

Index

- Abolitionism
 political activity of women, 53
 suffrage movement and, 47
- Adams, Abigail, 38
- Adams, John, 38
- Addams, Jane, 54–55, 64, 165
- African-Americans
 estimates of women's voting, 97–99
 political activity of women, 56
 poll taxes, effect of, 17
 Republican Party and, 47
 right to vote, 47
 “separate spheres” concept and, 42
 suffrage organizations, 47
 turnout of female voters, 75–76, 281
 and women's suffrage generally, 7, 13n12
- “Age of association,” 53–56
- Age requirements, 132n4
- Aggregate election and census data, 91
 county level, 91
 data available for each state, table of,
 93t4.1
 Minor Civil Division (MCD)
 level, 91–92
 turnout estimates based on, 94–95
 voting-eligible versus voting-age
 population, 94–95, 254n1
- Aggregation bias, 104
- Allen, Frederick Lew, 20
- Alpern, Sara, 79, 85–86, 138n12
- American National Election Studies
 (ANES), 89, 272–274, 272n4
- American Political Science Association, 81
- American Red Cross, 56
- The American Voter* (Campbell, Converse,
 Miller & Stokes), 21, 27, 224–225
- American Woman Suffrage Association
 (AWSA), 47, 48
- Andersen, Kristi, 9, 12, 13, 70, 74, 135,
 225, 226
- Ann Arbor, Michigan
 empirical data from, 70
 limitations of data, 79–80
 turnout of female voters in, 72
- Anthony, Susan B., 47, 58
- Arizona
 empirical data from, 70–71
 turnout of female voters in, 72
- Arkansas
 denial of women's vote in, 3n1, 127n1, 132
- Arneson, Ben A., 83
- “Australian ballots,” 12, 16–17
- AWSA (American Woman Suffrage
 Association), 47, 48
- Baker, Paula, 45, 60
- Baum, Dale, 79, 85–86, 138n12
- Bayesian approach
 in data analysis, 33
 to ecological inference, 90, 107
 to estimating of women's voting,
 115–117, 119
 point estimates, reporting of, 112–114
- Bayesian Credible Intervals
 calculation of, 118–119
 in figures, 136n11
 for Illinois estimates, 110–112, 114
 overview, 114

- Beard, Mary, 19
 Berelson, Bernard R., 20–21
 Berman, David R., 70–71
 Blackwell, Henry, 47
 Blatch, Harriet Stanton, 165
 Border States. *See also particular state*
 aggregate election and census data
 in, 91–92
 defection of voters in, 207
 loyalty of voters in, 207–209
 1928 election in, 190, 202–203,
 205–206, 207–209, 214
 Boston, Massachusetts
 comparison of estimates to true values
 in, 123–125
 ethnicity, effect on turnout in, 74–75
 immigration, effect on turnout in, 74–75
 limitations of data in, 79–80
 New Deal realignment of voters in,
 77–78, 222–223, 225, 226
 1920 election in, 135–136, 140
 1928 election in, 195, 211
 race, effect on turnout in, 76
 registration of voters in, 69–70, 132,
 132n2
 social class, effect on turnout in, 74
 turnout of female voters in, 71n3,
 138n12
Boston Globe, 4, 71n3
Bridgeport Sunday Post, 3
 Brown, Courtney, 222
 Bryan, William Jennings, 161
 “Bull Moose” campaign, 163
 Burn, Harry, 50
 Burnham, Walter Dean, 60, 99–100,
 100n7, 194, 195, 224, 225, 229,
 230n2, 255
 Cable Act, 9
 Campbell, Angus, 26–27, 224–225
 Candidates
 women as, 58
 Catt, Carrie Chapman, 44, 49
 Census Bureau, 272. *See also* Aggregate
 election and census data
 Chafe, William H., 20
 Chen, Kevin, 14
 Chicago, Illinois
 aggregate election and census data in, 94
 comparison of estimates to true
 values, 123
 immigration, effect on turnout, 75
 limitations of data, 79–80
 loyalty, effect on vote choice, 77
 registration of voters in, 257n2
 separate counting of men’s and women’s
 votes in, 68–69
 social class, effect on turnout, 74
 turnout of female voters in, 138n12
Chicago Daily Tribune, 279–280, 283
 Church of Latter Day Saints, 48n2
 Civil War, 47
 Claggett, William, 24
 Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of
 New York, 70
 Colorado
 limitations of data, 79–80
 rural versus urban turnout, 73
 turnout of female voters in, 72, 138n12
 women’s suffrage in, 48
 Congressional Union, 49, 135
 Connecticut
 aggregate election and census data
 in, 92, 94
 foreign-born population in, 95
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 223,
 230, 235–237
 1920 election in, 138, 148, 152
 1924 election in, 165–166, 170, 171,
 177–178
 1928 election in, 190, 195, 197–198,
 203, 209–211
 1932 election in, 239, 242–243, 243n6
 1936 election in, 229, 229n1, 234–235,
 237, 246, 247, 267–268
 registration of voters in, 131–132
 separate voting machines in, 69n1
 turnout of female voters in,
 258–259, 267
 women’s suffrage in, 40
 Constitution
 Equal Rights Amendment (proposed),
 51, 275–276
 Fourteenth Amendment, 47
 Nineteenth Amendment (*See* Nineteenth
 Amendment)
 Reconstruction Amendments, 37, 47
 right to vote under, 37
 Converse, Philip E., 11–12, 21, 23, 24, 216,
 255, 269
 Conversion of voters
 defection of voters compared, 175–176
 loyalty of voters and, 270
 mobilization of voters compared, 175

