PETTICOAT PATRIOTS: How Michigan Women Won the Vote

VIRTUAL TOUR

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This showing of the Petticoat Patriots exhibit, on loan from Michigan Women Forward, was made possible by the League of Women Voters of the Copper Country.
Greetings from Houghton, Michigan.

On a blustery Thursday evening in early March 2020, the museum opened a new exhibit—*Petticoat Patriots: How Michigan Women Won the Vote*, on loan from Michigan Women Forward. Despite swirling snow and wind—also known as spring in the Copper Country—we had a lively and well-attended opening reception. But just one week later we had to close the museum and postpone all upcoming programs. Although we don’t know how long it will be before we can open again, it will certainly be after we’ve had to return the Petticoat Patriots exhibit.

We want to share this exhibit despite our necessary closure and so created this virtual tour of the exhibit as it is hung in the museum (hence the somewhat crooked-looking panels) including the objects on display.

Please enjoy this virtual exhibit from the safety and comfort of your home. If you wish to view the video, which includes photos, music, and readings from the March 5 reception, you may find a link on our website, CarnegieKeweenaw.org, or on our YouTube channel, Carnegie Museum of the Keweenaw.

Stay home. Stay Safe.

Carnegie Museum, April 16, 2020
PETTICOAT PATRIOTS: How Michigan Women Won the Vote

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PETTICOAT PATRIOTS: How Michigan Women Won the Vote

Few events in American history are as significant and as overlooked as the women’s suffrage movement. Spanning a period of more than seventy years, the movement altered the political and social fabric of the country. The enfranchisement of half of the American population was one of its most dramatic and enduring results.

Michigan played a major role in women’s suffrage. More than two generations of Michigan women challenged an entrenched opposition that often played dirty.

We know the stories of some women who became leaders during the movement. We read about their accomplishments in the letters and newspaper articles that carry their names. However, many women that worked for suffrage remain anonymous.

In celebration of the 90th anniversary of woman suffrage, the Michigan Women’s Historical Center & Hall of Fame invites you to explore the movement in Michigan and to meet the patriots that demanded “Votes for Women.” Perhaps, you will discover a suffragist in your community or even your family.
**PETTICOAT PATRIOTS:** How Michigan Women Won the Vote

**TIMELINE OF SELECTED EVENTS IN WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE**

**National**
- **1846** - Emeline Rose, a reformer from New York, speaks before the Michigan Legislature on women's suffrage.
- **1848**
- **1849** - A Michigan Senate committee proposes a universal suffrage amendment, but it is not acted upon.
- **1851**
- **1855**
- **1859** - A Michigan House committee considers amending state laws, but it does not move forward.
- **1861-1865**
- **1865** - The Michigan Legislature grants women the right to vote for school trustees, but rejects total women's suffrage.
- **1866** - The 14th Amendment to the Constitution is enacted, granting citizenship and voting rights to "male" citizens.
- **1867** - Michigan ratifies the 14th Amendment.
- **1868** - Michigan ratifies the 15th Amendment.
- **1869** - Narvett B. Garber of Detroit and Mary Wilson of Battle Creek vote in the city's elections for the first time.
- **1870**
- **1871**
- **1872**
- **1874** - The Michigan Women's Christian Temperance Union passes a resolution endorsing women's suffrage.
- **1880**
- **1881**
- **1884** - The Michigan Equal Suffrage Association forms in Flint.
- **1885**
- **1889**
- **1893**
- **1895** - The National American Woman Suffrage Association holds its annual convention in April at the St. Cecilia Society Hall in Grand Rapids, the only time the convention is held in Michigan.
- **1899**
- **1902**
- **1904**
- **1906**
- **1908**
- **1910**
- **1912** - At the Michigan Constitutional Convention, women's suffrage is defined by a vote of 57 to 38, but women who pay taxes can vote on local bond and tax issues.
- **1913**
- **1914**
- **1917** - The Michigan Association Opposed to Equal Suffrage is formed.
- **1918**
- **1919**
- **1920** - At the Michigan Constitutional Convention, women's suffrage is defined by a vote of 57 to 38, but women who pay taxes can vote on local bond and tax issues.
- **1921**

**Michigan**
- **1846** - Catherine A.F. Stetson signs the Declaration of Sentiments at the Women's Rights Convention.
- **1859** - Lenawee County suffragists present the Michigan Legislature with petitions for women's suffrage.
- **1865**
- **1866** - The Michigan Legislature grants women the right to vote for school trustees, but rejects total women's suffrage.
- **1867**
- **1868** - Michigan ratifies the 14th Amendment.
- **1869** - Michigan ratifies the 15th Amendment.
- **1870**
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- **1914**
- **1917**
- **1918**
- **1919**
- **1920** - Elect to the Senate, Eva McCullough Hamilton of Grand Rapids is the first woman in the Michigan Legislature.

**The Civil War**
- **1861** - 1965
- For the first time, a state, Kansas, puts women's suffrage on the ballot. It does not pass.
- **1865**
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- **1918**
- **1919**
- **1920** - Elect to the Senate, Eva McCullough Hamilton of Grand Rapids is the first woman in the Michigan Legislature.

