie McBean, April 12, 1910, and August 3, 1910, the Keith Papers, Bancroft [Library], University of California, Berkeley.
business facts... "3 To add to the difficulty, some contributions, both large and small, were made anonymously and listed simply as "for a friend," or "from a Socialist."4 A one thousand dollar contribution came from a "noble little lady who wishes her name withheld."5

II. THE WORK OF MARY KEITH

One wealthy bay area woman contributed generously to many suffrage organizations. Mary McHenry Keith was an unusual enthusiast. When asked how she became interested in suffrage, she replied,

I believe all such things are an affair of temperament, although I suppose intelligence does play some part.

What makes a child of six years listen with disapproval and disbelief to the proverb, "Whistling girls and crowing hens always come to some bad ends?" I heard that when I was six, and it made me mad. Why couldn't I whistle if I wanted to?

I believe that was the start of my career as a suffrage worker. Then and there I made up my mind that I would whistle louder than any boy in the neighborhood. I began to practice whistling through my teeth, and the little boys were quick enough to inform me that it was

3Ibid., September 14, 1910.
5Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, June 16, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
a little girl's place to be playing with her dollies and not whistling through her teeth like a boy. But I told them I did not whistle like them, I whistled louder and better. 5

Her father was Judge John McHenry of San Francisco. Judge McHenry believed that woman had no right to think of a career outside the home. He did not object to his daughter's having a university education, however, and she was graduated with the class of 1879 from the University of California. 7 Law school was another matter. Mary McHenry thought it advisable to enroll at Hastings Law College without her father's knowledge:

She began the study in secret. She enrolled in the Hastings Law College of the University of California, then a new institution, and studied faithfully.

One day the head of the school met Judge McHenry in a club. He thought he would delight him by telling a bit of good news about his daughter.

"By the way, Judge," he said, "that daughter of yours is a most remarkable person. She takes to the law as a duck takes to water, and she is going to finish her course far in advance of her class. The others simply cannot keep up with her."

The well-meaning professor was never afterward able wholly to understand the explosion that followed. 6

6 Clipping from a bay area paper, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.

7 The Palette, Fall Bulletin, 1947, No. 3, p. 1, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.

8 Clipping from a bay area paper, the Goodman Papers, Martin Library.
While in college Mary McHenry heard lectures on geology, the origin and classification of languages, and the works of English literary figures. She copied "The Heathen Chinee" and Bret Harte's "To the Pliocene Skull" (with original illustrations!) in her notebook. Despite the objections of her father, Miss McHenry was the first woman to be graduated from Hastings. Her degree was granted as a member of the class of 1882. She read and practiced law in San Francisco before she married William Keith, the famous California landscape artist.

As a student of the law she was much interested in Blackstone, but what she found there concerning women and their "defect of sex" had no appeal. John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women" stirred up resentment, indignation, and opposition.

As third president of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, she was an outspoken proponent of co-education, and by 1891 she was speaking and writing for woman suffrage. When Anna Howard Shaw and Susan B. Anthony came to San Francisco in 1895 she became even more enthusiastic; she

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9 "Lecture Notebook of Mary McHenry," 1879, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

10 The Palette, op. cit., p. 11.

believed Miss Anthony's slogan, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."  

Mr. Keith did not always share his wife's enthusiasm. In fact, to ridicule the idea he and close friends and relatives took the parts of women at women's rights meetings. During a good evening of fun, Theodore Hutell would be fixed up as Carrie Chapman Catt and Mr. Keith as Susan B. Anthony. "Miss Anthony" would meet everyone at the door with the question, "Are you loyal to the cause?" Needless to say, the audience became almost hysterical with laughter.  

During the suffrage campaign Mary Keith maintained the headquarters of the Berkeley Political Equality Club in her own home at her own expense. This was one of her smaller contributions. The Susan B. Anthony fund was the recipient of five hundred dollars from Mrs. Keith in 1908, and the California Equal Suffrage Association received one thousand dollars in March of 1911. She had sent money to

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12 Ibid., pp. 349 ff.
13 Ibid., pp. 351 f.
15 "Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund Account Book," June, 1908, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
16 Sarah C. Borland and Lucretia M. Taylor in letters to Mary Keith, March, 1911, and February 24, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
Mrs. Sperry for the state association as far back as 1906.\textsuperscript{17}
She gave three thousand dollars to the College League.\textsuperscript{18}
Early in 1911 Helen Moore of the College League wrote, "We
are making progress daily here, and owing to the generosity
of Mrs. Keith we feel much encouraged. . . ."\textsuperscript{19}