- New Deal realignment of voters and, 22,
 31, 219, 221–224, 248–250
 in 1920 election, 151–152
 in 1924 election, 175–177, 178–183,
 185, 186
 in 1928 election, 209–214, 216
 in 1932 election, 219, 240–245, 241n4,
 242n5, 249–250
 in 1936 election, 219, 247–248,
 249–250
 to Progressive Party, 180–182, 186
- Cook County, Illinois
 aggregate election and census
 data in, 93
- Coolidge, Calvin, 124, 159, 160, 191. *See also* 1924 election
- Core voters, 15–17
- Cott, Nancy, 8, 35
- Coverture, 46
- Cox, James M., 86, 130–131, 135. *See also* 1920 election
- Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (Burnham), 224
- “Cult of Domesticity,” 41
- “Cult of True Womanhood,” 41, 43–44
- Current Population Studies (CPS), 272,
 272n4
- Dallas Morning News*, 253
- Data. *See* Aggregate election and census data
- Davis, Beverly, 104, 105, 106
- Davis, John W., 159, 161. *See also* 1924 election
- Declaration of Sentiments, 46
- Defection of voters
 in Border States, 207
 conversion of voters compared to, 175
 loyalty of voters versus, 77, 182–183
 in 1920 election, 152–153
 in 1924 election, 160, 164, 175–176,
 182–183, 186, 269
 in 1928 election, 207, 209–211
 in 1932 election, 241n4, 244, 269, 270,
 281–282
 in 1936 election, 281–282
 in Northeast, 209–211
 overview, 271
 to Progressive Party, 182–183, 186
 in South, 207
- Delaware, Ohio
 estimates of women’s voting in, 83
- Delegates
 women as, 58
- Delta County, Colorado
 turnout of female voters in, 72
- Demobilization of voters, 60, 175–177,
 230–231. *See also* Turnout of female voters
- Democratic Party
 advantage among new female voters,
 260–262
 conversion of voters to Progressive Party,
 180–182
 defection of voters to Progressive Party,
 182–183
 disadvantage among new female voters, 24
 historical development of, 278–279
 New Deal realignment of voters, effect on vote choice, 77–78
 in 1920 election, 128, 130–131, 135,
 141, 144–146, 148–156
 in 1924 election, 159, 161, 167–168,
 169–171, 178–180, 184–185
 in 1928 election, 191–192, 193,
 198–206, 214
 in 1932 election, 220, 232–237,
 238–245
 in 1936 election, 220–221, 232–237,
 245–248
 partisan context of estimates of women’s voting and, 99–100
 political activity of women, hostility toward, 55
 social welfare and, 275–276
 suffrage movement and, 49
 volatility of female voters and, 270–271
 vote choice of female voters and, 24
 and women’s suffrage generally, 31
- Demographics
 in sample states and entire United States,
 102–103
- Denver, Colorado
 limitations of data from, 79–80
 turnout in, 73
- “Domestication of politics,” 59–60
- Donnelly, Thomas C., 193, 194
- Douglass, Frederick, 46, 47
- Douthat, Ross, 275, 275n5
- Duncan, Otis, 104, 105, 106
- Duverger, Maurice, 21
- Dynamics of the Party System* (Sundquist), 224