**U.S. Senator Thomas W. Palmer of Michigan delivers the first speech in favor of women's suffrage before Congress.**
- **1866**
- **1867**
- **1868**
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**Idaho grants women's suffrage.**

**Washington state grants women's suffrage.**

**Montana and Nevada grant women's suffrage.**

**The United States enters World War I.**

**World War I ends.**

**Victory in Colorado! Women's suffrage passes and Colorado becomes the first state to grant women's suffrage.**

**Lucy Stone dies on October 18.**

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton dies on October 26.**

**Susan B. Anthony dies on March 13.**

**Alice Paul and Lucy Burns found the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage.**

**New York grants women's suffrage.**

**The National American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association merge to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association.**

**The 16th Amendment is ratified, granting women the right to vote in federal elections.**

**Attempts to vote in New York, Susan B. Anthony is arrested, tried, and found guilty.**

**The 17th Amendment to the Constitution is enacted, granting women the right to vote in presidential elections on November 2.**

**Michigan Supreme Court upholds the right of Eula Bell of Potsdam to vote in a school board election, after she was refused that right in 1888 (Bellis v. Buck).**

**Michigan holds a constitutional amendment granting women's suffrage is defeated in the Michigan House of Representatives.**

**Anna Howard Shaw of Big Rapids is elected president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.**

**Women's suffrage is placed on the November ballot, and initially appears to pass. However, the opposition steers the election, under suspicious circumstances.**

**Governor Alben Barkley signs a bill on May 8 granting Mississippi women full suffrage.**

**Michigan women vote for statewide offices for the first time.**

**Michigan is the second state to ratify the 19th Amendment on June 16.**

**Governor smiley Baker of Detroit leads the Michigan League of Women Voters.**

**Campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s.**

**“The women of Michigan as a whole fought for women’s suffrage after November 5, 1919: 1,054,000 votes.”**

**“The campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s.**

**Governor Smithson supported the state’s women’s suffrage efforts in the United States and the state of Michigan.”

**Women's suffrage was a major issue in the election. However, the outcome was uncertain until a few days before the election.”**

**The amendment was defeated in April 1918.”**
Searching for a Beginning

The origins of the women's suffrage movement can be found in the work of slavery abolitionists, particularly among Quakers. Many Quakers felt a moral imperative to end slavery because of their belief in equality, regardless of race or sex. Quaker women spoke publicly against slavery. Working alongside men to end slavery, women questioned their own position in society.

Laura Smith Haviland (1808-1897), a Quaker from Adrian, co-founded the Logan Female Anti-Slavery Society which helped escaped slaves reach Canada. Better known for her abolitionist work and as a leader in the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Michigan, Haviland also spoke in support of women's suffrage. She believed that women needed the ballot to be able to protect their homes, their families, and themselves.

Eliza Seaman Leggett (1815-1900) of Detroit dedicated her life to improving the human condition. A Quaker, Leggett played an active role in the abolition of slavery, as her Waterford Township home in Oakland County served as a stop on the Underground Railroad. Upon the end of slavery, Leggett turned her attention to women's suffrage by writing articles and giving lectures on the topic.

Sojourner Truth (1797-1883) of Battle Creek was born into slavery in New York as Isabella Baumfree. She escaped her owner and took refuge with a Quaker family. Truth became one of the best known advocates for civil rights. Acquainted with the prominent figures in the abolition and women's suffrage movements, Truth was an outspoken supporter of women's suffrage and delivered her famous "Ain't I a Woman" speech at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio in 1851.
The First Women’s Rights Convention

Women and men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848 for a women’s rights convention to discuss the status of women in the United States. The convention produced the Declaration of Sentiments, which included a resolution clearly stating that women should work to gain the elective franchise. The women’s suffrage resolution received the most debate of all the motions at the convention and was the only resolution not unanimously adopted.

Catherine Ann Fish Stebbins of Rochester, New York was raised in an abolitionist family and attended the first women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls. Stebbins signed the Declaration of Sentiments. After moving to Michigan in 1867, she became active in women’s suffrage in Michigan. Stebbins maintained her friendships with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, including hosting and traveling with them on their many trips to Michigan.

In 1846, two years before the women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, Ernestine L. Rose of New York spoke before the Michigan Legislature on “The Science of Government.” Her speech was so well received that the House of Representatives passed a second special resolution granting her use of the hall for a speech on “the antagonistical principals of government.” Rose’s speeches were likely the earliest public call for the enfranchisement of women in Michigan.
Prelude to a War (1849-1859)

In 1849 a Senate committee, led by Senator Rix Robinson of Ada, proposed a universal suffrage amendment that would allow blacks and women to vote. The 1850 Michigan Constitutional Convention failed to act upon the recommendation because of the “unusualness” and “needlessness” to enfranchise women.

In 1859 the Michigan House of Representatives received fourteen petitions favoring equal political rights. The House Special Committee on Constitutional Amendments supported extending suffrage to black men, but not women because it was such an “innovation.”

Preference for black male suffrage over woman suffrage led to division and resentment among women following the Civil War. Suffragists disagreed about whether efforts should be focused solely on woman suffrage, black male suffrage, or universal suffrage. They even disagreed on whether suffrage was a state’s rights issue or should be secured through a federal amendment.