Not only did Mrs. Keith contribute to California
suffrage work, but there is evidence that her generosity
extended to Kansas and other states.\textsuperscript{20} It is probably not
an exaggeration to state that as much as fifteen thousand
dollars of her personal funds went into suffrage work.\textsuperscript{21}

III. THE LUNCHROOM OF THE VOTES FOR WOMEN CLUB

The San Francisco Votes for Women Club had a budget
of almost two thousand dollars in the campaign year, the
bulk of which came from a lunchroom which they operated.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17}Receipt dated January 17, 1906, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
\item \textsuperscript{18}Solomons, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 53.
\item \textsuperscript{19}Helen Moore in a letter to Jennie McBean, March 20, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
\item \textsuperscript{20}Cornelius, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 353; and Mary Keith in a letter to a Kansas suffragist, October 28, 1912, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
\item \textsuperscript{21}\textit{The Courier}, December 2, 1911, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{22}Votes for Women Club, \textit{Annual Report and Announcement for the Campaign}, 1911, leaflet, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
\end{itemize}
Compared with the budget of the College Equal Suffrage League, this would seem to be quite small. However, these clubs paid no administrative salaries, and ingenious women often stretched pennies into dollars when it came to publicity.

Early in 1910 the club secured a large loft at 315 Sutter Street and opened their headquarters and lunchroom:

A tempting and nourishing luncheon was served, with all the dishes except the meat ... for five cents. Most of the girls spent but fifteen cents on their lunch. It was served on the "buffet plan," the patrons helping themselves from the large tables and sideboard, as at an English country-house breakfast. ... We attracted a very superior class of women workers. ...

All the help was voluntary with the exception of the cooking, dishwashing and janitor work. ...

There was a good supply of suffrage literature at the reading table.23

A reporter consumed the entire bill of fare for twenty-five cents. The club was meant to be a recruiting center for women workers. One hapless gentleman walked in, and the president of the club would not wait on him.24 The papers generally responded by ignoring the enterprise or by treating it as an opportunity for a humorous, human interest feature.

23Solomons, op. cit., p. 16.

IV. ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF REVENUE

Part of the necessary funds were obtained from the club members of the various suffrage organizations in the form of dues and contributions to special funds, such as the Susan B. Anthony memorial fund. Money was also raised at public meetings. At one such meeting of the College Equal Suffrage League, a large sum was raised from the floor in just fifteen minutes.25 The extent of their success in this matter can be judged by the amount of revenue which came from this source.26 Small meetings in residential sections brought in some revenue.27

They tried auctions. Mrs. Watson auctioned off two books at one of the suffrage conventions.28 There were public auctions as well, and the ladies were asked to contribute what they could. One woman domestic worker sent two handmade handkerchiefs and a work bag. They were purchased for thirty dollars.29 Mrs. Watson even turned over the money

26See Appendix B.
28Elizabeth Watson, in a letter to Jennie McBean, April 23, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.
29San Francisco Call, October 1, 1911, p. 35.
from the sale of her buggy horse, Allie, to the treasurer as a final payment on her pledge.³⁰

Local clubs were contributing to state organizations³¹ as well as raising money for their own local campaign work. Often people who were soliciting contributions found that it was easier to get money for a specific purpose rather than just for suffrage work in general. Sometimes they would get a donation in the form of a cash prize for a poster contest,³² but more often the ladies were successful in obtaining free advertising, free rent, billboard space, reduced printing charges, and so forth. The manager of the Emporium donated five rooms in the Parrott Building for a suffrage headquarters.³³

The Susan B. Anthony Club raised three hundred dollars at a bazaar; five hundred dollars was raised at a rally at the Palace Hotel,³⁴ and money came in from out-of-state. Two hundred dollars was sent into the state

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³⁰Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, July 8, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

³¹Mary Keith in a letter to Mrs. Jennie McBrum, December 27, 1909; and Mrs. C. A. Barrett to Mrs. McBean, September 6, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.


³⁴Solomons, op. cit., p. 53.
association from a "perfect stranger" in the East, without solicitation. The ladies of New York organized a "Self-Sacrifice Week" during which they renounced ice cream, cooling drinks, roof garden parties, and week-end visits. The money saved was turned over to be used in the California fight. There was a similar campaign in Chicago. Dr. Mary Watson, niece of Susan B. Anthony and administrator of the Susan B. Anthony Trust Fund, sent one thousand dollars with the provision that if the campaign were not successful it would have to be returned; if the amendment carried the money was a gift.