- Ecological inference
 aggregation bias and, 104
 authors' approach to, 107
 Bayesian approach to, 90, 107
 early solutions to, 105–106
 ecological regression, 105
 gender and, 90, 108–109
 King's solution, 106–107
 method of bounds, 105–106
 methods of ecological inference, 91n3
 overview, 90, 103–104, 280
 race and, 104
 Ecological regression, 105
 Election data. *See* Aggregate election and census data
 Electoral College, 58
 Equal Rights Amendment (proposed), 51, 275–276
 Ethnicity, effect on turnout, 74–75
 Evaluation of contributions of female voters, 28–30
 Evans, Sara, 53
 Expectations for female voters
 in 1920 election, 131–136
 in 1924 election, 162–165
 in 1928 election, 192–196, 276
 in 1932 election, 223–226
 in 1936 election, 223–226
 turnout, 13–15
 vote choice, 22–28, 63
 Female Anti-Slavery Society, 53
 Ferguson, Jack, 225
 Firebaugh, Glenn, 14
 Fourteenth Amendment, 47
 France
 turnout of new female voters in, 80
 Fuchs, Lawrence, 26
 Gallup, George, 20
 Gamm, Gerald, 70, 71n3, 74, 76–78, 77n4, 79, 86, 95, 135–136, 138n12, 195, 211, 222–223, 225, 226
 General Federation of Women's Clubs, 56
 Georgia
 denial of women's vote in, 3n1, 127n1, 132
 Gerould, Katharine Fullerton, 20
 Geweke diagnostic, 120
 Gill, Norman N., 74, 119
 Glaser, William A., 16
 Goldstein, Joel H., 27–28, 69, 77, 135, 164
 Goltra, Inez, 81–82, 82n7, 88
 Goodman, Leo, 104, 105, 106
 Gosnell, Harold F., 14, 74, 224
 Goss, Kirstin A., 8–9
 Grange, 56
 Great Depression
 New Deal realignment of voters and, 222
 overview, 220
 Greiner, D. James, 116
 Harding, Warren G., 77, 86, 100n7, 127, 128–129, 130–131, 134–135, 138, 146, 152, 160, 172. *See also* 1920 election
 Harvey, Anna L., 25, 133n6
 Heidelberger-Welch diagnostic, 120–121
 Hofstadter, Richard, 130
 Hoover, Herbert, 84, 189–190, 191, 192–193, 194–195, 203, 206, 212–213, 214, 215, 216–217, 220, 257. *See also* 1928 election; 1932 election
 Hoover, Lou, 193
 Hughes, Charles Evans, 86
 Hull House, 165
 Huthmacher, J. Joseph, 135
 Idaho
 women's suffrage in, 48
 ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union), 55
 Illinois
 aggregate election and census data
 in, 93, 94
 Constitution (1870), 68
 ecological inference in, 108–109
 estimates of women's voting in, 82–83, 90
 evaluation of data in, 90
 evaluation of estimates against observed data in, 33, 110–112
 foreign-born population in, 95
 limitations of data, 78–80
 loyalty, effect on vote choice, 77
 Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) diagnostics and, 121t4.9
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 230
 1920 election in, 135, 138, 140, 144, 147–148, 147n14, 151, 152–153, 154, 155

- 1924 election in, 161, 167, 170,
 178–180, 182, 183, 184–185
 1928 election in, 195, 203, 207,
 211–213, 215
 1932 election in, 229, 234, 237,
 238–240, 241, 243–244, 267
 1936 election in, 229, 229n1, 246
 overall voter turnout in, 256
 partisanship, effect on vote choice, 77
 political context for purpose of
 estimates, 95
 Progressive Party in, 172, 182, 183
 registration of voters in, 73, 132n2
 Republican Party, advantage among new
 female voters, 260–262
 separate counting of men's and women's
 votes in, 68–69, 76
 turnout of female voters in, 147n14,
 258–259, 267
- Immigration
 aggregate election and census data
 and, 94–95
 estimates of women's voting and, 97,
 98, 101
 1928 election and, 195, 209, 212, 214
 temperance and, 54
 turnout of female voters, effect
 on, 74–75
 and women's suffrage generally, 13n12
- Impact of women's suffrage
 failure, viewed as, 8, 277, 280–281
 overview, 5, 280, 282–283
 political equality, on, 9
 success, viewed as, 8–9, 10–11, 277–278
 supposed impact of, 8–11
- Interest groups, increasing importance in
 United States politics, 61
- International Ladies Garment Workers
 Union (ILGWU), 55
- Introduction to American Government*
 (Ogg & Ray), 8
- Iowa
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 223,
 230, 236n3
 1920 election in, 144, 146, 148,
 150–152, 154
 1924 election in, 161, 165–166, 170,
 177–180, 181, 183, 185–186
 1928 election in, 197, 203,
 211–213, 215
 1932 election in, 234, 237, 239–240, 267
 1936 election in, 246
 Progressive Party in, 171–172, 181, 183
 Republican Party, advantage among new
 female voters, 260–262
- Jacksonian Revolution, 40
- Jeffries, John W., 195
- Jews
 vote choice of female voters, 26
- Kansas
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 230,
 236n3
 1920 election in, 138, 144, 147–148,
 152–153, 154
 1924 election in, 167, 170, 171,
 177–178, 183, 185–186
 1928 election in, 197, 203, 211–212,
 214, 215
 1932 election in, 229, 234, 237,
 238–240, 267
 1936 election in, 229, 246
 overall voter turnout in, 256
 political context for purpose of
 estimates in, 95
 Progressive Party in, 172, 183
 Republican Party, advantage among new
 female voters in, 260–262
 turnout of female voters in, 267
- Kenton, Edna, 89
- Kentucky
 Democratic Party, advantage among new
 female voters in, 260–262
 New Deal realignment of voters in,
 230–231
 1920 election in, 131, 137, 138,
 139–140, 144–145, 148–150,
 151–152
 1924 election in, 166, 170, 177, 180
 1928 election in, 196–197,
 202–203, 207
 1932 election in, 243, 244
 1936 election in, 234–235, 246, 267–268
 poll taxes in, 101n8
 regional context of estimates of women's
 voting in, 97
 turnout of female voters in, 30,
 258–259, 281
 women's suffrage in, 48
- Kerber, Linda, 39
- Key, V.O., Jr., 104, 221, 225, 226