“Panteletts” became popular in the early 1850s during an era of dress reform. Later they gained the name “bloomers,” after Amelia Bloomer, editor of one of the earliest periodicals promoting women’s rights and dress reform, began wearing them and promoting then in her paper. Many women’s rights leaders adopted the fashion only to drop it later when increased mockery for the clothing began to obscure their message, as seen in this cartoon.
The Civil War (1861-65)

During the Civil War women suspended work for women’s rights and devoted themselves to abolishing slavery, supporting the war effort, and assuming the responsibilities left by men serving in the military. The Civil War ended in 1865 and Congress ratified the 13th Amendment prohibiting slavery.

Women’s hopes for suffrage now rested upon two newly proposed amendments: the 14th Amendment defining citizenship and the 15th Amendment guaranteeing voting rights.

A celebration of the 13th Amendment is captured in this illustration on the cover of Harpers’s Weekly from 1865. It depicts the “Scene in the House on the passage of the proposition to amend the Constitution, January 31, 1865.”

Michigan ratified the 14th Amendment in January 1867, which defined citizenship as “all persons born or naturalized in the United States” but used the number of male citizens to define representation. It was the first time the word “male” was used in the Constitution. The use of the word “male” raised the question of whether women were even citizens. Suffragists would soon test the interpretation of this new amendment.
A National Schism (1866-1869)

The American Equal Rights Association formed in May of 1866 for the purpose of achieving equal rights for blacks and women by removing restrictions in state constitutions. Comprised of men and women, abolitionists and women’s rights advocates, the organization pooled resources. The ratification of the 14th and 15th Amendments produced a rift in the organization. Members disagreed on whether they should accept black male suffrage as progress or whether universal suffrage was the only adequate outcome. The Association folded in 1869 over this disagreement.

Guaranteeing the voting rights of all citizens “regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude,” the 15th Amendment was ratified by Michigan in March of 1869. Women’s exclusion devastated suffragists.

In this print, circa 1871, President Grant is depicted signing the 15th Amendment. The surrounding vignettes show African-Americans engaged in the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
“Failure is Impossible”

-Susan B. Anthony

The void left by the dissolution of the American Equal Rights Association was immediately filled by two ideologically different organizations focused exclusively on achieving women’s suffrage.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Formed by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, this organization opposed the 15th Amendment because it excluded women. The National Woman Suffrage Association and its exclusively female membership believed that only a federal constitutional amendment would secure women’s suffrage.

Olympia Brown (1835-1936) was one of Michigan’s earliest supporters of women’s suffrage. Born in Kalamazoo County, she was the first woman Unitarian minister in the U.S. to be ordained with full ecclesiastical authority. Brown became a charter member of the American Equal Rights Association and founded the New England Woman Suffrage Association, the first organization devoted exclusively to attaining women’s suffrage. In 1884 Brown served as president of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Grounded in the belief that activists should not work against the new 15th Amendment, Lucy Stone founded this organization to gain suffrage for women at any governmental level—municipal, state, or federal. The American Woman Suffrage Association permitted both men and women into its membership.

Lucinda Hinsdale Stone (1814-1900), known as “Michigan’s Mother of Clubs,” founded the women’s club movement in Michigan. As principal of the Female Department at Kalamazoo Baptist College (now Kalamazoo College), a school which she and her husband founded, Stone encountered opposition to her attempt to combine the teaching of literature with her views on abolition and women’s rights. Her advocacy for women’s rights and close association with suffrage leaders led to her resignation in 1863.
The New Departure

On January 20, 1870 the Michigan State Woman Suffrage Association formed in Battle Creek. The following year, Michigan women claimed that the 14th Amendment’s definition of citizenship actually protected a woman’s right to vote. Suffragists employed a new strategy called “the new departure,” which argued that women were citizens if native born and that if voting was a privilege of citizenship, then women had the right to vote.

Mary Wilson of Battle Creek successfully registered and voted in 1871 elections. Nannette B. E. Gardner of Detroit voted in the 1871 and 1872 elections by arguing citizenship under the 14th Amendment. Gardner, a widowed taxpayer, also argued that if denied the ballot, she would fall victim to taxation without representation.

Catherine A. F. Stebbins of Detroit tried to register to vote in 1871, declaring that she was a citizen under the 14th Amendment and a taxpayer. She was denied registration because unlike Gardner, who was a widow, officials felt that Stebbins’ husband represented her interests.

Susan B. Anthony On November 5, 1872 Anthony attempted to vote in the presidential election in New York. She was arrested and her case went to trial. Anthony was declared incompetent to testify on her own behalf because she was a woman. After the government presented its case, the Honorable Nathan Hall instructed the jury to find Anthony guilty. He then read his prepared verdict that pronounced her guilty and imposed a $100 fine. Anthony declared, “May it please your honor, I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty.” And she never did. This case ended “the new departure” strategy and made election registrars wary.

Gardner’s vote generated news coverage for women’s suffrage. She created a scrapbook containing items relating to her vote, like this newspaper article from 1871, and preserved her then 12-year-old daughter Sarah’s diary entry recording the event. This portrait shows a slightly older Sarah Gardner.
Women’s Suffrage on the Ballot in Michigan (1874)

In 1874 Michigan was the second state to place women’s suffrage on the ballot. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton joined the Michigan campaign.

Women’s suffrage was defeated by a vote of 135,957 to 40,077. Although women’s suffrage generated enthusiasm and suffragists attempted to thoroughly canvas the state, the campaign lacked the resources and organization to be effective. In addition, many voters viewed the issue as a referendum on the prohibition of liquor.

