

Defending the “Woman’s Sphere”: The Ideology and Opposition of Anti-suffragists

J. Stanley Lemons

J. Stanley Lemons is Emeritus Professor of History at Rhode Island College. He has published extensively on Rhode Island and Baptist history. Among his works are: *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (University of Illinois Press), co-author of *The Elect: Rhode Island’s Women Legislators, 1922-1990* (The League of Rhode Island Historical Societies, 1990), and co-author of the article, “The Independent Woman: Rhode Island’s First Woman Legislator [Isabelle Ahearn O’Neill],” in *Rhode Island History*.



The National Anti-suffrage headquarters was located in Washington, D.C. Harris & Ewing, photographer. *National Anti-Suffrage Association*, 1911. [?] Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/97500067/>.

The campaign for woman suffrage in Rhode Island began in 1868 with the formation of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association. The following year saw the first legislative committee hearings on a petition to amend the state constitution to permit women to vote, but consideration was “indefinitely postponed.”¹ On the other hand, the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was not organized until 1911. Since over four decades separated the beginnings of the two organizations, two questions beg for answers. Why were the anti-suffragists so late getting organized, and what was happening to cause them to mobilize their forces so late in the struggle?

In the first case: the Antis did not feel the need to organize because the mores and political structure of Rhode Island were firmly opposed to woman suffrage. The efforts of suffragists failed repeatedly against virtually no organized opposition. The newspapers editorialized against it, and the General Assembly usually dismissed the women’s petitions with little consideration. In 1881, Lucy Stone, president of the American Woman Suffrage Association, reported that suffrage petitions were being more favorably received by legislatures around the nation. She noted: “This is a great gain upon previous years, when, as once in Rhode Island, our petitions were referred to ‘a committee on burial grounds.’”²

In 1887 the General Assembly submitted a suffrage amendment to the voters, and both sides lined up endorsements from prominent men in the state. The anti-list was weightier with many prominent lawyers, bankers, manufacturers, and leading clergymen from the most

prestigious churches.³ The issue was never in doubt which is likely the reason why the legislature put it out there to kill it. The amendment was crushed 6,889 to 21,957 – “the largest defeat woman suffrage ever received.”⁴ *The Providence Daily Journal* declared the next day, “Considerations of common sense and practical government have rightly outweighed any mere theorizing or sentiment.” The editorial went on to say: “Nor will the result in any way retard the true progress of Rhode Island women or deprive them of a just consideration in the legislation of the State.” Their interests will be “as zealously guarded by Legislatures elected solely by men’s votes as could have been possible had they themselves been given a direct voice in the making of our laws.”⁵ As a consequence, Rhode Island suffragists dropped that approach for the next thirty years. Instead they asked only for the right to vote for the president. It finally paid off – in 1917 they won presidential suffrage, making Rhode Island the first state on the Atlantic seaboard to grant that form of suffrage.⁶ By then, the drive for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution was entering its winning stages.

As to the second question about the timing of an anti-suffrage organization in Rhode, the suffrage movement in the nation suddenly picked up speed around 1910. Women in Rhode Island had organized the College Equal Suffrage League in 1907, and if one judged only by newspaper coverage, the suffrage issue became much more visible. Back in the 1890s four sparsely populated western states had enfranchised women. But in 1910 the state of Washington granted women the vote and California followed in 1911. After that, the suffrage tide rolled toward the East. Local suffragists increased



"Our Happy Home." Images in nineteenth-century periodicals depicted the cultural expectations of the Cult of True Womanhood. Our Happy Home., 1877. [New York: publisher not transcribed] Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018695197/>.



Popular nineteenth-century images like "The Child's Evening Prayer" reinforced the domestic importance of a woman's purity and piety. The Child's Evening Prayer., ca. 1879. New York: Haasis & Lubrecht. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018756341/>.

their education and propaganda efforts to convince the public and petitioned the General Assembly every session. Beginning in 1910, suffragists began staging parades and rallies in cities around the nation, which generated increased publicity. One of the factors that retarded the formation of anti-suffrage organizations was that they were *reacting* to developments. They were essentially defensive in nature. Women who opposed the franchise did not hold rallies or make speeches. They wrote letters to the editor.

Anti-suffrage associations already existed in New York and neighboring Massachusetts, so in 1911 Rhode Island Antis joined a growing list of anti-suffrage associations around the country. In April 1895, Antis formed their first organization with the awkward name of the New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.⁷ The following month saw the organization of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of the Suffrage to Women. By 1900 six states had some formal anti-suffrage association, and by 1915, these numbered twenty-five, claiming 200,000 members.⁸ On the other hand, by 1915, woman suffrage associations were everywhere, were approaching two million members, had won suffrage in twelve states and territories, and enjoyed the support of large national organizations such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the National Federation of Women's Clubs. Organized anti-suffragists were too little, too late.

A hundred years after the ratification of the 19th Amendment, it might seem incredible that the matter of suffrage for women had been such a controversial issue. Yet, before the 1840s the idea of woman suffrage was almost unthinkable. About then some women's rights advocates began calling for the vote, but it took seventy more years to achieve it. Nearly fifty-two years elapsed from the formation of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association to Rhode Island's ratification of the woman suffrage amendment on January 6, 1920. During that period, the suffragists tried twenty-five times to get the state to accept woman suffrage. For most of that long time, the opposition did not come from organized anti-suffragists. Instead, woman suffrage had to contend with a set of ideas that regarded women voting to be a foolish, unnatural, immoral, and even dangerous notion. These ideas were so common and entrenched that the anti-suffragists did not have to make any great effort to defeat suffrage until the twentieth century.

One is struck by the fact that when female anti-suffragists appeared, they scarcely made a single objection to woman suffrage that had not been trumpeted decades earlier. Indeed, many of the arguments went back before the Civil War and were part of the general Victorian culture of the nation. These ideas included what have been labeled as the "Cult of True Womanhood," the "Better Half," and the "Woman's Sphere." These were powerful beliefs about the role and place of women in society. What is interesting is that many suffragists shared these same ideas, but used them to expand woman's sphere rather than to limit women.

The historian Barbara Welter coined the term, "The Cult of True Womanhood," to describe the reigning idea about women and their place in the era before the Civil War.⁹ It held that God created women to be different from men, and each had a separate, but complementary sphere of activities and responsibilities. Women operated in the home and men out in the world. A "true woman" was to be pious, pure, domestic, and submissive. She was wife, mother, and homemaker, and the family was deemed to be the fundamental unit of the state, Christianity, and civilization. Anything that disrupted the family threatened everything. So, anything that took women from their proper sphere and responsibilities was thought to be subversive and dangerous.¹⁰ The mother bore and reared the children and was thought to be responsible for their Christian upbringing and education. She was queen of the domestic sphere, but submissive to her husband.

If a woman failed in these requirements, she was not a "true woman." If she ventured into the world of politics and business, she was "unsexed" or "mannish."¹¹ Such a view held that women must not speak in "promiscuous meetings" (meetings of men and women), must not parade in the streets, must not buttonhole politicians, must not get into public debates. All of these things were immodest and un-ladylike.¹² Such cultural prescriptions made it difficult for anti-suffrage women to take on their suffragist sisters who did all of those "un-ladylike" things. The most that one might do was to write an anonymous letter to the editor as "UNA" did in 1869. She deplored the agitation and denounced women who clamored for woman's rights. "You are a blot and a mark upon the cause of *true womanhood*."¹³ In 1872 an anti-suffragist woman argued that only the worst sort of women would want to vote which would "make public elections inappropriate for true women." She declared that "womanhood—cultured,

sensitive and refined—would instinctively shrink from encountering such an element in the body politic; and thus the dissolute, the depraved, and the vicious 'emballoted' and bold, would dominate the weak, the timid, and the lazy, and thus occupy the field."¹⁴

Growing out of the "Cult of True Womanhood" was the notion of the "Better Half," which held that women were actually purer, more spiritual, and more inclined to religion than men. It held that God had endowed women with superior morality so that they could be the teachers of the children. Women were regarded as the civilizers of men and the essential propagators of religion, piety, and virtue. They had the awesome responsibility of raising the sons of the nation to be good, decent, and god-fearing citizens. While women were still regarded as the "Weaker Sex," needing protection because they were deemed physically and mentally unequal to men, they were spiritually superior. The historian Andrew Sinclair described the new paradigm of women as "inferior animals and superior beings."¹⁵ (This was a wonderful reversal of the ancient view of women as the "Daughters of Eve," the one who caused the Fall in the Garden of Eden, the one who opened the gates of Hell.)