- King, Gary, 82n7, 106–107, 115–117
 Kleppner, Paul, 12, 17, 85, 224, 226
- Labor movement
 political activity of women, 54–55
- Lack of data on women's voting, 5–6, 33, 89, 253
- La Follette, Belle, 165
 La Follette, Robert M., 5, 25, 129, 159, 160, 161–162, 163–165, 171n7, 182–184, 186–187, 269, 282. *See also* 1924 election
- La Follette, Suzanne, 62
- Landon, Alf, 221. *See also* 1936 election
- League of Nations, 130, 131, 135
- League of Women Voters (LWV), 50, 100–101, 132–133, 133n6, 134–135, 162–163, 193
- Lebsock, Suzanne, 71, 73–74, 75–76
- Lemons, J. Stanley, 134
- Lerner, Gerda, 42
- Lippmann, Walter, 191
- Literary Digest*, 89n2, 221
- Local party hypothesis
 loyalty of voters and, 268–271
 mobilization of voters and, 25–26, 249
 in 1920 election, 128, 144–145, 146, 154–155
 in 1924 election, 160, 170, 172–173
 in 1928 election, 203, 205–206, 213, 215
 overview, 31, 77
 peripheral voters and, 266, 267
 turnout of female voters and, 25–26
- Loyalty of voters
 conversion of voters and, 270
 defection of voters versus, 77, 182–183
 gender and, 23–24
 local party hypothesis and, 268–271
 mobilization of voters and, 270
 in 1924 election, 172–174, 182–183
 in 1928 election, 205–206, 207–209, 213, 215
 overview, 268–271
 vote choice of female voters, effect on, 77
- Lubell, Samuel, 195
- LWV. *See* League of Women Voters (LWV)
- Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC)
 diagnostics, 114, 115–116, 118–121
- Married Women's Acts, 46
- Martin, Andrew D., 118
- Massachusetts
 aggregate election and census data in, 92
 foreign-born population in, 95
 legal context of voting in, 101
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 223, 230, 235–237
 1920 election in, 131, 148, 152
 1924 election in, 165–166, 167, 170, 177–178, 181–182, 183
 1928 election in, 190, 195, 197–198, 203, 207, 209–211
 1932 election in, 239, 242
 1936 election in, 229n1, 247n7
 Progressive Party in, 181–182, 183
 registration of voters in, 131–132
 Republican Party, advantage among new female voters, 260–262
 turnout of female voters in, 258–259, 267
 women's suffrage in, 40
- McAdoo, William G., 161
- MCMC Diagnostics. *See* Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) Diagnostics
- McPhee, William N., 225
- Measures of uncertainty, reporting of, 112–114
- Merriam, Charles E., 14, 21
- Method of bounds, 105–106
- Midwest. *See also particular state*
 aggregate election and census data, 91–92
 estimates of women's voting in, 97
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 232–235
 1920 election in, 140–141
 1924 election in, 170
 1928 election in, 200–201, 203–205, 211–214
 1932 election in, 237
- Minnesota
 aggregate election and census data in, 91, 93
 Democratic Party, advantage among new female voters, 260–262
 foreign-born population in, 95
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 230n2
 1920 election in, 131, 144, 146, 148, 152, 154
 1924 election in, 161, 170, 177–181, 182–183

- 1928 election in, 194, 203,
 211–213, 215
 1932 election in, 234, 237, 239–240,
 243, 244, 267
 1936 election in, 229, 234–235,
 267–268
 partisan context of estimates of women's
 voting in, 100n7
 Progressive movement in, 91
 Progressive Party in, 171–172, 180–181,
 182–183
 Republican Party, advantage among new
 female voters, 260–262
 turnout of female voters in, 267
 Minnesota League of Women Voters,
 162–163
 Mississippi
 denial of women's vote in, 3n1,
 127n1, 132
 Missouri
 aggregate election and census
 data in, 93n5
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 230
 1920 election in, 137, 138, 144–145,
 148, 150, 151–152
 1924 election in, 165–166, 170, 177,
 180, 185–186
 1928 election in, 196–197, 202–203,
 211–212, 214, 215
 1932 election in, 238–239
 1936 election in, 246
 turnout of female voters in, 258–259
 Mobilization of voters. *See also* Turnout of
 female voters
 conversion of voters compared, 175
 defined, 10–11
 equally responsive to context, female
 voters as, 18
 expectations for, 22–28
 less responsive to context, female voters
 as, 17–18
 local party hypothesis and, 25–26, 249
 loyalty of voters and, 270
 more responsive to context, female
 voters as, 15–17
 New Deal realignment of voters and,
 22, 31, 77–78, 219, 221–224, 225,
 226–229, 248–250, 281–282
 in 1920 election, 133–141, 133n6,
 151–152, 153–156
 in 1924 election, 165–167, 175–177,
 178–183, 185, 186
 in 1928 election, 22, 194–195, 196–198,
 206–207, 209–211, 212, 214, 281
 in 1932 election, 219, 225, 226–229,
 240–241, 243–245, 249–250
 in 1936 election, 219, 225, 226–229,
 245–248, 249–250
 overview, 10–11, 30–31, 280
 particular partisanship hypothesis
 and, 24–25
 peripheral voters and, 262–268
 by Progressive Party, 180–182
 suffrage movement and, 51
 swing voters, women as, 23–24
 Moral issues
 Progressive Party and, 184
 Mormons, 48n2
 Multnomah County, Oregon
 rural versus urban turnout, 73
 Nardulli, Peter F., 226
 National American Woman Suffrage
 Association (NAWSA), 48, 49, 50,
 132–133
 National Consumers League (NCU), 55
 National Woman Suffrage Association
 (NWSA), 47, 48
 Nativism
 temperance and, 54
 Neal, R.M., 118
 Nebraska
 1924 election in, 161
 New Deal realignment of voters. *See also*
 1932 election; 1936 election
 overview, 218–219, 249–250
 contributions of female voters to,
 248–249
 conversion of voters and, 22, 31, 219,
 221–224, 248–250
 Democratic Party, effect on vote
 choice, 77–78
 lack of focus on women, 223–226
 legacy of, 278–279
 mobilization of voters and, 22, 31,
 77–78, 219, 223–224, 225, 226–229,
 248–250, 281–282
 Progressive Party and, 186–187
 turnout of female voters and, 250
 vote choice of female voters and, 77–78
 and women's voting generally, 5, 22, 31,
 33–34, 280, 281–282
 New Jersey
 women's suffrage in, 40