"The newspaper returns show Woman Suffrage lost—3 or 5 to 1—what better could be expected every whiskey maker, vender, drinker, every gambler every Libertine every ignorant besotted man against us—and then the other extreme—every narrow selfish religious bigot..."

Excerpt from Susan B. Anthony’s diary on Wednesday, November 4, 1874, the day after the election.

The defeat devastated suffragists and the Michigan State Woman Suffrage Association disbanded with no other statewide organization replacing it for the next 10 years.

Above: This 1918 suffrage parade in Greenland, Michigan in the Upper Peninsula represents earlier suffrage activities, as few images can be found of Michigan suffrage activities during this period. Parades became an especially popular form of demonstration for suffrage in the twentieth century.

Left: The sign on top of this tent for women’s suffrage at the Michigan State Fair in 1912 reads: “The law says criminals, idiots, insane, children and women cannot vote. Help your mother, wife, daughter, sister and sweetheart out of this by voting.”
The Northwestern Woman Suffrage Association

Not all Michigan suffragists sought the aid of national figures for the 1874 campaign. Mary Adelle Brown Hazlett actively opposed using outsiders to promote women's suffrage in Michigan. Hazlett was president of the Northwestern Woman Suffrage Association—a group composed of midwestern suffragists that sought to avoid the politics and division of their eastern counterparts and objected to their appearance in the state. Hazlett's stance on outside assistance distressed national leaders:

"You have no idea how these people have work'd me. Every night, and twice on Sunday, has been the rule, straight thro'... I am so tired I am ready to drop. Mrs. Hazlett has persecuted me ever since I came into the state, starting annoying things in the papers. We couldn't imagine, at first, the source, or the spirit that prompted it, but found her out at last. She wants all the money that is spent in her own pocket, and evidently has an idea that the State of Michigan should be there too."

Excerpt from a letter from Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Susan B. Anthony, dated June 1, 1874 from "Ionia [Mich.].—wherever that may be."

Born and raised in Hillsdale, Michigan, Mary Adelle Brown Hazlett (1837-1911) attended Albion College and married M. R. Hazlett of Rochester, New York. Hazlett served as president of the Northwestern Woman Suffrage Association, an independent midwestern organization that championed state-led suffrage campaigns. Hazlett, a staunch Republican and lecturer, rose to prominence in the suffrage movement as an organizer for the 1874 constitutional amendment referendum. Hazlett began her political career in 1872 giving lectures in support of Republican candidates, even though she herself could not participate in the electoral process. She continued to work on behalf of the Republican Party for the next 27 years.

The Beecher-Tilton scandal, exposed by Victoria Woodhull, accused popular preacher Henry Ward Beecher of having an affair with the wife of his protégé, Theodore Tilton. Woodhull, a controversial figure who embraced "free love," had been endorsed by Susan B. Anthony for her passionate speeches on behalf of suffrage. Hazlett used this association to generate negative press when Anthony came to Michigan. Local newspapers announced that easterners with "objectionable ideas" were not welcome and that the local committee rejected arranging a lecture for "that 'relic of Methuselah,' Susan B. Anthony."

This cover of The Daily Graphic, featuring a print titled "The Woman Who Dared," makes a satirical reference to Anthony's recent criminal trial for attempting to vote in 1872.
Michigan's Second Generation of Suffragists (1875-1889)

Michigan law extended school suffrage to all parents or guardians of school age children. At the same time, the women's club movement was gaining strength. The focus of club women shifted from self-improvement to improving community health. Through club work, women gained experience in organizing, leading, and public speaking. The movement produced a new generation of Michigan suffragists who possessed the necessary skills to win the vote.

**Caroline Bartlett Crane** (1858-1935) of Kalamazoo, the first female newspaper city editor in the United States, was fully ordained and ministered the People's Church in Kalamazoo. Crane earned the title “America’s Housekeeper” for working to improve municipal sanitation. An excellent orator, she spoke across the country in support of suffrage as a member of the National Woman Suffrage Association speaker bureau.

**Lucia Isabelle Voorhees Grimes** (1877-1978) of Detroit created a card system for recording the attitudes of every Michigan Legislator on women’s suffrage. The system, later called “the pressure system,” was so effective that Alice Paul of the National Women’s Party invited Grimes to Washington, D.C. to create the same system for Congress. In 1916 Grimes and her 5 year-old daughter Emily went to Washington to create a Congressional “pressure system.”

**Emily Burton Ketcham** (1838-1907) of Grand Rapids worked on the 1874 campaign to remove “male” from voter qualifications. Close friends with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Ketcham was instrumental in arranging for Grand Rapids to host the 1899 National American Woman Suffrage Association’s annual conference.

**May Stocking Knaggs** (1847-1917) of Bay City was the first female elected to the city’s Board of Education in 1887. Respected as a “logical and convincing speaker,” Knaggs lobbied the Michigan Legislature, spoke at many Michigan suffrage conferences, and lectured with Susan B. Anthony in Michigan and across the country. Knaggs presided over of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association for four years.