Opponents argued that woman suffrage would lead to free love and socialism.¹⁶ What made such charges believable were various movements and individuals who espoused them. First, there was Fanny Wright (1795-1852) who scandalized proper society in the late 1820s with her advocacy of sexual freedom, birth control, equal rights, emancipation of slaves,



Frances "Fanny" Wright was a Scottish-born social reformer who traveled and lived in the United States while espousing radical views in the first half of the nineteenth century. Buttre, John Chester, Engraver, and J Gorbitz. Frances Wright / J. Gorbitz; J.C. Buttre., 1881. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003652654/>.

liberal divorce laws, and opposition to marriage and organized religion. She was ferociously denounced for all of these ideas.¹⁷ The pre-Civil War era also saw a wave of “utopian socialist” experiments, and the most prominent one was Fourierism, based on the ideas of a French philosopher, Charles Fourier (1772-1837). He believed that the solution to the world’s problems was “associationism” where people lived in voluntary, cooperative groups, called Phalanxes, each composed of no more than 1620 individuals. Property was held in common, and the family unit would be abandoned.¹⁸ Horace Greeley promoted these ideas in the *New York Tribune*, and some Transcendentalists were attracted to them. Enthusiasts founded about thirty phalanxes, the most famous being Brook Farm.¹⁹ “Socialism,” and its association with attacks upon the family, became part of the arsenal used against women’s suffrage to the very end.

Reinforcing negative perceptions and even more damaging to woman suffrage was Victoria Woodhull (1838-1927).²⁰ Strikingly attractive and dynamic, in 1871 Victoria was the first woman to address a committee of Congress and then was the first woman to run for president of the United States. She became a prominent spokesperson for the suffrage movement, beginning with an oration in Washington where she was accompanied by leaders of the National Woman Suffrage Association, such as Paulina Wright Davis (the first president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association). Then Woodhull captivated Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony who wrote to Victoria saying, “Go ahead, bright, glorious, young and strong spirit.”²¹

Later that year, speaking in New York City, Victoria Woodhull addressed over 3,000 people at Steinway Hall on aspects of “social freedom” in which she spoke at length on love and marriage. In answer to the question whether she was a Free Lover, she declared, “Yes, I am a Free Lover. I have an *inalienable, constitutional and natural* right to love whom I may, to love as *long* or as *short* a period as I can; to *change* that love *every day* if I please, and with *that* right neither *you* nor any *law* you can frame have any right to interfere.”²² For that she was depicted as “Mrs. Satan” by political cartoonist Thomas Nast in *Harper’s Weekly*. Once a scandalized public learned of her free love ideas and her involvement in the Marxist 2nd International Workingmen’s Association, her notoriety firmly tied socialism and free love to suffrage. The consequence was that the National Woman

Suffrage Association, led by Stanton and Anthony, was a seriously weakened entity from then until the 1890s, and the opponents linked suffrage with free love and socialism to the bitter end. Paradoxically, by 1876 Victoria Woodhull had “found religion, denounced promiscuity, declared marriage a divine institution, and divorced her free-thinking, free-loving [husband] for adultery.”²³

With such self-inflicted wounds and the power of popular notions about the proper role and sphere for women, it is little wonder that the woman suffrage movement had a near-death experience in the 1870s. However, one thing which went far to restore woman suffrage to respectability was the embrace of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union which was the largest women’s organization in the United States by the 1880s and 1890s.



Victoria Woodhull's brief alliance with some woman suffragists including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, affirmed anti-suffragists' disapproval of the woman suffrage movement. Nast, Thomas, Artist. "Get thee behind me, Mrs. Satan!" / *Th. Nast*. United States, 1872. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95512460/>.

Frances Willard and the WCTU wanted the vote to advance prohibition. Willard's vision was to make the world “homelike,” and prohibition was described as the “home protection” issue. In a word, she wanted to expand the woman’s sphere to reform all of those things that threatened the family and the home—such as liquor, impure food and drugs, tainted milk, political and economic corruption, poor schools, unhealthy conditions for children, and poor working conditions for women. These objectives were not those of Mrs. Satan but of Christian women. As a result, the WCTU brought respectability as well as a large national organization on the side of woman suffrage. By the 1880s and 1890s women began to win the right to vote for school boards and in other local elections. But, the first anti-suffrage organizations also appeared in 1895.

When women finally were allowed to vote in limited ways for school boards and such, not many did. And so, a stock argument against the further expansion of woman suffrage was that women did not want the vote. Anti-suffragists repeatedly pointed to the example of the Massachusetts referendum in 1895 when all women of voting age were permitted to vote on the question of granting municipal suffrage. Of the 575,000 women eligible to vote, only 25,000 did so, and only 1000—.001 percent of women voted for suffrage.²⁴ Opponents declared that the franchise was an unwanted burden which would interfere with the *essential* work of women:

The suffrage movement, so far from being a movement of progress, confuses the function of men and women, proposes to put upon women heavy burdening responsibilities in addition to those they already bear and of which they cannot be relieved and urges them to give up the privileges and exemptions which the increasing consideration of men has conceded them and to enter upon an unequal struggle in the arenas of politics and legislation.²⁵

In March 1907, the suffragists again petitioned the Rhode Island General Assembly to grant presidential suffrage. On the first day of the hearing before the House Committee on Special Legislation, the committee room was packed with a large number of women. The committee chairman called for every woman who favored the bill to stand up, and all except one did so. When the committee began to consider a postponement of further consideration, that one woman rose



Frances Willard headed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the largest women's organization in the country in the post-Civil War era. Bain News Service, Publisher. *Frances Willard*. . . [No Date Recorded on Caption Card] Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2014682859/>.

to say that she appeared in opposition. The president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, Jeannette S. French, asked the chair whether that woman was a citizen of Rhode Island, and the woman volunteered that she was. French asked for her name, and she said, “Mrs. Charles Warren Lippett.” She would present an opposing view at the session the next day. Margaret Lippitt, wife of former Governor Charles Warren Lippitt, was the first Rhode Island woman to appear before any legislative committee to voice opposition to woman suffrage.²⁶

Margaret Lippitt returned the next day and was the first person to testify. She declared that there was no organization opposing the bill, but she said that women did not want the bill. She said that intelligent women did not want suffrage because their many obligations would not give them time to study all of the issues of public interest. In addition, the complicated political machinery was in the hands of men so that they would determine the candidates which amounted to “political slavery” for women. Besides, she said, there was no advantage to adding unintelligent women voters to the unintelligent votes of men.²⁷ She was then followed in opposition by Mrs. Alice M. Johnson, the president of Churchill House Corporation, and Rowland G. Hazard, president of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company and president of the Narragansett Pier Rail Road. His wife, Mary P. B. Hazard later emerged as the principal spokesperson and president of the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

