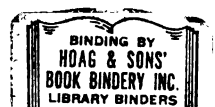


DETROIT DAILY NEWSPAPER
NEWS COVERAGE AND EDITORIAL
INTERPRETATION OF WOMAN'S
SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN 1912

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
LINDA GAUGER RYDEN
1971



H 740

~~APR 31 1975~~ 114

~~MM 7 175~~ 127

NOV 13 1999

~~MM 10 75~~ 155

~~DEC 10 77~~ 175

~~APR 10 1975~~ 174

~~5824~~
~~1618444~~

JUN 14 1999

MAGIC 2

NOV 3 1998

JAN 1 2000

ABSTRACT

DETROIT DAILY NEWSPAPER NEWS COVERAGE AND EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN 1912

By

Linda Gauger Ryden

In a democratic, self-governing society, it is the role of the free press to maintain an informed citizenry by disseminating the facts and editorial opinions on all matters of public concern. The present study was undertaken to evaluate the news reportage and editorial interpretation of the campaign activities, the ideological issues, and the outside forces involved in the 1912 Michigan woman's suffrage campaign. The 1912 Michigan campaign was unique among the many state suffrage campaigns because late-breaking election returns reversed the initial suffrage victory three weeks after election day. This campaign was also representative of the many non-violent, non-sensational campaigns American suffragists had conducted to effect legislative change and the forces of opposition they had encountered.

The Detroit daily newspapers--the Detroit Free Press, the Detroit Journal, the Detroit News and the Detroit Times--were chosen as the primary research sources because woman suffrage historians recorded that the 1912 victory reversal was caused, in part, by election fraud in thirteen populous Detroit precincts. All the news stories and editorials on woman's suffrage that were carried by the four Detroit daily newspapers were examined and compared in the pre-election period from October 17, 1912 to November 5, 1912 and in the post-election period from November 5, 1912 to November 29, 1912.

In this analysis, two main factors were considered: (1) the performance of the Detroit daily newspapers in exposing any unfair tactics in the 1912 campaign, (2) their news and editorial coverage of the campaign activities and issues. The Detroit dailies were evaluated according to the standards of press performance suggested by the Commission on Freedom of the Press and the Canons of Journalism. The author also compared the Detroit dailies' assessment of the anti-suffrage forces to those of the Michigan suffragists that were found in their unpublished reports and letters. Other research material consulted were woman suffrage histories and United States Senate documents.

The secondary resources provided evidence that the Michigan liquor interests had contributed greatly to the defeat of the woman's suffrage amendment by their fraudulent

Linda Gauger Ryden

activities in the Detroit precincts. The author's analysis of the Detroit daily newspress suggested that none of the dailies adequately informed their readers that the liquor interests were a potent, active, and unscrupulous anti-suffrage force. The news and editorial coverage of the campaign activities and issues was spotty, inconsistent, and slanted.

The study concluded that the lethargy of the Detroit newspress was caused by their indifference to news of public affairs and their fear of moneyed, big business.

DETROIT DAILY NEWSPAPER NEWS COVERAGE
AND EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION OF
WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN 1912

By

Linda Gauger Ryden

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

School of Journalism

1971

281743

Copyright by
LINDA GAUGER RYDEN
1971

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism,
College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master
of Arts degree.

W. Cameron Meyers

Director of Thesis

To Robert who has allowed me the equal
rights and intellectual freedom the Michigan
suffragists of 1912 fought for.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Frank Senger, chairman of the School of Journalism, for his continual encouragement and personal interest in my progress throughout my graduate program.

I would like to thank W. C. Meyers, associate professor of journalism and my thesis director, for his guidance and excellent critique of this study. His knowledge and emphasis of all aspects of scholarly method was invaluable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. ROLE OF THE PRESS AS INFORMER ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS	1
Significance of the Michigan Woman's Suffrage Campaign of 1912	1
Role of a Free Press	14
The Study	20
Brief History of Detroit Daily Newspapers . .	22
Standards of a Free Press	25
II. MICHIGAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN OF 1912 . . .	31
News Reportage of Campaign Activities by Detroit Daily Newspapers	33
News Reportage of Anti-Suffrage Activities .	61
III. ISSUES IN THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN	76
News Reportage of the Issues in the Campaign for Woman's Suffrage by the Detroit Daily Newspapers	78
Editorials on Woman's Suffrage Campaign By Detroit Daily Newspapers	92
IV. TEMPORARY VICTORY OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN MICHIGAN	103
News Reportage of Victory by Detroit Daily Newspapers	105
Editorials on Woman's Suffrage Victory By Detroit Daily Newspapers	139
V. DEFEAT OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN MICHIGAN	148
News Reportage of Victory Reversal by Detroit Daily Newspapers	149

Chapter	Page
Editorials on the Woman's Suffrage Defeat by Detroit Daily Newspapers	159
VI. WAS THE PUBLIC INFORMED?	167
Summary of News Reportage Anti-Suffrage Forces	170
Summary Editorials Anti-Suffrage Forces	172
Conclusion	173
Michigan Suffragists Blamed Liquor Interests for Defeat of 1912	175
United States Senate Investigation Find Liquor Interests Illegally Involved in Suffrage	177
Assessment of Detroit Dailies News Reportage and Editorials on Anti- Suffrage Forces' Campaign and Defeat . . .	180
Summary News Reportage of Issues	182
Summary of Editorials on Issues	185
Conclusion	185
Summary News Reportage Campaign Activities	186
Why Did Detroit Dailies Fail As Public Informer?	188
BIBLIOGRAPHY	191

CHAPTER I

ROLE OF THE PRESS AS INFORMER ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Significance of the Michigan Woman's Suffrage Campaign of 1912

On November 7, 1912, a Detroit daily newspaper proclaimed to the electorate that Michigan had become another equal suffrage state!¹ Michigan suffragists of all ages--young women, middle-aged matrons, and elderly women--celebrated the victory of their five-month campaign to win complete enfranchisement. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, with headquarters in New York, wired a congratulatory message to an important supporter of woman's suffrage, Governor Chase S. Osborn of Michigan.²

Early election returns on the woman's suffrage amendment indicated it had been adopted by male voters at the polls in the general elections of November 5. Newspapers had estimated that the majority ranged from 3,000

¹Detroit Journal, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.

²Detroit Times, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 14; Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1923), pp. 180-181.

to 12,000 votes.³ But, gradually as voting returns were slowly reported, it was noted that certain precincts were mysteriously withholding their ballots. Slowly, as some precincts in Wayne, Kent, Saginaw, and Bay counties reported their final tally of ballots, the favorable majority for the women's suffrage amendment became a slight adverse one. All of these tardy precincts had suspiciously large numbers of votes opposed to the amendment to report.⁴

As the negative votes had trickled in to be recorded officially, some ballot boxes had been "lost" while other boxes had been stuffed with uninitialed ballots. Each authorized ballot was supposed to carry the initials of an election official at the polling place. A high proportion of absentee ballots was also reported in the vote of the withholding counties.⁵

Carrie Chapman Catt, a woman's suffrage historian, relates how the "nervewracker suffragists, knowing precisely what was taking place, stood helplessly before the deliberate theft of an election."⁶

³Detroit Free Press, Nov. 9, 1912, p. 1; Detroit Times, Nov. 22, 1912, p. 1; National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920, ed. by Ida Husted Harper (New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1922), VI, 312.

⁴Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4.

⁵National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 312.

⁶Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, pp. 180-181.

At the end of three weeks, the official returns revealed that the woman's suffrage amendment had been defeated by 760 votes.⁷ The women citizens of Michigan had lost the right to vote in all national, state, and local elections. The national organization, embodied in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, had lost a populous eastern industrial state in its effort for national equal suffrage. In the United States, national organizations for women's suffrage had been in existence since 1869.⁸ Six states had instituted woman's suffrage prior to the campaigns of 1912; Wyoming (1890), Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), and California (1911).⁹ In 1912, six campaigns had been waged in Arizona, Oregon, Kansas, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin for woman's suffrage. Women had won equal suffrage in Arizona,

⁷Michigan Department of State, Michigan Manual, 1913-1914, p. 448. The vote was 247,373 votes for the amendment, and 248,135 against it.

⁸In 1869, two national groups specifically devoted to woman's suffrage were formed: the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. The groups differed on the method of achieving equal suffrage; the NWSA preferred to concentrate on passage of a federal amendment, the AWSA on state constitutional amendments. In 1890, the groups merged to form a united national organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

⁹Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 222. Utah and Wyoming had woman's suffrage as territorial governments in 1870; both territories were admitted to the United States as equal suffrage states. In the other states, women won suffrage by voter approval by amending state constitutions to include it.

Oregon, and Kansas; but they had met overwhelming defeat on the issue in Ohio and Wisconsin.¹⁰ If Michigan had carried as a suffrage state, it would have been the first state east of the Mississippi to grant its women equal suffrage.

For decades the method of achieving woman's suffrage by state constitutional amendments had produced meager results for exhausting labor.

From 1870 to 1910, there were 480 campaigns in thirty-three states, just to get the issue submitted to the voters, of which only seventeen resulted in actual referendum votes. All but three were west of the Mississippi.¹¹

Woman suffragists were forced to work for national equal suffrage by the slow process of enfranchising women state-by-state. Attempts to institute national equal suffrage by federal amendment had failed, because of Congressional immobility on the issue. A federal amendment, specifically for woman's suffrage and supported by the NWSA, was introduced in the United States Senate on January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent of California. The bill stagnated in House and Senate committees until its first floor vote in 1915.

¹⁰National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 511, 703.

¹¹Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, pp. 108-110. To achieve a state constitutional amendment involved three steps: (1) the state legislature's majority approval of submitting the amendment to the voters, (2) the campaign, (3) a victory for woman's suffrage by voter majority approval at the polls.

The amendment had been written by Susan B. Anthony, the president of the National Woman Suffrage Association from Rochester, New York, a noted suffrage leader, after her attempt to take "her right under the Fourteenth Amendment to vote."¹² Miss Anthony voted in the November, 1872, election and received a court sentence.¹³ Her case proved that the "male" clause in the U.S. Constitution description of voter qualifications could not be changed by court action.

The woman's suffrage movement in the United States proved to be long and bloodless.¹⁴ The first woman's rights convention took place at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848; and national equal suffrage was not enacted until October, 1920, with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the federal constitution.

Each state played an important part in the long struggle. Michigan suffragists entered this non-violent movement for the right to vote at an early date. The first Michigan suffrage organization, the Michigan Equal

¹²Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony (Kansas City: Bowen-Merrill Company, 1899), I, 433.

¹³Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, pp. 99-104.

¹⁴In the majority of foreign countries, women also had a long struggle for enfranchisement. See National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 713-805. In 1912, three countries had achieved national equal suffrage by national government action: New Zealand (1893), Australia (1902), and Finland (1906).

Suffrage Association, was established in January, 1870, seven months after the formation of the national groups. In 1874, Michigan was the second state to obtain a referendum for submission of a woman's suffrage amendment to the voters.¹⁵ Although the amendment was defeated by large margins in every county, this early campaign was an indication of the initiative of the Michigan suffragists.¹⁶

From 1874 to 1912, Michigan suffragists continued to petition each successive legislature for its approval of a second referendum campaign. They achieved only limited suffrage.¹⁷

The Michigan Legislature granted school suffrage to women taxpayers in 1867 and extended the same privilege to mothers and female guardians of school-age children. A new state constitution, adopted in 1909, gave women taxpayers the right to vote on local bonding issues and expenditures of public moneys.

¹⁵Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 175. Kansas was the first state to submit the woman's suffrage question to the voters in 1867.

¹⁶Michigan, Department of State, Michigan Official Directory and Legislative Manual, 1875-1876, pp. 234-235. The vote was 40,007 for the amendment and 135,957 against it. In Wayne county, the vote was 3,419 for it; 10,408 against. The total state vote represented about two-thirds of the voters' opinion on the issue. In 1874, 274,459 Michigan citizens were qualified to vote; 175,964 voted on the issue.

¹⁷Karolena M. Fox, "History of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Movement," Michigan History Magazine, II (1930), pp. 92-95.

The franchise clause in the new constitution was a compromise measure on the equal suffrage question. In 1902, Michigan suffragists had begun an intensive educational campaign to prepare public opinion for revision of the state constitution to omit the word "male" from the voting qualifications.

Speakers lectured throughout the state. The Woman's Journal, the national woman suffrage publication, was placed in public libraries, churches, stores, and meeting rooms. Suffragists became active club women and gained the endorsement of woman suffrage by the State Federation of Women's Clubs, with its 8,000 members. Ten societies, including the Grange, the Maccabees, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the State Federation of Labor, cooperated with the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association to recommend woman's suffrage at a hearing before the state constitutional delegates in 1908. A petition with 225,000 names, 175,000 of individual women of voting age, was presented at the hearing.¹⁸

The Michigan suffragists did not succeed in completely revising the voting clause, but their campaign work gained for them the recognition and endorsement of woman suffrage by important male voters. Three influential men, Honorable Levi L. Barbour, ex-regent officer of

¹⁸ National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 304-306.

the University of Michigan, former U.S. Senator Thomas W. Palmer and the Reverend Lee S. McCollister, pastor of the Church of Our Father (Universalist), organized a Men's League for Woman's Suffrage. The charter membership included 100 well known men throughout the state. The three leaders of this organization--Barbour, Palmer, and McCollister--were all residents of Detroit.¹⁹

The woman's suffrage campaign of 1912 was initiated by an unexpected endorsement from the Michigan governor, Chase S. Osborn. In March, 1912, Governor Osborn called a special session of the legislature to consider, among other items, the submission of a woman's suffrage amendment in the general election on November 5, 1912. He told the Michigan Legislature:

Gentlemen: You are authorized and requested to consider legislation by and through which the question of an amendment to the constitution shall be submitted to the electors of Michigan providing for giving and insuring the right of suffrage to the women of Michigan.²⁰

It was the Detroit branch of the College Equal Suffrage Association, led by Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy that had urged the governor to make this recommendation. He had read their letters and heard their speeches before the legislature. A resolution proposing an amendment relative

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 306.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 307.

to the right of women to vote was passed in a second special session of the legislature.

With its passage, an intensive five-month campaign was begun. Detroit women were active workers and suffrage supporters in this campaign. State headquarters were opened in Detroit. Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association and a resident of Detroit, coordinated the campaign work of the association's fourteen auxiliary clubs from her offices in Detroit.²¹ The state suffrage executive board appointed Mrs. Susan Sellers, a Detroit suffragist, as chairman of the Wayne County Suffrage Organization. Her appointment was granted because of her important contribution to the campaign to win the approval of the amendment by the Michigan Legislature. Mrs. Sellers organized a tremendous campaign in Detroit.²²

The headquarters in the old Telegraph Building fairly hummed with activity as Mrs. Sellers, Mrs. Arthur, Harriet Trix (Mrs. John), Minnie Stout Jefferies, and Clara Avery went in and out organizing the speakers' bureau, the displays, and the letter writing campaigns.²³

²¹Alice Tarbell Crathern, comp., In Detroit Courage Was the Fashion (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953), p. 189.

²²Detroit Journal, Oct. 28, 1912, p. 5.

²³Crathern, In Detroit Courage Was the Fashion, p. 189.

The Detroit Equal Suffrage Association and the College Equal Suffrage Association maintained a continued program of lecturers throughout the campaign to educate new groups on the issues. These organizations brought speakers from other states and countries to Detroit. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the famed English suffrage leader, was one of the guest speakers.

The foreign born women of Detroit were not neglected in this campaign; bilingual suffragists visited in the city and spoke to women in their native languages. Mrs. Jennie Hardy worked among the Italians and the Germans. Helen Rozanska and Angela Kosanski were workers among the Polish-speaking in the community. They also interviewed editors of foreign language newspapers and Catholic priests to win their endorsement of woman suffrage.²⁴

Detroit suffragists visited the factories to explain the issue to the workingman. They also met with the business leaders of the city to discuss the need for equal suffrage. Under the leadership of Mrs. Susan Sellers, an effort was made to reach every citizen in the county with a personal appeal for his vote before election day.

What was the campaign result in Wayne county on election day? At first silence; thirteen Detroit precincts

²⁴Ibid., p. 190.

in Wayne county withheld their total ballot count until three weeks after election day. Only when the majority of precincts in the state had returned their official count, did these precincts in Wayne county report vote totals on the woman's suffrage amendment. Voters in Wayne county, the most populous county in the state, were definitely opposed to woman's suffrage.²⁵ Although Kent, Saginaw, and Bay counties also delayed reporting their vote tallies, the accusations of election fraud were mainly directed at the populous Detroit precincts.²⁶

The Michigan Equal Suffrage Association engaged lawyers to investigate the election and obtain a recount. "It developed that there was no law allowing a recount on a constitutional amendment and in the face of glaring fraud the defeat had to be accepted."²⁷

A resubmission of the amendment was called for and the proposal passed both houses of the state legislature in March, 1913. The amendment was to be voted on in the election of April 7, 1913.

²⁵Detroit News, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 1; U.S., Department of Commerce, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 947. In 1910, Detroit population was 531,591.

²⁶Detroit Times, Nov. 21, 1912, p. 1; National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 307-308.

²⁷National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 307.

During the campaign of 1912, the woman suffragists testified there was no open or organized opposition to equal suffrage in Michigan. Speakers from the National Anti-Suffrage Association, with headquarters in New York, had been sent to campaign in Michigan the last week prior to the November election. The Michigan suffragists did not believe this last minute effort by the "antis," however, had influenced the victory reversal.

Governor Osborn, in his statement on the 1912 election results, charged that hidden enemies of woman's suffrage had caused the defeat of the issue.

If the liquor interests [have] defeated the amendment by fraud, proved or suspected, the people of Michigan will retaliate, in my opinion, by adopting state wide prohibition. Those most feared are election "crooks" in certain Detroit precincts, who would not hesitate to do anything they thought they could get away with.²⁸

The claim of intervention by the liquor interests and other groups in the elections on woman's suffrage was not new or confined only to Michigan. Other states, notably Ohio, Wisconsin, and Nebraska, reported similar efforts by these groups to change public opinion on woman's suffrage.²⁹

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Catt and Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, pp. 270-278; National American Woman's Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920, ed. by Ida Husted Harper (New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1922), V, 678-682.

The woman suffrage campaigns in the United States represented a non-violent movement to effect legislative change. The women battled for their right to vote with the legitimate weapon of arguments based on issues, yet they were often defeated by those who used the illegitimate methods of vote-buying and bribery.³⁰

The Michigan woman's suffrage campaign of 1912 provides a study of the role of the press in the news reportage and editorial interpretation of the issues and forces involved in one such non-violent battle for the right to vote. In 1912, four English language daily newspapers--the Detroit Free Press, the Detroit Journal, the Detroit News, and the Detroit Times supplied the news and editorial opinion for the majority of residents of Wayne county--the county in which election fraud and opposing forces were reported.

What were the positions and performances of the Detroit daily newspapers in the 1912 campaign for woman's suffrage and its controversial defeat? To evaluate the Detroit daily newspapers, it is necessary first to understand the role of the free press in the American democratic society.

³⁰Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 294-305.

Role of a Free Press

The press takes on the coloration of the social and political structure within which it operates.³¹

In the United States, a form of government was instituted to grant ruling power to the citizenry rather than a monarchy. When the makers of the United States Constitution decided to establish a government by majority public opinion, they tentatively accepted certain precepts as essentials for the formulation of a reasonable public opinion. These were liberty of thought, open debate of ideas, and uncensored publication of various arguments.³²

Although these precepts were generally agreed upon by all the constitutional delegates, Thomas Jefferson and his supporters maintained the necessity of their precise mention in the proposed constitution.³³ These freedoms were specifically delegated and appended to the Constitution in the form of the first ten amendments. These amendments became known as the Bill of Rights. The First Amendment contains the guarantee of press freedom.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;

³¹Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Petersen, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1963), p. 1.

³²William L. Chenery, Freedom of the Press (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), p. 125.

³³Ibid., p. 31.

of abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people to peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievance.³⁴

The wording of the right of freedom of the press was necessarily vague and subject to varying interpretation. The essential characteristic of the American press was its freedom from governmental controls and domination. American independence had been accomplished with the help of both reasoned and vituperative attacks on the British colonial officials. American leaders recognized the value of uninhibited criticism of public officials and public affairs.³⁵ Since the citizens were to act not only as the critics of government, but as the electors of government officials and the decision makers on issues of public concern, it was essential for them to be well informed.

Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, contributed to the definition of this function of a free press. He contended the public should be subjected to all information and opinion; some of it possibly true and some of it possibly false, and some with elements of both. The public would be entrusted to integrate the whole, discard ideas detrimental to the public good, and accept those needed to serve the individual and society.

³⁴U.S., Constitution, Amendment I.

³⁵Siebert, Petersen, and Schramm, Four Theories of the Press, p. 55.

Our first object should be, to leave open to him [the public] all avenues of truth. The most effective hitherto found, is the freedom of the press . . . The firmness with which people have withstood the late abuses of the press, the discernment they have manifested between truth and falsehood show that they may safely be trusted to hear everything, true and false, to form a correct judgment between them.³⁶

The function of a free press was to educate the individual by presenting him with all manner of opinion and a like array of news reports, varied in their degree of truth.³⁷ In the nineteenth century, the American press was not always a fair press, a truthful press, or a responsible press.

Charles Beard, the American historian, could say with accuracy that "in its origin, freedom of the press has little or nothing to do with truth-telling . . . Freedom of the press means, the right to be just or unjust, partisan, true or false in news or editorial column."³⁸ Framers of the Constitution did not ask the publisher to assume certain responsibilities in exchange for his freedom.³⁹

³⁶Thomas Jefferson, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. by Andrew A. Lipscomb (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1904), XI, 32-34.

³⁷Chenery, Freedom of the Press, p. 145.

³⁸St. Louis Post-Dispatch Symposium on Freedom of the Press (St. Louis: The Post-Dispatch, 1938), p. 13.

³⁹Siebert, Petersen, and Schramm, Four Theories of the Press, p. 78.

In the twentieth century, however, changing social conditions demanded of the press a new responsibility. The technological and industrial revolution had increased the size, speed, and efficiency of the old press, and subsequently, raised the cost of its ownership and management. Ownership of the units of the press became concentrated in relatively few hands. This phenomenon occurred at the same time as the complexity of social and political issues had increased the citizen's need to know the facts and diverse opinions.⁴⁰

William E. Hocking, a member of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, writes that "clearly a new era of public responsibility has arrived; and it becomes imperative whether press performance can be left to the unrelegated initiative of the issuers . . . the service of news, as distinct from the utterance of opinion, has acquired an added importance."⁴¹

The Commission on the Freedom of the Press was a select group of men, mostly university educators, who were chosen to conduct a privately financed study on the

⁴⁰Jay W. Jensen, "Freedom of the Press: A Concept in Search of a Philosophy," in Social Responsibility of the Press (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1962), p. 81.