- New York
 women's suffrage in, 40
New York Times, 20, 88, 89, 192–193,
 194, 275
 Nickerson, David W., 18n13
 1920 election
 contributions of female voters to,
 147–153
 conversion of voters in, 151–152
 defection of voters in, 152–153
 Democratic Party in, 128, 130–131, 135,
 141, 144–146, 148–156
 demographic changes underlying, 129–130
 economic changes underlying, 129–130
 expectations for female voters in,
 131–136
 legal context, impact on participation,
 143–144
 local party hypothesis in, 128, 144–145,
 146, 154–155
 mobilization of voters in, 133–141,
 133n6, 151–152, 153–156
 overview, 33, 127–129, 153–156
 partisan context of, 141–142
 peripheral voters in, 128, 141–142,
 144–145, 153–155, 262, 265
 political changes underlying, 129–130
 poll taxes and, 143–144
 preparation for female voters, 131–133
 Prohibition and, 130
 regional differences, 136–137
 registration of voters in, 131–132, 132n2
 Republican Party in, 127, 128–129,
 130–131, 133–136, 141–142,
 144–146, 148–156
 residency requirements and, 143–144
 “return to normalcy,” 127, 155–156
 turnout of female voters in, 133,
 136–142, 143–144, 147–148,
 153–154, 155
 turnout of male voters, 137, 155
 vote choice of female voters in, 144–146,
 148–153, 154–155
 1924 election
 contributions of female voters to,
 174–183
 conversion of voters in, 175–177,
 178–183, 185, 186
 defection of voters in, 160, 164,
 175–176, 182–183, 186, 269
 Democratic Party in, 159, 161, 167–168,
 169–171, 178–180, 184–185
 expectations for female voters in,
 162–165
 legal context, impact on participation,
 168–169
 local party hypothesis in, 160, 170,
 172–173
 loyalty of voters in, 172–174, 182–183
 mobilization of voters in, 165–167,
 175–177, 178–183, 185, 186
 overview, 33, 159–160, 183–187
 partisan context of, 167–168
 partisanship in, 185
 peripheral voters in, 159–160, 164–165,
 167–169, 172, 185–186, 262, 265
 Progressive movement and, 159–160,
 163–165
 Progressive Party in, 159, 161–162,
 163–165, 171–174, 171n7, 178–183,
 184, 185, 186–187
 Republican Party in, 159, 160, 167–168,
 169–171, 178, 184–185
 turnout of female voters in, 165–169,
 177–178, 185–186
 volatility of female voters in, 269
 vote choice of female voters in, 169–171,
 178–183, 186
 women's clubs and, 163
 1928 election
 contributions of female voters to, 206–214
 conversion of voters in, 209–214, 216
 defection of voters in, 207, 209–211
 Democratic Party in, 191–192, 193,
 198–206, 214
 expectations for female voters in,
 192–196, 276
 immigration and, 195, 209, 212, 214
 legal context, impact on
 participation, 201
 local party hypothesis in, 203, 205–206,
 213, 215
 loyalty of voters in, 205–206, 207–209,
 213, 215
 mobilization of voters in, 22, 194–195,
 196–198, 206–207, 209–211, 212,
 214, 281
 overview, 33, 189–190, 215–217
 partisan context of, 198–201
 peripheral voters in, 199, 262–266
 Progressive movement and,
 211–214, 216
 Prohibition and, 189–190, 191, 193,
 194–195, 211