A list of substantial individuals, including former governor Lucius F. C. Garvin and Rhode Island historian Thomas Bicknell presented the pro-suffrage argument. Bicknell, in particular, was outraged by the way the Rhode Island Senate had treated the suffrage bill because he felt that they passed it as a joke. Bicknell said they ought to be spanked. It made no difference: the House Committee on Special Legislation voted to take no action on the bill. *The Providence Journal* declared, "The annual death knell of legislation granting suffrage to women in the choice of presidential elections was sounded yesterday."²⁸ The same result occurred in 1909.²⁹

The Providence Journal not only editorialized against woman suffrage, it usually relegated suffrage news to the woman's or society page. It often ridiculed woman suffrage by reporting (and denouncing) the antics of the English suffragettes who had resorted to violence. It commented on how vulgar and ugly many of the suffragettes were.³⁰ After Canada adopted woman suffrage, the paper reported that a woman wanted to change her vote, but was refused. The editor opined, "This is the weakness of female suffrage. No woman should be deprived of her recognized right of changing her mind."³¹

When the women anti-suffragists formed an organization in 1911, Mary P. B. Hazard was elected president. She particularly harped on the socialist connections and even complained that the papers underreported that fact.³² When the editor of the *Journal* replied that such a charge was unfair, she wrote, "The statement that the Socialists expect to gain much from suffrage' can hardly be questioned since woman suffrage is a cardinal item in the Socialist programme...What do you call those who join for the same cause but allies?"³³ Margaret Lippitt sounded the alarm as well, saying that an aspect of suffrage had remained in the background, but was now "showing its ugly proportions in this country as the time seems right. I mean the socialistic side. Every socialist is a woman suffragist, though every suffragist does not acknowledge that he or she is a socialist. Some do avow it openly."³⁴ In November 1917 after the great suffrage victory in New York, Mary Hazard declared that Socialists, pacifists, pro-Germans, and suffragists were linked. She said that the victory in New York was caused by the Socialists and German voters:

In New York not only the forces of evil, but anti-American forces carried everything before them...Will Rhode Island heed the lesson?

If pacifists and pro-Germans want women suffrage at this time [World War I], do we want it? ... Is it safe to admit to the electorate an immense number of inexperienced and untrained voters, when mistakes may cost us dear?³⁵

For some opponents of woman suffrage, the connection of suffrage to socialism was a growing concern as the socialist movement in the United States was cresting about 1912. Socialists were elected in many places in the country in the decade before World War I, and Eugene Debs won six percent (901,000 votes) of the national vote in the presidential election in 1912. That was the best the Socialists ever did in the United States, and by September 1918 Debs was in prison for opposing the war effort.

Mary Hazard warned of the evil effects of granting the vote to "ignorant immigrant women." She thought that it was bad enough that immigrant men were allowed to vote, but the naturalization laws automatically naturalized the wives of immigrants. Hazard warned, "Many an immigrant woman, knowing not a word of English, might vote on landing." She also maintained that in Colorado (a full suffrage state), "Prostitutes generally vote...Neither is it surprising to learn that the prostitutes vote not once but more than once." She asked, "If you doubled the vote, will women be more likely to form correct opinions? If women are less informed, it will be a distinct loss. Does any sane being suppose that the majority of women are better able to pass on such questions than are the majority of men?"³⁶

Margaret Lippitt also raised the specter of immigrant women:

It is this foreign element wherein lies one great objection to this bill before you. I ask you gentlemen to walk up Constitution Hill, out over Charles street, over Federal Hill and Atwell's avenue, through Fox Point or the city dock, and watch the passengers from the Fabre Line steamer, and then ask yourselves if you believe that these 'women citizens' will tend to reform and elevate the electorate of the State, or register the intelligent will of the people. Every one of these women is a potential voter to be reckoned with in some part of the United States, and many of them right now in Providence.³⁷

Her comments suggest that she was alarmed by the tide of immigration rising in Rhode Island in the first decade of the twentieth century, especially those immigrants on the ships



R. I. anti-suffragists cited the large influx of immigrants into the state in the early twentieth century as a reason that women should not vote. Immigrants arriving aboard the *Venezia* (Fabre Line) at the new State Pier on opening day, December 17, 1913. Print, RHI x35461. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

of the Fabre Line coming directly from Italy. In 1914 over 18,000 immigrants disembarked at Providence, making it the fifth largest port-of-entry in the United States.³⁸

Altogether, the argument most often stated against woman suffrage was one that showed the enduring influence of the Cult of True Womanhood and the Woman's Sphere. The fact that the statement of these ideas often came from anonymous women revealed the power that kept many Antis from publicly engaging in unseemly controversy.³⁹

In 1871 an anonymous woman wrote a letter to the *Providence Daily Journal*. She declared that those women who decry the "injustice of making their sex subordinate to man...impeach the Almighty for making distinctions between the sexes." She asked, "Do women want the vote?" "Where is the sacred home, the nursery, the domestic altar, at which woman is so often the ministering spirit, if not the actual priestess." She urged, "Let Congress do its business. Let them deal with foreign affairs and finances. We do not ask for 'Woman's Suffrage'; we protest against it being forced on us. We ask to remain in the sphere in which God placed us."⁴⁰

The president of the Massachusetts Society Opposed to the Further Extension of the Suffrage interjected herself into the argument in Rhode Island in 1907 by writing that "women's responsibilities are different from those of men." She asserted that women have all they can do in the care of sick and insane, in the treatment of the poor and in the

administration of charities, libraries, agencies of reform and social work.⁴¹

"An Anti-Suffrage Woman" wrote that in Rhode Island the real issue was office holding. "The very women least fitted to hold office are the ones most likely to seek it.... Am I willing to sacrifice so much that is essential to womanhood for a result not yet proved good?"⁴² Two weeks later, an anonymous correspondent from Providence wrote:

We believe that women should realize and glory in the fact that they were given organization, gifts and powers different from those of men, for a purpose... It does not degrade women to hold on to that spiritual and moral authority—and not to debase it by grasping at the interior part—that material force which they cannot use without soiling their own.

She quoted another writer who said, "Everywhere and in all things woman is the noblest work of civilization, and her true work is to make it a yet nobler civilization by infusing into human life her supreme womanly qualities, in her inimitable womanly way."⁴³

Mary P. B. Hazard argued that because women had their own sphere, they stood outside of politics and were free to appeal to any party in matters of education, charity and reform. To give women the right to vote is "to curtail the power of good women, and give new powers to the bad, not



Mary P. B. Hazard was one of the most outspoken Rhode Island anti-suffragists. Photograph, RHI x17 4256 RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

now a political force to be reckoned with."⁴⁴ She also declared that the gigantic task for women is to care for,

the sick and wounded in the battle of life. As woman fulfills these tasks well or ill, the State stands or falls...What Humanity needs of women is motherhood, [and] as has been well said, 'Motherhood, rightly understood, is not a physical fact, but a spiritual relation.' Any movement that is largely opposed by the mothers of the nation, either physical or spiritual...needs to be gravely questioned to say the least.⁴⁵

Further she wrote that thinking people would realize that the work of the world can only be done by women doing their share and the men doing their share. She went on to assert:

If you decide that she has no distinctive work then you will be a feminist. Most of the women engaged in doing women's distinctive work in the world think that non-partisanship and freedom from political burdens are essential to its proper accomplishment.⁴⁶

As a crowning point she told of a Providence woman who could not make up her mind about suffrage, so she asked ten opposed and ten favoring suffrage about the issue. "On counting up afterward, she found that among the ten who were not suffragists there were 32 children, and among the ten who favored suffrage there were three. Which is the better expert testimony to as to woman's distinctive work?"⁴⁷

In 1914, the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party persuaded a number of the leading clergymen in Rhode Island to preach about suffrage on the first day of Votes for Women Week, April 26 to May 2. While most of these men

spoke favorably about suffrage, John F. Vichert, the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, did not. He echoed the separate spheres idea, saying that God created men and women to be different:

Each has qualities and powers which the other lacks. One cannot take the place of the other. These differences seem to me to exclude competition. Woman is at man's side to co-operate not to compete with him. Any society that compels women to enter into competition with men is making poor use of womanhood, and one which that society cannot long afford. She is to be at man's side sharing and assisting in life's tasks by contributing the peculiar qualities and powers with which God has endowed her.⁴⁸

Vichert was theologically conservative in the first place, but one of the leading Antis, Mrs. Katherine Margaret Harkness, wife of Brown University professor Albert Granger Harkness, was a member of his church. Professor Harkness served on the Standing Committee, one of the most powerful bodies in the church composed of a small group of men who oversaw the discipline and order of the congregation. Katherine was herself the daughter of Professor Alexander M. Beebe of Madison University [now Colgate].