⁴¹William E. Hocking, "Freedom of the Press: A Summary Statement of Principle," in A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 124-125.

character and responsibilities of the American press. Their research findings affirmed the need for a new responsibility for the free press. The commission revealed that because of societal changes the public interest has acquired the stature of a moral "right."⁴² The press as an institution operating within the American democratic society has a moral responsibility to serve this interest.

Hocking explained how this concept related to the individual citizen and the American press. The citizen in a democratic society cannot be a passive reader of the day's news because he is a participant in his government. His principle duty is to make decisions and judge matters of public concern. As a citizen, he is obligated to inform himself on the merits of public issues and the qualifications of candidates for public office. His principle source of information is the press; therefore, the press has become obligated to serve the reader with the materials--the facts and informative editorial interpretations--that will enable him to make sound and rational judgments on public affairs.

[Because] the citizen's political duty is at stake, the right to have an adequate service of news becomes a public responsibility as well . . .⁴³

⁴²Ibid., p. 135.

⁴³William E. Hocking, Freedom of the Press (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 169.

The freedom of the press must now cover two sets of rights. The right of the editors and publishers to express themselves, and the right of the individual to be served with a substantial and honest basis of fact for his conclusions on public affairs.⁴⁴

The faults and errors accepted in the Jeffersonian concept of a free press have ceased to be considered private vagaries. In the twentieth century, they have been deemed public dangers. Press inadequacies menace the very substance of American government--the balance of public opinion. For this reason, the American press can no longer be deficient in its functions or offer half-truths for the whole.⁴⁵

In its presentation of fact and opinion, the press must recognize ideas initiated by the thought of the individual citizen. The citizen has a duty to express his important ideas; the press to report them.

It is the whole point of a free press that ideas deserving a public hearing shall get a public hearing . . . the decision of what ideas deserve that hearing shall rest in part with the public, not solely with the particular biases of the editors and owners.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Hocking, "Freedom of the Press: A Summary Statement of Principle," p. 131.

⁴⁶Hocking, Freedom of the Press, pp. 219-220.

In a populous community, the press must institute a free and natural process for sorting out the many ideas offered for a public hearing. The Commission on Freedom of the Press recommended that the "informal emphases" of free speech act as criteria for selection of the ideas to be communicated by the press.⁴⁷ Owners of the units of the press must be cognizant of the ideas that the processes of free speech have brought to the general attention of the community. They must be responsible for the dissemination of these ideas.

The First Amendment of the Constitution has taken on new meaning. In the words of John Oakes, editor of the editorial page of the New York Times, this amendment means

not merely that publishers have the right to publish (though it means that too), but more particularly that people have the right to know.⁴⁸

The responsibility of the press to listen to the people and inform the people is now linked to the role of the free press.

The Study

According to the contemporary concept of a free press, the Michigan equal suffrage groups--supporters and

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ John B. Oakes, "The Editorial: What It Is and What It Aims For," in Social Responsibility of the Press (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1922), p. 35.

opposers--had a right to be heard and the people a right to be informed of the issues in the state campaign for woman's suffrage in 1912.

This study is a comparative analysis of how the four English-language Detroit daily newspapers--the Detroit Free Press, the Detroit Journal, the Detroit News, and the Detroit Times--reported and editorially interpreted the activities of the suffrage and anti-suffrage groups, the ideological issues espoused by both forces, and the involvement of other forces in the 1912 campaign.

All the news reports and editorials carried by the four Detroit daily newspapers on the campaigns for woman's suffrage will be examined within these specified periods. For the 1912 campaign, the primary research is limited to the time period from October 17, 1912 to November 5, 1912. The newspapers' coverage of the initial victory for woman's suffrage and its subsequent defeat is restricted to the period following the November election day until the days from November 21, 1912 to November 28, 1912, during which the Detroit dailies announced the victory reversal.

The four newspapers, comprising the principal organs of news dissemination in Detroit, were selected for this study because the reversal of the 1912 victory for woman's suffrage was reported to be caused, in part,

by the fraudulent election procedures and illegitimate campaign tactics employed by certain forces in Detroit.⁴⁹

Brief History of Detroit Daily Newspapers

Of the Detroit daily publications publishing in 1812, the Detroit Free Press was the oldest newspaper. It was the first daily newspaper founded in Michigan. First established as a weekly in 1831, the newspaper appeared as a daily issue in 1835. The newspaper was progressive in its method of news coverage. In 1853, Wilbur S. Storey, the editor, initiated the first city news department and the first reportage of court proceedings. In 1912, the Free Press was Independent in its political views. A morning newspaper, the Detroit Free Press had a daily circulation of 58,874 and a Sunday circulation of 76,470, single issues selling for two cents on the newsstands.⁵⁰

James Edmund Scripps founded the Detroit News in 1883. He had wanted to establish a new kind of afternoon newspaper. Instead of giving the traditional repetition of the morning news in the afternoon newspaper edition, Scripps livened his afternoon paper with personal interview and feature stories--a first for Detroit readers.

⁴⁹National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 307-308. (See supra, and n. 6, p. 2).

⁵⁰N. W. Ayer & Son, American Newspapers Annual and Directory (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1912), p. 412

Some historians considered his newspaper sensational, others commended it for its original approach.⁵¹ The style and content of the Detroit News made it the most popular of the dailies in 1912--its circulation was 144,508 in 1912.⁵² The News published a Sunday edition under the name of the Detroit News-Tribune, and its circulation was 88,064.⁵³ The Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News-Tribune were the only Sunday newspapers offered to Detroit readers in 1912 and 1913.

The Detroit Evening Journal competed with the Detroit News for the afternoon market of newspaper readers. The Detroit Journal, founded in 1883 as a two-cent daily, was modeled after the successful News. Lloyd Brezee, the newspaper's first manager and editor, tried some of the attention-getting techniques of Scripps. His exaggerated efforts aggravated the owners and, finally, caused his dismissal. The owners of the newspaper changed the news approach to a somewhat more conservative style and this style remained until it merged with the Detroit News in 1922. The circulation of the Journal in 1912 was 71,759.⁵⁴

⁵¹George N. Fuller, Michigan Centennial History, II (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1939), 887.

⁵²Clarence M. Burton and Agnes M. Burton, History of Wayne County and the City of Detroit, Michigan (Chicago and Detroit: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1930), I, 644; N. W. Ayer & Son, American Newspapers Annual and Directory, p. 413.

⁵³N. W. Ayer & Son, American Newspapers Annual and Directory, p. 413.

⁵⁴Ibid.

Of the four dailies publishing in 1912, the Detroit Journal was the only one to indicate its political viewpoint as Republican; the others described themselves as Independent.

The Detroit Evening Times, founded in 1900 under the name of Detroit Today, was the youngest newspaper of the Detroit dailies. James Schmerhorn was the manager-editor and the owner of the Times from its inception until he sold it to William Randolph Hearst in 1921. His individualistic editorials were known for their "pithy and humorous sentences."⁵⁵ The newspaper was characterized as a "clean newspaper,"⁵⁶ with a circulation in 1912 of 32,537.⁵⁷

In 1912, the city of Detroit had a population of 465,788 persons. Of the population, 122,979 were children, ages 6 to 20.⁵⁸ The combined week-day circulation of the Detroit daily newspapers reached 306,878 of the

⁵⁵Burton and Burton, History of Wayne County, I, 646.

⁵⁶Fuller, Michigan Centennial History, II, 232.

⁵⁷N. W. Ayer & Son, American Newspapers Annual and Directory, p. 413.

⁵⁸U.S., Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, XXXV (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 58. Statistics of the number of children under 6 in Detroit in 1912 was not given.

342,809 persons in the adult population.⁵⁹ The Sunday editions of the Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press served 164,534. This indicates a high circulation of the English-language dailies in relation to the total population in Detroit.

Standards of a Free Press

To conduct a comparative analysis of Detroit daily newspapers, standards must be established to assess the performance of each newspaper in its news reportage and editorial interpretation of the Michigan woman's suffrage campaign of 1912.

"Honest and comprehensive coverage of the news is, of course, the first essential,"⁶⁰ for excellent performance by a newspaper.

Standards, known as the Canons of Journalism, were adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors at its first meeting in April, 1923, to codify guidelines for integrity in newspaper conduct. Canons I, III, IV, and V will be used in this study to measure the performance of Detroit daily newspapers.⁶¹ These canons are

⁵⁹ Statistics for both the total week-day circulation and Sunday circulation of the Detroit daily newspapers derived by addition of circulation figures in Ayer.

⁶⁰ Edwin Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1954), p. 718.

⁶¹ George L. Bird and Frederick Mervin, The Press and Society (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 108-110. The Canons of Journalism are published in this

instrumental in defining what is specifically meant by "honest and comprehensive coverage of the news."⁶²

Canon I declares that the honest coverage of news, involves the newspaper's responsibility to the public welfare. The newspaper must be free from all other controls except a regard for issues of public concern.

Canon II, clause one, specifies what controls the newspaper must avoid. "Promotion of any private interest contrary to the general welfare, for whatever reason, is not compatible with honest journalism."⁶³ A news communication from a private source must be identified as such to the reader.

The Fourth Canon requires the newspaper to exercise every effort within its control to be thorough and accurate in its news reportage. This includes news headlines. The headlines of a news report should be verified by the contents of the news report.

Canon V emphasizes the need for the newspaper to be impartial. Impartiality means the news report is free from bias of any kind. The opinion of the newspaper must be strictly relegated to the editorial page. The

source. Canons I, III, IV and V were chosen because they are most pertinent to a study of the press as informer.

⁶²Emery, Press and America, p. 108.

⁶³Bird and Mervin, The Press and Society, p. 108.

editorial column is the proper place for owners and editors to express their political views and opinions.

John B. Oakes, editor of the editorial page of the New York Times, describes the most important function of the newspaper editorial as its ability "to examine a public problem--legislative or administrative . . . to propose a course of action regarding the problem . . . and convince the reader such a course is right."⁶⁴

This kind of editorial is argumentative because it presents and concludes with a point of view that implies action on the part of the reader. A second kind of editorial, defined by Oakes is the interpretative editorial. The interpretative editorial presents facts to the reader in an understandable and informative manner, but draws no conclusions. Both of these kinds of editorials are needed to expand the reader's comprehension of important issues.

Interjection of editorial opinion into the facts of the news story, however, constitutes bias. The "coloring" or "slanting" of the facts by the reporter's insertion of opinion also creates bias. Special news stories devoted to advocacy of a public issue or candidate must be authorized as the writer's opinion by his signature.

⁶⁴Oakes, "The Editorial, What It Is and What It Is For," p. 28.

Additional standards suggested by members of the Commission on Freedom of the Press in their conclusions on ways to improve the character of the American press will also be used as criteria in this study. The commission recommends the reportage of facts in a context that gives them meaning. Often a fact reported in the absence of unrelated issues creates a substantially untrue account.⁶⁵ For example, the single activity of a group member may be accepted as representative of the whole group, unless the press has given adequate information and proper interpretation to set the incident in perspective.

The commission asks the press to provide a printed forum for exchange of opinion. This forum will increase the reader's comprehension of issues of public concern. Selection of the ideas communicated to the public should be based on the social interest, with regard for the private rights of the individual.⁶⁶

The commission asserts it is both unethical and dangerous for the owners and editors of the press to bar ideas with which they disagree from this forum. "Not only positive misdeeds but omissions and inadequacies of press

⁶⁵ Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, p. 21.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

performance have now a bearing on the general welfare."⁶⁷

The commission suggests the news value of a story should be relative to its importance in maintaining an informed citizenry.⁶⁸ The technical treatment of a news story, its size of headlines, position in the paper and on the page, should be commensurate with this goal. Newspaper responsibility to the public welfare necessitates the publication and proper presentation of the information the public needs to know concerning public affairs.

The second and completing clause in Emery's definition of excellent newspaper performance describes the newspaper's responsibility to the public.

The great newspapers--whether conservative or liberal, Republican or Democrat in their political beliefs--are those which are aroused whenever the principles of human liberty and progress are at stake in a general situation and are constantly on guard against unfairness.⁶⁹

In the 1912, Michigan campaign for woman's suffrage, histories indicate that the fraudulent methods of anti-suffrage forces, centered in Detroit, destroyed the liberty of Michigan women to have a fair and free election on the equal suffrage question. In this study, the performance of the Detroit daily newspapers in publicly

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 25.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 54.

⁶⁹Emery, The Press and America, p. 718.

exposing any unfair tactics involved in the 1912 campaign and controversial defeat will be examined. The honesty and comprehension of the Detroit daily newspapers in their news and editorial coverage of the campaign issues and activities of the 1912 campaign will also be considered.

CHAPTER II

MICHIGAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN OF 1912

In 1912, the American people could read in their newspapers accounts of the Balkan War casualties with the detached compassion of the uninvolved.¹ The United States was free from intangling military commitments with foreign powers.² The American national interest was directed inward in this presidential election year.

Three candidates, all with substantial public backing, battled for the presidential office: Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, the former president of Princeton University, was the Democratic nominee; incumbent President William Howard Taft sought a second term under the Republican banner; and the Progressive party had been formed to accommodate a third presidential candidate, the former President, Theodore Roosevelt.

¹Alan Valentine, 1913, American Between Two Worlds (New York: MacMillan Company, 1962) pp. 57-63; Jacob Gould Schurman, The Balkan Wars, 1912 and 1913 (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 125. The Balkan army was composed of armies from Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro. The countries united in the war effort to capture Turkish properties in Europe.

²George E. Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), pp. 275-279.

In 1912, the campaign issues were characterized by the discussion of progressive ideas and suggestions for new social, political, and economic reforms to solve the domestic problems created by the excesses of the capitalistic system of economy.³ The common man, recently identified as the middle class citizen, was becoming apprehensive of the economic monopoly and the potential greed of big business.⁴ In 1909, 1 per cent of the industrial firms in the country were producing 44 per cent of the nation's manufactured goods.⁵

This economic situation had created at the very top of society a small group of fabulously wealthy people.

Their private railroad cars, yachts, stables and monumental mansions were as conspicuous by contrast with the possessions of the average middle-class Americans as⁶ perhaps the feudal castles were in medieval Europe.

The middle class man wanted governmental protection from the power of this wealthy group. As a group, the middle-class citizen was becoming a political power.⁷

³Mark Sullivan, Our Times, the United States 1900-1925 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), IV, 121-123.

⁴Valentine, 1913, pp. 157-167.

⁵U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1900: Manufacturing, VIII, 180.

⁶Mowry, Era of Theodore Roosevelt, p. 14.

⁷Valentine, 1913, pp. 158-159.

The presidential candidates and many state nominees for executive and legislative office took a stand on these reform measures: the initiative and referendum, child labor laws, anti-trust legislation direct primaries for election of United States senators, prohibition, and woman suffrage.⁸

The woman's suffrage movement, with its long history of campaign defeats, was becoming revitalized as an issue and a movement in this era of progressive reform. Although the Progressive candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, was the only presidential candidate to endorse woman's suffrage, the increased national interest in reforms gave new impetus to the woman's suffrage campaigns.⁹ In 1912, supporters of woman's suffrage were actively campaigning for woman suffrage in six states. Michigan was one of the states with a woman's suffrage amendment on the ballot in the election of November 5, 1912.

News Reportage of Campaign Activities
By Detroit Daily Newspapers

In the three weeks prior to election day, women suffragists were engaged in the final campaign effort.

⁸Sullivan, Our Times, IV, 121-123, 536. Initiative means the people can petition to initiate laws. In a referendum vote on an issue, the electorate are given the opportunity to pass or deny laws recommended by the legislature. Direct primaries for the election of senators meant the people would vote on nominees for this office, rather than the historic method of election of nominees by the state legislature.

⁹Ibid., p. 130.

This effort included speeches, street meetings, and neighborhood canvassing. During this period, the Detroit suffragists also held one final evening rally on November 2. They also guarded the election booths as women challengers on November 5, the election day. The Detroit Equal Suffrage Association and the College Equal Suffrage Association of Detroit maintained a continuous program of lecturers and guest speakers during the campaign of 1912.¹⁰

News Reportage of Speeches
On Woman Suffrage

Detroit Free Press

An advance story, announcing that Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, dean of women at the University of Chicago, would speak to the Twentieth Century Club on October 12, was the only report of a suffrage speech that the Detroit Free Press published during the campaign. Miss Breckenridge's past accomplishments were summarized. The story was placed below the daily four-column standing headline, "Women in the News of the Day," on page six, the woman's page in the Free Press.¹¹

¹⁰ Alice Tarbell Crathern, In Detroit Courage Was the Fashion (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953), p. 189.

¹¹ Detroit Free Press, Oct. 22, 1912, p. 6.

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal did not carry a preliminary news story of Miss Breckenridge's speech, but it did summarize the contents of her speech in a story on page nineteen in its October 25, 1912 issue. The six column-inch story headlined, "Says Women of Home Need Vote," mentioned eleven reforms that Miss Breckenridge predicted would be inaugurated if women were given the ballot.¹²

The Journal reported news accounts of three speeches and the reaction to a suffrage speech prior to the Breckenridge speech. The reaction to a speech made by Jane Addams, famed Chicago social worker, in Saginaw, Michigan, on October 16, 1912, was the only one of these stories given front-page display. The two-column story, headlined, "Pastor Vance Calls Jane Addams 'Old Maid' and Makes Suffragists Angry," was placed below the fold. It described how Dr. Vance, pastor of the "fashionable" First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, had aroused the ire of Detroit suffragists when he called Miss Addams an "old maid" and

¹²Detroit Journal, Oct. 25, 1912, p. 19. The eleven reforms named by Miss Breckenridge were 1) the eight-hour day for employed women, 2) minimum wage scale for women, 3) country-wide child labor laws, 4) strict pure milk laws, 5) federal laws protecting immigrants, 6) social centers, 7) moral supervision of homes in congested areas, 8) "pure politics," 9) good juvenile courts, 10) regular food prices, 11) inspection of food prices by federal government.

had told members of the Detroit New Century Club that "American mothers ought to stay at home with their children rather than wading in the mire of politics."¹³

Dr. Vance told the Journal, "I am not wholly in sympathy with the suffrage movement, nor am I wholly opposed to it . . . I am willing to stand on what I said at the club."¹⁴

In the same news report, Alice Boutell, corresponding secretary of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, told the press that enfranchised women did not neglect their household duties.

We have abundant testimony that the women of the suffrage states are nonetheless good mothers and housekeepers because they have the vote. An objection against suffrage which has been disaproved by experience should not be credited.¹⁵

In the October 19 issue on page fourteen, the Journal announced that a lecture by Florence Kelley, co-worker of Jane Addams, was to be given at the Garrick Theatre on October 27, and would be sponsored by the College Equal Suffrage Club of Detroit. There was no follow-up on Miss Kelley's speech.

"Claim Suffrage Lowers Divorce," was the headline above the Journal's news report of the speech given by Dr.

¹³Detroit Journal, Oct. 19, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

Caroline Geisel, a Battle Creek physician, at the State Federation of Women's Clubs convention in Saginaw. The lead was not consistent with the headline.

Detroit suffragists are elated at the speech . . . in which she [Dr. Caroline Geisel] said the death rate among husbands is on the increase in Michigan.¹⁶

Suffragists were reported to be defensive when Dr. Geisel suggested wholesome food for the conservation of husbands.

That Dr. Geisel's plea in behalf of more wholesome food for Michigan husbands contained an insinuation that Michigan women have neglected their husbands for their clubs was denied by a Detroit suffrage leader, who declared they can marshall up a whole army of Detroit husbands to refute the claim they are underfed.¹⁷

The third speech carried by the Journal was placed on page two and contained a one-inch by three-inch photo of the guest speaker, Mrs. Elizabeth Schauss. Mrs. Schauss, an Ohio suffragist, espoused the theory that woman's suffrage would empty the factories of women workers. Woman suffrage would equalize the wages between men and women.

"When the employer has no [cost] inducement to hire women he will give their places to men," Mrs. Schauss said. "There will be more work for the men and their wives and daughters will not have to work away from home."¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., Oct. 21, 1912, p. 10.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., Oct. 24, 1912, p. 2.

Mrs. Schauss was a factory worker prior to her marriage, the newspaper reported, and she was "good at appeals to men in shops for woman's suffrage." Asked how she thought woman's suffrage would effect the liquor laws, Mrs. Schauss replied that she believed in restriction, not prohibition. "Prohibition," she declared, "would entail evils worse than liquor itself."¹⁹

Detroit News

On October 25, 1912, the Detroit News reviewed Miss Breckenridge's speech. The nine column-inch story, placed on page twelve, was headlined, "Militant Tactics Harmful, She Says." The news lead stressed Miss Breckenridge's comments on the proper conduct of a suffrage campaign.

"Militant tactics do more harm than good to the cause," she said, "The fighting spirit shows the women are in earnest and demand their rights, but we women of the United States prefer to be womanly women even though we are demanding the vote. Suffrage is not the thing to be taught with heated debates and violent demonstrations."²⁰

The News, like the Detroit Journal, reported Miss Breckenridge's idea that woman suffrage was needed by the "woman

¹⁹Ibid. Mrs. Schauss's daughter, Miss Elizabeth Schausse, seventeen, was reported to also be in Michigan campaigning for equal suffrage, in a news story carried by the Journal on page sixteen of its issue for October 30, 1912.

²⁰Detroit News, Oct. 25, 1912, p. 12.

in the home" and that it would establish eleven social and legal reforms.²¹

The News also reported the address of Miss Addams on October 16 at Saginaw. Miss Addams spoke on the same theme as Miss Breckenridge--the homemaker's need for the ballot to properly care for her family. She told the women: "'In 1911, the death rate among the infants was so high, in the hot period in Chicago, we had to call special meetings of the council to consider the milk and tenement problems.'"²² She implied if women had the ballot stricter food laws would be established. Disenfranchised women have a difficult time becoming actively involved in social change.

"In Chicago," she said, "the women started the public bath houses and when they became attractive the municipal government took over and placed men in charge."²³

The account of her speech was placed on page six, the woman's page of the News and directly below the daily standing headline, "Of Interest to Women."²⁴ The six column-inch story, with the exception of the two from Miss Addams' speech, described the club women's opinion of woman suffrage and the federation's possible endorsement of it.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., Oct. 17, 1912, p. 6.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

Sentiment among the delegates seems overwhelmingly for suffrage . . . [however] Mrs. Williams, the state president, stated to the News she understands that suffrage workers will ask more than an endorsement that they will seek to have the federation get actively involved in the fight and work for the cause in the next few weeks.²⁵

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times gave a full report of the same speech by Miss Addams on page two, in its issue for October 17. The headline, "Jane Addams Makes Strong Suffrage Plea," was placed directly below the daily standing headline, "Happenings in Michigan."²⁶ The seven column-inch story reported the same arguments as did the News, and also included Miss Addams' discussion of the voting rights of American women.

The American woman is the only member of the Anglo-Saxon race that has not the municipal vote . . . we are so sluggish we don't insist we have the right.²⁷

The Times estimated the convention crowd attending the lecture at 4,000. The Detroit Times was the only newspaper to report the audience size at suffrage gatherings. Miss Addams' speech on the suffrage issue was the only one reported by the Times.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Detroit Times, Oct. 17, 1912, p. 2.