**Anna Howard Shaw** (1847-1919), raised in Big Rapids, became the first fully ordained female minister in the Methodist Church and earned an advance degree in medicine. Shaw lectured for temperance, which led to her involvement in women’s rights. Shaw said “Around me I saw women overworked and underpaid, not because their work was inferior but because they were women. With all my heart I joined the crusade for ‘equal rights.'” Shaw became Susan B. Anthony’s chief lieutenant in the National American Woman Suffrage Association and succeeded her as president in 1904.
In 1884 the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association formed in Flint under the motto “Neither Delay Nor Rest.” The organization immediately sought support from women’s clubs. Some women’s clubs hosted suffrage speakers and distributed suffrage literature. However, not all women wanted to work for suffrage. The Michigan Federation of Women’s Clubs, an association of statewide women’s clubs, declined to endorse suffrage when first asked.

The Michigan Women’s Christian Temperance Union endorsed women’s suffrage at their annual 1880 meeting.

“Whereas, Woman is responsible for the purity of the home; therefore Resolved That we will petition our Legislature that woman’s voice for home protection against all forms of legalized vice, may be heard through the ballot at the polls.”

In 1889 the American and National Woman Suffrage Associations reconciled and became the National American Woman Suffrage Association or NAWSA.
Municipal Suffrage (1893-1911)

In 1893 the Michigan legislature granted women municipal suffrage permitting them to vote in city elections, but not in state or presidential elections. That summer, the Michigan Supreme Court declared the new law unconstitutional because the legislature had no authority to create a new class of voters. Once again, suffragists faced a demoralizing defeat.

Michigan held a Constitutional Convention in 1907 and Michigan suffragists worked to include women’s suffrage on its agenda. In preparation for the Convention, the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association requested that women’s clubs and labor unions across the state endorse women’s suffrage.

Mary L. Doe of Bay City, a Michigan Equal Suffrage Association member, built a relationship between the working class and her organization’s largely middle class members. Doe educated her organization on the plight of the working class and emphasized links between labor rights and suffrage. As a result, when Michigan held its Constitutional Convention, women’s suffrage received labor union endorsements from organizations such as the Michigan Federation of Labor.

Although legislators inserted the word “male” into voter qualifications, they allowed taxpaying women to vote on tax and bond issues that affected their property. Michigan voters approved the proposed Constitution by a vote of 244,797 to 130,783.

"Votes for Women" float postcard, 1910.
Campaigns of 1912 & 1913

"If the women of Michigan do all they plan to do, there will be no need of equal suffrage after November 5—for the women will all be dead."

—Caroline Bartlett Crane, of the 1912 campaign

Governor Osborn surprised the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association by including women's suffrage on the November 1912 ballot. With less than six months to prepare, the Association called women's clubs, the Michigan Grange, and men's auxiliary organizations into action. The election received nationwide coverage.

Following the vote, newspapers reported that women's suffrage passed making Michigan the first state east of the Mississippi to grant suffrage to women. However, in the days that followed, voter fraud was reported calling into question the election's results. Mysteriously, ballot tallies changed in some counties and the ballot box disappeared in others. Women's suffrage lost by 760 votes. "The Antis," those opposed to women's suffrage, were blamed. Instead of demanding a ballot recount, the Michigan Women's Equal Suffrage Association requested the amendment's inclusion on the April 1913 ballot.

Cora Jeffers of Painsdale said "We could stand...an honest defeat. But a dishonest one, rouses all my fighting blood." Both suffragists and their challengers redoubled efforts to attain their opposing goals.

The amendment was defeated in April 1913 by a margin of 168,738 to 264,882 votes.

Clara B. Arthur (1858-1929) of Detroit helped found the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association. Under her leadership as the Association's president in 1906, the state constitution was changed to permit women to vote on tax and bonding issues. In 1912 and 1913 Arthur lead campaigns for a state constitutional amendment to grant women's suffrage.

The Michigan Men's League for Woman Suffrage worked on the 1912 campaign (left). They faced an opposition consisting of liquor interests, men, and even some women. In 1913 the Michigan Association Opposed to Equal Suffrage assembled to defeat the issue in the polls—the same goal as the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in Washington, D.C. (below).
Suffragist or Suffragette?

“What is a suffragette? ... the suffragette is a peaceful suffragist grown despairing and aggressive, and so many are there of her that she forms a union or political party of over 100,000 members.”

~Clara B. Arthur

Tainted by the violent actions of England’s “suffragettes,” most Michigan women avoided using the term. “The Antis,” those opposed to women’s suffrage, used British suffragette imagery to mock suffragists in the United States. Later, “suffragette” became associated with members of the National Woman’s Party, a woman rights and suffrage organization. Created by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, the National Woman’s Party used a confrontational yet peaceful strategy to campaign for women’s rights.

Included among Michigan’s National Woman’s Party suffragettes (below, left to right), Kathleen McGraw Hendrie and Betsy Graves Reyneau of Detroit, and Ella Hough Aldinger of Lansing picketed the White House in 1917 during President Woodrow Wilson’s term in office. The women carried a banner that used President Wilson’s own words from a wartime address.

Women demonstrating at the White House were criticized for picketing a wartime president, as the United States was engaged in World War I. The women faced threats of mob retaliation while picketing and some were arrested and imprisoned, including Betsy Graves Reyneau.
Victory!

IN MICHIGAN...

Voters approved an amendment to the state constitution in 1918 granting women’s suffrage by a vote of 229,790 to 195,284. The Michigan Equal Suffrage Association had spent years educating citizens on the topic. Moreover, women’s public service during World War I acclimated Americans to women’s roles outside the home.

In March of 1919 the women of Michigan voted in state elections for the first time.

NATIONALLY...