During the debate in 1917 to grant presidential suffrage, Representative Luigi De Pasquale of Providence declared that he was against woman suffrage "first, last, and all the time. I honestly believe the place for women is in the home and not intermingling with the men in the political arena... I contend that women have no place in politics."⁴⁹

"All the time" did not last for all time because he later voted to ratify the 19th Amendment. While he appeared adamant in 1917, when the final vote came in 1920, he voted for woman suffrage. Rhode Island ratified the suffrage amendment on the first day of the new legislative session, ending a more than half century struggle.

Who were the anti-suffragists? Unfortunately, other than the names of a small number of leaders willing to break silence and anonymity, the rank and file are unknown. In 1914 the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage claimed to have enrolled 1200 in twelve days at the annual food fair of the Butchers, Grocers and Marketmen's Association, but no list has been found.⁵⁰ All that remains are the names of eighteen women appearing in the newspapers during the period from 1907 to 1917.⁵¹

The "Antis" in Rhode Island form a vigorous organization, and has among its leaders some of the wealthiest women of the State. In fact the personnel of its membership is composed largely of those who have found existing conditions of society so favorable to their personal interests that they are adverse to any change. Some of them are very excellent and useful members of society in many particulars, but they show an astonishing moral obliquity when it comes to anti-suffrage propaganda. Mrs. George is their chief advocate at the suffrage hearings before legislative committees.

The Suffrage organization has a booth at the annual food-fair in Providence, where it circulates literature and obtains members.

This has provoked similar endeavors on the part of the "Antis," and on such occasions they distribute leaflets containing the same misleading and false statements that characterize their publication everywhere. It is difficult to counteract their pernicious activities.

As seen in this excerpt from a woman suffrage history, suffragists had strong feelings about the work of organized anti-suffragists in the state. Agnes Jenks, "A Brief History of Woman Suffrage in Rhode Island" [1916], p. 4, The Records Of The League Of Women Voters of Rhode Island, Mss 21, Box 1, Folder 1. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Most of these women were from the fashionable social set, married to wealthy men or from wealth themselves. Only two, Mrs. Lucy T. H. Miller (1856-1937), a voice and music teacher,⁵² and Dr. Mary Pauline Root (1859-1944), a physician and former missionary, had paying occupations.⁵³ Miller's husband was a banker and broker, and they lived on the East Side in Providence. Dr. Root's father owned one of the largest stove and tinware stores in downtown Providence, had served several terms in the General Assembly, was the president of the Roger Williams Building and Loan Association, and was an executive committee member of the Old Colony Co-operative Bank. Most of the other women were involved in many philanthropic, civic, and social enterprises, but were supported by their husbands or family wealth in homes with live-in servants.

Thirteen were born between 1856 and 1862. All were Protestants: nine Episcopalians, five Congregationalists, three Baptists, and one Unitarian. Fathers and other male relatives often were office holders or served on state and local commissions and boards. All came from Republican families, and many were members of those patriotic, ancestral societies formed in the 1890s—the Daughters of the American Revolution (1890), Society of Colonial Dames (1890) and the Mayflower Society (1897). The names of Hazard, Hoppin, Lippitt, Metcalf, and Coggeshall indicated that these women were members of some of the most prominent families of Rhode Island. Two of the women, Harriet Fowler (1860-1932) and Katherine Margaret Harkness (1861-1953), were

wives of well-known Brown University professors who were chairmen of their respective departments in their careers.⁵⁴

Margaret Barbara Farnham (1861-1940) married former Governor Charles Warren Lippitt. The Lippitts were a powerful economic and political family as Charles' father Henry Lippitt was governor (1875-1877) and his brother Henry F. Lippitt became U.S. Senator (1911-1917).⁵⁵ The Lippitt fortune was made in textiles and banking. Today, one of Providence's grand mansions is the Henry Lippitt House Museum on Hope Street.

Margaret's family was also notable. Her father Alexander Farnham was an early president of the Rhode Island Trust Company and one of the founders of the Providence Public Library. Her grandfather John Holden Ormsbee was a clipper ship captain and bank and insurance company president. Margaret was descended from Roger Williams, Chad Brown, Thomas Olney, Benjamin Church of King Philip's War fame, and Richard Warren of the *Mayflower*. She was a leader in the DAR, serving as State Regent 1901-1905, 1907-1911, regent of Gaspee Chapter, founder in 1910 of the Independence Chapter and was its second regent. She was also a member of the Colonial Dames, American Flag Association, Society of Mayflower Descendants, Rhode Island Historical Society, and Newport Historical Society. In the 1920s she became a chairman of the executive committee of the Rhode Island Branch of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, which worked to repeal the prohibition amendment to the Constitution.⁵⁶



Dr. Mary Pauline Root was affiliated with the anti-suffragist cause in Rhode Island. Born in Providence, she was a graduate of Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, served as a medical missionary overseas, and worked for the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Photograph, New Mexico, 1920. Mary Pauline Root Papers, ACC257, LEGACY CENTER ARCHIVES, DREXEL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF MEDICINE.

Esther Pierce Metcalf (1860-1925) also came from an old Rhode Island family; she was a descendent of Roger Williams as well as Governor William Bradford of Plymouth. Her father was George Augustus Pierce, a physician, and she married great wealth in the person of Stephen O. Metcalf. He had inherited the Wanskuck Company that owned the Wanskuck Mill which was described as "one of the outstanding woolen fabric industries in the United States."⁵⁷ Metcalf had his fingers in a host of business enterprises, railroads, and at least five insurance companies. He was elected to the board of directors of the Providence Journal Company in 1890 and served for sixty years and president of the company for thirty-six years. Esther contributed to many charities and created a fund for the Crawford Allen Hospital at Potowomut, a unit of the Rhode Island Hospital for the care of crippled children, which allowed it to stay open all year round.⁵⁸

Louise C. Hoppin (1858-1959) was an eighth generation descendant of settlers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and was part of the well-connected Hoppin family. Her grandfather, Thomas Coles Hoppin and his brother Benjamin established the family fortune with their wholesale and retail business in Providence and through the West India and China trade. Louise Hoppin's grandmother Harriet Hoppin was a daughter of Governor William Jones. Her father, Dr. Washington Hoppin, one of twelve offspring of the marriage of Thomas and Harriet, was a founder of the Rhode Island Homeopathic Medical Society in 1854. Her aunt Anna married Governor Elisha Dyer, and her uncle Francis married a daughter of Governor and then Senator Henry Bowen Anthony. In addition, her cousin William Warner Hoppin was elected governor in 1854, 1855, and 1856. Louise was the secretary for the Providence YWCA for eleven years at the

turn of the century and was a founder and later secretary of the Providence chapter of the Red Cross from 1917 to 1934 and the secretary for the Rhode Island Society for Collegiate Education of Women for many years. She lived with family members until the mid-1920s and always had servants in the household. For the last thirty or more years, she lived at the Minden, a residential hotel on Waterman Street. In her lifetime, she made nine voyages to Europe.⁵⁹