²⁷ Ibid.

News Reportage of Campaign Work
By Detroit Suffragists

Detroit Free Press

The Detroit suffrage organizations brought in well-known women as its campaign speakers, but the women themselves also rose to the podium or a barber's stool--whatever happened to be the most convenient in the situation--to bring the arguments for woman's suffrage to the people.²⁸

The Detroit Free Press reported the intensity of the Detroit suffrage wind-up campaign in two news stories on the women's general activities. Both stories were placed on the woman's page. A news story headlined, "Lively Finish for Suffrage Fight," reported that every voter would be reached with suffrage literature before the election day. The Free Press said, "The suffragists have been unusually busy this week sending out tons of literature in circular, phamplet, and letter form."²⁹

The eight column-inch story announced the plan of suffrage workers to hold a mass evening rally on Saturday, November 2, 1912.

²⁸Detroit Journal, Oct. 26, 1912, p. 4. The Journal reported how Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Organization, borrowed a barber's stool to speak to voters outside the Detroit Armory.

²⁹Detroit Free Press, Oct. 29, 1912, p. 6.

The following day, a news story reported the active participation of Detroit women in speaking engagements.

Two or three meetings every night and a mass meeting on Cadillac square Saturday night with speakers at different points at the same time, is the plan of the suffragists "finish" to the campaign that has been waged for the last two months in Detroit and Wayne county.³⁰

The story did not give the names of the local speakers nor the location of the evening meeting places. It did give a tentative list of the guest speakers scheduled for the final rally.³¹

On November 3, 1912, two days before the general election, the Free Press explained the campaign organization of the Detroit suffrage groups in detail. The news story, placed on the woman's page, described how the street meetings were an outgrowth of the organizational strategy. In each precinct, two suffrage club members had been appointed as ward and subward chairmen. These chairmen found that the street meeting was the most effective way to reach personally the people in their district.

From the first, neighborhood meetings were held which increased number until street meetings were begun.

³⁰ Ibid., Oct. 30, 1912, p. 6.

³¹ Ibid. The Free Press, listed the speakers as: "Miss Josephine Casey, of New York; Miss Jeannie C. Hardy, chairman of press committee state organization; Rev. Ida. C. Huitin of Boston; Miss Maude Younger of Calif.; Mrs. Elizabeth Schauss and daughter of Toledo; Miss Pauline Steinman of Toledo; Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens and Mrs. Susan Sellers of Detroit; and Councilman Thomas Felton of Cleveland."

One speaker would often hold as many as four meetings in an evening with the attendance running from 50 to 1,000 people, while thousands of pieces of literature would be distributed.³²

The story also recognized the special accomplishments of Detroit suffrage leaders.³³

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Free Press reported the intensity of the woman's suffrage campaigns by general accounts of the woman's work, whereas the Detroit Journal selected three specific incidents. On the editorial page of the October 26, 1912, issue of the Journal, an eight column-inch story reported the futile effort of Detroit suffragists to reach William Jennings Bryan with a note asking for his support of the woman's suffrage amendment. Bryan, the advocator of progressive reforms and the unsuccessful Democratic presidential nominee in 1900, was in Detroit to "stump" for Governor Woodrow Wilson, Democratic presidential candidate. The newspaper reported how the suffragists campaigned while waiting to speak to Bryan.

³²Ibid., Nov. 3, 1912, p. 6.

³³Ibid. The accomplishments of Detroit suffragists were as follows: "Mrs. Belle Brotherton and Miss Boutell secured headquarters for Detroit and Wayne county groups. Miss Jeanne Law Hardy of Tecumseh, effectively spoke to Germans and Italians in foreign wards. Mrs. Mary C. Ringrove of California called on Catholic priests and distributed literature to Catholic doors. Mrs. Elizabeth Schauss of Toledo, . . . was able to speak to working men. Rev. Ida C. Huitin of Sudburg, Mass. spoke four times a day."

While the silver-toned orator of Democracy was pleading with Detroit voters at the Armory Friday night, Detroit suffrage orators were pleading just as ardently, if not so eloquently, with the overflow crowds outside . . .³⁴

An estimated crowd of 1,000 persons listened to four suffrage speakers.³⁵ Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Organization, borrowed a stool from a near-by barber shop for the speaker's platform. The suffragists, however, were unable to get Bryan's attention as he left the building.

Woman suffragists were not foiled when the chairman of the state progressive organization, Charles O'Neil, took their spot at the R-C-H factory to speak for Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive party presidential candidate. Miss Maude Younger, a California suffragist, quickly mounted a platform outside the factory and in a few minutes had half of O'Neill's audience. The Journal reported that "100 voters stood out in the biting cold wind, while the rain fell to hear Miss Younger . . . give a ringing appeal for suffrage." Headlined, "Suffragists Mar T. R. Gathering," this news story made the front page of the Journal.³⁶

The third incident reported was a day with Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Wayne county suffrage

³⁴Detroit Journal, Oct. 26, 1912, p. 4.

³⁵Ibid. The speakers were Mrs. Susan Sellers, Maude Younger of California, Mrs. Myron of Cleveland, and the Reverend Ida C. Huitin of Boston.

³⁶Detroit Journal, Oct. 26, 1912, p. 4.

organization. The report described the activities of Mrs. Sellers on a busy day of campaigning.

More than a dozen formal speeches in behalf of equal suffrage, a personal house to house canvass of half a dozen streets, during which she argued suffrage with voters in the stores, shops, and in their homes, spending in all 18 straight hours in suffrage work was the record established in one day . . .³⁷

The story described how Mrs. Sellers adapted her arguments for woman's suffrage to different audiences. She told factory workers that women did not want to compete for their jobs; that to give them the vote would mean conditions that would enable them to remain at home. She explained to mothers with babies how women's votes would help to lower infant mortality, and to women property owners how they would be able by their vote to control the expenditure of their money. The Journal reported that the only obstacle Mrs. Sellers encountered in the woman's suffrage campaign was the indifference and opposition of the women themselves.

Working untiringly almost day and night with no vacation, contending first with strange apathy among the suffragists and later with the open opposition of some, she succeeded in forming an organization equipped for every phase of campaign work and covering the entire county.

In every corner of the city and the county she has held meetings, appealing for workers, exhorting her forces and pleading with voters. Under her direction, every voter in the county before election day

³⁷ Ibid., Oct. 28, 1912, p. 5.

will have been reached with a personal appeal for his vote.³⁸

The Journal reported that Mrs. Sellers was hopeful of a victory but "in case of failure she would continue the fight with undiminished energy."³⁹

Detroit News

The Detroit News did not report accounts of the daily campaign work of the Detroit suffrage organizations, with the exception of the final rally and the women's work as challengers at the polls on election day.⁴⁰ The News did report the conduct of one Detroit suffragist. Miss Maude Malone (otherwise unidentified), disrupted a campaign speech given by Governor Woodrow Wilson in Detroit on October 19.

The governor was talking about monopoly when Miss Malone . . . rose from the balcony and shouted: "How about woman suffrage, Gov. Wilson? Man has a monopoly of suffrage."⁴¹

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰The Detroit News did report suffrage news from other areas of the state. On October 17, 1912, the News reported a rally at Ann Arbor in a three column-inch story on page eleven. On October 19, 1912, a six column-inch story on the editorial page, page four, announced that November 2 was to be "Suffragists Tag Day in Michigan."

⁴¹Ibid., Oct. 20, 1912, p. 20.

This interruption was reported to have caused an uproar and cries of "put her out, put her out" from the crowd.⁴²

"Do not be rude to the lady," urged the governor and the crowd became quiet while the speaker added: "Woman suffrage, madame, is not a question that is dealt with by the national government at all: I am only here as a representative of the national party."⁴³

Miss Malone continued shouting questions concerning suffrage despite the governor's request to desist. "Miss Malone did not stop, however, and for a few minutes there was a confusion in the hall, which finally ended when the police arrested her." The headline above this news story read: "Woman Arrested at Wilson Meeting," although the report also included a lengthy description of Wilson's speech.⁴⁴

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times, like the News, did not report the daily campaign activities of the suffragists, but concentrated on the final rally and the voter reaction to women challengers in the election booths.

News Reportage of the Final Rally

Detroit Free Press

On November 2, 1912, a parade of automobiles, each decorated with yellow and black "Vote for Women" pennants,

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

led a crowd of equal suffrage supporters to Cadillac Square in downtown Detroit for the first and final mass evening rally in the Wayne county campaign for woman's suffrage.

The Free Press reported the final rally in a news story headlined, "Red Fire Ends Votes for Women." The "red fire" referred to the flares the women burned to illuminate the square and dramatize their cause. The Free Press reported

. . . dozens of milling women workers burned red fire, sold pennants and distributed literature . . . [while] Moving pictures showed slides advocating votes for women, an immense sign on Woodward Avenue, flashed the sayings of great men who did and do favor the enfranchisement of women.⁴⁵

Three large meetings were held during the evening, with "over a dozen speakers from the East, West, and Detroit."⁴⁶ The names of the speakers and a general summary of their speeches was reported.

. . . [Maude Younger] gave some telling arguments why women should vote in the experience of the women in California. Her talks were more directed to the laboring class, [Miss Younger headed a California based Waitress Union], although she touched on all phases of the question.⁴⁷

The size of the crowd was estimated as 2,000, mostly men who acted attentively and orderly.

⁴⁵Detroit Free Press, Nov. 3, 1912, sec. 5, p. 2.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal reported the woman's suffrage rally on the front page of its editorial for November 2. The headline, printed in half-inch capital letters, announced the evening event, "Suffragists Auto Parade for Big Rally." The story reported the details of the parade: its route from the Old Telegraph Building to Cadillac Square; the band playing "patriotic airs; and the bearer of the state suffrage banner, Mrs. Mary D. Doe of Bay City, Michigan, the state's oldest suffragist.⁴⁸

In the lead paragraph of the story the Journal told its readers, "Local suffragists are planning a demonstration that will be a fitting climax to an exciting and strenuous campaign."⁴⁹ The newspaper did not carry a follow-up story on the rally.

Detroit News

The News announced the final rally in its October 30 issue. Placed below the fold on the woman's page, the headline of the seven column-inch news story reported, "Women Will Fire Last Guns Saturday." The News described the location of the final rally as "in front of the county building where there is plenty of room for the bumper

⁴⁸Detroit Journal, Nov. 2, 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁹Ibid.

meeting they [the Detroit suffragists] expect to have."⁵⁰
 The only comment on the auto parade was a quote from Mrs. Sellers:

"A large number of our friends have come forward and donated us the use of their automobiles . . . We have a host of good speakers . . . and I am trying to get a prominent man from out of town to make an address at the meeting."⁵¹

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times reported the rally on page one of its November 2, issue. The headline, in half-inch capital letters announced, "Suffragists To Parade Streets This Evening." The Times, like the Detroit Journal, reported the same facts on the parade. The Times additionally reported that the automobiles would be used as speaker's platforms at Cadillac Square, since the city had refused the suffragists a permit to speak on the steps of a public building adjacent to the square.⁵²

News Reportage of Women as Challengers

Detroit Free Press

On November 5, election day, Detroit voters found two suffrage supporters stationed at the polling place in

⁵⁰ Detroit News, Oct. 30, 1912, p. 9.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Detroit Times, Nov. 2, 1912, p. 1.

each precinct. These representatives of woman suffrage known as challengers, were appointed by the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association to watch the voting procedure and to answer voters' questions on woman's suffrage. This was the first time Michigan suffragists would have this privilege. Traditionally, only representatives of the major political parties were allowed at the polls. Some county authorities had questioned the legality of having challengers from a special interest group. This point had been clarified on October 22, when Attorney General Wykes of Michigan had ruled that women could be appointed as challengers by the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association. He based his decision on an act passed by the Michigan Legislature in its second special session and approved on April 9, 1912. The Free Press reported that the Michigan suffragists had decided not to assume their right to be challengers.

After a dignified campaign which has won for them the admiration of experienced politicians all over the state the members of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association have decided to upset all the traditions of enthusiasts in other states and stay away from the polls on election day.⁵³

A news story published October 23, and placed on the woman's page, reported that the decision was based on the Michigan suffragists' confidence in the male vote.

⁵³Detroit Free Press, Oct. 23, 1912, p. 6.

"They [the suffragists] do not propose to cajole voters at the polls on election day, but will trust to their sense of justice and fair play."⁵⁴ No statement from state or local suffrage representatives affirmed this fact. But on October 25, this news story was negated by the plea of Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Association, for volunteers to serve as women challengers. The Free Press printed her entire statement, without further comment, on page two.

Mrs. Sellers also had discovered a clause in the Michigan election rules requiring election officials to count the ballots on public proposals prior to those cast for public candidates. The Free Press reported this news on November 2, three days before election and placed it on the woman's page. The lead paragraph of the news story reported Mrs. Sellers' discovery:

. . . although new in the game of politics, Wayne county's suffragists are already showing the keenness of experienced politicians.

They have been studying the registration and election laws and as a result threaten to introduce some innovations at the voting booths next Tuesday.⁵⁵

Mrs. Sellers was quoted as saying she would attempt to make the voting officials count the woman's suffrage ballots first. She also told the Free Press: "We are

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Nov. 2, 1912, p. 6.

receiving a large number of pledges from women who will act as challengers next Tuesday and we will have sufficient number for the 177 election booths and . . . for workers outside."⁵⁶

On November 5, one paragraph in one news story was allotted to woman's new job as challengers at polling places. The headline, "Suffragists to Watch Polls," was placed beneath the standing head, "Women in the News of the Day," on the woman's page. The Free Press told its readers in the lead, "The ladies will enter the booths to accept conditions as they find them."⁵⁷

Detroit Journal

Before Attorney General Wyke's decision on woman challengers, the Journal had reported that the Detroit suffragists were eager to represent their cause. This news story, three inches in length, was placed on page ten of the Journal for October 21. After the favorable decision, the Journal reported the enthusiasm of equal suffrage supporters--both men and women--to serve as challengers.

Detroit ministers are volunteering in the interests of the women's suffrage to serve as challengers at the polls on election day. Suffragists have responded loyally to the call for challengers . . . The recent

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 6.

rousing suffrage meetings and the arrival of new speakers has lent a new impetus to the Wayne County campaign.⁵⁸

A reporter did admit some of the ministers queried on equal suffrage were not ardent supporters, but "wanted to see Michigan women get a square deal at the polls."⁵⁹ The nine column-inch news story was placed on page six of the Journal for October 29.

On election day, November 5, the Journal gave front-page coverage to the voter reaction to women challengers. The main headline, "Women Insulted at Election Booths; One Leaves in Collapse," was set in seventy-two point type all-capital letters, and the three-line head was spread over four columns. A lengthy two-column subhead, arranged in inverted pyramid style, described the calamity in further detail:

Mrs. P. S. McMahon Jeered at 6th [precinct] of 4th [ward] and Deprived of Chair by Policeman--Miss Younger and Aide Expelled Amid Sneers in 5th [precinct] of the 5th [ward].⁶⁰

Two other subheads informed the reader the news story was a description of early returns and other unusual happenings at the polls. The news lead of the twenty-six column-inch story related to the main headline.

⁵⁸Detroit Journal, Oct. 29, 1912, p. 6.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 1.

Mrs. P. S. McMahon, well-known Detroit suffragist and corresponding secretary of the Detroit Equal Suffrage Society, was so badly insulted Tuesday morning by election officials in the polling booths of the sixth precinct of the Fourth ward that she was taken home in a state of collapse. Miss Maude Younger of California was insulted and expelled from the booth in the 5th precinct of the Fifth. She was later reinstated by the police.⁶¹

Details of both incidents were not related until the last paragraphs of the page-one news story. The Journal reported that Mrs. McMahon was subjected to "sneers, jeers and insults" for several hours before she fell ill. The election officials were rude to her, particularly one identified by the Journal as "Mac."⁶²

A man named "Mac" asked her [Mrs. McMahon] how long she planned to stay. When she replied all day, he answered with a puff of smoke.

"Hew!" ejaculated "Mac" as he blew smoke from a rank campaign cigar into her face.

Mrs. McMahon is not used to tobacco smoke and almost instantly felt ill.⁶³

When Mrs. McMahon left her chair for the rest from the smoke-filled room, a policeman took it and sat down. Mrs. Isaac Stearns, a Detroit suffragist, arrived at this point to find her friend in tears and near collapse. The news story, continued on page thirteen, described the experience of other women challengers. Miss Maude Younger, California suffragist and Miss Josephine Casey, Chicago suffragist and labor leader, were insulted and expelled

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

from the booth in the Fifth District of the Ninth Ward, because election officials questioned their credentials. Miss Casey returned to suffrage headquarters for further proof of their credentials, while Miss Younger stood guard outside the polling place. The officials allowed her to stand at a distance not less than a hundred feet from the poll.

When outside the booth, Miss Younger [charged] that Jacob Mass, a member of the election board, openly warned voters to look out for woman suffrage as it would mean prohibition. He spoke in German, [she said,] thinking she would not understand what he said.

An intoxicated man stood within 10 feet of the booth and loudly harangued voters about equal suffrage. Members of the election board applauded him.

A side door of Peter Kneller's saloon at Gratiot and St. Aubin was opened and poured forth a steady stream of men who went directly to the voting booth.⁶⁴

Miss Casey returned with the signed credentials, Mrs. Clara Arthur, state suffrage president, and Police Lieutenant Geller. After Geller read the new law to the election board, they reluctantly admitted the women. "'Let them in if they can stand the swearing,' said one, whose chair was surrounded by a pool of tobacco juice."⁶⁵

The Journal reported there were no women in the "notorious first of the First, the reputation of which seems to have frightened the campaigners of the fair sex away."⁶⁶ In the First, Second, and Third Wards election

⁶⁴Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 13.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

officials told the women they were suffrage sympathizers and sent them home. Mrs. Arthur, when informed of this news, made a motor trip to find the women and reassigned them to their place.

Another story in the same issue of the Journal reported about others who challenged the women. On page six, below the two column headline, "Gang Gloats at Its Armory Orgy; Woman on Outside Insulted," five paragraphs at the end of the story related how Miss Maude Younger was insulted while speaking from a motor car at Larned and Brush Streets. The Journal reported that young men, in an alcoholic state, yelled "Wow," during her speech.⁶⁷ When Miss Younger asked them to stop, a voice in the crowd cried out:

"Aw g'wan home and wash yer dishes,"
This remark came from a big Negroe standing against
the armory wall . . .⁶⁸

Miss Younger was reported to be undaunted and to have continued speaking using the dishwashing remark to emphasize the idea that the Machine Age had freed woman from her traditional household tasks and had given her time to participate in public affairs.

Detroit News

On October 24, the Detroit News reported news of the legal right of the "Michigan Equal Suffrage League"

⁶⁷Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 6.

⁶⁸Ibid.

to install two women challengers at polling places. The News reported the attorney-general's decision, as did both the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit Journal. The newspaper also described how the decision was made.

Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Michigan equal suffrage campaign, applied to Corporation Counsel Lawson, some time ago as to whether the act recently passed permitted women to act as challengers. Mr. Lawson replied that it did not. Then, Mrs. Sellers appealed to the attorney-general and was informed that women were entitled to representation on election day.⁶⁹

The story, eight column-inches long was placed on page two, and included Mrs. Sellers' entire statement of appeal for equal suffrage challengers. Interested persons were asked to phone or address a note to the suffrage headquarters in the Old Telegraph Building and give their preference as to precinct assignment. This fact was omitted in the stories published in both the Free Press and the Journal.

The Detroit News, like the Journal, gave front page coverage to Detroit suffragists acting as challengers. A news picture of a woman suffragist on duty, two columns wide and six inches deep, was headlined, "Lone Suffragist Does Her Part as Worker in Second Ward." The caption identified the woman as Mrs. Emma Fox and contained no further comment. Below the picture was the headline,

⁶⁹ Detroit News, Oct. 24, 1912, p. 2.

"Women on Duty at Many Booths as Challengers," The subhead read: "Timidity Marks Bearing of Most of Fair Election Workers."⁷⁰ But the news account cited only one instance,

At one booth in the second ward . . . a teacher was on duty up to 9 o'clock this morning but the polls were crowded with voters, and an air of timidity marked her assumption of duty of challenger. She lingered a few hundred feet from the polls for a time, and then disappeared. At 10:30 no one had taken her place.⁷¹

This news story, continued on page two, reported there was no accurate count available of how many booths were guarded by women suffragists. The News stated some had deserted at the last moment and many booths were without challengers. Some of the politicians were reported unsympathetic to the cause of equal suffrage and sought ways to oust the women challengers. The News said men in a West Side polling place evicted the women with their cigar smoke.

Another man closed down all the windows after complaining of the cold and shut the door. Then, they all lit up their stogies and in a few minutes the booth was filled with strong fumes. The two women bore up like brave suffragists for a moment, but finally gave in and left the booth.⁷²

The other coverage of women challengers by the News was strictly pictorial. In the lower left corner of page one was another picture of suffragists on duty. The

⁷⁰Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 1.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 2.

caption for the photo of two smiling challengers gave only the names of the women, Mrs. Frederick G. John and Mrs. Ralph Ainsworth. On page thirteen of the same issue, another picture of a woman challenger carried the caption, "Woman Election Worker Who Braved Crowds of Men in Effort to Aid the Cause of Equal Suffrage." The woman and the precinct were identified. "Mrs. Stephen B. Markiem, 70 Garfield Avenue, Was a Challenger During the Day at the Booth in the Third Precinct of the Second Ward."⁷³ There was no related news story.

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times did not report news concerning women challengers prior to election day. But, on November 5, when male voters cast their ballots, the newspaper reported the effectiveness of the women challengers as part of a page-one news story headlined, "Split Tickets and Record Vote Election Features." The Times noted women challengers were stationed in the precincts on the West Side, not the East Side of the city.

Many booths the women were supposed to sit as challengers were absent. This was particularly true in the German and Polish districts of the East side and in the near river precincts. In the "silk hat" precincts nearly every one had one woman and some had men. Without exception they were treated with courtesy, though in some polls where there were no women officials they were making equal suffrage something to laugh at and joke at.⁷⁴

⁷³ Detroit News, Nov. 5, 1912, p. 13.

⁷⁴ Detroit Times, Nov. 5, 1912, p. 1.

In the last paragraph of the story, continued on page 4, Dr. Eugene Rodman Shippen of the First Unitarian Church of Detroit told the Times that election officials had threatened to throw him out but he intended to stay until the suffrage ballots were counted.⁷⁵

News Reportage of Anti-Suffrage Activities

On November 5, 1912, the supporters of woman suffrage guarded the election booths and hoped for a victory. Speeches had been given, meetings and rallies had been held to persuade voters in favor of the woman's suffrage amendment. What were the campaign activities of the anti-suffrage forces?