Suffragists in Michigan continued to work for a federal suffrage amendment. In preparation for the anticipated passage of the 19th Amendment through Congress, Michigan suffragists demanded a special session of the Michigan Legislature for the Governor to request the ratification of the new amendment. On June 10, 1919 Michigan was one of the first three states to ratify the 19th Amendment.

On November 2, 1920 women across the country voted in a presidential election for the first time.
Exhibit Sponsors

The Michigan Women’s Historical Center & Hall of Fame wishes to thank the following organizations and individuals that contributed to the Petticoat Patriots: How Michigan Women Won the Vote exhibit:

SUFFRAGIST:
The Lansing Area Community Trust

PATRIOT:
Margaret Ann Carter
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Meijer
Michigan Coalition for Equal Rights Studies
Zonta Club of Lansing

CAMPAIGNER:
American Association of University Women
League of Women Voters of Michigan
Michigan National Organization of Women
Michigan Nurses Association

SUPPORTER:
American Association of University Women Dearborn Chapter
Lynette Brown
Louise Sause
David Stockman
League of Women Voters of the Lansing Area
Zonta Club of Meridian East

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Michigan Women’s Historical Center & Hall of Fame

Michigan Women’s Suffrage Honor Roll

Many women worked for women’s suffrage in Michigan, but not all could be properly recognized in this exhibit. Here is a list of women we know that worked for women’s suffrage in Michigan. Please add the name of any Michigan suffragist you know to our list.

- Ella Hough Aldinger, Lansing
- Alice Angell, Adrian
- Clara B. Arthur, Detroit
- Delphine Dodge Ashbaugh, Detroit
- Blanche Avery, Pontiac
- Lillian Drake Avery, Farmington
- Martha Baldwin, Birmingham
- Sarah Gertrude Banks, Walled Lake
- Eva Belles, Flint
- Emily M. Birmingham, Detroit
- Emma E. Bower, Ann Arbor
- Charlotte G. Kaufman Breitung, Marquette
- Florence Belle Brotherton, Detroit
- Olympia Brown, Kalamazoo
- Florence Breck Bullock, Jackson
- Winfred G. Burdick, Detroit
- Ruth I. Gibson Butler, Marquette
- Frances Emily Sanford Burns, St. Louis
- Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo
- Mary L. Doe, Bay City
- Lucy Lockwood Stout Dowd, Northville
- Clara Dyer, Detroit
- Sarah Van De Vort Emery, Midland
- Emma A. Stowell Fox, Detroit
- Nannette E. B. Gardner, Detroit
- Josephine Ahbeffel Bass, Grand Rapids
- Ann E. Lapham Graves, Battle Creek
- Mabel S. Greenwood, Detroit
- Lucie Isabelle Voorhees Grimes, Detroit
- Blanche Moore Huies, Port Huron
- Rena Louisa Tompkins Hamilton, Battle Creek
- Laura Smith Haviland, Adrian
- Mary Hayett, Detroit
- Mary Adelle Brown Hazlett, Hillsdale
- Jaminia Maria Burnett Hendricks, Traverse City
- Kathleen Hendre, Detroit
- Mary Louise Hinsdale, Grand Rapids
- Justin Hall Merrick Hollister, Grand Rapids
- Blanche Ingalls, Cheboygan
- Marie and Lucile James, Calumet
- Cora Doolittle Jeffers, Painsdale
- Helen Phifer Jenkins, Detroit
- Mrs. G. B. Jennison, Grand Rapids
- May Stocking Knapps, Bay City
- Martha Abadalee Cook Keating, Muskegon
- Christine M. Keck, Grand Rapids
- Emily Burton Ketchum, Grand Rapids
- Elizabeth Seaman Leggett, Detroit
- Elva Levine, Detroit
- Ilia Grant Root MacPherson, Bay City
- Helen Walker McAndrew, Ypsilanti
- Leila McCusley, Detroit
- Mary Eleanor Delaney McCoy, Ypsilanti
- Florence Gertrude Batch Mills, Kalamazoo
- Ethel Grots Mungar, Hart
- Annie Smith Peck, Ann Arbor
- Belle McArthur Perry, Charlotte
- Bertha Ray, Lansing
- Betsy Graves Reynoos, Detroit
- Mrs. Joseph Sanders, Detroit
- Anna Howard Shaw, Big Rapids
- Sarah Burger Stevens, Ann Arbor
- Catherine Ann Fish Stibbs, Detroit
- Mary Thompson Stevens, Detroit
- Martha Strickland, Detroit
- Lucindia Hinsdale Stone, Kalamazoo
- Martha Cochrane Strong, Jackson
- Augusta Sutterly, Detroit
- Mrs. Lewis Taylor, Hallsdale
- Lucy Thurman, Jackson
- Susanmora Truth, Battle Creek
- Grace Ames Van Hoosen, Grand Rapids
- Maggie Walt, Calumet
- Jeanette Sheley Warner, Grand Rapids
- Agnes Emme Wells, Saginaw
- Mary Wilson, Battle Creek
The Daily Mining Gazette tracked local and national events.
Women's Suffrage Rally.
A rally of the men and women of Calumet in the interests of women's suffrage will be held at eight o'clock Tuesday evening of next week at the Red Jacket town hall. This will be the first of a series of meetings planned by the leaders of the movement in this county for the local campaign. Among the speakers Tuesday evening will be Circuit Judge P. H. O'Brien and Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Jeffers of Tri-mountain and Painesdale.