Another anti-suffrage woman who came from wealth and married wealth was Alice Knight Sturgis (1859-1930). She was the daughter of Benjamin Brayton Knight who with his brother Robert created the world's largest textile empire in B.B. & R. Knight. They eventually owned nineteen mills in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, including fifteen mill villages employing thousands of workers, and their trademark, "Fruit of the Loom," was world famous. In 1875 Alice married Howard O. Sturgis of the firm of Sturgis & Gammell, agents for the Berkeley textile mill. Howard became the owner of several textile mills and was on the board of directors of four fire insurance companies. In addition he served on the Providence Common Council for two years, and was a director of the Rhode Island School of Design. The son of Alice and Howard Sturgis married Ruth Hazard, the daughter of Rowland G. and Mary P. B. Hazard. When Alice Sturgis died, James DeWolf Perry, the bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island, presided at her funeral.⁶⁰

Being anti-suffragist had become a family affair for the Hazards. The first Roland Gibson Hazard (1801-1888) supported woman suffrage and signed the call for the convention to create the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association in 1868, but his son and daughter-in-law became staunch opponents.⁶¹ Mary Pierrepont Bushnell (1856-1936)

married great wealth by becoming the wife of Rowland Gibson Hazard II, the president of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, the Narragansett Pier Rail Road, and the Solvey Process Company which later became part of the Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation.⁶²

Mary's sister-in-law, Helen Hazard Bacon (1862-1925), was Rowland's sister. Helen married Nathaniel Terry Bacon, an engineer and chemist, who had become associated with the Hazards in the Solvey Process Company and had moved to Rhode Island after marrying into the family. He helped to manage the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company and became the president of the Narragansett Pier Rail Road from 1915 to 1924. They lived in a mansion with three or four live-in servants.⁶³

Another relative was Mary Merrill (1854-1933), a sister-in-law to Mary P. B. Hazard. Mary Merrill was the daughter of a prominent businessman, banker, and paper manufacturer in Beloit, Wisconsin, and she came to Peace Dale to visit her sister Eliza Bushnell who was married to Mary P. B. Hazard's brother George S. Bushnell. She remained at Peace Dale the rest of her life.⁶⁴

Anti-suffragist Cora Estelle Holland (1874-1962), was distantly related by marriage to the Hazard family, and was a neighbor in Peace Dale. Her husband, Elisha Holland, was a tenth generation descendent of the Rodman and Carpenter families of Narragansett. Although Cora and Elisha Holland were not wealthy, he engaged in "general farming" and taught music in the schools in Narragansett and Peace Dale. Both were buried in the Oak Dell Cemetery where the Hazards were laid to rest.⁶⁵

Alice M. Johnson (1860-1944) was the daughter of Albert E. Adams who served in the Civil War and died in 1867 from tuberculosis which he probably contracted in the army. As a result Alice was raised by her grandparents. Her grandfather, John A. Adams, was president of Stafford Manufacturing Company, producing cotton yarn in Central Falls. He was also a director of the Equitable Fire & Marine Insurance Company. Alice's husband was Albert E. Johnson, many years the treasurer of Ballou, Johnson & Nichols Company, wholesale dealers in wooden, tin, and glassware in Providence. Alice was a charter member of the Rhode Island Society of Mayflower Descendants, served as secretary for many years of the National Society of Colonial Dames in Rhode Island, and was a life member of the DAR. In 1904 she was one of the founders and incorporators of



Helen Hazard Bacon was an ardent anti-suffragist. In this undated family photograph, she is shown, seated, next to her son Leonard Bacon and grandchild. Her daughter-in-law, Martha Stringham Bacon, and her husband Nathaniel Terry Bacon, are standing. Box 124, Folder 2, Nathaniel Terry Bacon Papers, JAMES P. ADAMS LIBRARY, RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE.

Churchill House, built to be a meeting place for clubwomen. She was the first and only president of Churchill House for thirty-five years. Ironically, Churchill House was where the women suffragists often met, and it was named in honor of Elizabeth Kittredge Churchill who was an early suffragist in Rhode Island.⁶⁶

Another daughter of a textile manufacturer was Alice Wheaton Adams (1859-1926), daughter of Benjamin B. Adams, a partner in Amos D. Smith & Company, manufacturers of wool and cotton textiles. Benjamin had served in the Rhode Island General Assembly and was a member of the committee that built St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in 1862. Although her father died in 1898, Alice Adams lived comfortably with live-in servants until her death in 1926.⁶⁷

Clara Maine (1858-1941) was the wife of Herbert E. Maine, a successful businessman in Providence. She was always described in the censuses as "keeping house," but she

"Peace Dale, R. I., April 17, 1914.

"Dear Sir—The suffragists of Rhode Island have advertised as a part of their campaign during the week beginning April 26, the decoration of stores, hotels and restaurants in the suffrage colors.

"In case you have been approached in this matter, we desire to call your attention to the fact that such procedure on your part will antagonize a large number of your customers.

"The Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage numbers nearly 3,500 women of the class most valuable as purchasers, being largely composed of home-keeping women and housekeepers.

"We think you may like to be aware of the fact that suffragists, though so much in evidence, are very far from being a majority of Rhode Island Women.

"Yours truly,

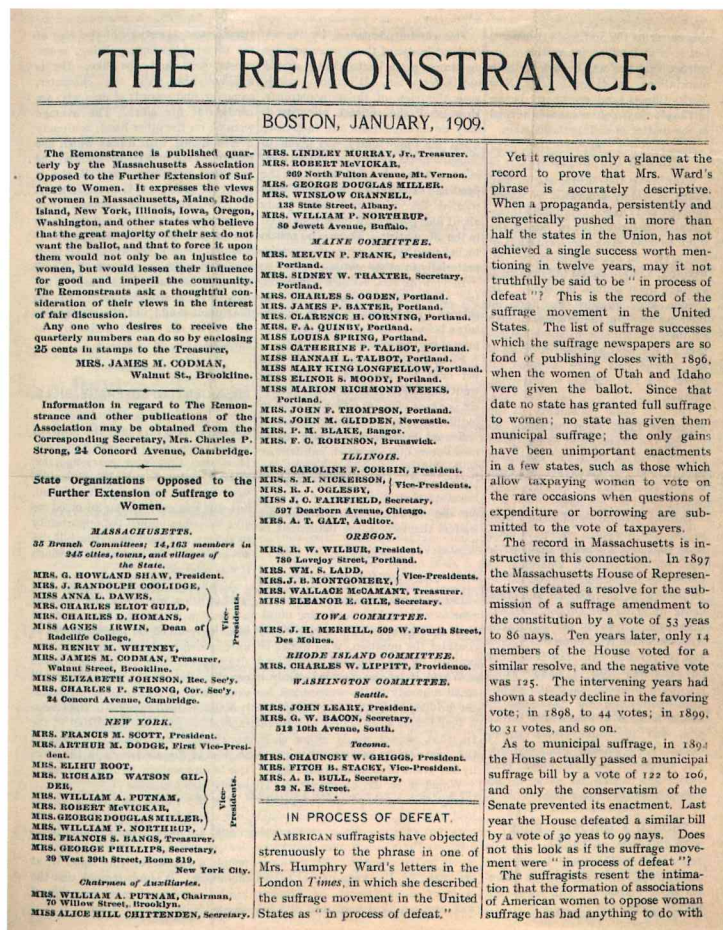
"MARY P. B. HAZARD,
"LOUISE C. HOPPIN,
"K. M. HARKNESS,
"J. COGGESHALL,
"CLARA E. MAINE."