- religion and, 189–190, 191, 193,
 194–195, 211
 Republican Party in, 191–193, 198–214
 residency requirements and, 201
 “rum and religion,” 189–190, 191
 rural versus urban context, 194–195
 turnout of female voters in, 194,
 196–201, 206–207, 215–216,
 276, 281
 vote choice of female voters in, 201–206,
 216, 282
- 1932 election. *See also* New Deal
 realignment of voters
 contributions of female voters to,
 238–245
 conversion of voters in, 219, 240–245,
 241n4, 242n5, 249–250
 defection of voters in, 241n4, 244, 269,
 270, 281–282
 Democratic Party in, 220, 232–237,
 238–245
 expectations for female voters in,
 223–226
 legal context, impact on
 participation, 232
 mobilization of voters in, 219, 225,
 226–229, 240–241, 243–245,
 249–250
 overview, 33–34, 218–219, 249–250
 partisan context of, 229–232
 peripheral voters in, 230, 266–267
 Republican Party in, 220, 232–237,
 238–245
 turnout of female voters in, 226–232,
 238–239
 vote choice of female voters in, 232–237,
 239–245, 282
- 1936 election. *See also* New Deal
 realignment of voters
 contributions of female voters to,
 245–248
 conversion of voters in, 219, 247–248,
 249–250
 defection of voters in, 281–282
 Democratic Party in, 220–221, 232–237,
 245–248
 expectations for female voters in,
 223–226
 legal context, impact on
 participation, 232
 mobilization of voters in, 219, 225,
 226–229, 245–248, 250
 overview, 33–34, 218–219, 249–250
 partisan context of, 229–232
 peripheral voters in, 230, 266–268
 Republican Party in, 221, 232–237,
 245–248
 turnout of female voters in, 226–232
 vote choice of female voters in,
 232–237, 282
- 1980 election, 276
 Nineteenth Amendment. *See also*
specific topic
 Congressional adoption of, 49–50
 ratification of, 3, 50, 131
 North Dakota
 1924 election in, 161
 Northeast. *See also particular state*
 aggregate election and census data, 91–92
 defection of voters in, 209–211
 estimates of women’s voting in, 97, 98
 1920 election in, 140
 1924 election in, 170
 1928 election in, 190, 191–192,
 197–198, 200–201, 203–205,
 209–211, 214
 1932 election in, 228–229, 241
 NWSA (National Woman Suffrage
 Association), 47, 48
- Obama, Barack, 272, 275
 Ogburn, William, 81–82, 82n7, 88
 Ogg, Frederic A., 8
 Oklahoma
 New Deal realignment of voters in,
 230–231, 237
 1920 election in, 131, 139–140,
 144–145, 148, 150, 152
 1924 election in, 166, 169–170,
 177–178, 180
 1928 election in, 196, 202–203, 207
 1932 election in, 240, 244, 267
 1936 election in, 246
 poll taxes in, 101n8
 regional context of estimates of women’s
 voting in, 97
 Republican Party, advantage among new
 female voters in, 260–262
 turnout of female voters in, 258–259
 One-party dominance, rise of, 60–61
Only Yesterday (Allen), 20
 Oregon
 empirical data from, 70
 limitations of data in, 79–80

- Oregon (*cont.*)
 1920 election in, 135
 partisanship, effect on vote choice in, 77
 rural versus urban turnout in, 74
 social class, effect on turnout in, 74
 time, effect of passage of in, 73
- Park, Jong Hee, 118
- Particular partisanship hypothesis, 24–25,
 144–145
- Partisan choice of female voters. *See* Vote
 choice of female voters
- Partisanship, effect on vote choice, 77
- Pateman, Carole, 37, 49n3, 61–62
- Paul, Alice, 49, 135
- Peel, Roy V., 193, 194
- Pennsylvania
 New Deal realignment of voters in,
 223, 224
 1928 election in, 195
- Peripheral voters
 female voters as, 23–24, 262–268
 local party hypothesis and, 266, 267
 mobilization of voters and, 262–268
 in 1920 election, 128, 141–142,
 144–145, 153–155, 262, 265
 in 1924 election, 159–160, 164–165,
 167–169, 172, 185–186, 262, 265
 in 1928 election, 199, 262–266
 in 1932 election, 230, 266–267
 in 1936 election, 230, 266–268
 overview, 15–17, 23–24, 262–268
 turnout of female voters and, 262–268
 volatility of female voters and, 269
 vote choice of female voters and, 23–24,
 266–268
- Phillips, Wendell, 44
- Political activity of women
 abolitionism, 53
 African-Americans, 56
 “age of association,” 53–56
 as candidates, 58
 civic affairs, 56
 as delegates, 58
 Democratic Party, concerns about, 55
 labor movement, 54–55
 overview, 52–53, 266
 in political parties, 56–59
 Populists, 55
 prior to women’s suffrage, importance
 of, 63–64
 Progressive movement, 55
 Republican Party, concerns about, 55
 temperance, 53–54
 Political equality, impact of women’s
 suffrage on, 9
 Political immunization, 223–224, 225
 Political parties. *See also specific party*
 one-party dominance, rise of, 60–61
 political activity of women in, 56–59
Political Science Quarterly, 81
 Pollock, James K., 70
 Poll taxes
 1920 election and, 143–144
 as part of state legal context, 100–101,
 101n8
 in South, 97–98
 turnout, effect on, 17
 Populists
 political activity of women, 55
 Portland, Oregon
 estimates of women’s voting in, 81
 limitations of data from, 79–80
 Post-1936 elections
 turnout of female voters in, 272–274
 vote choice of female voters in, 274–276
 Progressive movement
 context of, 9
 in Minnesota, 91
 1920 election and, 77
 1924 election and, 159–160, 163–165
 1928 election and, 211–214, 216
 political activity of women, 55
 Republican Party and, 134, 221
 suffrage movement and, 49, 51
 swing voters and, 23
 vote choice of female voters and,
 24–25, 77
 and women’s voting generally, 5, 22, 31,
 33, 269, 275, 280, 281
 Progressive Party
 conversion of voters to, 180–182, 186
 defection of voters to, 182–183, 186
 disappointing performance of, 184
 economic issues and, 184
 mobilization of voters by, 180–182
 moral issues and, 184
 New Deal realignment of voters and,
 186–187
 in 1924 election, 159, 161–162,
 163–165, 171–174, 171n7, 178–183,
 184, 185, 186–187
 Prohibition and, 184
 social issues and, 184