Equal Suffrage Meeting.
An equal suffrage meeting will be held in the Amphidrome tomorrow night. It will be addressed by Hon. Patrick H. O'Brien, and by Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Jeffers.
Local suffragists speak at Amphidrome: Judge O’Brien, Cora Jeffers, Fred Jeffers
Opposition!

BE SURE AND VOTE NO

On the Amendment Giving Women The Right To Vote

Find a tenant for that empty room through a Gazette Want Ad. They work twenty four hours a day.
Surrounded by Michigan suffragists, Governor Albert E. Sleeper signed women’s suffrage into law on May 8, 1917.

Paragraph from address by Governor Albert E. Sleeper:

If anything were lacking to convince any of us that the women of this State have a right to the ballot, surely the magnificent war work that they have done in the past eighteen months, and their willing sacrifices in the cause of freedom, have supplied the lack. The splendid, self-sacrificing labors of all our women, the devotion of mothers who have given up their sons, of young wives who have given up their husbands, are beyond praise. Can we now do less than confer upon them the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship?
10 Reasons to Vote

1. Your vote does count.
2. Democracy only works if we vote.
3. If you don’t vote, others decide your future.
4. You cannot change a situation by ignoring it.
5. Voting is power.
6. Elections determine leaders and politics.
7. Without your vote, your voice will not be heard.
8. When you don’t vote, special interests take control.
9. If you don’t vote, don’t complain.
10. People have died for the freedom to vote.
League of Women Voters

In her address to the National American Woman Suffrage Association’s (NAWSA) 50th convention in St. Louis, Missouri, President Carrie Chapman Catt proposed the creation of a "league of women voters to finish the fight and aid in the reconstruction of the nation." Women Voters was formed within the NAWSA, composed of the organizations in the states where suffrage had already been attained.

The next year, on February 14, 1920—six months before the 19th amendment to the Constitution was ratified—the League was formally organized in Chicago as the national League of Women Voters. From the very beginning it was apparent that the legislative goals of the League were not exclusively focused on women’s issues and that citizen education aimed at all of the electorate was in order.

The League of Women Voters is a nonpartisan political organization encouraging informed and active participation in government. It influences public policy through education and advocacy. We never support or oppose any political party or candidate.

League of Women Voters of the Copper Country

In January 1960, after a year of work achieving provisional status, the Hancock-Houghton League of Women Voters became an official local League with 65 members. The first president was Vera Fryxell. The name was changed to League of Women Voters of the Copper Country in 1968.

Excerpted from www.lwvccmi.org/history.html
Votes for Women Jigsaw Puzzle

On loan from Mary Marchaterre
Women’s suffrage distinguishes itself through color
Excerpted from: https://recollections.biz/blog/colors-womens-suffrage/

When the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) in England was looking for a color scheme to distinguish their political movement, they chose purple, white, and green. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, editor of Votes for Women, a weekly newspaper, explained “Purple, as everyone knows is the royal colour, it stands for the royal blood that flows in the veins of every suffragette, the instinct of freedom and dignity … white stands for purity in private and public life … green is the colour of hope and the emblem of spring.” (The Colours of the Suffragettes)

In the United States, gold replaced green as a color representative of the women’s suffrage movement. The use of gold goes back to 1867 when Kansas was considering passage of a state suffrage referendum. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony adopted the Kansas state flower, the sunflower, as a symbol of the suffrage cause. Soon, gold pins, ribbons, and sashes, as well as yellow roses became symbols of the cause.

The Suffragist, Vol. 1 No. 4, published on December 6, 1913, describes the symbolism of the colors. “Purple is the color of loyalty, constancy to purpose, unswerving steadfastness to a cause. White, the emblem of purity, symbolizes the quality of our purpose; and gold, the color of light and life, is as the torch that guides our purpose, pure and unswerving.” Simplified, the tri-colors signified loyalty, purity, and life. (La Croix)

“The largest group, NAWSA (National American Woman Suffrage Association), had no official colors, but gold was the most commonly used and later, once parades were utilized, white. The tricolor was used exclusively in this country by the Congressional Union/National Woman’s Party. White and gold are the only two colors which were historically employed by the whole of the suffrage movement, militant and mainstream.” (Zahniser)
LET WOMEN VOTE

Porcelain Figurine
Woman holding "Votes for Women" sign
Royal Doulton 1910
Donated from Mary Macarthur

Sign
"Let Women Vote" sign by National Women
Suffrage Association 1919
Printed postcardboard, black wood frame
Donated from Dechel Hen

Pewter Figurine
Woman holding "Equal Rights" sign
Signed Riker, Second half 20th century
Donated from Mary Macarthur

Watch
Starling silver, "VOTE FOR WOMEN" as numbers on dial, yellow flower in center
Age and maker unknown
Donated from Mary Macarthur

Women's suffrage distinguishes itself through color
Women's suffrage is often linked with the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU),
who were looking for a color scheme to distinguish their political banner from the
other political parties. The choice of colors and their political importance vary,
with red often being associated with strength and passion, blue with
loyalty and integrity, and purple with royalty and dignity. In the era of the
suffrage movement, "suffrage purple" was a deep purple hue that represented
women's political power and autonomy. The color purple was chosen for its
symbolism of royalty, dignity, and the "royal blood" that flows in the veins of
every suffragette, the instincts of freedom and dignity - traits shared by
princesses in the public eye. Green is the color of hope and the emblem of spring.