had servants from the time she married Herbert in 1897 until she died in 1941 at her summer home in Bristol. There was always a cook and at least one more—a "waitress," "servant," or "chauffeur." Herbert was born in North Stonington, Connecticut, came to Providence in 1870, and joined with his brother-in-law Benjamin F. Arnold in the firm of Arnold & Maine, a wholesale and retail grocery business. They prospered, named their firm the New England Grocery Store and expanded into Pawtucket and Worcester. Clara and Herbert lived at 49 Angell Street and were members of the Cranston Street-Roger Williams Baptist Church where Herbert was a deacon for many years and Sunday school superintendent for ten years.⁶⁸

Helen A. Blumer (1861-1937) was the daughter of J. Thomas Spriggs, a lawyer and member of Congress from Utica, New York. She married Dr. G. Alder Blumer in 1886 while he was the superintendent of the New York State Hospital in Utica. They moved to Providence when Dr. Blumer became physician-in-chief and superintendent of Butler Hospital. Her husband was a nationally known psychiatrist and served as secretary of RISD, president and director of the Providence Athenaeum, president of the University Club, and a director of Swan Point Cemetery. She oversaw their household on Blackstone Boulevard which included the family and two live-in maids.⁶⁹

The oldest member of the group was Hannah A. Coggeshall (1839-1921), the daughter of Andrew Aldrich Angell, a prosperous farmer in Scituate, a descendant of Thomas Angell who settled Providence with Roger Williams

In 1914, R. I. anti-suffragists protested "Votes for Women Week" organized by woman suffragists in a letter of protest to Rhode Island merchants. Printed in Sara Algeo, *The Story of a Sub-Pioneer* (Providence, R.I.: Snow and Farnham Co., 1925), 197.



Massachusetts anti-suffragists, with whom Rhode Island anti-suffragists were aligned before forming their own organization, produced a publication, *The Remonstrance*. Quarterly publication of *Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women*. Boston, Massachusetts, Jan-09, 1909. Periodical. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbcmiller001235/>.

in 1636. One of her brothers, James Burrill Angell was a Brown professor and editor of the *Providence Journal* before becoming president of the University of Michigan (1871-1909). Hannah Angell married James Haydon Coggeshall, a businessman and merchant, in 1861. He was a member of the Providence Common Council (1860-1866), an alderman (1866-1872), and then the U.S. Marshal for Providence from 1871 to 1878. Hannah became deeply involved in Episcopal church activities. She was a long-time member of St. Stephen's Church where she was president of the parish board, was the honorary vice president of St. Elizabeth's Home and a member of the auxiliary of the Episcopal diocese.⁷⁰

At age 32 in 1915, the youngest anti-suffragist was Kathryn Cocroft (1883-1968). She was the daughter of an Episcopalian clergyman, Thomas H. Cocroft, who had been the rector of the Church of the Messiah in Olneyville (1884-1897). In 1920, she married Charles J. Harriman who was also an Episcopal priest, and they moved to Philadelphia by 1923. She and her husband were well enough fixed that they had three children and a live-in servant in 1930.⁷¹

These women tried to be "true" women even as they were drawn into the public arena to defend what they conceived to be the Woman's Sphere. Only Dr. Root, Alice Adams, and Louise Hoppin never married. Root spent several years of marriageable age as a medical missionary in India and traveling around in the United States lecturing about her mission work. Then she devoted herself to caring for her aged father. Hoppin immersed herself in club and community work. All of the other anti-suffragists married and had children. Mrs. Hazard had the most tragic experience with her six offspring: one died at childbirth, three (two sons and a daughter) died within one week from scarlet fever, and a third son died of his wounds in World War I. Their view of the Woman's Sphere included charity and generosity, and the lives of many of these women were filled with philanthropic, benevolent, and religious activities. They took seriously the concept of the "Better Half." They lost the fight to prevent woman suffrage, but it is interesting that not one word about their opposition appeared in any later account of their lives.

Those whose names we know were clearly privileged, mostly wealthy women, but one wonders about those 1200 women who signed up in 1914. Who were they, and what prompted them to join the anti-suffrage effort? The Antis



Many drawings and cartoons in the 1900-1920 era made fun of women anti-suffragists and suffragists. Rogers, W. A. "O Save Us, Senators, From Ourselves!" 1907. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, 2-23-0:00. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbcmiller001806/>.



This 1915 cartoon offers a twist on a popular song, "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier." ("I did not raise my girl to be a voter." Soprano solo with vociferous supporting chorus of male voices. 1915. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002720392/>).

did not have an organization in Rhode Island until 1911, and aside from letters to the editors of local newspapers and appearing before legislative committees from time to time, there was little evidence of their activity. Until they seized upon the immigrant vote, the local Antis never expressed an idea that they had not borrowed from the anti-suffragists in Massachusetts and New York. While they thought that woman suffrage was a bad idea, they were not alarmed enough to become organized until fairly late in the struggle. After 1910, the national suffrage movement gained momentum and began winning in state after state, and only then were the Rhode Island anti-suffragists driven to organize to try to stop it. It was too little too late.



Some cartoons, like this 1915 one, depicted the anti-suffragist as having a "vision" of her duty." Cartoon, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3b49097/> Just like Joan of Arc. The anti-suffragist has a "vision" of her duty. 1915. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002720393/>.

Endnotes

- 1 See notice: "House of Representatives," *Providence Daily Journal* (February 27, 1869), 2.
- 2 Quoted in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. II, 1861-1876 (Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Mann, 1887), 816.
- 3 The list of anti-suffrage men had 107 names. These included 31 lawyers, 20 manufacturers and corporation executives, 6 bankers, 3 men associated with Brown & Ives, 8 real estate and insurance agents and executives, 8 clergymen, a number of merchants, architects, and other occupations. The anti clergymen included the current and a former pastor of the First Baptist Church and the rectors of St. John's Episcopal Cathedral, Grace Episcopal Church, St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, and St. James Episcopal Church, and the pastors of the Central Congregational and Beneficent Congregational Churches. "To the Voters of Rhode Island," *Providence Daily Journal* (April 4, 1887), 1. The pro-suffrage list had 100 names. They included 17 lawyers, 13 clergymen, 14 jewelers and manufacturers, 8 merchants, 4 bankers and brokers, 3 physicians, 3 bookkeepers, 7 farmers, and a scattering of occupations, such as policeman, judge, painter, printer, carpenter, die sinker, tool maker, and so forth. The pastors were mostly from less prestigious churches, such as the Church of the Yahweh, the Park Street Baptist Church, and the Olney Street Unitarian Church. The most significant pro-suffrage figure was Marsden J. Perry: director of Bank of America and the Union Trust Company, owner of the Narragansett Electric Lighting Co. and the Union Railway Co., owner of John Brown House. "Something Else for the Voters of Rhode Island," *Ibid.* (April 5, 1887), 1.
- 4 Sara M. Algeo, *The Story of a Sub-Pioneer* (Providence: Snow & Farnham, Co., 1925), 85. Sara Algeo was an organizer of the College Equal Suffrage League of Rhode Island in 1907, president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party in 1917, and the first president of the Providence League of Women Voters in 1919.
- 5 Editorial, "Woman Suffrage," *Providence Daily Journal* (April 7, 1887), 4.
- 6 Algeo, *Sub-Pioneer*, 104.
- 7 The name was changed in 1908 to the New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. For the history of the New York organization, see: Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: the New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013).
- 8 Manuela Thurner, "Better Citizens without the Ballot: American Anti-Suffragists and their Rationale during the Progressive Era," in Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale, Oregon: New Sage Press, 1995), 206.
- 9 Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," in Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1978), 21-41. Another term is "The Cult of Domesticity." See: Aileen S. Kraditor, ed., *Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1968), 10.
- 10 Kraditor argued that the concern for social stability motivated much of the conservative opposition to the entire women's rights movement, especially woman suffrage. See: Kraditor, *Up From the Pedestal*, 12-13.