- volatility of female voters and, 269
 and women's voting generally, 282
- Prohibition. *See also* Temperance
 1920 election and, 130
 1928 election and, 189–190, 191, 193,
 194–195, 211
 Progressive Party and, 184
 and women's suffrage generally, 5, 22
- Prohibition Party, 184
- Quinn, Kevin M., 116, 118
- Race
 African-Americans (*See*
 African-Americans)
 limits of available data related to, 75–76
- Ray, R. Orman, 8
- Reconstruction
 overall voter turnout during, 254–255
- Reconstruction Amendments, 37, 47
- Registration of voters
 by gender, 69–70
 in 1920 election, 131–132, 132n2
- Religion
 1928 election and, 189–190, 191, 193,
 194–195, 211
 and women's suffrage generally, 5, 22
- “Republican Motherhood” ideology,
 39, 41, 53
- Republican Party
 advantage among new female voters, 24,
 260–262, 275, 280, 281, 282
 African-American voting and, 47
 conversion of voters to Progressive Party,
 180–182
 defection of voters to Progressive Party,
 182–183
 in 1920 election, 127, 128–129,
 130–131, 133–136, 141–142,
 144–146, 148–156
 in 1924 election, 159, 160, 167–168,
 169–171, 178, 184–185
 in 1928 election, 191–193, 198–214
 in 1932 election, 220, 232–237, 238–245
 in 1936 election, 221, 232–237,
 245–248
 political activity of women, hostility
 toward, 55
 Progressive movement and, 134, 221
 suffrage movement and, 49
 volatility of female voters and, 269,
 270–271
- vote choice of female voters and, 24
 and women's voting generally, 5,
 22, 30–31
- Residency requirements
 1920 election and, 143–144
 1928 election and, 201
 as part of state legal context, 100–101
 in South, 97–98
- Rice, Stuart A., 82–83
- Richmond, Virginia
 race, effect on turnout, 75–76
 regional context of estimates of women's
 voting in, 98–99
Richmond Times Dispatch, 75
- Robinson, William S., 5–6, 33, 88–89, 90,
 103–104
- Romney, Mitt, 272
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 22, 223
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 130, 192, 194, 219,
 220–222, 233–234, 249–250. *See also*
 1920 election; 1932 election; 1936
 election
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 163
- Rosen, Ori, 117
- Rural versus urban context
 in 1928 election, 194–195
 turnout and, 73–74
- Russell, Charles Edward, 20, 277
- Russia, women's suffrage in, 49n3
- R × C problem, 116
- Saint Louis, Missouri
 aggregate election and census
 data in, 93n5
- Sample states. *See specific state*
- San Diego, California
 registration data from, 71n2
- Secret ballots, 12, 16–17
- Seneca Falls Women's Rights
 Convention, 46
- “Separate spheres” concept, 40–42
- Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy
 Protection Act, 9, 50
- Silver, Nate, 272
- Similarities between women and men
 voters, 276–278
- Smith, Al, 22, 29, 31, 33, 78, 84, 95, 161,
 189–190, 191–192, 193, 194–195,
 197–198, 203, 205, 206, 209, 211,
 212–213, 214, 215, 216–217, 219,
 220, 250, 257, 280. *See also* 1928
 election

Smith, Catherine, 193
 Smith, Jean M., 71n2
 Social class, effect on turnout, 74
 Socialist Party, 184
 Social welfare
 Democratic Party and, 275–276
 South. *See also particular state*
 aggregate election and census data,
 91–92
 defection of voters in, 207
 estimates of women's voting in, 97–99
 loyalty of voters in, 207–209
 1920 election in, 139–140
 1928 election in, 190, 191–192,
 202–203, 205–206, 207–209, 214
 overall voter turnout in, 254–255
 poll taxes in, 97–98
 residency requirements in, 97–98
 South Carolina
 denial of women's vote in, 3n1, 127n1,
 132
Saint St. Paul Dispatch, 4
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 46, 47, 165
 Stone, Lucy, 47
 Suffrage movement
 abolitionism and, 47
 African-Americans' right to vote,
 effect of, 47
 Congressional adoption of Nineteenth
 Amendment, 49–50
 Democratic Party and, 49
 “doldrums,” 48
 failure, viewed as, 8, 277, 280–281
 “failure of success,” 50–52
 impact of (*See* Impact of women's
 suffrage)
 mobilization of voters and, 51
 overview, 45–46
 political equality, impact on, 9
 Progressive movement and, 49, 51
 ratification of Nineteenth Amendment,
 3, 50, 131
 Republican Party and, 49
 Seneca Falls Women's Rights
 Convention, 46
 strategies of, 49
 success, viewed as, 8–9, 10–11, 277–278
 temperance and, 54
 “Winning Plan,” 49
 World War I and, 49
 Sumner, Helen, 70, 72, 73, 138n12
 Sundquist, James L., 194, 224

