

The Woman Suffrage Movement in America

This book departs from familiar accounts of high-profile woman suffrage activists whose main concern was a federal constitutional amendment. It tells the story of woman suffrage as one involving the diverse politics of women across the country as well as the incentives of the men with the primary political authority to grant new voting rights – those in state legislatures. Through a mix of qualitative and quantitative evidence, the book explains the success and failures of efforts for woman suffrage provisions in the American states and in the U.S. Congress as the result of successful and failed coalitional politics between the suffrage movement and important constituencies of existing male voters, including farmers' organizations, labor unions, and the Populist and Progressive parties.

Corrine M. McConnaughy is Assistant Professor of Political Science at The Ohio State University. She was Assistant Professor of Government and was affiliated with the Center for Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Texas at Austin from 2004 to 2007; she received her PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan in 2004. McConnaughy's dissertation won a University-wide Honorable Mention as a Distinguished Dissertation at Michigan, as well as the Carrie Chapman Catt Award for research on women and politics from the Catt Center at Iowa State University. At Ohio State University, her work has been awarded a Coca-Cola Critical Difference for Women Research Grant from the Department of Women's Studies. She is the recipient of the Lucius Barker Award from the Midwest Political Science Association (2011), and she was recognized with the Distinguished Alumni Award from Pi Sigma Alpha at DePaul University in 2010. McConnaughy is on the Executive Council of the Women and Politics Research section of the American Political Science Association. Her work has appeared in the American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Public Opinion Quarterly, Studies in American Political Development, Politics & Gender, and American Politics Research.



Rather than focusing on the activities and perspectives of women's rights activists, McConnaughy asks what strategic considerations might be involved in convincing legislators to expand the suffrage when such an expansion affects the probability of their own reelection. This book is an important contribution to the areas of gender and politics, race and politics, and social movements, and to our understanding of how policy is created.

- Lee Ann Banaszak, Pennsylvania State University

McConnaughy is to be commended for addressing an important question, for rightly focusing attention on the state-level campaigns where so much of the suffrage fight was won and lost, and for articulating a nuanced and original theory to explain variation in suffrage success. McConnaughy's explanation resolves puzzles left unanswered by previous research and is simultaneously theoretically sophisticated and based in a deep understanding of 'real' politics on the ground.

- Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame



The Woman Suffrage Movement in America

A Reassessment

CORRINE M. McCONNAUGHY

The Ohio State University, Columbus





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For Ismail, Khalil, and Meara





Contents

List of Abbreviations Acknowledgments		<i>page</i> ix xi
Ι	Bringing Politics Back In: Suffrage Supply and Demand	19
2	Political Meaning for Woman Suffrage	50
3	Programmatic Enfranchisement: Coalitional Strategies for Voting Rights	91
4	Strong Leverage: Third-Party Support	137
5	Coalitional Impossibilities: Race, Class, and Failure	170
6	The National Story	207
7	From the Outside In	251
	Appendix: Additional Notes on Measures and Analyses	263
Index		269

vii





List of Abbreviations

AFL - American Federation of Labor

AWSA - American Woman Suffrage Association

CBA - Clara B. Arthur

CIO - Congress of Industrial Organizations

CSESA - Colorado State Equal Suffrage Association

CU - Congressional Union or National Woman's Party

CWSA - Colorado Woman Suffrage Association

HWS - The History of Woman Suffrage

IESA - Illinois Equal Suffrage Association

IWSA - Illinois Woman Suffrage Association

LSSA - Louisiana State Suffrage Association

MESA - Michigan Equal Suffrage Association

MSWSA - Michigan State Woman Suffrage Association

NAWSA - National American Woman Suffrage Association

NWSA - National Woman Suffrage Association

SSWSC - Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

WCTU - Woman's Christian Temperance Union

WSPL - Woman Suffrage Party of Louisiana

WTUL - Women's Trade Union League





Acknowledgments

I first encountered the American woman suffrage movement as an undergraduate student in Beth Kelly's class on women and politics at DePaul University. Reading wonderful work by scholars like Eleanor Flexner, Nancy Cott, and Linda Kerber, I met a marvelous cast of protagonists in a daunting struggle. A movement that spanned more than seventy years, marked by personalities as large as those of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Alice Paul, and seemingly entangled in controversies of political corruption involving booze interests and machine bosses, was riveting course material. And yet I left that class still wondering if I understood the politics of it all. Why had the movement won and lost when and how it did? Why had politicians come to such different conclusions about the issue of women's voting rights at different moments and in different places throughout the country over those seventyplus years? The puzzle was not just that women had been granted the right to vote in some states well before the Nineteenth Amendment, but that in some of those states the victory seemed quite surprising - that the issue had been turned down or ignored repeatedly, but somehow suddenly won.

That answers to the questions I had about the woman suffrage movement might be found by starting from the vantage point of the incentives of those who had primary control over and interest in the definition of the electorate – state legislators and their respective political parties – first occurred to me as I sat in a deeply engaging course on political parties taught by Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman while in the political science PhD program at the University of Michigan. Still, I put the idea and interest aside for some time, working instead in the realm of the contemporary politics of race, ethnicity, and gender, and on the historic nature of city-state relations. For help seeing not only that I could take on my long-held interest in the woman suffrage movement, but that my other work had given me even greater tools to do so, I am deeply indebted to my incredibly supportive dissertation committee: Nancy Burns, Richard Hall,

xi



xii Acknowledgments

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Acknowledgments xiii

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xiv Acknowledgments

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Acknowledgments xv

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