In the campaign of 1912, there was no state organization of anti-suffragists in Michigan. Representatives from the national anti-suffrage organization, the National Anti-Suffrage Association, were sent to campaign in Michigan the two weeks prior to election day. Other than these representatives, nationally or locally organized special interest groups were the only other anti-suffrage forces in the campaign of 1912.

Detroit Free Press

The Detroit Free Press first reported the activities of the anti-suffragists on October 25, 1912, as an

⁷⁵Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 9.

undercover scheme accidentally discovered by the suffragists. In the lead, the Free Press explained,

Since an error is usually found in the plot of a comedy last Wednesday revealed to the Wayne County Equal Suffrage organization the plans of the anti-suffragist organization of New York, national in its scope, which Thursday began its campaign in Detroit against the equal suffragists.⁷⁶

The news story related how for ten minutes the New York manager of the anti-suffrage organization talked with a member of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Organization under the impression that she was an anti-suffragist member. The anti-suffragist leader (otherwise unidentified), told the local woman her plans to distribute anti-suffrage literature and gave the address where news stories for the press could be found.

The headline of this ten column-inch story on page three read: "'Dry' Circulars Called Fraudulent by Women." Below the caption, "Attempts to Prejudice 'Wet' Voters," the newspaper described how the previous day, circulars giving the impression that they might have been distributed by the suffragists were deposited in saloons throughout the city. The important sentence in these circulars was "Vote for Suffrage and Make Michigan Dry." The circulars were not signed, and the Free Press reported "the evident intent

⁷⁶Detroit Free Press, Oct. 25, 1912, p. 3.

was to arouse sentiment against the suffragists on the liquor basis."⁷⁷

Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Organization, adamantly denied the circulars were the work of the Detroit suffragists.

"They are the anti-suffragists and the first we knew of them was when the reports came they were distributed at the saloons.

"The men of Michigan know us well enough by this time to decide on suffrage without that kind of appeal," she added, "Furthermore, we never send out literature that is not signed we are never afraid to stand for what we say."⁷⁸

The only other news of anti-suffrage activity reported by the Free Press was a two-paragraph description of another distribution of anti-suffrage literature on November 4, the day before the election. The Free Press reported that the pamphlets attempted to show how woman's suffrage was detrimental to liquor and pure food interests and they placed the principles advocated by the women on the negligible list. The production and distribution of these circulars was attributed to Charles E. Evans, a medicine peddler in Lansing. This news was placed in a story on the woman's page. The story was headlined, "Suffragists Watch Polls."⁷⁹

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 6.

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal, like the Free Press, reported the arrival of the national anti-suffrage workers and the first distribution of the circulars. The main headline of the story, with the first two paragraphs set two-columns wide read: "Anti-Suffrage War Started in Detroit; N.Y. Leader Comes." The lead paragraph of the story continued the war imagery begun in the headline.

Foes of equal suffrage have unlumbered their guns in Detroit and cards are being placed in city saloons calling for the defeat of the amendment . . . to save Michigan from going dry.

Mrs. Mary Walker of New York, anti-suffrage leader, is said to be in Detroit organizing a campaign against votes for women.⁸⁰

The news story was divided into two separate stories, running side by side. The subheadline of the first story was, "Anti-Suffrage Bills Distributed in Bars."⁸¹ The Journal reported that the circulars were the work of the anti-suffrage staff. In the next paragraph, the newspaper reported that the suffragists thought the handbills or circulars were the work of the brewers and this activity signaled the beginning of the campaign fight.

This is the real beginning of the campaign, according to the suffrage leaders, no organized resistance to suffrage having heretofore been made. The handbills are attributed by the suffrage forces to the liquor interests.⁸²

⁸⁰Detroit Journal, Oct. 24, 1912, p. 6.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

"They [the suffragists] think it forecasts a serious effort by the saloon interests to defeat suffrage by appealing to local option," the Journal reported. Mrs. Belle Brotherton, president of the Detroit Equal Suffrage Club, however, was quoted as saying that unsigned publications had been used in Ohio and in other states, but Detroit suffragists were not fearful of their effect in Michigan "But we are far from being thrown into a panic by this attack from an enemy who dare not show his face, but stabs from the back," she said.⁸³

The following day, October 25, the Journal carried another article on the anti-suffrage attack and the indifference of Detroit suffragists to the new "enemy." Placed on page thirteen, with the headline reading, "Suffragists Will Ignore Anti Attack," the lead of this second news story also attributed the circulars to the anti-suffragist forces.

Suffrage speakers at the street meeting . . . ignored the attack made by the anti's Thursday, when Detroit saloons were showered with handbills containing attacks on suffrage.⁸⁴

In a later paragraph, the Journal again reported the suffragists' charge that the liquor interests had distributed the circulars. The Journal did not report the

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid., Oct. 25, 1912, p. 13.

second distribution of circulars. But, on October 31, the newspaper said the anti-suffrage forces were showing advertisements against the woman's suffrage amendment in the Detroit movie theatres. The lead began:

Foes of the suffrage movement have invaded the motion picture field in the effort to defeat equal suffrage and slides are being shown in local theatres bearing pictures of the hen-pecked husband and the words, "A⁸⁵ Vote for Equal Suffrage is a Vote Against Husbands."

The story, four column-inches, was placed on page seven, did not specify exactly who the "foes" of suffrage were.

On November 5, the headline of a news story on page two, "Suffragists Fear Election Day Trickery," topped a report that officers of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Organization were expecting some sort of "treason" because of the work of "antis in other states" and the evidence of similar tactics employed by them in Wayne county. The report implied that the anti-suffrage force the women feared was not the national anti-suffrage organization, but the liquor interests. The suffragists wanted to inform the "friends of suffrage" of the "tricks done by the liquor people."⁸⁶

In Cleveland, the liquor interests hired a large number of underworld women to get drunk, then furnished them with woman suffrage pennants and literature and sent them out, parading the streets, accosting men and asking them to vote for equal suffrage.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ibid., Oct. 31, 1912, p. 7.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

The Wayne county organization was reported to have told its members to stay off the streets election day. Police Commissioner Craul was informed of the Cleveland incident and had assured the women he would have detectives on the lookout for disorderly women masquerading as suffragists.

Another tactic of the anti-suffrage forces was breaking up campaign rallies and street meetings for woman's suffrage. In this news story, the Journal described the attempt of an anti-suffragist to disrupt the final rally at Cadillac Square in downtown Detroit, on November 2. When the first suffragist began to speak, she was interrupted by the blast of bugle music. The bugler standing in the middle of the crowd, was attired in full evening dress, and wore a stovepipe hat.

He had a false moustache for disguise and was shivering in the cold blasts of the north wind, evidencing that he was not here for fun even if his nickelodian comedian habiliments were not proof enough that fraud was connected with his act.⁸⁸

One of the suffragists tapped him lightly on the arm to stop his solo, but he continued to "bugle merrily," until she administered a "blow that jarred his bugle arm."

He ceased his musical abenations [sic] and turned to stare her in the face. She glared back with the eye that glinted cold as steel, manifestly backed by nerve . . . Both were unflinching for about 20 seconds but it seemed longer. Then that little fist doubled up

⁸⁸Ibid.

again, raised slightly with just the air of threat about it, and a voice clear as a chime, but cold and determined as the glint in the eye said,

"You blow out. I know what you're here for, and if you don't want to get in trouble, you'll disappear quick."⁸⁹

The crowd was reported to have cheered the woman, and three or four muscular men surrounded the bugler. An unidentified man in the crowd was reported to have yelled, "You're workin' for the booze-selling gang that's against woman's suffrage and you're here to break up the meeting. You git out."⁹⁰

The Journal reported that "the nickelodian buglist [sic] took one look and 'got.'" While the unidentified woman defender told the crowd, "If he had put that bugle to his lips once more, I would have grabbed it and smashed it."⁹¹

The Detroit Journal was the only newspaper of the Detroit dailies to report this incident and it was not reported until three days after the final rally on November 2.

Detroit News

The Detroit News carried only one story on anti-suffrage activities in Michigan. The news story, placed on page fifteen, section five, of the Sunday edition for October 27, carried a Grand Rapids dateline. The seven column-inch story consisted of a statement from the

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

Michigan Equal Suffrage Association's branch office in Grand Rapids on the recent circulation of anti-suffrage handbills in the state. The News reported that the quotations about prohibition in these pamphlets were made by officers of the Women's Temperance Christian Union. The Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, however, declared its independence from the W.T.C.U. in this statement:

The W.T.C.U. numbers about 13,000 women. There are 600,000 women in the state. The equal suffrage movement has been endorsed by the Grange, the Gleaners, the Maccabees, and the women's clubs. It is safe to say there are more than 200,000 women in these organizations that have endorsed woman's suffrage and that many more thousands in Michigan believe in it, so the W.T.C.U. in no sense represents the suffragists of Michigan.⁹²

The state suffrage organization stated it had conducted a campaign based on the merits of the cause and relied on Michigan men not to be tricked into voting against the cause that would otherwise appeal to them. The news story was placed below the standing headline, "Political News and Gossip."⁹³

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times carried five front-page news stories on the anti-suffrage forces and their activities. On October 17, the Times reported a story headlined,

⁹²Detroit News, Oct. 27, 1912, sec. 5, p. 15.

⁹³Ibid.

"Brewers Say They'll Not Oppose Suffrage," that Arthur E. Gordon, publicity agent for the Michigan Brewers Association, had said the association would have "no part in the woman suffrage campaign, nor will it oppose suffrage."⁹⁴

He said the women voters in other states were liberals. Gordon cited past election returns in Denver, a major city in the equal suffrage state of Colorado: "Sixty per cent of the votes cast were by women and nevertheless the vote was in favor of the liberal element."⁹⁵ Neither the Times nor the Michigan Brewers Association defined what they meant by the "liberal vote."

Miss Maude Younger, a California suffragist, was reported to be "surprised" by the brewers' attitude. The Times also reported that the saloons were free of anti-suffrage literature, and that an unidentified brewer had contributed to the suffrage funds.

Suffragists were reported still dubious of the brewers' true intent.

There is still a fear among the suffragists that the liberal elements are at work and are depending on a four day campaign in the end to swing the "wet vote" against suffrage. The women indicate the liquor question ought to have no part in the campaign as they themselves are divided on the question.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Detroit Times, Oct. 17, 1912, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

On October 24, the Times reported the arrival of the anti-suffragists from the national organization.

The enemy has invaded the field! That's the dire news which the equal suffragists of Michigan are regretfully telling one another and by the enemy is meant the National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage.⁹⁷

The mission of Mrs. Mary Walker, the national anti-suffrage representative, was reported to be to "feed" anti-suffrage literature to the country press. Also, copies of the anti-suffrage national magazine, the Protester, were supposedly distributed throughout the state. The magazine, according to the Times, contained capsule-sized anti-suffrage arguments. For example, "Women have no political judgment why increase the ignorant vote"; and, "Women will want political office if they get the ballot and, therefore will crowd men out of good jobs in one more line of public work."⁹⁸

The Detroit Times headlined a front page story, "Brewers Deny Backing Forces of Suffrage," on October 25, the news story related how the Times had received a copy of the Protester in the mailing wrap of the Michigan Brewers Association. Arthur E. Gordon, publicity agent for the association, denied any significance in the act or any

⁹⁷Ibid., Oct. 24, 1912, p. 1.

⁹⁸Ibid.

conspiracy between the brewers and the anti-suffrage national representatives.

I don't know why there should be any excitement . . . I sent it in one of our office envelopes without an attempt of concealment, because I thought I was doing the Times a favor.⁹⁹

Gordon told the Times that Mrs. Walker had informed him the newspaper wanted a copy of the magazine. The Times called this statement "Gordon's version of the story."

An incident reported by the Times on October 31 indicated there was a possible connection between the Michigan Brewers Association and the national anti-suffragists. While waiting for a streetcar, Detroit suffrage leaders were hit by anti-suffrage literature falling from a passing truck. Suffragists alleged the truck belonged to the brewers association. The news of this event was headlined: "'Tis Ill Wind That Blows a Tip to No One." Three subheads specified the particular situation: "Griswold and Zeph'r Lays Bare Nasty Anti-Suffrage Plot"; "Leaflets Scattered at Suffragists Feet"; and "Were Being Taken to Ford Building--Brewers Have Office There." The lead paragraph emphasized the dramatic irony.

If the incident had finished in a modern novel or had been staged in an up-to-date play, it could not have been more dramatic, and effective than it was, when a group of well-known suffragists standing in front of the Ford building at Griswold and Congress

⁹⁹Ibid., Oct. 25, 1912, p. 1.

sts., Tuesday evening about 6:30 o'clock found themselves deluged with leaflets upon which was printed very strong anti publicity.¹⁰⁰

The women had just left suffrage headquarters in downtown Detroit. They were waiting at the corner of Griswold and Congress Streets for a streetcar. An express truck rounded their corner, bumped the curb, and spilled a bundle of pamphlets. The string holding the bundle broke and leaflets were scattered all around the suffragists.

"We picked the leaflets up and found the reading matter to be a very nasty attack on the morality of the women in states where equal suffrage now obtains," said a member of the suffrage group. "A bystander asked the driver where he was going, and he replied, 'To the freight elevator in the Ford Building.'"¹⁰¹

The Times reported that the secretary and attorney general of the Michigan Brewers Association maintained offices in room 109 Ford Building. This coincidence, said the Times, confirmed the suffragists' belief that anti-suffrage literature "now flooding Detroit [emanated] from the beer people."¹⁰² The suffragists involved in this incident were not identified by the newspaper.

The Times related how a large quantity of anti-suffrage literature had passed through the Detroit post office. This was discovered when mail carriers accidentally brought some of the material to the suffrage headquarters

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Oct. 31, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

in the Telegraph Building. In this news story, the incident of the Protester being sent to the Times by the brewers association was repeated.

On election day, the Times reported that a "liquor slate" had been passed around in Detroit. The "liquor slate," according to the newspaper, was a list of two Democrats and nine Republicans recommended as the preferred candidates for the state legislature by leaders in the liquor business.

It had been quietly passed around the liquor interests at the last minute of course it would never do to label it the "liquor slate." The patriots who undertake to offer advice to the voters . . . have the effrontery to label it the "home rule legislative ticket."¹⁰³

The Times reported the two Democratic candidates were placed on the slate because their Republican competitors had endorsed woman's suffrage. This information came from an unidentified source. The Times specified the Republican candidates deleted from the special list. "Remember that two of the Republican candidates voted for woman's suffrage. They are Charles E. Flowers and Orvice R. Leonard."¹⁰⁴

In this news story, the Detroit Times openly stated that the brewers were actively involved in the campaign

¹⁰³Ibid., Nov. 5, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

against woman's suffrage. "The Michigan Brewers Association and allied bodies among the liquor interests have been working tooth and nail against suffrage, despite their statements to the contrary," the newspaper reported.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

CHAPTER III

ISSUES IN THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN

When Michigan men gathered for political discussions in 1912, one of the main topics around the cracker-barrel and at club meetings was woman's suffrage. Those opposed to the issue argued "woman's place" was in the home.¹ They declared woman's participation in politics would demoralize her and cause her to neglect her home duties. Those in favor of the amendment argued "that votes for women would inaugurate a new era in politics, that the embattled females would drive out the crooked politicians, and bring a reign of righteousness."²

The women suffragists presented pro-suffrage arguments based on two rationales: justice and expediency.³ In the nineteenth century, the suffragists had argued that

¹Willis Frederick Dunbar, Michigan Through the Centuries (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1955), I, 467.

²Ibid.

³Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. viii-ix, 45-75. The National American Woman Suffrage Association supplied the individual states with their literature, pamphlets, and posters. Therefore, the arguments the Michigan suffragists presented did not differ from the national position.

equal suffrage was just and the natural extension of the equal rights espoused in the Declaration of Independence.⁴ Twentieth century American suffragists added the expediency rationale to the justice rationale. They said women needed the vote to control their home and work conditions. Women were no longer totally responsible for the food, clothing, and sanitary conditions of the family. Government had assumed many of women's traditional household duties, yet it barred them from active participation in the administration of these duties.⁵ The National American Woman Suffrage Association also recognized that the working women needed the ballot to protect her rights as an employee.⁶

Suffragists reminded the voters that the American government needed women voters to enact progressive reforms. The need of government for women's political participation and the women's need to participate in the legislative process was the core of the expediency rationale.⁷

⁴Ibid., pp. 51-52.

⁵Ibid., pp. 68-69.

⁶Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in Washington, D.C., February 15-20, 1894, p. 168; Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 62.

⁷Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 72.

News Reportage of the Issues of the Campaign
For Woman's Suffrage by the Detroit
Daily Newspapers

The selection and coverage of various speeches on equal suffrage was one way the Detroit daily newspapers informed their readers of the issues in the woman's suffrage campaign of 1912. Other methods used by the newspapers were feature stories, signed articles of opinion, and news stories of public endorsements of woman suffrage.

Detroit Free Press

The Detroit Free Press carried two signed articles of opinion on the woman's suffrage amendment. Both stories were placed on a page exclusively featured in the Sunday edition, a page distinguished by its regular, weekly standing headline, "Comment and Opinion on Topics of Today." In the first piece, neither the main headline nor the sub-head of the article indicated it was about woman suffrage. The headline was, "Other Times--Other Manners."⁸

The headline related to the lead paragraph of the article, in which Eleanor Gage, the reporter, recalled the advice of Samuel Johnson, the English lexicographer, to his friend the biographer, James Boswell. In response to his friend's question about wills, Johnson had told his friend not to leave an inheritance to his female heirs

⁸Detroit Free Press, Oct. 20, 1912, sec. 5, p. 7.

because it was not the custom or the manner of the day. Johnson was reported to have said, "As manners make laws, so manners repeal them."⁹

The reporter related Johnson's remark to the question of woman suffrage. Since manners and woman's role in society had changed, Miss Gage wrote, the laws related to women also should change. She refuted the anti-suffrage argument that women were unable to participate in public affairs because of their many household duties.

They [men] have forgotten or overlooked the conditions which have resulted in the ancient and honorable occupation of women, such as spinning, weaving, grinding the corn meal . . . [In the twentieth century,] even the preparation of food, [has been] taken away from the women and given over to the men, leaving the women of the race time to think and act . . .¹⁰

Miss Gage also decried the desire of some men to protect the women from the mire of politics as the masculine fascade of chivalry.

. . . as for the high sounding apprest willingness to protect the weak and helpless, that has always been mere sophistry . . . the girl who has no brother, husband or father to protect her, well,¹¹ (shrugging his shoulders), she must fend for herself.

In the twentieth century the women needed the ballot to protect themselves, Miss Gage concluded, and society needed women voters to improve conditions.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

On November 3, two days before the general elections, the Detroit Free Press printed a second article written by Eleanor Gage. This piece dealt with arguments in favor of woman suffrage. The lengthy two-column story, headlined, "November 5th AND THE WOMEN OF MICHIGAN," began with a quotation by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a noted nineteenth century suffrage leader: "On the high ground of safety to the nation and justice to its citizens, I ask your support in the coming election." Miss Gage also asked the reader to endorse woman's suffrage to improve the quality of the national government "Now the nation will never be a great nation . . . so long as the intelligent, patriotic women citizens are unenfranchised."¹²

The voter who opposed woman's suffrage would act contrary to the example of the presidential candidate of his party, Miss Gage wrote. Theodore Roosevelt had publicly endorsed woman's suffrage, and both Taft and Wilson had women workers in their campaign effort. The reporter quoted statistics to prove women's participation in the government as taxpayers and landowners. "One hundred thousand and more taxpaying women who own property assessed at \$177,000,000 have no voice in laws that control that property."¹³ Miss Gage said the most important reason for

¹²Ibid., Nov. 3, 1912, sec. 5, p. 7.

¹³Ibid.

endorsing women's suffrage was to allow women to exercise their judgment in legislative reforms related to their children; for example the child labor laws.

The Detroit Free Press reported three public endorsements of woman's suffrage; two by organizations and one by an individual. On October 16, the Free Press reported the activities of the State Federation of Women's Clubs annual convention at Saginaw, in a news story on page three. Lucy White Williams, president of the state federation, said the majority of club women favored the woman's suffrage amendment, with the exception of the women in the country districts.

Strangely enough in the country districts where we would naturally look for the least assistance from the men, we find it is the women who are the hardest to arouse and who exhibit the most aversion to the ballot.

We learn this at the country fairs around the state. The farmers, generally, I believe, will be with us especially where grange confidence has been at work. The grange declared for woman's suffrage, and its women with it, but where there are no grangers the women seem to consider the ballot something they should have nothing to do with.¹⁴

The Free Press reported the endorsement of woman's suffrage amendment by the Michigan branch of the Women's Temperance Christian Union. The subhead of this news story announced the organization's endorsement: "Delegates

¹⁴Ibid., Oct. 16, 1912, p. 3.

at Portland Endorse Equal Suffrage, Universal Peace, and the Eight-Hour Work Day."¹⁵

On October 26, the Free Press reported the endorsement by Mrs. Belva Ann Lockwood, a "veteran champion of woman's rights," of the woman's suffrage amendment to the state constitution. There was no news story on her endorsement, only a one-column wide photo of Mrs. Lockwood, with the information in the caption that she had just celebrated her eighty-second birthday anniversary and had been the presidential candidate of the Equal Rights party in the general election of 1884. The Free Press described Mrs. Lockwood as "militant in the cause of equal suffrage."¹⁶

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal carried three news feature stories on the woman's suffrage issue in the pre-election period. None of these stories was placed on page one or on the front page of the special section.

The first story, on October 22, described why Tom Robbins, a young, Detroit chauffeur, intended to "stump" for woman's suffrage. Robbins, a debater during his high school days, was quoted as saying that because his mother had successfully raised three citizens, he thought she was capable of the franchise. He also said the ballot was needed by the women employed outside the home.

¹⁵Ibid., Oct. 23, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid., Oct. 26, 1912, p. 1.

"Since I have been working for myslef," he said, "I have come in contact with many girls and women who like myself are supporting themselves and perhaps their families. I think it nothing more than a square deal that they should have the vote as well as I.

"Women are coming to be more real factors in business development as well as more property owners. Why should they not have a voice in the government that levies taxes on them and assumes control of conditions under which they work?"¹⁷

The last two feature stories were reported in the same issue of the Journal on November 1. Placed below the fold on page sixteen, the first story explained why Mrs. Pauline Steinem, a Toledo club woman and a suffragist, supported equal suffrage.

"Equal suffrage will draw husbands and wives closer together, make the home happier and better and less a social evil," she said.¹⁸

Mrs. Steinem said that if it is right for a man with opinions to vote, it is right for a woman with opinions to vote. The women would be as divided in their political opinions as the men, but when the welfare of the home was at stake women would protect it with their votes.

In the same issue, on page thirty, the two-column headline of the second story was set in bold-face type. The headline was, "Equal Suffrage Will Americanize Aliens, Says Polish Suffragist."¹⁹ The "Polish suffragist" was

¹⁷ Detroit Journal, Oct. 22, 1912, p. 13.