A former mayor of Oakland sent five hundred dollars from New York; the Men's League for Equal Suffrage of New York sent two hundred, and the Rochester Political Equality Club sent two hundred and eighty dollars. Chicago suffrage workers paid the railway expenses to California of Katherine Waugh McCullough for a speaking tour.

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35Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, July 11, 1911, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

36San Francisco Call, July 18, 1911, p. 1.

37Ibid., August 17, 1911, p. 5.

38Ibid., August 19, 1911, p. 13.

The governors of the five suffrage states meeting at Cooper Union, New York, arranged a speaking program. John F. Shafroth of Colorado, J. H. Hawley of Idaho, Joseph M. Carey of Wyoming, and M. E. Hay of Utah spoke for suffrage and collected admission fees which were sent to California.\textsuperscript{40}

The National Association for Woman Suffrage contributed eighteen hundred dollars. Mrs. Watson reported that the Northern California Suffrage Association had disbursed about ten thousand dollars in the campaign. This did not include what was spent in the southern part of the state.\textsuperscript{41} Roughly totaled, the campaign had cost the women of California about twenty-six thousand dollars, or an estimated cost of a little more than fifteen cents a vote.\textsuperscript{42}

This was a very small sum to have been disbursed in a campaign of this size. Very little of it was spent even for clerical help because of the number of volunteer workers. Also, club members were often able to secure free rent for their headquarters, free space for billboard advertisements, and even reduced rates for printed literature. The money they had did a great deal because it was used where it would be effective, in publicity.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Stockton Evening Mail}, July 8, 1911, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Watson, Proceedings}, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{42}\textit{San Francisco Call}, December 29, 1911, p. 7.
CHAPTER VI

THE ELECTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

I. ELECTION DAY WORK

October 10th dawned "cloudless and beautiful as June,"¹ and the assembly district captains were out in their automobiles by five-thirty a.m. in order to direct workers to the polls by six.² In San Francisco more than two thousand women arrived at the polls by seven o'clock and distributed suffrage literature.³ More than one hundred women in Los Angeles campaigned outside the one hundred foot limit at the precinct booths. Fresno women were active, and in Santa Barbara wealthy society women escorted voters in their cars. Every one of Santa Barbara's precincts had woman suffrage electioneers.⁴

The ballot was a long one—two pages printed on both sides. The constitutional amendment granting women suffrage


²Ibid.

³Stockton Daily Evening Record, October 10, 1911, p. 1.

⁴Stockton Evening Mail, October 10, 1911, p. 1.
was only one out of twenty-five proposed amendments. From its order of introduction in the legislature it had been known as amendment number eight, but state authorities had placed it fourth on the ballot. It had been widely advertised as amendment eight, and this was a disturbing bit of news, since it was certain to create confusion in the minds of some voters. Also, it was expected that the vote would be close, and telegrams went out to suffrage workers in doubtful towns and counties to "watch the count." Gail Laughlin, in charge of the co-ordinated election day effort, had made a valiant attempt to see that there were official women observers at each polling place. The vaults in San Francisco where the ballots were deposited were under continuous surveillance for forty-eight hours; in Oakland Pinkerton men were hired to watch.

The first results which came in must have been very disappointing for the crowd which was waiting at Dreamland Pavilion, and the next day papers carried such headlines

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6 San Francisco Call, September 30, 1911, p. 1.
7 Watson, op. cit., p. 102.
9 San Francisco Call, October 6, 1911, p. 1.
as "Suffrage Beaten by a Small Majority,"\textsuperscript{10} or "Chances Against its Success."\textsuperscript{11}

Slowly, as the outlying districts came in, it was apparent that the measure had carried by a very narrow margin. The vote in Stockton will serve as an illustration of voter interest in the election and the margin of victory.

In 1911 there were 12,871 registered voters in the city.\textsuperscript{12} A total of 2,192 persons voted on the suffrage amendment, giving it a majority of only 146 votes\textsuperscript{13} In the state as a whole there were 244,487 votes cast, and the winning majority was only 3,487 votes\textsuperscript{14} This was an average of one vote in every voting precinct in the state.\textsuperscript{15}

When asked how she felt when election night came and it was believed that the amendment was defeated, Dr. Goodman said, "We were all ready to put away our materials until the time would come when we would have another chance. It

\textsuperscript{10}\textbf{Stockton Evening Mail}, October 11, 1911, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{11}\textbf{Stockton Daily Independent}, October 11, 1911, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{13}\textbf{Stockton Evening Mail}, October 11, 1911, p. 1.
wasn’t a life-or-death matter. We knew we would have to pick up and begin again.”