Index

Swing voters, 23–24
 “System of 1896,” 12, 95–97, 129, 141, 187
 Tanner, Martin A., 117
 Teapot Dome scandal, 160
 Teller County, Colorado
 turnout of female voters in, 72
 Temperance. *See also* Prohibition
 immigration and, 54
 nativism and, 54
 political activity of women, 53–54
 suffrage movement and, 54
 Tennessee
 ratification of Nineteenth Amendment
 by, 3, 50
 Texas
 1928 election in, 194
 Tingsten, Herbert, 81
 Transformation of society by female voters,
 278–279
 Truth, Sojourner, 47
 Turnout of female voters
 African-Americans, 75–76, 281
 change over time, 72–73, 137, 257–259
 comparative data on, 136n11, 257–258
 current status of, 272–274
 decline in overall turnout attributed
 to, 11–12
 decreases in, 137
 equally responsive to context, female
 voters as, 18
 ethnicity, effect of, 74–75
 expectations for, 13–15
 gender as reason for low turnout, 13–15
 immigration, effect of, 74–75
 increase over time, 257–259
 in Kentucky, 30
 lack of data on, 5–6, 33, 78–80, 89, 253
 legal context, effect of, 143–144,
 168–169, 201
 less responsive to context, female voters
 as, 17–18
 local party hypothesis and, 25–26
 more responsive to context, female
 voters as, 15–17
 New Deal realignment of voters and, 250
 newness as reason for low
 turnout, 13–15
 in 1920 election, 133, 136–142,
 143–144, 147–148, 153–154, 155
 in 1924 election, 165–169, 177–178,
 185–186

- in 1928 election, 194, 196–201, 206–207, 215–216, 276, 281
 in 1932 election, 226–232, 238–239
 in 1936 election, 226–232
 overview, 11–12, 281
 particular partisanship hypothesis and, 24–25
 partisan context, effect of, 141–142, 167–168, 198–201
 peripheral voters and, 15–17, 262–268
 poll taxes, effect of, 17
 in post-1936 elections, 272–274
 race, effect of, 75–76
 role of women's suffrage in overall decline in turnout, 254–257
 rural versus urban turnout, 73–74
 secret ballots, effect of, 12, 16–17
 social class, effect of, 74
 swing voters, women as, 23–24
 variation in, explanation of, 15–19
 in Virginia, 30
 women versus men, 26–28
 Turnout of male voters, 137, 155
 2012 election, 272
- United States Census. *See* Aggregate election and census data
- Urban versus rural context
 in 1928 election, 194–195
 turnout and, 73–74
- Utah
 women's suffrage in, 48, 48n2
- Virginia
 data from, 71
 Democratic Party, advantage among new female voters, 260–262
 legal context of voting in, 101
 New Deal realignment of voters in, 230–231, 237
 1920 election in, 137, 138, 144–145, 146, 148–150, 152, 154–156
 1924 election in, 165–166, 169–170, 171, 177, 180
 1928 election in, 202–203, 207
 1932 election in, 234, 238, 240, 242, 267, 270
 partisan context of estimates of women's voting in, 100
 Progressive Party in, 172
 race, effect on turnout, 75–76
- regional context of estimates of women's voting in, 97
 rural versus urban turnout, 73–74
 turnout of female voters in, 30, 258–259, 281
- Volatility of female voters, 268–271
- Vote choice of female voters
 current status of, 274–276
 Democratic Party and, 24
 empirical analysis regarding, 76–78
 expectations for, 22–28, 63
 Jewish, in Boston, 26
 lack of data on, 5–6, 33, 78–80, 89, 253
 loyalty of voters, effect of, 77
 New Deal realignment of voters, effect of, 77–78
 in 1920 election, 144–146, 148–153, 154–155
 in 1924 election, 169–171, 178–183, 186
 in 1928 election, 201–206, 216, 282
 in 1932 election, 232–237, 239–245, 282
 in 1936 election, 232–237, 282
 overview, 19–22, 281–282
 partisanship, effect of, 77
 peripheral voters and, 23–24, 266–268
 political context of, 64
 in post-1936 elections, 274–276
 Progressive movement and, 24–25, 77
 Republican Party and, 24
- Voting
 as corrupt and masculine, 44–45
 as inappropriate for women, 38–39, 63
- Wakefield, Jon, 107, 115, 116
- Washington
 women's suffrage in, 48–49
- WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union), 53–54, 162
- Welter, Barbara, 43
- West. *See also* particular state aggregate election and census data, 92
- We the People* (Ginsberg, Lowi, & Weir), 19
- White, William Allen, 191
- Willey, Malcolm M., 82–83
- Wilson, Woodrow, 33, 130, 131, 134, 135, 220
- “Winning Plan,” 49
- Wisconsin
 1924 election in, 161

316

Index

- Women's Christian Temperance Union
(WCTU), 53–54, 162
Women's clubs, 56, 163
Women's Democratic Campaign Manual, 163
Women's suffrage. *See also* Suffrage
movement
arguments for, 43–44
rationales for denial of, 63
- Women's Trade Union League
(WTUL), 55
World War I, 33, 49
Wyoming
women's suffrage in, 48
- Yugoslavia
turnout of new female voters in, 80