¹⁸ Ibid., Nov. 1, 1912, p. 16.

¹⁹ Ibid., Nov. 1, 1912, p. 30.

identified as Amelia Porah of Detroit, "a Polish magazine writer." Miss Porah argued that equal suffrage would solve the problem of educating the foreign born population to American life. She said,

"Make citizens of the women immigrants as well as the men, . . . And then working together, they will make better citizens of their children. The ballot is a force of education that should not be overlooked in the immigration problems."²⁰

Miss Porah said there were 90,000 Polish-speaking people in Detroit, comprising one-sixth of the population. The amount paid into the public treasury by the population of Polish descent was second only to that of the German population. She noted that the naturalized Polish citizens used their voting privilege and would favor allowing their women the same right.

"Among the enfranchised Poles, I am satisfied that a higher percentage vote than do native-born voters . . . The Polish people hold their women in high regard and the idea of woman's suffrage takes quick root among them."²¹

The Detroit Journal reported five endorsements of equal suffrage, all made by well-known public figures. The news story on the endorsement by Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, of the Temple Beth El in Detroit, was the only one placed on the front page. Rabbi Franklin had been consistently

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

against equal suffrage, so his endorsement was considered a victory for the women. In a statement sent to Mrs. Clara Arthur, president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, on October 18, 1912, the rabbi said,

" . . . I intend to vote for suffrage, not because I have as much faith in its possibilities as a panacea for our social and governmental ills as you have, but because I have enough faith in the women of America to believe that any instrument of power placed in their hands will be used only for good and not for ill."²²

Rabbi Franklin added that he was of the conviction that women did exert a great influence on the state and nation even without the franchise.

On October 23, Dr. Charles E. Chadsey, superintendent of Detroit schools, endorsed equal suffrage in what the Journal termed the "most conservative way." Like Rabbi Franklin, Dr. Chadsey said he did not believe woman's suffrage would usher in a new era in politics. He forecasted that the majority of women would reflect their husband's political opinions. Summarizing his views on woman's suffrage, the Detroit school superintendent said that "equal suffrage merely doubles the vote, without greatly changing the character."²³

The Journal reported the statement of Judge Ben S. Lindsey of Denver, Colorado. Judge Lindsey said in his

²²Ibid., Oct. 19, 1912, p. 1.

²³Ibid., Oct. 23, 1912, p. 9.

brief message that equal suffrage had met its expectations in Colorado. He advised the men of Michigan to vote for woman's suffrage, "because it is in line with enlightenment, justice, and fair play, and because it is a real progressive measure upon which progressives of all parties should unite."²⁴

On November 1, four days before the election, the Journal printed the statement of Woodbridge N. Ferris, Democratic party candidate for governor of Michigan, in the 1912 elections. Ferris endorsed the equal suffrage amendment on the basis of its humanity.

"So long as any human being is dependent upon any other human being for his or her food, clothing, or shelter, he or she is that person's slave. Millions of women in America, notwithstanding they toil early and late, are thus dependent. The laws by which they are governed are not of their making. The nation is still half-free and half-slave. A true democracy demands freedom for all the people . . . Give women the ballot and convert our great republic into a great brotherhood.

"Vote 'Yes' and give mothers a say in government--the mothers who raised the men of this state, and who keep these men forever in their interest and guardianship so long as life lasts."²⁵

In the same issue, on page fourteen, Justus S. Stearns, Ludington millionaire lumberman and former secretary of state of Michigan, endorsed woman's suffrage. Stearns told the Journal that women voters would be less

²⁴Ibid., Oct. 28, 1912, p. 2.

²⁵Ibid., Nov. 1, 1912, p. 12.

susceptible to corrupting influences than men, adding that "the wife of the businessman has more time than her husband to study the problems of the home and the public questions concerning the home."²⁶

Detroit News

The Detroit News mentioned the issues related to woman's suffrage in two stories: the first one was in an unsigned article of opinion; and the second, a news story on the actions of an equal-suffrage supporter.

The first article discussed the four public questions on the ballot for Michigan voters in the November 5 election. In the twenty-four column-inch story, the News included but one sentence on the public question of woman suffrage.

Woman's suffrage has been more debated than any other of the policy proposals that will be submitted to the people, because of the active campaigning for and against it being waged throughout the state.²⁷

The second article, placed on the woman's page, reported the reaction of Olivet, Michigan, workingmen to a comment, made by Dr. Herbert A. Miller, chairman of the social science department at Olivet College and woman's suffrage supporter. Dr. Herbert was reported to have said

²⁶Ibid., Nov. 1, 1912, p. 14.

²⁷Detroit News, Oct. 24, 1912, p. 4.

in a speech that "one half of the number of foreigners could do more work than the entire gang of local laborers employed in digging trenches for Olivet college's heating plant." The local laborers were reported to have agreed not to vote for equal suffrage because of Miller's remark. The story, reported on November 2, was headlined, "Attack on Laborers Cost Suffragists' Votes."²⁸

The Detroit News carried four news stories about endorsements of the woman's suffrage amendment: one by a state organization; the other three by an individual or groups of individuals.

The News reported the endorsement by the State Federation of Women's Clubs in a news story on the general activities of the women's clubs annual convention. "The woman's suffrage amendment went through without dissenting vote at the morning session of the State Federation of Women's Clubs," the newspaper noted.²⁹ In another news story, the News predicted the address by Jane Addams, Chicago social worker, at the convention would gain the federation's endorsement of equal suffrage.

Those who are high in the council of the federation say that it will take electrifying speakers like Jane Addams to crystallize the sentiment [for woman's suffrage]. Last year, the subject was considered but it was a national and not much of a state issue as it is

²⁸Ibid., Nov. 2, 1912, p. 6.

²⁹Ibid., Oct. 17, 1912, p. 13.

at this time. Last year, there was no Jane Addams to bring home the message as only a Jane Addams can.³⁰

The equal suffrage amendment was also endorsed by Mrs. Hattie C. Dertlick, past leader of the Eastern Star organization in Ionia, and many of her fellow lodge workers. The News reported that members of the Eastern Star were the best workers for woman's suffrage in the city. Mrs. Dertlick supported suffrage because in the six equal suffrage states child labor and illiteracy have "ceased to be a problem." She also said women would participate wisely in the economy. "The careful housekeeper and ambitious mother, . . . would take an active part in restraining monopolies from adding undue profits to the cost of the general living."³¹

The News reported the endorsement of the incumbent Michigan governor, Chase S. Osborn, on the last page of its October 31 issue. The newspaper printed the entire statement without further comment. Governor Osborn urged Michigan men to vote for woman suffrage.

"All good citizens, irrespective of party should vote for woman suffrage amendment. Its adoption in Michigan will be an indication of highly advanced citizenship. Michigan has the opportunity to be the first middle eastern state to accord women a just privilege. The extension of the finer influence of women into our public affairs will mean much, lifting them to higher planes of purity and priority. If your mother could create your foundation principles and

³⁰ Ibid., Oct. 16, 1912, p. 9.

³¹ Ibid.

your wife advises you wisely in all matters, why may they not be permitted to help you solve in their courage, wisdom, and morality, the complex problems of citizenship."³²

Governor Osborn cited the low crime rate among Michigan women as an indication of their superior morality.³³

On November 3, the News reported why eight well-known Detroit men endorsed the woman's suffrage amendment. The story, placed on page fifteen, was composed of one-column pictures of each man and his paragraph statement on equal suffrage. These Detroit citizens included Judge Alfred J. Murphy, George T. Moody, the Reverend Dr. W. D. Maxon, the Reverend E. R. Shippen, the Reverend J. Perceival Huget, D. J. Healy, Rabbi Franklin, and E. H. Doyle. These Detroiters were otherwise unidentified. The men summarized various suffrage arguments in the paragraph statements. Sample statements were:

[The Reverend Mr. Maxon] ". . . the ballot concerns humanity, it is not unworthy of woman." And [E. H. Doyle] "Average woman is as capable of voting as the average man."³⁴

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times published one feature story on woman's suffrage. The story, placed on page nine,

³²Ibid., Oct. 31, 1912, p. 24.

³³Ibid. In 1912, according to Governor Chase S. Osborn, there were 1,700 male felons in Michigan prisons and only thirty-seven female prisoners.

³⁴Ibid., Nov. 3, 1912, p. 11.

discussed the relationship between the new voter interest in woman suffrage and the recent invention of the motor car. It was based exclusively on an interview with George M. Dickenson, manager of the Ford Company of Indianapolis. Dickenson, although not an equal suffrage supporter, agreed the automobile had a part in the increased female desire for independence and the ballot.

"In her motor car, for the first time in her life the woman is master of time and distance the same as man. She is no longer a slave of the sidewalks or the four walls of her home. She comes and goes at will in luxury and safety, through the city's busy marketplace . . . She is healthier, bigger in experience, and her horizons broader with everyday motoring.

"I believe that the motor car has opened the eyes of women and is making them more self-confident and more eager to enjoy the power she thinks man has monopolized so long."³⁵

The Times reported three endorsements of woman's suffrage. Like the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News, the Times reported the State Federation of Woman's Clubs endorsement. The newspaper reported this news in a page-one news story headlined, "Woman's Clubs Boosts Suffrage."³⁶ The story briefly stated the endorsement of woman's suffrage and, then described other issues under consideration by the convention delegates.

³⁵Detroit Times, Oct. 19, 1912, p. 9.

³⁶Ibid., Oct. 17, 1912, p. 1.

The Detroit Times reported the endorsement of Governor Chase S. Osborn³⁷ and Judge Alfred J. Murphy³⁸ as did the Detroit News.

Editorials on Woman's Suffrage Campaign
Detroit Daily Newspapers

Detroit Free Press

The Free Press reacted editorially to the endorsement of woman's suffrage by the State Federation of Women's Clubs. In an editorial, the Free Press cautioned the club women not to be too unrealistic in their expectations of women's power to purify politics and to improve social conditions.

If we could suggest anything to the intelligent membership of this convention, it would be that they seem too confident that the desired results can be obtained by the method they have in view. They are oversanguine, we fear about the certainty of reforming through the ballot and statues.³⁹

The Free Press cited an example to prove its point. The newspaper had lead a campaign to educate the public on the dangerous effect of a "social evil." After conferences, and speeches by doctors and reformers, a law was recommended prohibiting marriage to persons who had

³⁷Ibid., Oct. 31, 1912, p. 2.

³⁸Ibid., Nov. 1, 1912, p. 5.

³⁹Editorial, Detroit Free Press, Oct. 20, 1912, p. 6.

"suffered from the disease under discussion."⁴⁰ When this law was introduced to the legislature, it was discovered a similar law had been enacted in 1905. The Free Press editors concluded with another warning:

Our women in their entrance upon larger work, will find that a great many plans they have in mind have been tried already and not all of them were as good in actuality as they seemed before they were put to the test. If they will take counsel from experience they will not be too sanguine about speedy perfection and will not fall into the disastrous error of predicting an early arrival of the millennium when they get the ballot.⁴¹

On October 25, the Free Press reacted editorially to Attorney General Wykes decision that women may be appointed as challengers at the polling places. The editorial suggested that the suffragists' insistence on representation indicated their mistrust of the regular party representatives.

. . . the suffragists are either unwilling to trust any of the regular party challengers, although the legislature conclusively showed its friendly attitude toward them, or else they are unable to enlist the sympathies of any of those challengers.⁴²

The editors also criticized the act that allowed the women the right to act as special challengers.

. . . in order to get them [the special representatives] they are obliged to appeal to a presumably well-intentioned but nevertheless, weirdly,

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., Oct. 25, 1912, p. 4.

ill-balanced and exaggerated act of recent second extra session of the legislature, an act which thus for the first time appears in all its uncanny glory before the people of this state.⁴³

The editorial explained that this act was an extension of the law that originally only had provided challengers for the political parties. Each party was to have two challengers in a booth, a table and chair, and immediate access to the voters' inspection table. The Free Press editors suggested that if these privileges were extended to every organization requesting them, polling places would reach gargantuan proportions.

It is conceivable that under certain conditions it might become necessary to stretch the polling places until their interiors would compare favorably in size with the auditorium of the Detroit armory. Continual and manifold scrutiny of the poll list might even be employed to hamper the casting of ballots so seriously as to disenfranchise voters.⁴⁴

In conclusion, the editors apologized for their critique of suffragists' demands and the new law.

But all this we take it is the way of reform legislation and therefore sacred from the criticism of the unelect.⁴⁵

On November 1, the Free Press editorially discussed issues on the ballot in an editorial captioned, "Questions on the Ballot Next Week." Contrary to its first

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

editorial statement on the possible ineffectiveness of equal suffrage, this editorial warned that "the matter of woman suffrage is of far-reaching importance, involving effects that may be of the greatest consequence to the state and to every citizen." The Free Press stated its opinion on each of the public issues with the exception of woman's suffrage. Equal suffrage should be a matter of individual judgment, the newspaper editors' concluded.

. . . each voter must exercise his best judgment. Extension of the suffrage to the female sex is not one of the topics on which newspapers can offer advice, except those papers that are in existence only to advocate or oppose the change in our institutions. It is particularly an issue for individual determination, . . .⁴⁶

In three instances, its readers' opinions on woman suffrage was reported in the news columns of the Free Press, instead of on the editorial page. These letters to the editors were given appropriate headlines and subheadlines in the same type and style as those of news stories. The newspaper indicated they were letters to the editors by preceeding the first paragraph with the phrase, "To the Editor."

The first letter, dated October 27, was the opinion of the Reverend Father Wittliff, a Catholic priest, of Brighton, Michigan. He claimed he spoke for the Roman

⁴⁶Ibid., Nov. 1, 1912, p. 4.

Catholic Church when he said that woman suffrage would degrade women.

"The dangerous political arena is not the providential sphere of woman's earthly activity. For by placing her in this domain, you dismember her social body, disgrace her religious character and despoil the glittering crown of excellence . . . the most precious gem in this crown of creation's queen is motherhood."⁴⁷

A full column was allotted by Free Press editors for Father Wittliff's explanation of how equal suffrage ruined women for motherhood.

In the same Sunday issue, another lengthy (one and one-half columns) letter on woman suffrage was printed. The contributor, Frank E. Wade, Traverse City, Michigan, cited several reasons for opposing the suffrage amendment. He attributed the low population in equal suffrage states, the corruption of Governor Hiram Johnson of California, and the popularity of the Mormon religion in Utah to the women's vote.⁴⁸

On November 3, the third long letter (one column in length), was headlined, "Catholid Mother Who Does Not Want to Vote," explained why this mother disagreed with the Reverend Henri Blanchot who endorsed equal suffrage.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Oct. 27, 1912, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Detroit Free Press, Nov. 1, 1912, p. 4. In this source, a reply to Mr. Wade by Isabel B. Bowe, a Lansing suffragist, was printed on the editorial page. In this four column-inch article, Miss Bowe charged that Mr. Wade's arguments were based on political prejudice.

Father Blanchot had accused the liquor interests of using bribery to defeat suffrage. This mother claimed the liquor interests were disinterested in woman suffrage because the equal suffrage states were not prohibition states. She said, "If young boys and girls are reeling out of Detroit saloons as Father Blanchot says--where are the mothers? Are they perhaps on the stump for woman suffrage?" The letter was signed "A Catholic Mother Who Does Not Want to Vote."⁴⁹

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal gave its editorial opinion on the advantage of legalization of women voters in an editorial headlined, "One Good That Women's Votes Would Accomplish." The Journal's answer was it would regulate the liquor traffic. "The votes of women will be the best and sanest regulator of the liquor traffic," the editors noted.⁵⁰

The editorial remained the so-called "liberal element" in the constituency that woman's suffrage did not usher in prohibition in other equal suffrage states. The Journal said that the majority of women are not opposed to social drinking.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Nov. 3, 1912, sec. 2, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Editorial, Detroit Journal, Oct. 25, 1912, p. 4.

. . . women who oppose saloons, will serve a social glass to guests or will pour out the beer and wine for their husbands. The spirit of hospitality may lead a woman who is herself a total abstainer to serve light drinks at her table.

Good women are as a whole both hospitable and tolerant. So, they do not march out as a sex army to vote Prohibition into the state constitution.⁵¹

The Journal said the women's vote would help abolish saloon politics and reduce the number of taverns.

"We men are opposed to saloon government, saloon politics, and saloon alderman."⁵²

On November 2, the Journal assessed and commended the woman suffrage campaign in Michigan.

The campaign of the suffragists has been remarkable for its comprehension, its detail, and its sweet reasonableness of method. There has been no stridency on the part of Michigan workers. If anything there has been too little of beating of drums and fanfaring.⁵³

The editorial said the surprise of the campaign was the lack of organized opposition to the campaign. Both the liquor interests and the labor organizations have not interfered with the campaign. The Journal said that the politicians rather than being a force of opposition had aided the campaign by their endorsement of the amendment.

The Journal did not openly endorse woman's suffrage nor did it make a prediction on the outcome of the election. The editorial said that the women's conduct

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., Nov. 2, 1912, p. 4.

of the campaign had advanced the goal of equal suffrage in the state.

The suffragists of Michigan may or may not win. But there is no doubt that they have brought equal suffrage very near. They have advanced their tents far ahead. If they need to make another fight they can fight from a greater vantage. They have made the suffrage movement more powerful than it has ever been in this state. The state waits on tiptoe to see whether they have really won their goal by gaining the support of the majority of voters.⁵⁴

Detroit News

The Detroit News took no editorial position on the woman's suffrage campaign of 1912. The News, like the Free Press, printed a letter to the editor in its news columns using the same layout as for its news stories. The News printed one letter, on November 3, headlined, "Catholic Church Silent on 'Votes for Women.'" The one-column explanation of why the Roman Catholic Church could and would not take a stand on suffrage was signed, "A Catholic Priest."⁵⁵

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times editorially hailed the endorsement of woman's suffrage by the State Federation of Women's Clubs as a force to improve humanity. The editorial listed

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Detroit News, Nov. 3, 1912, p. 11.

the social evils in American society, "the sweat shop and child labor--the sacrifice of minds and bodies upon the altar of greed . . . and the arrival of the child at maturity in ignorance of the things he should know--unmindful of the evils besetting him."⁵⁶

The Times said that the women delegates, meeting in Saginaw, had seen these conditions and depended on the ballot for change.

The Federation of Women's Clubs, now seeking the right of the ballot and a voice for women in government, sees where men have been blind, hears where men have been deaf.⁵⁷

In a second editorial, the Times cited the tragic case of Mabel Green as an example of the pragmatic reason why women should have the vote. Mabel Green was deserted by a false husband. Unable to place her three-year-old son in a home while she earned a living, she had committed suicide to give him a place in an orphanage.

The Times described Mrs. Green's suicide as evidence of the strength of "mother love." The editorial related this death to the need for woman suffrage.

The ballot for women means the great advantage to government of mother love: the great interest is SONS of the mother who gave her life for her son [sic].

 . . . Is there the son of a mother who could be so ungrateful as to tell her to her face that he thinks her incompetent to vote?

⁵⁶ Editorial, Detroit Times, Oct. 19, 1912, p. 12.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Let's see who agrees with the son and husband who answers in behalf of woman's suffrage with the claim that woman is competent only to make beds, mind babies and be a slave in general.⁵⁸

The Times said the only real opposition to woman suffrage was the liquor interests and the political crooks. These groups feared the influence of "mother love" on politics and legislation.

The rum shopkeeper, the brewer, the distiller, the political boss and the vote-swapper. These are the chief opponents of woman suffrage.

They know that a vote in the hands of a mother would be cast against corruption broadcast--corruption upon which these interests thrive and feed, and fatten into power.⁵⁹

The editorial queried the reader as to whether he would vote on the side of corruption or on the side of mothers like Mabel Green.

Are you going to vote on the side of the brewer and distiller waiting for the first earnings from your purse?

Are you going to vote on the side of the political leeches, whom very existence depends on the law-defying saloons and the law-defying brewers?

Or are you going to vote on the side of a cause which numbers the mothers of the state, which enlists the willingness and readiness of Mabel Green to lay down her life for her baby boy, and whose battle flag, as raised in this one mother's story becomes a shroud?⁶⁰

⁵⁸Ibid., Oct. 30, 1912, p. 9.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

On November 2, three days before the elections, the Times endorsed the proposed woman's suffrage amendment to the state constitution and asked its readers to do the same.

Let the Times urge you to remember the issue of woman's suffrage and to vote "YES" on the amendment.⁶¹

The Detroit Journal⁶² and the Detroit Times⁶³ carried news stories that predicted a "yes" victory on the woman's suffrage amendment in the November 5 general elections. The Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News were silent on the subject.

⁶¹Ibid., Nov. 2, 1912, p. 11.

⁶²Detroit Journal, Oct. 31, 1912, p. 3.

⁶³Detroit Times, Nov. 5, 1912, p. 9.

CHAPTER IV

TEMPORARY VICTORY OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN MICHIGAN

The woman's suffrage amendment to the Michigan constitution was defeated in 1912 by 760 votes; 247,375 for it and 248,135 against it.¹ For twenty-one days, from November 5 (election day), to November 26, the Michigan suffragists were conceded a brief and transient victory. In this three-week interim, the electorate was informed that the equal franchise proposition had passed.² Unofficial election returns had given the amendment a favorable majority--one that fluctuated between 1,200 and 14,368 votes.³

Michigan election officials, according to custom and not law, counted the ballots on public officials

¹Michigan, Department of State, Michigan Manual, 1913-1914, p. 448.

²Detroit Free Press, Nov. 9, 1912, p. 1; Detroit Journal, Nov. 7, 1912, p. 1; Detroit News, Nov. 12, 1912, p. 1; Detroit Times, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.

³Detroit Free Press, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 3; Detroit News, Nov. 21, 1912, p. 1.

prior to those on public questions.⁴ The official vote on the suffrage proposition was delayed as many precincts, including eleven Detroit precincts, failed to send in their count.⁵ Chase S. Osborn, the incumbent Michigan governor, was to say later:

In all the history of the state, there has been no other instance when the official returns were delayed almost a month. In the days when mail was carried by post chaise such an unwarranted delay was never known and there is no excuse for it now.⁶

In the absence of completed official returns, the Detroit daily newspapers reported the latest unofficial and partial figures available. The news reportage of the suffrage margin of victory varied with each of the four Detroit dailies. This was particularly evident in the first forty-eight hours after November 5, election day.

⁴Prior to the November 5 general election, Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Wayne county suffrage organization, had found that a clause in one of Michigan's election laws required Michigan election officials to count ballots on public resolutions first. In the past, the Michigan election officials had not honored this ruling, and they continued to disregard it in the 1912 election. (See supra, pp. 44-45.)

⁵Detroit Free Press, Nov. 12, 1912, p. 2; Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1923), pp. 180-181. The Detroit Free Press reported eleven missing precincts; the Catt history recorded thirteen precincts missing.

⁶Detroit Times, Dec. 5, 1912, p. 1.