They did not have to begin again. The legislature took due and proper notice of the tally and passed an enabling act on December 23, 1911. The law read that the amendment was to go into effect on March 10, 1912. Under this law women could vote thirty days after registration.

II. THE FIRST WOMEN VOTERS IN THE STATE

The women had not waited for the legislature to act. On November 14, 1911, thirty-two women voted in an election concerning a municipal conduit system in Stockton. The first woman to vote in the city was Sadie Estelle McLeod, who was at her polling place in the second ward at six o’clock. It was so dark at that hour that election officials had to hold a candle for her. In line immediately behind her was Dr. Minerva Goodman.

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17 Statutes of California and Amendments to the Constitution Passed at Extra Session of the Thirty-Ninth Legislature, 1911, Ch. 11 (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1911), p. 16.
18 Stockton Daily Independent, October 14, 1911, p. 1.
19 Stockton Daily Evening Record, November 14, 1911, p. 7.
Mrs. McLeod very nearly was the first woman to vote in California, but that honor belongs to Charley Parkhurst, the hard-driving Santa Cruz stage driver of the 1870's. Charley had no trouble voting, for no one knew the truth about him—or, that is, her—until after her death in 1879 when the masquerade was discovered. The Santa Cruz County Historical Society erected a plaque to Charley, the first woman to vote in California.  

III. OTHER EFFECTS

One very noticeable effect was the rise in the number of women office holders. In the year 1919, eight years after California women had the vote, four women were to represent their home districts in the California State Legislature. Mrs. Esto B. Broughton was elected from Stanislaus County, Mrs. Grace S. Dorris from Kern County, Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes from Butte, and Mrs. Anna Saylor from Alameda. They were the first women to hold these offices in California. It was not until another decade had passed that California had its first woman mayor, Judge Gladys S. Burroughs of Susanville.

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Not only was this true of elective offices, but it was the case with the appointive ones as well. A few women began to filter into administrative positions:

But as soon as women voted, appointments were shared and generally this was done as a matter of course and without official petitions from organizations of women. Women now served as members of committees and executive boards, especially in those governing public institutions.24

Women of the College Equal Suffrage League directed their efforts toward raising money for the states where suffrage was pending.25 They also recognized that they had a responsibility toward helping women to be intelligent citizens, and they formed the California Civic League which did much to change the status of women by the time of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.26 At that time, the National Woman Suffrage Association formed the League of Women Voters,27 and many of the members of the California Civic League changed their membership to the new organization. One of the officers of the California Civic League

24Alice Park, "Autobiography," MS at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.


27Ida Harper in a letter to Mary Keith, n.d., the Keith Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
commented, "Frankly, we lost some of our most brilliant people." The C.C.L. lobbied for the enactment of legislation in the field of social reform. They hoped to gain laws which would provide for:

1. The joint guardianship of children.
2. The age of majority for girls to be raised to twenty-one.
3. The raising of the age of consent.
4. Red light abatement and injunction.
5. Equal pay for equal work.
6. Changes in the community property law.

One year after suffrage was passed there were laws enacted which:

1. Raised the age of consent from sixteen to twenty-one.
2. Required fathers to support illegitimate children.
3. Required a medical certificate before marriage.
4. Provided for sterilization of some individuals.
5. Provided drastic penalties for those convicted of pandering.
6. Established a minimum wage.
7. Set up a pension system for teachers.
8. Established a state training school for girls.
10. Required the wife's signature for the assignment of a husband's wages.
11. Set up a system of milk inspection.
12. Put into effect pure food restrictions and prison reforms.
13. Raised the age of child workers.

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29San Francisco Labor Clarion, August 30, 1911, p. 1.

Suffrage workers had agitated for such social reforms.