In the United States, green replaced red as the color representative of the
women's suffrage movement. The use of green dates back to 1878 when Kansas
was considering passage of a state suffrage amendment. Elizabeth Cady Stanton,
Susan B. Anthony, and others in the Kansas state house, the Senate, and Congress,
as well as others, became symbols of the cause.

The Suffragist, Vol. 1, No. 4, published on December 6, 1913, describes the symbolism of the colors:
"The Suffragist" is the color of loyalty, constancy in purpose, the color of love, and
unwavering steadfastness to a cause. White, the emblem of purity, symbolizes the quality of
our progress and growth, the color of light and life, as in the torch
that guides our purpose, pure and unswerving. Simplified, the tri-colors symbolize loyalty, purity,
and life. The red, white, and blue of the Union flag, the colors of the party
which were historically adopted by the whole of the suffrage movement.

The Suffragist's flag was used exclusively in this country by
Congressional Union and National Socialist Party. White and red
are the only colors which were historically employed by the
whole of the suffrage movement: colorful and meaningful.
**Sign** “Let Women Vote” sign by National Women Suffrage Association 1919
Printed posterboard, black wood frame
On loan from Gretchen Hein

**Porcelain Figurine**
On loan from Mary Marchaterre

**Pewter Figurine**
Woman holding “Equal Votes” sign. Signed Ricker, Second half 20th century
On loan from Mary Marchaterre

**Sterling Silver Watch**
“VOTE FOR WOMEN” as numbers on dial, yellow flower in center. Age/maker unknown
On loan from Mary Marchaterre
Books on the suffrage fight and related fights for gender equality and voting rights in general

The Woman's Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote by Elaine Weiss

Mr. President, How Long Must We Wait? Alice Paul, Woodrow Wilson and The Fight for the Right to Vote by Tina Cassidy, 2019


The Women of the Copper Country, by Mary Doria Russell, a novel based on Annie Clemenc—"the courageous woman who started a rebellion by leading a strike against the largest copper mining company in the world" (from the publisher’s site). Russell visited Houghton 7-8 October 2019.

Suffragists in Washington, D. C.—The 1913 Parade and the Fight for the Vote by Rebecca Boggs Roberts. Recommended by Jean Ellis.

Votes for Women! American Suffragists and the Battle for the Ballot, by Winifred Conkling (young adult readers). Delves into the backstories of many of the suffragists, beginning with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, the leaders who called the first Women's Rights Convention in the US. Lucrecia Mott is quoted in this book with this comment on marriage roles: She "believed that 'independence of the husband and wife is equal, their dependence mutual, and their obligations reciprocal.'"

The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition, by Gerda Lerner, second edition, University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Have you heard of Sarah and Angelina Grimké? They were wealthy plantation-bred South Carolina ladies who abhorred slavery and fought for civil rights for women and black people in America. This biography by Gerda Lerner is fantastic! It shows the status of women and black Americans in the early 1800s and makes clear what women and black enslaved and free Americans were up against. Very very well written. The first edition came out in 1967 and Gera Lerner was one of the founders of the academic field of women's history.
Films and podcasts on the suffrage fight and related fights for gender equality and voting rights in general

**Iron Jawed Angels** (film, 2004) (https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0338139/) Tells the story of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns who led the change in focus of the suffrage cause towards a Constitutional amendment. The path led to a schism in the organization, arrests, hunger strikes, and beatings. Stars Hilary Swank as Paul, Frances O'Connor as Burns, and Anjelica Huston as Carrie Chapman Catt, leader of the NAWSA which stuck to a "state by state" strategy.

**Suffragette** (film, 2015) British film about the fight for women's voting rights in the UK. The British fight inspired US suffragists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott (they first met in England), the organizers of the first US Women’s Rights Convention (Seneca Falls, 1848), and Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, the forces behind the final decade of the fight for the 19th Amendment. Paul and Burns also met in England and brought back to the US tactics learned from the British movement including taking confrontational stands and conducting hunger strikes while under arrest.


**Maiden** (film, 2018) A documentary film by Alex Holmes about Skipper Tracy Edwards and the crew of the racing sailing vessel Maiden as they compete as the first all-woman crew in the 1989–1990 Whitbread Round the World Race. The film tells the story of the obstacles Edwards faced to participate as a crewmember in the Whitbread race, which led her to mortgage her home and put all her assets and energy into entering her own vessel in the race, upping the ante to race with an all female crew. Was shown in the 41 North Film Festival in Houghton; available on DVD.

**Women's Suffrage** (podcast), Florida Department of Education. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in their own words.
“Petticoat Patriots: How Michigan Women Won the Vote”
Virtual Version

by Carnegie Museum of the Keweenaw
Houghton, Michigan
April 16, 2020

THANK YOU!

League of Women Voters of the Copper Country and especially
Barry Elizabeth Fink • Elizabeth Benyi • Kristine Bradof
Donna Cole • Mary Marchaterre • Faith Morrison
for sponsoring exhibit

MI Women Forward
for their exhibit
Petticoat Patriots: How Michigan Women Won the Vote
and granting enthusiastic permission to share via virtual exhibit

Mary Marchaterre and Gretchen Hein
for loaning objects for display