News Reportage of Victory By
Detroit Daily Newspapers

First Forty-eight Hours

Detroit Free Press

On November 6, the Detroit Free Press did not carry a page-one news story on the elections results of the woman's suffrage amendment. A story on page six, the woman's page, announced unexpected returns on the amendment in Wayne county. The totals were reported as 2,645 yeas and 2,765 nays, with 21 out of 77 precincts in Detroit counted. The Free Press said, "These figures included some of the river precincts in the downtown wards, where women expected to lose by two-to-one vote."⁷ Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, president of the state suffrage association, said, "We feel positive now, with the indication of success in Detroit that the cause has won in Michigan."⁸

In its November 7 issue, the Free Press reported in a page-one story, topped with a one-column headline, "Victory Crowns Cause of Suffrage Equality." Contrary to the first story, the Free Press reported that Detroit and other large cities in Michigan had not carried the amendment. The news lead affirmed the future passage of the proposition, however. "Though returns on the suffrage

⁷Detroit Free Press, Nov. 6, 1912, p. 6.

⁸Ibid.

amendment are in from 43 counties of the 82 in Michigan, the advocates of suffrage have no need of further worry as to the success of their cause." The Free Press explained that the counties with large cities were already in, the returns from the other counties would increase the 5,238 majority. The Free Press reported the state vote as 111,584 yes and 104,346 no. The news account also included a chart with the exact figures from each of the 43 counties reported.⁹

On the woman's page of the same issue, the Free Press carried a second story on the woman's suffrage victory. The lead described the confidence of the women.

So sanguine were the suffrage generals at headquarters in the Telegraph building Wednesday afternoon that they were writing tentative speeches and letters about their gratifications and their opinion as to how the victory would effect public welfare.¹⁰

The rest of the account was largely devoted to the women challengers' praise of the men at the polls. In the last paragraph of this news story a complaint by Miss Maude Younger, a California suffragist, was reported.

"There was cheating--plenty of it in the fifth of the Ninth," she said, "The inspector there told the men to vote against prohibition always pointing to the first amendment which is suffrage. I told him it was illegal; but he went out and gathered in a lot of men from the saloon, to vote no doubt as he told him."¹¹

⁹Ibid., Nov. 7, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹Ibid.

The F

'arou

alleg

Detro

elect

val c

of th

cordi

the a

93 c.

was v

attr

The

wide

vio

The

The Free Press said that the Detroit suffragists were "aroused to resentment because of her [Miss Younger's] allegations."¹²

Detroit Journal

In its page-one news story on the woman's suffrage election returns, the Detroit Journal reported that approval of the amendment was trailing. The lead was a chart of the state and county totals on the proposition. According to the Journal, the state vote was 51,916 favoring the amendment and 52,153 against it. Wayne county, with 93 city and township counties reported, the negative vote was winning, 16,208 votes to 12,196. Detroit suffragists attributed the heavy losses in Wayne to fraud.

Claiming that a number of strong suffrage precincts were lost to them by fraud, Detroit suffrage leaders will ask for an investigation of complaints filed by suffrage challengers . . . Distributing anti-suffrage literature and soliciting votes against suffrage are some of the charges against Detroit election officials.¹³

The women were described as still confident of a statewide victory, despite the losses in Detroit.

On November 7, the Detroit Journal reported the victory of woman's suffrage by a majority of 7,000 votes. The page-one story, headlined "70,000 Women Voters Enter

¹²Ibid.

¹³Detroit Journal, Nov. 6, 1912, p. 1.

Campaign for Clean-up of Detroit," described the possible effects of the victory. The Journal said there would be

A revolution in city politics which will wipe out the machine, the boodler, the gangster, the divekeeper, and all other rotten influences, if the expressions of women mean anything.¹⁴

The news account also itemized the projects the women voters would be likely to undertake in the future: the overthrow of graft in city politics, the clean-up of city streets, the granting of legislative aid to women workers, the revision of marriage laws, and the enactment of a mother's compensation bill.

A chart of the returns from the counties that had been counted and received in Lansing was printed. The news story reported that "Wayne county had voted almost 2 to 1 against the amendment, while it lost in Kent county by 1,000, both the heaviest voting counties in the state," and explained why the women suffered their greatest defeat in Wayne county, particularly the Detroit precincts.

In Wayne county, the suffragists were the most heavily handicapped of all in their fight . . .

They were confronted by the enemy having unlimited funds and the backing of the machine element in Detroit politics, with the benefit of years of experience and thorough knowledge of political tactics. Against this they were able to pit only the enthusiasm of a little band of women lacking money and experience.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., Nov. 7, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 9.

Although the Journal did not specify who the enemy of suffrage was it did report that the Detroit suffragists believed their enemy was the liquor interests.

Detroit News

The defeat of the woman's suffrage amendment in Wayne county was reported by the Detroit News in a four column-inch story, placed below the fold on page one, that began

In Wayne county, the forces in favor of equal suffrage for women and men failed to break down the conservatism that was their chiefest opposition; and the early count showing a sturdy antagonism to the amendment granting equal rights proved a fair prediction of the prevailing sentiment, the suffragists gaining no stronghold as the precincts sent in their returns.¹⁶

In 106 completed precincts the vote was 17,821 against the amendment and 14,126 in favor of it. The News reported that the defeat in Wayne county would cause the state-wide defeat of the equal franchise measure.

Returns on the vote on the woman's suffrage amendment are coming in slowly but incomplete from 20 counties, exclusive of Wayne, in which the amendment lost by probably 5,000, but not by a large majority to overcome the big vote against it in Wayne county.¹⁷

A chart with the returns from 20 counties was given.

¹⁶Detroit News, Nov. 6, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid.

Detroit Times

In a page-one news story, datelined New York, the Times reported on November 6 that the New York suffragists were jubilant because of the victory of the equal franchise proposition in Arizona, Oregon, Kansas, and Michigan. In New York, the women planned a celebration parade. In the states where the woman's suffrage amendment had been submitted to the electorate, Wisconsin appeared to be the only state to defeat the proposition. The Times reported the women attributed this loss to the illegal intervention of the liquor interests. The form of intervention was not specified.¹⁸

In the same issue, also on page one, a general news story on election returns reported the woman's suffrage vote in Wayne county as 9,257 yeas and 12,263 nays. This count was based on the returns from 69 precincts.

The exact margin of victory for the woman's suffrage amendment was reported as 4,188 in a page-one news story on November 8. The story described the women's reaction to their newly acquired voting rights.

Miss May Boutell, secretary of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, told the Times, "'It took 37 years to do it. But the ballot was worth it.'"¹⁹ Miss Boutell

¹⁸Detroit Times, Nov. 6, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid., Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.

did not make any specific predictions on the future projects of the new Michigan voters. Michigan Equal Suffrage Association numbers had always worked for strict child labor laws, pure food laws, and more favorable statutes for female workers, she said, as enfranchised citizens the women would continue to do so.²⁰

One consistency in the first forty-eight hours was the inconsistency in the news reportage of the figures on the woman's suffrage vote. The total state vote and the vote in Wayne county varied widely with each of the newspapers. However, on November 7, three Detroit dailies--the Detroit Free Press, the Detroit Journal, and the Detroit Times did concur that the equal suffrage proposition had won a favorable majority in Michigan.

Setback for Woman's Suffrage

Detroit Free Press

Three days after the elections, the Detroit Free Press reported that woman's suffrage had lost its early lead and was now behind by 347 votes. A headline, printed in one-inch letters, read "Suffrage Drops Back." The lead explained that the success of woman's suffrage was dependent on the returns from eleven missing counties.

²⁰ A news feature story, on page six of the November 7 issue of the Detroit Times, reported the reaction of Mrs. Clara Arthur, state suffrage president to the victory of woman's suffrage.

The hope of success for the suffrage cause now hangs upon the eleven counties in Michigan and upon earlier returns from some counties . . . [it was discovered] only a partial count has so far been received.²¹

The account did not specify which counties had returned incomplete vote tallies. It named nine of the missing counties: Aiger, Arenac, Badraga, Clare, Kalkaska, Ke-weenaw, Lake, Ledanau, and Missaukee. A chart of the returns from 72 counties was given.

In the same issue, a news feature story described the suffrage parade in New York in honor of the recent state victories as "the greatest parade that would ever happen."²² The parade of an expected 20,000 marchers would be led by "four victory floats," each float representing one of the new suffrage states, including Michigan. Fola LaFollette, daughter of the Wisconsin governor, Robert LaFollette, was the queen of the Michigan float. Miss LaFollette was described as "nobly rising from defeat in her own state of Wisconsin to add luster to the victory of her neighboring sisters."²³ On the national scene, woman's suffrage in Michigan was still considered a success.

²¹Detroit Free Press, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.

²²Ibid., p. 6.

²³Ibid.

Detroit Journal

On November 8, the Detroit Journal did not report an unfavorable majority on the woman's suffrage question. The margin of victory for the women had narrowed from 7,000 to 4,700 votes, the newspaper reported. The state vote was 191,151 for the amendment and 186,451 against it. Only Lake, Kalkaska, and Missaukee counties, the Journal said, had not sent in their election returns to Lansing on the suffrage measure.²⁴

Detroit News

The Detroit News continued to predict the defeat of the woman's suffrage amendment in Michigan. The only vote tally reported was that from Wayne county. The defeat of woman's suffrage in the state had been achieved by a small majority.

With returns from eight counties missing and only a majority vote for or against from several counties that have been heard from, the result of the vote on the woman suffrage in Michigan is problematic. The latest complication of figures show a vote of only approximately 50 against the amendment.²⁵

²⁴Detroit Journal, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1. The rest of the news story was allotted to the public statement of Miss P. S. McMahon. Miss McMahon verified that the Journal had been correct in its reportage of her experiences as a woman challenger, with the exception of the fainting spell. Miss McMahon said she left her post at the sixth precinct of the Fourth Ward to have lunch with a friend; (see supra, pp. 46-47, n. 65.)

²⁵Detroit News, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.

The News said the campaign of the Detroit suffragists had little effect on the voters of the metropolitan city.

The woman suffrage amendment was beaten in Detroit by 9,668 votes. The strenuous campaign that was waged before the election by fair enthusiasts resulted in only four wards of the 18 in favor of the amendment. The 18 wards together gave 27,468 votes to the amendment, while 37,126 voters elected to go against it.²⁶

The vote in each ward was given in a table below the story. The News reported that the Detroit suffragists were disappointed in the total vote.

The vote on the suffrage question was not as heavy as the women who battled for it anticipated . . . many electors disregarded the proposition entirely. In some precincts, only a few men paid any attention to the question.²⁷

The news account listed the wards in which woman's suffrage lost and repeated the figures for each ward originally supplied by the table.

The News observed that in the residential districts of the wealthy, colloquially known as the neighborhood of the "silk stocking set," the equal suffrage amendment was favored.

In the so-called "silk-stocking districts," the votes for women cause found its greatest supporters . . . the wards where most of the women who fought so nobly for the amendment, gave respectable majorities. But in the wards where the workers live, it was beaten badly.²⁸

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

In the concluding paragraph of the story, the News predicted if the equal franchise amendment in Michigan passed due to the state-wide vote, it would enfranchise 600,000 women in Michigan and 100,000 in Wayne county. The News told its readers, "at no other time in the history of this country [would] a state enfranchise so many citizens at one time."²⁹

The editorial cartoon on page one of the November 8 issue implied the editors' conception of an equal suffragist. A heavy-set masculine-looking woman attired in an austere skirt and blouse, was glowering at a small man who crouched in the corner of the room. The woman's unattractive, matronly face wore an "I-told-you-so" expression. She held a newspaper with the banner headline, "Suffrage Wins in Michigan." The caption of the cartoon read: "Now Henry Pick, It Looks As If We're Equals."³⁰ A news story reported the suffrage vote returns from seventy-three Michigan counties. With eight counties still to report, the majority vote in the state was opposed to the equal suffrage amendment. The News explained that "even if suffrage carried" it is likely the courts would throw out ballots in Ingham and Genesee counties because the county clerks had failed to print the amendment in full on the ballot as required by law.³¹

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., p. 2.

Detroit Times

The antis had a slight edge on the women suffragists in a close vote on the equal suffrage proposition the Detroit Times reported on November 8. The main headline read, "Vote on Woman Suffrage In State Is Neck and Neck." The Times said returns from Kalkaska county and other unidentified counties had put the equal suffrage amendment behind by 374 votes. According to the Times, the latest state-wide vote was 156,837 for, and 156,909 against. The count from ten counties was still missing. But, the Times said, these votes were from small, predominantly agricultural counties and "most of the rural communities so far had returned majorities for the amendment."³²

Like the Detroit News, the Detroit Times estimated that if the amendment should be approved it would enfranchise approximately 700,000 women. The Times reported that Michigan women would have the right to vote as soon as the board of canvassers completed the state count and Secretary of State Martindale certified the figure. The first election in which the women would be able to exercise their newly acquired voting right would be the spring primary in March, 1913. "Providing," the Times added, "the majority of those who voted are in favor of the measure, a measure about which seems some doubt."³³

³²Detroit Times, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.

³³Ibid.

f

m

e

d

o

e

o

c

m

it

it

it

)

to

it

it

t

n

n

e

/

The Times offered an explanation why the anti-suffragists had not campaigned more vigorously in the campaign just ended. "The officers of this body made up their minds that suffrage had little chance in Michigan, and that it would not be necessary to do more than make a show of working against it." The newspaper reported that the National Anti-Suffrage Association representatives had begun to enlist backers for a suffrage battle in the Michigan elections of 1914.³⁴ The Times account said that some of the strong backers of the antis were the liquor interests. These interests were against the woman voters because "enfranchised women doubled the electorate, and made it just twice as expensive for the liquor interests to control an election."³⁵

On November 8, the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Dr. Anna Shaw, told the delegates at the forty-fourth annual convention in Philadelphia, that the recent suffrage victories in four states had accelerated acceptance of equal suffrage in the United States. She predicted universal suffrage in the United States and Great Britain within the next ten years. The Times reported Dr. Shaw's comments:

³⁴Ibid., Nov. 8, 1912, p. 14.

³⁵Ibid.

"We now hold the balance of power--70 electoral votes the total electoral votes from ten woman's suffrage states in any closely contested election . . . and when the political parties are brought to recognize that fact we will no longer need to plead for the franchise."³⁶

Woman's Suffrage in The Lead

In the two-week period following the temporary suffrage setback on November 8, the victory of the woman's suffrage amendment was either directly or indirectly acknowledged and reported by the four Detroit daily newspapers. Their news reportage on the suffrage lead was punctuated with progress reports on the legality of some suffrage ballots.

The ballot controversy had developed because some of the ballots had been printed with a shortened, incorrect version of the woman's suffrage amendment resolution. In two pre-election statements, Frederick C. Martindale, the secretary of state, had instructed the county clerks to print the full text of the amendment.

The confusion emanated from the vague printing directions given by the Michigan Legislature. The legislature had issued three suggestions for printing the question, to one of which the ballots must universally comply. Martindale had tried to clarify the suggestions with his statements (to print the full text of the amendment), in

³⁶Ibid.

response to queries from bewildered clerks. Some county clerks, who either misunderstood or deliberately disobeyed Martindale's orders, had printed the ballots with their own shortened version of the resolution. The question was, were these ballots legal?

Detroit Free Press

On November 9, the Detroit Free Press reported the woman's suffrage victory in a front page two-column news story. The two-column headline, printed in one-inch capital letters, read, "Seems Sure, Suffrage Outlook Bright Lead Now 3,585," and the news account reported the reasons for a hopeful outlook:

But two counties in Michigan remain to be heard from and the majority for it stands at 3,585. These counties had a combined voting population of 2,000, so that they cannot make any material change in the figures.³⁷

The Free Press said the Michigan suffragists were still apprehensive about the election results and would watch the count for any last minute chicanery.

Notwithstanding their apparent victory, however, the suffrage leaders are not going to rest on their oars. They realize the closeness of the vote and [there are] all sorts of possibilities of overthrowing the will of the people expressed at the polls. A few votes changed or thrown out in each county, or the "discovery" of a "mistake" in a total somewhere might

³⁷ Detroit Free Press, Nov. 9, 1912, p. 1.

easily convert a victory into a defeat, and the county canvassers next Tuesday will be watched with sharp eyes.³⁸

In its November 12 issue, the Free Press reported a possible victory reversal.³⁹ A page-one news story vividly described how Michigan suffragists would fight any attempt of suffrage enemies to throw out ballots.

There's to be one large fight, a fight of the ripping, roaring kind that leaves a list of fatalities as long as a senate document, if the elements fighting women's suffrage attack the results of the recent election, which show that suffrage apparently has won. . . . There are 190,000 men who voted for suffrage, and 200,000 women in Michigan who are going to back that fight to the limit. And, again more than that there's slathers of money to back that fight to the last ditch in the supreme courts.⁴⁰

In the fourth paragraph of the news feature story, the Free Press described the interest of the Michigan citizens in the controversy.

³⁸Ibid. In the same issue, on page three, a news feature story reported that Mrs. Martha Strickland Clark, who framed the school suffrage bill for Michigan in 1891 had returned to Detroit to practice law.

³⁹In the November 10 issue of the Detroit Free Press, the daily carried two stories related to the woman's suffrage victory. It gave front page coverage to the torchlight woman's suffrage parade held in New York to honor the suffrage victories. More than 20,000 women were reported to march down Fifth Avenue. The parade celebrated the Michigan vote as an equal suffrage state.

A news feature story, on page twelve of the edition, also reported that Mrs. Snell, wife of a Michigan senator, Lawrence W. Snell, had only actively campaigned to "help her hubby." She was not an advocate of equal voting rights for women.

⁴⁰Detroit Free Press, Nov. 12, 1912, p. 1.

Nearly 400,000 Michigan people are figuratively lying awake nights awaiting the expected onslaught over the question of invalid ballots alleged to have been presented to the voters in probably five counties of the state.⁴¹

Four of the contested counties were known. They were Ingham, Genesee, Emmet, and Presque Ile counties; the fifth county was unidentified. The Free Press said "the ballots are alleged to be invalid in that they did not present the full text of the constitutional amendment as required by the constitution." The Michigan suffragists welcomed the opportunity to publicly clash with the anti-suffrage forces.

. . . comes the announcement from suffrage headquarters and from suffrage leaders throughout the state that if the fight is started it will be met not only firmly but gleefully for it will give the suffragists an opportunity to drag out in the open the interests that are fighting the woman's ballot.⁴²

In the news story, the Reverend Alfred W. Wishart, campaign manager for the state suffrage association, cited the "liquor people" as the chief antagonists in the equal suffrage battle, adding:

"We know that right here in Detroit, bartenders were passing out campaign matter against suffrage under the heading of the New York anti-suffrage association and if the fight is started we propose to drag these people out in the open."⁴³

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

Dr. Wishart also told the Free Press that this controversy had stimulated the interest of Michigan voters in the cause. "'Many of the men who were mildly interested just willing to let the women vote and no more. These same men are getting red hot mad because some one is trying to steal the power of their ballot and they're willing to give \$30 after election where they wouldn't give 20 cents.'"⁴⁴

The news story of Dr. Wishart's explanation of how the suffrage forces would defeat their real enemies by arousing the ire of the Michigan electorate was allotted four-column inches.

"Defeating the plainly declared will of the people at a fair election by a technicality is no joke as the opponents will realize [he said].

"The Michigan Equal Suffrage association will not only have the voters behind it but it will be ably represented by competent lawyers and we will fight to the last ditch."⁴⁵

Dr. Wishart specified that the real enemy of suffrage was not the National Anti-Suffrage Association, because its representatives had little influence in the campaign of 1912. "'Our real opponents cannot hide behind this high sounding title,' he said." Other than his reference to the bartenders, Dr. Wishart did not name the businesses, organizations, or individuals who opposed woman's suffrage in Michigan.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid., Nov. 12, 1912, p. 2.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Below a headline, "Detroit May Decide," a news story reported that the election returns from eleven Detroit precincts were missing. The Free Press estimated that these precincts would give 1,000 to 4,000 votes against suffrage, but these votes were not enough to defeat the amendment.

If the three [Ingham, Genesee, and Emmet counties] could be counted out through the courts [for illegal printing of the amendment on the ballot], suffrage would lose between them and the Detroit vote not yet in total of 3,300 to 3,700, but still not enough to kill the amendment.⁴⁷

The majority for the amendment was 5,181 votes, the Free Press reported.

C. A. Kent, a constitutional lawyer, told the Free Press, "'In an ordinary case I should say that the courts would likely to throw out the votes where the question was not properly submitted.'" Judge Durfee, chairman of the Wayne county board of canvassers, said the legislative resolution was "'bunglingly drawn.'" The full form of the resolution as the secretary of state had instructed the clerks to print it on the ballots was included at the end of the twenty-four column-inch story.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid. On the woman's page, page six of the November 13 issue, the Free Press reported in a four column-inch news feature story that the first woman's suffrage organization in Detroit was founded in 1888.

On November 15, the Free Press again reported a favorable majority for equal suffrage in its news lead: "Gains for suffrage, rather than losses are the feature of the official returns as they come in from the county canvassing boards." The Detroit Free Press reported that its earlier count, published in the November 8 issue, was based on the unofficial counts available, with many of the county returns incomplete. The first figures had excluded the returns from Macomb, Lake, and Keweenaw counties. In narrative form, the Free Press reported the gains and losses on the suffrage question.⁴⁹

The Free Press reiterated its statement that woman's suffrage would win even if the ballots were thrown out from the contested counties. "Net loss of the majority would be 3,829 votes, leaving 1,940 to take care of the 11 missing precincts in Detroit."⁵⁰ The central interest in this controversy was the allegation that liquor men were behind the movement to protest the suffrage vote.

It is now openly charged that the organization in Kalamazoo petitioned the canvassers of the county to throw out the alleged defective ballots was induced by the liquor men connected with the organization, and that efforts are being made to raise more funds for the legal battle that will be necessary to fight suffrage in the courts.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Nov. 15, 1912, p. 1. In the narrative break-down of election returns, the Detroit Free Press said that the suffrage majority had increased by 2,194 votes and now stood at 5,779 votes.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

A story that liquor manufacturers were assessed according to their output prior to the campaign, and that thus the fund to fight suffrage was raised is going the rounds, but it cannot be confirmed in Detroit. The size of the fund is placed at 75,000 to 90,000.⁵¹

The state supreme court has refused a petition for a temporary injunction to stop the vote counting in Genesee county, the Free Press reported on November 16.

The supreme court this afternoon denied the petition of John Stevens of Flint, for a writ of mandamus to compel Circuit Judge C. A. Wisner to grant a temporary injunction restraining the board of canvassers of Genesee county from counting the ballots on the equal suffrage proposition.⁵²

Unidentified state officials told the Free Press that a recent decision in a Montcalm county case to honor the intention of the voter versus the form of the ballot would probably prevail in any future court tests on suffrage ballots.