- 11 Over seventy years later, Cardinal James Gibbons warned that getting involved in politics, even to the extent of voting would "unsex" women, making them "mannish." He wrote, "The insistence on a right to participate in active political life is undoubtedly calculated to rob women of their grace of character and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and effrontery." He said, "I regard 'woman's rights' women and the leaders of the new school of female progress as the worst enemies of the female sex." "Gibbons Arouses Suffragists," *Providence Daily Journal* (November 28, 1910), 11; "Cardinal Gibbons Opposes Suffrage." *Ibid.* (December 8, 1916), 1. Gibbons (1934-1921) was 9th Archbishop of Baltimore from 1877 to 1921. He was an advocate of labor and labor unions and played a key role in convincing the Pope to allow workers to join unions.
- 12 True women were "ladies." The word "woman" was applied to servants, inferiors, and lower-class women. The respectable, dominant women's magazines of the 19th century had titles such as *Godey's Lady's Book*, and *Ladies Magazine*, and *Ladies Home Journal*. When *The Woman's Journal*, the organ of the women's rights reformers, was begun in 1870, it bore a radical title.
- 13 UNA, "A Word to the Contented and Discontented Woman," *Providence Daily Journal* (November 1, 1869), 1. The italics are in the original.
- 14 Sarah Cooper, "Woman Suffrage - Cui Bono?" *Overland Monthly* 8 (1872), quoted by Higgins, "Adulterous Individualism," 193.
- 15 Andrew A. Sinclair, *The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 254.
- 16 Lisa Cochran Higgins, "Adulterous Individualism, Socialism and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Anti-Suffrage Writing," *Legacy* 21 (2004): 193-209.
- 17 Celia Morris, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); William Randall Waterman, *Frances Wright* (New York: AMS Press, 1967).
- 18 Fourier advocated free love as well, but his American interpreters omitted that aspect in their writings.
- 19 Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966); Jonathan Beecher, Paul Avrich, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and his World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).
- 20 Victoria Woodhull's life is an incredible story. Born in poverty in frontier Ohio to an illiterate mother and a humbug of a father who was a snake oil salesman, she and her sister Tennessee scammed and slept their way to becoming the first female stockbrokers on Wall Street with the help of Cornelius Vanderbilt. In 1870 they began publishing the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* to promote Victoria's run for the presidency. She was the first woman to testify before a congressional committee, and then in 1872 launched her campaign for president of the United States (despite the fact that she was not yet 35 years old, as required by the Constitution). In mid-1872 *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* exposed the sordid, adulterous affair of Henry Ward Beecher and the wife of Theodore Tilton, members of Beecher's church. In 1877, after the death of Cornelius Vanderbilt, William Henry Vanderbilt paid the two sisters to leave the country, and they moved to England. There Victoria married a wealthy banker named John B. Martin and lived out her life in luxury in the country. The books written about Victoria and Tennessee include Myra MacPherson, *The Scarlet Sisters: Sex, Suffrage, and Scandal in the Gilded Age* (New York: Twelve Publishing Co., 2014); Barbara Goldsmith, *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull* (New York: Harper Perennial Books, 1998); Mary Gabriel, *Notorious Victoria: The Life of Victoria Woodhull Uncensored* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1996).
- 21 Quoted in Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 3rd edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 322. The National Woman Suffrage Association ruptured in 1869 over the opposition of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the 15th Amendment which enfranchised African-American men. Paulina Wright Davis sided with Anthony and Stanton while most Rhode Island suffragists, led by Elizabeth Buffum Chace supported the amendment and affiliated with the American Woman Suffrage Association under the leadership of Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and others.
- 22 "A Speech on the Principles of Social Freedom delivered in Steinway Hall, Monday, Nov. 20, 1871 by Victoria C. Woodhull" (New York: Woodhull, Claflin & Co., 1871), 23, reprinted in *Victoria Woodhull Reader*, Madeline B. Stern, Paul Avrich Collection (Weston, Massachusetts: M & S. Press, 1974).
- 23 Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 330.
- 24 "Vigorously Opposes Woman Suffrage," *Providence Daily Journal* (March 24, 1907), 8; "Both Sides of Woman's Suffrage," *Providence Sunday Journal* (January 14, 1912), 20. The pro-suffrage response was to point out that the men's vote in school elections was equally tiny, but where women had full suffrage, over 60 percent of the women voted. Letters to the Editor, "Woman Suffrage Arguments," *Providence Daily Journal* (March 31, 1907), 19.
- 25 "Vigorously Opposes Woman Suffrage." *Ibid.* (March 24, 1907), 8. In the absence of a Rhode Island organization these statements were sent to Rhode Island by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.
- 26 "General Assembly Begins 12th Week." *Ibid.* (March 18, 1907), 2.