What happened to the women who had led the vigorous campaign? Mrs. Watson spoke for prohibition;\(^3^1\) Mrs. Park took renewed interest in the world peace movement;\(^3^2\) Gail Laughlin went to Maine where she became a member of a prominent law firm;\(^3^3\) Minerva Goodman had a little more time to devote to her medical practice; and, Margaret Simpson retired to her garden.\(^3^4\)

Other minor events followed in the wake of the election. In Sacramento the public voted for a commission form of government, with one of the five commissioners a woman.\(^3^5\) In San Francisco the Club Woman's Franchise League became the New Era League of San Francisco; in the south the Woman's Progressive League became the Civic League of Southern California. They affiliated with the State Federation of Women's Clubs which, in 1912, claimed twenty-five thousand

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\(^{31}\)Elizabeth Watson in a letter to Jennie McBean, March 31, 1914, the Keith Papers, Bancroft.

\(^{32}\)Alice Park, collection of clippings, 1900-1940, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University.

\(^{33}\)George Buck, interview, January 22, 1962.

\(^{34}\)Minerva Goodman, interview, July 22, 1961.

\(^{35}\)Mabel Craft Deering, "Six Months of Woman Suffrage in California," West Coast Magazine, XII (July, 1912), 423.
Their immediate objectives in San Francisco were these:

1. To defeat a race-track amendment.
2. To re-elect Judge W. P. Lawlor.
3. To prevent the re-election of a senator who had voted against a bill which had abolished gambling on horse-racing.
4. To secure free textbooks for school children.

Before the year was out, the women of Los Angeles had the opportunity of using their newly-acquired franchise. Despite the close connection that the movement had had with the W.C.T.U., prohibition was "snowed under" in an election in which ninety-five per cent of the women registered had voted. In percentages they outdid the men, for records show that eighty per cent was the highest portion of men voting in any precinct. In all fairness it must be stated that there were forty thousand fewer women registered than men, and from this it is evident that a sizeable portion of eligible women did not register.

In a very real sense the California victory paved the way for the Nineteenth Amendment. Theodore Roosevelt had

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36 "How California Women Voters 'Made Good'," Review of Reviews, XLVII (May, 1913), 609.
37 Ibid.
38 Stockton Evening Mail, December 6, 1911, p. 1.
39 Mabel Craft Deering, "The Woman's Demonstration: How They Won and Used the Vote in California," Colliers, XLVIII (January 6, 1912), 17.
said, "Go get another state," and that is exactly what had been done. Furthermore, California was an important state. With almost two and a half million people, she ranked twelfth among the states. As early as 1912, it was predicted that California was the turning point in the movement:

"The victory in California was the beginning of the end for woman suffrage and the whole nation stands your debtor." Oregon finally won her long struggle in 1912, as did Kansas and Arkansas. Alaska joined the group in 1913, and Montana and Nevada carried in the following year. On May 10, 1919, the Nineteenth Amendment passed the house of representatives, and the next month it went through the senate. After the required number of states had approved, formal ratification took place in August of 1920. California women had a share in the victory.

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42Anna Howard Shaw, "Six Months of Equal Suffrage in California," *West Coast Magazine*, XII (July, 1912), 421.


44Ibid., p. 258.


CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When California became a state in 1850, there were no large urban centers and the majority of the 92,597 people were in small rural settlements or in individual dwellings thinly scattered upon the arable land surface. Just a decade later the population had more than tripled. By 1870 the impetus of the mid-century gold rush had begun to dissipate but other forces were tending to bring about continued population increase. The census reports 560,247 persons living in the state. Growth until 1900 was steady and by that year there were almost two and a half million people and a number of well-developed urban centers. The economy had moved from a mining boom to one which was predominately agricultural, and then, at the turn of the century, it showed marked signs of industrialization.

Not only had the population changed greatly in

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2Ibid.

3Ibid.

quantity, but during the latter half of the nineteenth century economic factors had greatly influenced its distribution. One sees evidence of this in the growth of cities. In 1850 Stockton was just eight years old, and could boast of no more than a small group of wooden buildings.\(^5\) In 1910 the population of Stockton was 23,253 persons, about half the population of the entire county.\(^6\) Fresno was slightly larger;\(^7\) both were bustling communities.

With the growth in cities came a change in the status of women. More women went to work in factories and some managed their own businesses. One of several reasons for the passage of the suffrage amendment in California was the growing economic independence of women:

Time is not so far back when a woman who could draw a check properly was looked upon as a sort of female usurper--fighting the male of her species and stealing his prerogative. Now most women have money and handle it themselves.\(^8\)

Then came the struggle for the legal recognition of a partial social and economic independence that society had


\(^7\)Ibid.