The Detroit Free Press continued to report the lead of the woman's suffrage amendment, although all the official returns had not been announced. The newspaper asserted that the amendment had been passed by 1,200 votes. Wayne county had reported its official returns, and voters had defeated the resolution by 11,872 votes; 34,930 for it and 46,802 against it.⁵³

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., Nov. 16, 1912, p. 1.

⁵³Ibid., Nov. 23, 1912, p. 3. On page six of the same issue, the Free Press reported the speech of Judge Hatch, former probate judge of Bay county, before the

On November 25, a page-one news story, datelined Saginaw, reported news of election fraud in that county. The five column-inch news story, placed below the fold, said a recount had been requested by community leaders. In the Michigan rulings, a law had been found to allow for a recount on an amendment.

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal consistently recognized the victory of woman's suffrage in its news columns. Unlike the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit Times, the Journal did not report the temporary setback of November 8, but did report the illegal ballot controversy.

The Journal reported on November 12 that the National American Woman Suffrage Association had offered to give the Michigan suffragists funds for legal assistance "to save the five Michigan counties threatened by the opposition." The front page news story, topped by the headline, "Suffragists Offered Help of U.S. Body," cited Ingham, Genesee, Presque Isle, and Emmet as the contested counties. The Journal predicted the amendment would lose 2,848 votes if these counties were wiped out for illegally

Lawyers' Club at Penobscot Inn. Judge Hatch said native-born women would improve the electorate: "'There are 12 native-born American women in this country to each foreign born woman . . . and those women if suffrage carries will vote . . . They are intelligent and will vote right on moral questions.'"

worded ballots. "The missing 11 Detroit precincts are still an unknown factor."⁵⁴

On November 13, the Detroit Journal carried a page-one news story on the issue. The story was topped by a three-line, two-column headline: "Women Threaten \$1,000 Fine and Jail If Vote Is Barred." The reaction of the Michigan suffragists in the face of a new setback was described. "Michigan suffragists threaten election canvassers with 1,000 fine and five years' imprisonment if they throw out the ballots in the four contested counties."⁵⁵ The law prevented the canvassers from throwing ballots out without supreme court orders. A fund was reported to have been started to aid suffragists in a possible legal battle. Charles F. Flowers, Michigan state representative and the framer of the suffrage resolution, told the Journal that the ballots could not be thrown out because they were clear to the voters and presented a valid choice.

The Journal also reported the possible intervention of the liquor interests in contesting the legality of the ballots.

There is a prevailing opinion here that the liquor interests will ask the supreme court for a mandamus preventing the board of canvassers from issuing a certificate to the secretary of state showing that the amendment has carried.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Detroit Journal, Nov. 12, 1912, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Nov. 13, 1912, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

The suffrage supporters and the "dry interests" were reported to be planning their retaliation on the "liquor people."

. . . it is said that some of the dry advocates, disgusted at the attitude of the liquor dealers in requesting that the suffrage vote be thrown out, will petition the council to submit an ordinance closing the saloons in Lansing May.⁵⁷

The story included an explanation of how such an ordinance could be obtained.

The Detroit Journal reported the same count for the equal suffrage lead as did the Detroit Free Press--5,181 votes. The Journal listed its statistics on the election returns in tabular form. Eleven Detroit precincts were missing and the "anti" vote from them was estimated as 1,000. The Journal projected that equal suffrage would maintain a lead of 1,550 votes even without the votes from the contested counties.⁵⁸

The Journal told its readers suffrage ballots had been put to a court test. Like the Detroit Free Press, the November 15 edition of the Journal stated that a Flint man had presented a petition to the state supreme court to stop ballot counting in Genesee county. The Journal

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid., Nov. 15, 1912, p. 5. A page ten news story on Secretary of State Martindale's public statement that his office was not responsible for the illegal ballot controversy was the only story on suffrage carried by the Detroit Journal on November 14.

identified the man as J. H. Farley; the Free Press identified him as John Stevens. The Journal reported that Farley "was charged by the people of Flint to represent the liquor interests."⁵⁹

Michigan suffragists did not need the vote from the disputed counties to win, the newspaper reported. The women would only lose 82 votes, if the votes were thrown out. "Suffrage can stand that loss several times provided the official vote doesn't play havoc with pro majorities in other counties."⁶⁰

The Detroit Journal announced on November 16 that suffragists had won their first battle in the courts. "The first battle in the Michigan supreme court over the equal suffrage election has been won by the suffragists in the shortest decision on record." The story clarified the identity of the plaintiff as John Stevens, a poolroom owner in Flint. J. H. Farley was the attorney who represented him. Stevens' petition was denied by both the circuit and supreme courts. Circuit Judge Wisner stated that the canvassers must complete their work and that all the votes in Genesee county were constitutional.⁶¹

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., Nov. 16, 1912, p. 14.

Detroit News

On November 12, the Detroit News indirectly announced the victory of woman's suffrage in a page-one news story headlined, "Women Will Have A Big Say in State." The lead consisted of four one-sentence predictions on the effects of women voters. The first sentence read: "Probable extension of anti-saloon territory under the present local option law and possible statewide prohibition." The Detroit News considered this the most significant effect of the equal suffrage amendment, and added:

It is generally believed that the most important immediate effect of the suffrage victory will be a probable extension of the anti-saloon territory . . . It is figured that four out of five women will be against the saloon by the anti-saloon leaders of the state . . .⁶²

Pliny Marsh, a candidate for the superintendentship of the Michigan Anti-Saloon league, told the Detroit News:

"I think the anti-saloon fight in this state will do more than any other one factor toward getting the women to exercise the right to of the franchise which now has been conferred on them . . . [However,] the natural modesty of women will make them hesitate to vote . . . When they are aroused, the day of the saloons' domination in Michigan will end."⁶³

In this news story, the News suggested that women must become knowledgeable in public affairs as enfranchised

⁶²Detroit News, Nov. 12, 1912, p. 1.

⁶³Ibid.

citizens. "Women will have to be educated up to the point where they will utilize the privileges conferred on them . . . It is predicted this [educational] campaign may take years to develop."⁶⁴

The Detroit News reported the ballot irregularities on November 11. Five counties were involved in the controversy, but only Emmet, Ingham, and Genesee counties were identified by the Detroit daily. These five counties, according to the News, represented a 4,110 vote majority in favor of the amendment. The News predicted, "If the court holds that the vote would be thrown out in these counties, the result would be changed and the cause lost in the state."⁶⁵

The News told its readers on November 12 that Michigan suffragists had faith in the courts and that the courts would not throw out all the ballots in the disputed counties because of a technical error in printing. In this story, the News clarified the point that the victory of woman's suffrage in Michigan was not official, but would be enacted soon.

If the supreme court does not throw out enough votes where the equal suffrage amendment in full did not appear on the ballots, to offset the majority for the amendment, the women of Michigan will become electors, entitled to vote on every question and hold any office immediately after the state board of canvassers meets

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., Nov. 11, 1912, p. 6.

and files with the secretary of state a certificate to the effect that the equal suffrage amendment . . . has been approved by a majority of male electors.⁶⁶

The duties of the state canvassers and how the amendment would be incorporated into the existing Michigan constitution were reported.

Irregularities in the returns from the Detroit precincts also were reported. The News said, "The tally sheet of the inspectors in the notorious first [precinct] of the first [ward] shows a total of nine votes cast in favor of the woman's suffrage amendment, while the return folder itself fails to show a single vote." Dr. Wishart, campaign manager for the state suffrage association, told the News, "Our precinct workers have the vote on six out of the 11 of those precincts and their figures show a majority of 700 against the amendment . . . So, there must have been a vote on the amendment."⁶⁷ The News reacted to Dr. Wishart's statement in this news story. "While the returns from these precincts will probably increase the majority against the woman's suffrage, the equal suffrage leaders will call attention to them as evidence of the careless methods employed in counting votes in the city."⁶⁸

⁶⁶Ibid., Nov. 12, 1912, p. 7.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁸Ibid.

On November 13, the News again gave front-page news coverage to the possible effect of women voters on the liquor businesses. The headline, "Women May Seek to Oust Saloons," topped a story on the possible closing of saloons in Lansing. The News said women voters would precipitate a referendum vote.⁶⁹

Since the advent of equal suffrage there is strong talk here of having a petition filed with council asking the body to present, at the spring election, the question of abolishing the saloon in Lansing and in the advent that women have the right to vote there seems to be little doubt as to the outcome.⁷⁰

Liquor men backed the Ingham county movement to throw out the improperly worded ballots, the News reported, and noted that Henry Russell, of Lansing and president of the Lansing Liquor Dealers Association, had petitioned the Ingham county board of canvassers to throw out the vote in that county.

Judge R. H. Person, Judge Edward Cahill, and former Prosecuting Attorney Walter A. Foster, who represented the suffrage interests, told the Lansing board of canvassers it had no legal right to make that decision. Judge Person added, "Suffrage won in Ingham county by

⁶⁹Ibid., Nov. 13, 1912, p. 1. Under the new Lansing city charter there was a provision for the initiative and referendum vote. If 25 per cent of the qualified electors petitioned the Lansing council on an issue, the question would be submitted to the voters.

⁷⁰Ibid.

approximate majority of 1,000. It is stated by the representatives of suffrage that the saloon men have one redress--the supreme court."⁷¹

In a separate news story, Judge Person was quoted as saying,

If the amendment is defeated due to refusal of ballots not printed correctly, all other constitutional amendments passed in the last few years [four] would be invalidated, because not one of them was printed in full on the ballot.⁷²

The news account included reports from Flint and Kalamazoo about the ballot controversy. In Flint, the movement to throw out the ballots was reported to be backed by the "saloon interest," and in Kalamazoo by the German Workingman's Society of Michigan.⁷³

The equal suffrage margin of victory was more than 13,000 votes, with official returns from 29 counties, the News told its readers on November 18. On the front page of the same issue, women suffragists were again associated with the abolishment of the saloons. The two-column headline, set in one-inch, bold-face type, read: "Saloon Men Fear Women Voters." The only paragraph in the story that related to the main headline was the lead.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³In its November 15 issue, page 29, the News reported New York suffragists could vote in Michigan after six months residence. Also on November 17 a pictorial display of Michigan suffragists was published on page fourteen.

Enfranchisement of the women in Michigan and the prospect of council liquor committees more strict than ever before in the matter of issuing licenses, have put the saloonkeepers of Michigan in a position where anxious moments form part of their days.⁷⁴

The page-one editorial cartoon on November 19 pictorially described the fear of the liquor people. Two men were seated at a bar: one a heavy-set, swarthy, cigar-smoking politician; the other, a drunk, with his face down was passed out on the bar. The politician was labeled "Liquor Interests." In a circle above his head, to symbolize his thoughts, was a woman voter casting her ballot against the saloons.⁷⁵

Detroit Times

In its final city edition for November 8, the Times reverted to its earlier statement that woman's suffrage had the favorable majority. A two-column headline, "Suffrage Is in the Lead Again," topped the news story. The Times said, "Reports from seven additional counties in Michigan today turned the tide in favor of woman suffrage." With only four counties missing, the daily reported the state-wide vote as 191,157 for the amendment and 186,451 against it. The rest of the account discussed the election returns on public officials.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Detroit News, Nov. 18, 1912, p. 1.

⁷⁵Ibid., Nov. 19, 1912, p. 1.

⁷⁶Detroit Times, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 6.

nal

ing

Nov

are

fil

eq

vo

su

fr

it

be

th

be

fo

re

te

i.

a

s.

—

as

T.

Like the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit Journal, the Times gave front-page news coverage to the leading vote of the equal suffrage proposition. In its November 9 edition, the Times told its readers that "Women are certain of voting in Michigan, revised unofficial figures showing a majority of upwards of 1,500 votes for equal suffrage."⁷⁷

The Times reported that the cities generally were voting against the proposition, while the rural communities supported it. The Times, however, did not hail equal suffrage as an unqualified success. The newspaper reported its victory in the words of the suffragists: "While it is believed that some doubt may be cast over the result when the complete and official count is made, suffrage champions believe they have a safe lead and the right of the ballot for which a long struggle has been waged."⁷⁸

Like the other Detroit dailies, the Detroit Times reported the ballot controversy. The Times explained the technical error that some voters and officials believed invalidated the ballots in Emmet, Presque Isle, Ingham, and Genesee counties. The Times did not identify the fifth county.

⁷⁷Ibid., Nov. 9, 1912, p. 1.

⁷⁸Ibid. The Detroit Times reported the state vote as 165,230 votes for the amendment and 161,648 against it. The amendment had a favorable majority of 3,584 votes.

The news story warned, however, that "the fifth county may have cast enough votes for suffrage to wipe out the state plurality, should these favorable votes be thrown out."⁷⁹

The Reverend Alfred W. Wishart, suffrage campaign manager, said that the Michigan suffragists would fight the issue in the courts. On November 13, Mrs. Clara Arthur, president of the state suffrage association, had reportedly told the Times that, according to Section 3665 of the Michigan Compiled Laws, the county board of canvassers had no power to throw out ballots. Unidentified Detroit lawyers were reported as having told the Times that the courts would uphold the voters' intent versus the technicality of form.⁸⁰

On November 14, the Times disclosed that the president of the Lansing Liquor Dealers Association has petitioned the Lansing board of canvassers to throw out the suffrage ballots. The Times said the Michigan suffragists interpreted this action as evidence of the liquor opposition to suffrage.

. . . suffragists of Lansing declare that the forces fighting the amendment have shown their hand and that the contest from now on will be a fight between those

⁷⁹Ibid., Nov. 12, 1912, p. 1.

⁸⁰Ibid., Nov. 13, 1912, p. 1.

who believe that the women are eligible and those who favor the liquor men.⁸¹

The Detroit Times did not estimate the possible loss to suffrage from the missing Detroit precincts. The only mention of the incomplete Detroit returns was made in the last paragraph of the news story on election results. The Times reported that

The Rev. A. W. Wisk, pastor of Fountain-st Baptist church in Lansing and chairman of the state advisory campaign committee of the equal suffrage movement in Michigan is in Detroit for the purpose of guarding the interests of suffragists. He says that the entire vote from a number of precincts is missing.⁸²

Two days later, the Times reported the court case in Flint asking for a restraining order in the counting of suffrage ballots. The refusal of John Stevens' petition was reported on an inside page beneath the standing headline, "Happenings in Michigan." Stevens had reportedly told the presiding judge the increased voters would hurt his business, to which the court replied

I cannot conceive of such a situation unless the complainants are engaged in some business which has no moral excuse for existence.⁸³

⁸¹Ibid., Nov. 14, 1912, p. 2. On page seven of the November 14 issue, Judge Person of Lansing was reported to have offered his services without a fee to the Equal Suffrage club.

⁸²Ibid., p. 11.

⁸³Ibid., Nov. 16, 1912, p. 3.

The state delegates to the forty-fifth convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association were convening in Philadelphia, the Times informed its readers on November 18. The NAWSA would celebrate the addition of four new suffrage states--all won in the 1912 elections. Michigan was considered a woman's suffrage state.⁸⁴

Editorials on Woman's Suffrage Victory
By Detroit Daily Newspapers

On November 10, the Detroit Free Press editorially recognized the victory of woman's suffrage in Michigan. The Free Press editors said:

Election returns as far as they are in seem to give very good assurance that equal suffrage has carried in Michigan and that henceforth the women of the state will have all the political rights now enjoyed by the men.⁸⁵

The Free Press predicted that "there [would be] a disappointment in store for those who [assumed] that the millenium is about to dawn and those that [believed] the destruction of the home and family and women was near." The editors did not predict either of these extreme situations.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Ibid., Nov. 18, 1912, p. 7.

⁸⁵Editorial, Detroit Free Press, Nov. 10, 1912, sec. 5, p. 4.

⁸⁶Ibid.

The editorial concentrated on the practical ramifications of doubling the electorate.

The cost of holding elections will increase materially, adding by just so much to the expense of carrying on government. It is fair also to assume that the number of candidates for office will grow, and that faddism will reach some impetus.⁸⁷

"The women will do some rather unusual things at the outset," the editors suggested, and asked the opponents of suffrage to be tolerant of the new voters because "they themselves in the past have handled the ballot clumsily, even grotesquely." The editorial requested male voters to help the weaker sex become wise electors. "If for a time, the woman in politics seems childlike and even impossible, the man should remember that it is his duty to assist her in development toward a wise maturity, rather than cast her adrift to work out her own salvation." Now that the Michigan woman has a ballot, she must become versed in politics and economics, the Free Press declared. "She must go to the polls like she goes to church."⁸⁸

The editorial concluded that the detrimental aspect of equal suffrage was that now bad women also possessed the franchise. The Free Press editors said the voting power of "these dregs of society" will only increase the political power of the saloon men, and predicted that

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid.

. . . the women of the half world will all exercise the franchise, and that they will constitute a political force to be reckoned with, as dive keepers and gamblers are already a force to be recognized and combated.⁸⁹

The Detroit Free Press also editorially interpreted the illegal ballot controversy. The Michigan constitution required the language of the proposition to be printed in full and on a ballot separate from the ballot containing the names of the nominees for public office. The editorial said the suggestions for printing the amendment in the form given by the Michigan Legislature was not compatible with the constitutional provision.

If the courts should throw out the counties under dispute and the loss of the ballots should reverse the apparent majority in favor of equal suffrage, the⁹⁰ whole process will have to be gone through again.

The following day, the editors explained why the Michigan suffrage campaign had been devoid of flamboyancy and devoted to the reasoned presentation of suffrage arguments. The Free Press said the outward quietness of the suffrage campaign was a strategy to lull the antis into inactivity.

There are rumors abroad that all the surface apathy in districts outside Detroit which fooled the enemy and lulled it into false security was part of

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid., Nov. 12, 1912, p. 4.

The
equa
the

The
thei
trust
in. X

suff
Free
for
Dema
Wils
dent
In i

a deliberate plan of the campaign and was carefully maintained by suffrage advisers to accomplish the very result that happened.⁹¹

The Free Press, quoting "Dame Rumor," said that boisterous equal suffrage campaigners had not been invited to aid in the campaign.

It is even whispered that everything possible was done to discourage the entrance into Michigan of inconsiderate and bombastic friends of the cause . . . the pervid women who wanted to abuse the men or get on the stump . . . or swat the antis were gently squelched in order the anti-suffrage campaigners might pass Michigan by.⁹²

The Free Press said it would like to commend the women for their political astuteness, "but to speak the sad, sad truth, it wasn't a woman who managed the suffrage campaign in Michigan it was a man."⁹³

The court trial of Miss Maude Malone, a Detroit suffrage campaigner drew the editorial attention of the Free Press on November 17. Miss Malone had been arrested for disturbing the peace during a campaign speech by the Democratic party presidential nominee, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. Miss Malone had queried the presidential candidate on his stand on national equal suffrage. In its editorial, the Free Press editors said,

⁹¹Ibid., Nov. 13, 1912, p. 4.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

He declined to reply on the ground that suffrage is a state not a national issue, a stand that [seemed] to puzzle Miss Malone's small head possibly because she had never studied the constitution of the United States.⁹⁴

In court, the judge had found Miss Malone guilty of a technical error. He did not issue a court sentence. The Free Press described the reaction of Miss Malone.

She pleaded with tears in her eyes for the imposition of a fine; she spoke with fine sarcasm of the silliness of the male biped but she didn't draw a tangible punishment. It wasn't wise for her to disturb Candidate Wilson, the court admitted, but she hadn't been bad even \$5 worth, as for her reputation which could be saved only by appeal, Miss Malone was too well and favorably known throughout the country to be hurt by a mere technical error.⁹⁵

The Free Press commended the court for its treatment of Miss Malone: "To be laughed out of court was the severest punishment the judge could have imposed on the tempermental Miss Malone."⁹⁶

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal editorially hailed the victory of woman's suffrage as a triumph of good over evil in its editions for November 7. The editorial blamed the "Detroit Gang" for the defeat of the amendment in the city, and commended the voters for support of the resolution.

⁹⁴Ibid., Nov. 17, 1912, sec. 5, p. 6.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid.

The Detroit Gang doubtlessly thought they had killed it as it was killed by the liquor gangs in Ohio. But the rest of the state were able to show what they think of woman suffrage and what they think of the Detroit gang.

There is no doubt that woman's suffrage should mean Good Government in the city and state. Therefore, the carrying of this amendment is a decided defeat for Gang government.⁹⁷

In an editorial several days later, the Detroit Journal again associated women voters with improved city government.

The women who live less by expedience than men will add a moral strength to every election. Gang rule weakens when 70,000 women, who gangsters cannot be introduced to, are added to voting strength in Detroit. Saloon rule is at an end in Detroit.

And the whole people must be benefited, and the whole tone of our government transformed, by the incoming of the electorate.⁹⁸

In this editorial, the Journal also reiterated the victory of woman's suffrage. "It is the biggest thing done by the voters of this state Tuesday. In the silence of the booths a political revolution was accomplished."⁹⁹

At mid-month, the Journal editorially reacted to the movement to throw out incorrectly printed ballots. The editors said that the antis were behind this effort to reverse the suffrage victory. "It would be a serious blunder on the part of the anti-suffragists to carry their

⁹⁷ Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 7, 1912, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Nov. 9, 1912, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

case into the courts in hope of depriving the women of the Vote." The Journal declared this was not the fault of the voters, but of a probate judge. The editorial asked, "Should the people be deprived of their votes because the probate judge followed the act of the legislature rather than the wording of the legislature"?¹⁰⁰

The Journal implied that the voters should not be disenfranchised because of a technical error in the ballots. If the antis did win in the courts, the Journal predicted that the women would win in the spring election. The editorial concluded, "Votes for women may be delayed, but it is bound to come . . . to make it worse for the machine group that now are trying to defeat it by trickery."¹⁰¹

Detroit News

The Detroit News reacted editorially to the ballot controversy with a series of penetrating questions.

It would be well, though, in handling the matter to inquire first who or what interest, was responsible for the ballots being printed in not quite the regular form. It would be well, too, to discover the intention of the community . . . It would be mighty interesting as well as to inquire who first discovered the slightly changed form, and whether the discoverer was in any way related to the perpetrator.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Nov. 13, 1912, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Editorial, Detroit News, Nov. 14, 1912, p. 4.

The News complimented the Michigan women on their dignified conduct in the 1912 campaign. "Michigan has given her sister states a fine lesson in campaigning. Not the earthquake or the fire, but in the still small voice did the issue of the campaign come forth."¹⁰³

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times attributed the loss of woman's suffrage to the liquor interests and their political compatriots in Detroit.

The vote against woman's suffrage in Wayne county, compared to the heavy vote for suffrage up-state can be explained in only one way, which is that we are dominated in this neck of the woods by the vicious interference of the brewers and the saloons and the political allies of the beer and whiskey interests.

The negative vote in Detroit and Wayne county on this important issue amounts to a preference for rule by poisoner of minds and destroyers of bodies, rather than the entrusting of government to the counsel of mothers.¹⁰⁴

The Times also told its readers that the Detroit daily had been a loyal and solitary supporter of the equal suffrage cause.