- 27 "Women At Odds In Argument of Voting Powers," *Providence Evening Bulletin* (March 19, 1907), 7; "Women Oppose Bill to Give Them Vote," *Providence Daily Journal* (March 20, 1907), 9.
- 28 "Woman Suffrage Bill Killed," *Providence Daily Journal* (April 11, 1907), 3.
- 29 [Headlines] "Woman Suffrage Act Shelved in the House" "Indefinite Postponement is Voted with Unanimity." "No Voice Raised for it." Ibid. (March 17, 1909), 6.
- 30 "Carrie's Hatchet in New Fields." Ibid. (January 17, 1909), 39; Editorial page, "Topics of the Day," Ibid. (March 15, 1909), 8.
- 31 "A Woman Voter." Ibid. (January 25, 1909), 6.
- 32 The Letter Box: Mary Hazard, "The Suffrage Movement." Ibid. (November 17, 1912), 10.
- 33 The Letter Box: Mary Hazard, "Women and Equality." Ibid. (November 22, 1912), 10.
- 34 "Only Women Fight Bill for Suffrage: Men Missing at Hearing on Act Pending Before Assembly." Ibid. (February 14, 1914), 3.
- 35 Letters to the Editor: "Two Views of Suffrage Victory in New York." Ibid. (November 25, 1917), 23. Another result of the New York suffrage victory was the transformation of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (also founded in 1911) into a militant anti-radical organization and the change of its organ from the *Woman's Protest* to *Woman Patriot*. It explicitly charged woman suffrage with being pro-German, and promoting Bolshevism, feminism (free love), and pacifism. Kristy Maddox, "When Patriots Protest: The Anti-Suffrage Discursive Transformation of 1917," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* (January 1, 2004), 7: 285.
- 36 "Both Sides of Woman's Suffrage," *Providence Sunday Journal* (January 21, 1912), 30.
- 37 "Only Women Fight Bill for Suffrage," Ibid. (February 14, 1914), 3.
- 38 George Kellner and J. Stanley Lemons, *Rhode Island: The Ocean State* (Sun Valley, Calif.: American Historical Press, 2004), 76. Paradoxically, the men (some of whom were husbands of the Antis) who owned the textile mills and other industries welcomed immigrants and opposed efforts to limit immigration.
- 39 A clear example of this view was stated in 1871 by Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, wife of Admiral John Dahlgren, when she was invited to appear in an open session of the National Woman Suffrage Association to debate the issue of suffrage. She declined, saying, "We would remind you that in the very fact of soliciting us to 'hold debate' on a public platform on this or any other question, you entirely ignore the principle that ourselves and our friends seek to defend, viz. the preservation of female modesty." Stanton, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 2: 495.
- 40 Letters to the Editor: "Woman Suffrage – Some Considerations on the Negative Side," *Providence Daily Journal* (March 3, 1871), 1.
- 41 "Vigorously Opposes Woman Suffrage." Ibid. (March 24, 1907), 8.
- 42 Letter to the Editor, An Anti-Suffrage Woman, "A Woman's Objection to Suffrage," *Providence Sunday Journal* (March 14, 1909), 17.
- 43 Letters to the Editor, An Anti-Suffrage Woman, Votes Against Women." Ibid. (March 28, 1909), 17.
- 44 "Both Sides of Woman's Suffrage," *Providence Sunday Journal* (January 21, 1912), 30.
- 45 "Both Sides of Woman's Suffrage." Ibid. (January 14, 1912), 20.
- 46 "Feminist" was a new term that came into usage in the United States around 1910. For those who called themselves "feminists," the goal was social revolution and complete freedom for women. For conservatives such as Mary Hazard, "feminist" meant the horrors of social revolution. About the origin and meaning of "feminist," see: Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 14-16.
- 47 Letters to the Editor: Mary P. B. Hazard, "Equal Suffrage," *Providence Daily Journal* (March 1, 1914), 17.
- 48 "Ministers to Speak on 'Votes for Women.'" Ibid. (April 16, 1914), 9; "Preachers Discuss Feminine Suffrage: Pastors Speak Cautiously." Ibid. (April 27, 1914), 9.
- 49 "R. I. House Concurs in Passage of Woman Suffrage Bill" "Rhode Island Women Given Right to Vote for President in 1920: House 71-20, Concurs with Senate in Extending Suffrage." Ibid. (April 18, 1917), 1, 3.
- 50 "Only Women Fight Bill for Suffrage." Ibid. (February 14, 1914), 3. Because the suffragists had a booth at the food fair, the anti-suffragists also opened a booth to enroll women in their cause. Dr. Mary Pauline Root and Harriet Cocroft staffed the booth in 1916. See reports of these fairs and the dueling booths: "3000 At Opening of Pure Food Fair." Ibid. (February 15, 1916), 4; "Record Gathering Visits Food Fair" Ibid. (February 16, 1916), 7; "Food Fair Opens: Propagandists Also There: Suffrage and Anti-Suffragist Associations." Ibid. (February 19, 1917), 14.

- 51 The search to discover the identity of even these few was made harder by the newspapers' misnaming two of them. "Mrs. Elisha Howland" was actually Mrs. Cora Estelle Holland, and "Mrs. M. I. Merrill" was Miss Mary Isabella Merrill. Searching census, cemetery, and city directory records for the wrong name or the wrong gender was a trial.
- 52 Lucy Thurber Hagan Miller was the wife of William Brown Martin Miller, a banker and broker who died in 1900. She was described as a voice and music teacher in the city directories, passport application, and U.S. Census from the 1890s to 1930. She died of "senile dementia and arteriosclerosis." (R. I. Death Record).
- 53 Mary Pauline Root, having graduated from Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, was a medical missionary in India at the Madura Hospital from 1885 to 1896. Returning to Providence, she became a practicing physician in the city for many years. She died in 1944 in South Bristol, Maine and was buried there.
- 54 "Harriet Fowler Dead At Harmony." *Providence Daily Journal* (February 11, 1932), 20; "Prof. Henry Thatcher Fowler, 80, Biblical Scholar, Dies at Harmony." Ibid. (January 24, 1948); "Professor Albert G. Harkness of Brown University Dead." Ibid. (January 30, 1923), 2; Parish Register, First Baptist Church in America.
- 55 The legacy continued: John Chafee and Lincoln Chafee are descendants of Henry Lippitt.
- 56 "Mrs. C. W. Lippitt, Dead In 80th Year." *Providence Journal* (January 3, 1940), 11; "Charles W. Lippitt Dead In 78th Year." Ibid. (April 5, 1924), 1, 4; "Obituary: John Holden Ormsbee." Ibid. (September 6, 1860), 2.
- 57 "Stephen O. Metcalf Dead in 94th Year," Ibid. (September 28, 1950), 1.
- 58 "Mrs. Stephen S. O. Metcalf Dead After Being Ill Three Months," Ibid. (March 31, 1925), 3.
- 59 "Miss Louise C. Hoppin, 100, Red Cross Founder, Dies." Ibid. (September 18, 1959), 30; U. S. Census, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920. Providence City Directory, 1928 – 1958. Regarding the Hoppin family, see: *Representative Men and Old Families of Rhode Island*, 3 vols., (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co, 1908), 1: 8-10, 87.
- 60 "Service Friday For Mrs. Sturgis," *Providence Journal* (December 17, 1930), 2; "Howard O. Sturgis Dead At Bar Harbor, In 76th Year," Ibid. (July 6, 1920), 1, 2.
- 61 See list of names endorsing the call for the convention to meet December 11, 1868, *Providence Daily Journal* (December 8, 1868), 3.
- 62 "Rowland G. Hazard Dies Suddenly In Santa Barbara, Cal." Ibid. (January 24, 1918), 2; also see: Mrs. R. G. Hazard Rites Tomorrow." Ibid. (April 9, 1936), 9; U.S. Census (1900, 1910, 1920).
- 63 "Mrs. N. T. Bacon, Peace Dale, Dead," *Providence Daily Journal* (October 27, 1925), 4; Biographical notes in the Bacon Family Papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society.
- 64 "Miss Mary Merrill Dead in Peace Dale," *Providence Journal* (January 8, 1933), 6.
- 65 "Mrs. Elisha Holland." Ibid. (July 11, 1962), 28; "Elisha Holland." Ibid. (April 14, 1943), 2; U.S. Census, 1920, 1930, 1940.
- 66 "Mrs. E. L. Johnson, Clubwoman, Dies." *Providence Journal* (March 30, 1944), 6; "Obituary: Edward L. Johnson." Ibid. (September 26, 1914), 10. The Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association announced that Elizabeth Churchill was its "regularly appointed agent...who is ready to lecture on the Woman Question." Letter to the Editor, *Providence Daily Journal* (December 11, 1869), 3.
- 67 Alice Adams, U. S. Census (1910, 1920); Death notice: *Providence Journal* (November 23, 1926), 3; U.S. Census 1880; Obituary: "Benjamin B. Adams." *Providence Journal* (January 22, 1898), 2. Report of his funeral: "Benjamin B. Adams." Ibid. (January 24, 1898), 2.
- 68 U. S. Census 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940; "Former Grocer and Prominent Churchman Dead of Heart Disease in 77th Year." *Providence Journal* (November 13, 1925), 26. Death notice. Ibid. (August 20, 1941), 10.
- 69 "Mrs. G. A. Blumer Dead In 77th Year." Ibid. (August 6, 1937), 17; "Helen S. Blumer Buried." Ibid. (August 8, 1937), 12; "Head of Butler Hospital and Prominent Psychiatrist." Ibid. (April 26, 1940), 7. U. S. Census, 1920, 1930.
- 70 "Mrs. Hannah A. Coggeshall Dead After Short Illness," *Providence Journal* (June 30, 1921), 3; regarding James H. Coggeshall, see: *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence: Brown University, 1914), 144.
- 71 U.S. Census (1920, 1930); Providence City Directory (1902-1916); Find a Grave Index. Regarding her father, see: "Rev. Mr. Cocroft's Death," *Providence Journal* (June 5, 1897), 8; "Impressive Services," Ibid. (June 8, 1897), 8.