\(^8\)Mrs. Lovell White, "Six Months of Woman Suffrage in California," West Coast Magazine, XII (July, 1912), 421.
already condoned. Clara Shortridge Foltz, deputy district attorney for Los Angeles and the only woman member of the State Bar Association of California, ⁹ was successful in having the following inserted into the state constitution: "No person shall be debarred from entering upon, or pursuing any lawful business, vocation or profession because of sex." ¹⁰ The law did not include elective or appointive positions, ¹¹ but it was the best that had been secured until that time. There followed an effort to secure the admission of women to Hastings, ¹² which ended with the enrolment of Mary McHenry in 1880.

Organizations were in existence a number of years before 1911. Women who had been educated in California's colleges and universities formed new organizations or moved into positions of leadership in well-established organizations dedicated to the cause of woman suffrage. This upper middle class of business and professional women was in a

¹⁰Ibid., p. 432.
¹²Ibid.
position whereby it had access to people who were moderately wealthy, and some of these people made possible much of the campaign work through their solid financial support.

The movement benefited from the support of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League and the newspaper men who largely constituted the membership. In the general atmosphere of reform, the newspapers gave greatly needed favorable coverage to suffrage news. They also were willing to carry suffrage advertising without charge in most cases.

The publicity for the campaign was well managed. A variety of methods were used, and as the women gained experience they soon learned which were the most effective. Their most effective publicity was probably the billboard advertising in the city areas. In the rural areas and small towns, speakers formed the backbone of the publicity campaign. The automobile was of use, but radio was too new to have been anything other than just a curiosity.

There was much in the way of good social legislation passed after women gained the ballot. Although this legislation was partly a result of the total reform movement, senators and representatives of the legislatures from 1912 to the present have been aware that half of their constituents were women, and that women were interested in social legislation. The new laws resulted in no immediate or startling improvements, but over a longer period of time the
ballot in the hands of women has had a beneficial effect on social conditions in California.

The California campaign was led by women of intelligence and ability. Some were wealthy and some were not, but almost all of them were highly literate persons. There were doctors among them, such as Dr. Minerva Goodman of Stockton and Dr. Charlotte Baker of San Diego. Mary Keith, Gail Laughlin, and Laura Gordon had law degrees. Anna Howard Shaw was an ordained Methodist minister, and Susan B. Anthony had been a teacher before she began her suffrage work. Some were politically far to the left of center, a few were effusive and naive, and many were practical and politically sagacious as well.

The fight they waged was basically one against indifference. It was perfectly true that the liquor interests put money into the campaign to defeat amendment eight, and there were also anti-suffrage organizations, but the size, margin, and composition of the election returns amply illustrates voter apathy. Too many felt the way Theodore Roosevelt did—it just wasn't important, and they stayed home on election day.

The passage of the amendment was more a consequence of social and economic change than it was of political agitation. California women had won their fight to enter colleges and universities and this was reflected in the
growing numbers of them in the professions. More women were also entering the business world. California, especially with a shorter and less rigid background of social tradition such as existed in the East, was more ready to admit that women might have a career outside the home.

The results of the election tended to operate on the concept of the role of women in a political democracy and to accelerate the existing trends. Men were now forced to recognize that women, as a part of the electorate, were entitled to share in the administration of the government.

The political activity of California's women in the campaign of 1911 succeeded in getting the amendment accepted a number of years before the general social trend would have made passage almost a certainty. Thus, they undoubtedly hastened this social change. The energy and unselfish effort which they put into the movement is recorded as a tribute to them and as a hope that it may serve as an inspiration to their successors.
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          October 11, 1911.
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San Francisco Call. October 1, 1910.
          February 5, 1911.
          February 28, 1911.
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October 27, 1911.
December 29, 1911.

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June 17, 1940.

July 9, 1910.
August 27, 1910.
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October 26, 1910.
November 3, 1910.
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APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPERS SUPPORTING
THE LINCOLN-ROOSEVELT LEAGUE*

Los Angeles Express
San Francisco Call
Oakland Inquirer
Sacramento Bee
Sacramento Union
Stockton Record
Fresno Republican
Tulare Register
Bakersfield Echo

Berkeley Gazette
Berkeley Independent
Modesto Herald
Ventura Free Press
Riverside Press
San Diego Sun
El Centro Progress
Santa Ana Blade
Marysville Appeal
Eureka Times

*J. Gregg Layne, "The Lincoln-Roosevelt League," The Quarterly, Historical Society of Southern California XIV, No. 3 (September, 1943), 91.
## APPENDIX B

### COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

#### TREASURER'S REPORT*

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Anna E. Rude, Treasurer