The Times is proud to have been the first Detroit newspaper to have supported the movement that has met with success; and proud to have been the only Detroit newspaper to have declared unequivocally for the reform and to remain steadfast and unswerving in its sympathy with such an enabling cause for years.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Editorial, Detroit Times, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

And, the Times editorially berated the Wayne county suffrage organization for its lack of appreciation of the daily's assistance in its long campaign. The Wayne county organization had sent the Detroit Times a formal note acknowledging its past help.

We presume we should be profoundly grateful for this expression of appreciation that could be very properly sent--and perhaps has been sent in triplicate to the evening newspapers in Detroit [the Times said].

.
What would have pleased the Times mightily is a public acknowledgment by the suffragists that the Times was YEARS AHEAD OF ALL OTHER DETROIT NEWSPAPERS IN BATTLING FOR WOMEN.¹⁰⁶

The editors asserted that the women were no braver than the men in their political activities. The women also wanted the support of all the newspapers. The Times cautioned the women not to fear the disapproval of the newspapers because newspapers needed the patronage of women.

The hope of women's helpfulness in politics springs from the fact that business needs her good will more than she needs the good will of the business . . .

The newspaper is more afraid of incurring her antagonism than she is afraid of what the newspaper can do to her.

"We go to the woman," is the proud boast of the publisher. He does not want the women to go for him.

Then why shouldn't our sisters begin their life of enlarged citizenship by scorning to be terrorized by a press that holds their gelatinous brothers in thrall?¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶Ibid., Nov. 16, 1912, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER V

DEFEAT OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN MICHIGAN

Three weeks after election day, on November 26, the woman's suffrage victory in Michigan was reversed by late-breaking official election returns from Wayne and other Michigan counties.¹ The equal suffrage amendment that as late as November 21 had been reported to have voter-endorsement by a 14,368 vote majority suddenly was announced defeated by several hundred votes.²

Mrs. Clara Arthur, president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, told the press, "We feel we won . . . and we are going to make every possible effort to have the victory reocgnized."³ Mrs. Susan Sellers, campaign chairman of the Wayne county equal suffrage organization, said "It is strange . . . that the missing [Detroit] precincts were found so easily this morning, after a careful search

¹Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 1; Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1923), pp. 180-182.

²Detroit News, Nov. 21, 1912, p. 1.

³Detroit Times, Nov. 30, 1912, p. 1.

ha
po
tr

De

to
the
hu
Ray

The
vic
of
the
an
rep
she

had failed to bring them forward." Mrs. Sellers also posed the question, "How were these returns obtained and trotted out at the last moment"?⁴

News Reportage of Victory Reversal
By Detroit Daily Newspapers

First Reports

Detroit Free Press

In a story headlined, "People Angry," the Free Press told its readers twenty-one days after the election that the woman's suffrage amendment had been defeated by several hundred votes. The page-one news story, datelined Grand Rapids, began:

With the announcement that the suffrage announcement in Michigan lost by several hundred votes on the final returns from the recent election, statewide indignation that bids fair to cause a general upheaval has culminated.⁵

The report said many voters were of the opinion that the victory reversal was caused by "crooked work upon the part of some election officials." This opinion was based on the fact that some official election returns from some anti-suffrage counties had been withheld. The Free Press reported that "after the state had given a majority to suffrage these counties returned much larger majorities

⁴Detroit Journal, Nov. 22, 1912, p. 1.

⁵Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 1.

against the amendment than those first announced based on the official count."⁶

Saginaw, Ottawa, and St. Clair were the counties cited by the Free Press as those counties that had recently increased their anti-suffrage vote. Saginaw's first unofficial count against suffrage had been 1,300 votes, but the delayed official return added 1,200 against the issue. Ottawa had a gain of 561; St. Clair county increased its anti vote by 520. The Free Press reported that the votes were changed in these counties and others that had initially reported a favorable return. "In all the counties where the final report was held up the latest footings showed big increases against the amendment."⁷

It is this fact, the Free Press declared, that has caused many Michigan citizens to conclude that powerful interests had opposed the suffrage amendment. But the powerful interests were not identified. The account did report that Dr. A. W. Wishart, manager of the state suffrage campaign, questioned whether or not special interest groups had intervened. Dr. Wishart told the Free Press,

"Every good man and woman in Michigan is interested--whether for or against equal suffrage--because the will of the majority has been defeated; whether powerful interests can dictate to this state what its right shall be and how its vote shall be counted."⁸

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

The Free Press gave the vote tallies on the suffrage defeat in a one column-inch box at the beginning of the news story. On the basis of official returns from 80 of Michigan's 83 counties, suffrage had lost by 723 votes; 247,830 for the amendment and 248,553 against it.

Detroit Journal

The Detroit Journal was four days ahead of the Detroit Free Press in its news reportage of the woman's suffrage defeat. On November 22, the Journal topped a front-page news story with the headline: "Official Count Almost Ended, Indicates Votes for Women Lost by 447." The Journal said its figures were based on returns telegraphed to the newspapers from the county seats.

The official vote had been compiled in 81 of the 83 counties in the state, the Journal reported. A table of all the official counts from the reported counties also was published. The Journal specified that eleven precincts in Wayne county had failed to file an official count until recently.

Suffragists declare that an immense cloud of suspicion hangs over the returns from eleven city precincts which have been declared missing since Nov. 5. They point out that not the slightest trace of them could be found and it appears the ballots had been locked up in boxes without any count having been made.

When the rest of the state was all in and nearly 1,000 votes were required by the antis most of the missing precincts were quietly produced. Where have

they been since election day is the question which is being asked.⁹

The Journal also reported that Chase S. Osborn, the incumbent governor of Michigan, had asserted that these returns were being withheld so that the antis might ascertain how many votes were needed and they would produce them when needed. The Journal predicted the Michigan suffragists would ask for a recount.

A front-page editorial cartoon depicted a suffragist peeping through some high weeds. Behind the weeds there were two politicians, busily changing the suffrage ballots from one ballot box to another. Each box was identically marked, "Votes for Women."¹⁰

Detroit News

The failure of the Michigan woman's suffrage amendment was announced in a page-one editorial cartoon of the News. The cartoon pictured an elegantly attired woman reclining in her luxurious sofa. In her hand was a newspaper with the headline, "Woman's Suffrage Finally Defeated in Michigan." She looked exasperated. The caption of the

⁹Detroit Journal, Nov. 22, 1912, p. 1. This news account includes the reaction of Mrs. Susan Sellers, chairman of the Detroit suffrage campaign, to the news of the ballots from the missing Detroit precincts.

¹⁰Ibid., Nov. 25, 1912, p. 1.

cartoon read, "What Shall I Do? I've Eaten My Election Bets."¹¹

The Detroit News did not publish a news report on the defeat of woman's suffrage. In its November 21 issue, however, the News did give front-page news coverage to a reply by Governor Osborn to reports by Michigan suffragists that the delay in the official returns was part of an anti-suffrage plot to defeat the equal suffrage amendment. The story began:

Gov. Osborn is in receipt of complaints that the election results in some counties on equal suffrage is being held up and today issued the following statement relative to his stand on the question.¹²

The rest of the news account was a reprint of the governor's comments.

"Complaint, possibly based on fear and something more tangible has been made to me as governor that the returns on the woman suffrage amendment in Wayne and Kent counties is being withheld until it is known just how many votes are needed to defeat the amendment.

"It is further charged that a paid agent of the liquor interests is keeping close tabulation of the returns as they come in at Lansing and reporting to Detroit frequently. It is alleged that this person has made exultant boosts that they will 'beat Suffrage yet.'¹³

Governor Osborn suggested that the unofficial returns on election results be kept secret until the final vote from

¹¹Detroit News, Nov. 27, 1912, p. 1.

¹²Ibid., Nov. 21, 1912, p. 1.

¹³Ibid.

all counties had been returned. The more important question, he said, was whether the liquor interests could control a free election.

"The question still seems to be largely one as to whether the liquor interests own and control and run Michigan. The people are thoroughly aroused, and will not brook any kind of tampering with returns, of which there is great suspicion.

"If the liquor interests defeat the amendment by fraud, proved or suspected, the people of Michigan will retaliate in my opinion, by adopting state-wide prohibition.

.
 "Those most feared are election crooks in certain Detroit precincts who would not hesitate to do anything they could get away with."¹⁴

At the end of this statement, the News reported the woman's suffrage amendment had a favorable majority of 14,138 votes, with completed official returns from 60 Michigan counties.

On November 22, the Detroit News reported the reaction of Judge Durfee, chairman of the Wayne county board of canvassers, to Governor Osborn's statement.

"I want to say right here that when Governor Osborn hints at 'certain election crooks' in Wayne county precincts not stopping at anything to procure a fraudulent count, he ignores the fact that the work of the inspectors is concluded that the returns are in the hands of the canvassers and no 'election crook' in any precinct can tamper with them."¹⁵

Durfee also said that the reason for the delay was to correct the discrepancies between tally sheets and the

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., Nov. 22, 1912, p. 2.

returns sent in by the inspectors. In the last paragraphs of this sixteen column-inch story, placed on page two, the news of the missing Detroit precincts was mentioned. Dr. A. W. Wishart, manager of the state suffrage campaign, reported that eleven Detroit precincts had not issued any figures on the suffrage vote. He was sure the voters had registered their opinion on the issue in these precincts he said, and he based his opinion on figures submitted to him by the women challengers who had guarded the polls in these Detroit precincts on election day.¹⁶

The Detroit News reported the defeat of suffrage in Wayne county in its November 23 edition. The subhead noted that, "2,000 More Antis Here Would Have Defeated the Reform." The lead explained that with the returns from the third and fourth precincts of the Sixth ward missing, Detroit had downed the equal suffrage amendment by 11,872 votes; 34,930 votes for it and 46,802 against it.

The News also noted that the adverse majority in Wayne county was 2,128 less than predicted. The account implied that the equal suffrage victory was assured if Wayne county has less than 14,000 anti-suffrage votes. The News predicted that "unless the Wayne county vote in opposition shows a majority of 14,000, suffrage will win

¹⁶Ibid.

in Michigan."¹⁷ The News reported that Detroit suffragists and their supporters claimed there were irregularities in the Wayne county vote. The Reverend Eugene Shippen, pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Detroit, told the News,

"We know there were irregularities in the returns of the suffrage amendment in many districts of Wayne county and the organization is now considering the advisability of an appeal for a recount."¹⁸

Mr. Shippen declined to disclose the exact nature of the irregularities. But, the News reported, "It is understood they embody evidences of gross fraud on the part of the inspectors in certain districts."¹⁹

Detroit Times

Like the Detroit News, the Detroit Times also reported Governor Osborn's statement on the suffragists' charges of fraud in the delayed election returns.²⁰ On November 22, the newspaper also reported the Wayne county defeat of woman's suffrage in a page-one story. The headline read, "Suffrage Depends on Wayne County Vote." The account, datelined Lansing, began:

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Detroit Times, Nov. 21, 1912, p. 1. The Times printed the governor's statement without any news lead or additional facts.

If Wayne county returns a majority of 14,000 against the suffrage amendment the women of Michigan will not vote until the proposition is submitted to the electors of the state again, as practically complete returns from the 82 counties of the state indicate that if Wayne goes as heavily against the proposition as it predicted by those who have kept close tab on the vote in the county, the cause is lost.²¹

The Times explained that the woman's suffrage amendment vote count was ahead by 14,000 votes with official returns from 62 counties. The unofficial returns from Wayne, Kent, Monroe, and Bay counties, however, were expected to upset this lead. "According to the statistician here who has followed the results closely, with completed official returns from 62 counties and estimated majorities from counties that have not reported," the Times said, "there will be a majority against the amendment of 1,988." This figure was based on an estimated 14,000 vote opposition from Wayne county.²²

The Detroit Times did not publish a news story on the defeat of the amendment having earlier reported the preliminary indication of such a defeat. The reaction of Michigan suffragists to the belated failure of their cause was published, however. On November 26, a news story on the woman's page reported in its lead:

²¹Ibid., Nov. 22, 1912, p. 1.

²²Ibid.

What course the suffrage party of Michigan, which now seems to have lost out in the recent election, will adopt will probably be decided in a meeting which has been called for in Lansing on Wednesday.²³

Mrs. Susan Sellers, campaign chairman in Wayne county, told the Times, "There are discrepancies between the official figures and our own figures . . . No returns have yet been sent from Wayne county to Lansing . . . There will be no statement until we decide what to do."²⁴

In the last paragraphs of this news account, the Times reported that even if there was a recount on the woman's suffrage resolution, it would be unlikely the amendment would recover its initial victory.

It is rumored that the anti-suffrage party has fortified itself against a recount. For instance, in the first district of the Fifteenth ward, suffrage apparently carried; yet those who know this district as "Bob Rutter's" can't believe that a recount will show the majority in its favor, and hint that there may be other districts of a like nature.²⁵

The Times said the official count was delayed because returns from the second district of the Thirteenth ward and the third district of the Fourth ward were missing.²⁶

²³Ibid., Nov. 26, 1912, p. 6.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid. In the same issue on page ten, the Times reported the woman's suffrage amendment carried a favorable majority of 14,621 votes; 193,842 votes for the amendment and 179,222 against it.

o

g

e

i

a

e

e

e

o

ac

As November drew to a close, the Detroit Times told its readers of the possibility of a recount on the equal suffrage proposition. Only the subheadline referred to the defeat of woman's suffrage. It read: "Official Figures Show Majority Against Amendment." The story began:

The conference here [Lansing] Wed. afternoon of leading supporters of the woman's suffrage amendment [is] to decide upon steps to be taken in view of the narrow defeat of the measure and the possibility of mistakes and unfair counting.²⁷

Editorials on the Woman's Suffrage Defeat
By Detroit Daily Newspapers

Detroit Free Press

Although the Detroit Free Press reported in its news columns that woman's suffrage amendment had fallen behind by 723 votes,²⁸ in its editorial columns, the editors questioned whether the woman's suffrage amendment had failed.

The returns from the numerous voting precincts of the state are taking a long while to tabulate . . . The woman suffrage vote, in particular has been in and out so much, and the supporters of the amendment have been so distraught by shifting hope and despair, that the tension of the drawn out strain is almost at the breaking point for some.²⁹

²⁷ Ibid., Nov. 28, 1912, p. 1.

²⁸ (See supra, p. 151.)

²⁹ Editorial, Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4.

The editors also questioned whether the election had been conducted fairly. They noted the total state vote was very heavy for a constitutional amendment.

Certain unusual features of this election naturally arouse suspicion in some minds. The vote cast is enormous for a constitutional amendment, apparently far ahead of totals ever reached in Michigan in a referendum. It is common gossip that many of the electors did not exercise their franchise in particular, but the returns did not reflect this general supposition . . .³⁰

The Detroit Free Press implied editorially that the ballot box had been stuffed by the opponents of equal suffrage to insure the ultimate defeat of the proposition. The Free Press said,

But the special ballots certainly were left in the booths in some instances, for reputable citizens declare they saw several of them lying about and if this happened frequently there is a possibility that a large number were gathered up and marked by interested persons, being thereafter deposited in boxes to appear as genuine in case of a recount.³¹

The Free Press criticized the Detroit election procedures. "Altogether in view of the opportunities for questionable practices in this way and the grave rumors of irregularities in other ways the election is not at all satisfactory as an expression of public expression on the issue." To ascertain the real public opinion on the equal franchise issue, the Free Press recommended an immediate recount, if possible. If not, the daily

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

suggested the resubmission of the resolution in the April municipal elections.³²

Twenty-five days after the election, the Free Press complimented the Michigan suffragists for their dignified acceptance of defeat. In an editorial, "Good Losers, Those Women," the editors said,

They have suffered a severe disappointment in the election, and their self-control has been tested by the hardest of all trials, unexpected defeat following apparent victory. Many a male being who thinks himself superior to womankind--and most of mankind as well--has broken under that kind of strain and made an unpleasant exhibition of his passions, but our women are taking the blow quietly, with dignity that evokes admiration.³³

The editorial discussed the resubmission of the equal suffrage amendment to the people and the possibility of its victory in a future election. The Free Press said, "If another election could be held tomorrow this influence [indignation at possible fraudulent methods] might prove dominant, and the wave of general indignation might carry the affirmative side through to success."³⁴

The Free Press also said that the emotions of the public tended to be fickle and whether interest in public proposition could be maintained until the spring election was another question. "But, hot passion is prone to cool

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., Nov. 30, 1912, p. 4.

³⁴Ibid.

quickly, and it is a nice calculation whether it can be relied on to last four months." Whether the Michigan suffragists would be able to organize for another campaign so soon was another question posed by the Free Press. The editorial drearily concluded, "Reforms are badly discouraged that are voted down twice in quick succession."³⁵

Detroit Journal

The long delay in the official returns on the woman's suffrage amendment several days before the victory reversal aroused the suspicions of the Detroit Journal. The caption of a Journal editorial queried, "Is There Trickery in the Delay?" Figures were constantly changing, never final and it was fifteen days after election day, the editors noted on November 23. The editorial concluded:

When politicians go out to defeat the will of the people the returns are always slow and back districts are held back. If there is not queer work going on, what is the reason for the protracted delay on a simple "Yes" and "No" vote? How long will these laggard and incompetent officials delay the announcement of the simplest and yet most important question on which the people voted on in Michigan this fall.³⁶

Three days later, the Journal editors blamed the Michigan political machine in Detroit for the sudden defeat of woman's suffrage. The Journal noted there was a

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 4.

3,500 vote discrepancy between the first unofficial vote and the later one; and the editors ruminated about the reason for the discrepancy:

The striking thing about this discrepancy is that it is made up by a few notoriously machine-ridden counties. Saginaw gives a majority of 2,500 against suffrage. Kent at first reported suffrage defeated by 500--the final returns show it was defeated by 2,500. The first figures showed anti-suffrage leading in St. Clair by 500; now it appears the franchise is lost by 1,000. And our own inglorious Wayne where some of the precincts were so hard to find, has increased the majority against suffrage. Nov. 7, it appeared to be little more than 10,000 now it is nearly 12,000.³⁷

The editors said that the change--the added votes--was caused by the machine politics. "These comparisons are lessons in practical politics. They show plainly that if suffrage has been defeated by actual votes those votes have been cast by the machine." The newspaper predicted that the women would launch a new campaign and their battle would be with the machine. "The only serious opposition comes in a few cities where political machines and little Tammanies can control masses of voters and vote them like sheep for or against suffrage."³⁸

On November 27, the Journal editorially decried the incompetent work of the election officials in counting and tallying the suffrage vote. The Journal said first there was the question of the legality of the ballots.

³⁷Ibid., Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4.

³⁸Ibid.

The
the
on
kn
pe
th
an
el
of

T
P
C

Then, the delayed returns were counted in violation of the state constitutional requirement to count the votes on public propositions first. "A woman making a cake knows what to do first and does it," the newspaper snapped. "These male electors [knew] what to do first and they did it last. It is three weeks from the election and there is no final and official vote yet."³⁹ Michigan election officials had been aware of the ruthless enemies of suffrage but still had been careless.

Men tell us the "word was passed around" just before election in Detroit . . . Cheap saloons helped defeat suffrage. And then there are some that say suffrage was not defeated but counters counted out suffrage . . . They [the male counters] lost returns and could not find them, they failed to hear from some precincts, they mixed the votes.⁴⁰

The Journal described man's final ignorance as his public plea for a vote recount without knowledge of whether a recount was constitutional.

And, finally proud man, dressed in a little brief authority, talks of a recount of votes of the entire state and then finds when he made his state constitution and state laws he neglected to provide for it, though some men said he did provide for it . . . But did he really? And what is to be done if he didn't? Not a man in the state knows, and the women have no right to help us.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., Nov. 27, 1912, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

I

t

t

p

a

t

d.

De

th

vi

da

th

a

Vo

sch

not

had

ner

the

Detroit News

The reason for the discrepancy in vote count between the first unofficial figures and the final ones was that election officials were overworked and too tired to perform their task correctly, the News suggested editorially. "By the time they came to the amendments they were too weary and sleepy to do this counting accurately and did some lumping it in the counting."⁴²

Detroit Times

The Detroit Times did not editorially react to the defeat of the proposition on equal voting rights for Michigan women. After its November 16 editorial, the daily carried one more editorial on woman's suffrage in the post-election period. On December 6, the caption of a Times editorial asked, "Do you Think Women Competent to Vote"? The editorial argued that society accepted women school teachers and women social workers; why should it not accept women voters? The Times said the newspaper had carried political discussions from the all-male corner grocery store gathering to "women's sphere--the home." The newspaper concluded:

Should men of Michigan make a law saying there-
after all purest milk and finest foods was reserved
for baby boys . . .

⁴²Editorial, Detroit News, Dec. 6, 1912, p. 4.

s

major

women

accu

for

blame

In a

nal

in

a r

from

from

con

She

le

Is it less criminal to stunt a woman's power for social service by an enforced lack of exercise?⁴³

Whether it was criminal or not, in 1912, a small majority of the Michigan electorate decided that Michigan women were still incompetent to vote.⁴⁴ Some citizens accused special interest groups of making this decision for the electorate.⁴⁵ And some, like the Detroit Journal, blamed both the individual citizen and the pressure groups. In a page one editorial cartoon on November 28, the Journal cartoonist depicted a handsome woman, with a bouquet in her hands, bowing before a male tribunal that included a representative from the liquor interests, a politician from the Michigan machine, and Billy-the-Bum, an elector from the constituency. The caption of the cartoon was a comment from the lady who was labeled Michigan suffrage. She told the male jury, "Gentlemen, Thank you for at least considering me!"⁴⁶

⁴³Editorial, Detroit Times, Nov. 16, 1912, p. 16.

⁴⁴(See supra, p. 103, n. 1.)

⁴⁵Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁶Detroit Journal, Nov. 28, 1912, p. 1.

CHAPTER VI

WAS THE PUBLIC INFORMED?

The obligation of the press in the United States to cultivate an informed citizenry is not diminished by the difficulty of the task. The free newspress is supposed to give the people of a democratic society the information about the local community, the state, the nation, and the government that they need to be self-governing. A proposal in 1912 to amend the Michigan Constitution to legalize women voters obligated the daily newspress of Detroit to fully inform their readers of the diverse viewpoints relative to the proposed amendment, and to try to give some understanding of the complex events in the columns of their editorial pages.

The woman's suffrage amendment, submitted to the Michigan electorate in November, 1912, was an important issue in a period characterized by progressive political, social, and economic reforms.¹ Supporters of woman's suffrage were often mistakenly identified as advocates of liquor prohibition, another reform movement of the era.²

¹Mark Sullivan, Our Times, IV, 121-123.

²Detroit News, Oct. 27, 1912, sec. 5., p. 15.

The natural enemy of prohibition was the American brewing and liquor interests. There is a preponderance of evidence that the brewers and liquor interests supported and helped to finance the forces in Michigan that opposed suffrage for women, but the daily newspress in Detroit avoided reporting this information to its readers. When the amendment was defeated, the outcome affected by "delayed" vote-returns from eleven populous Detroit precincts, the newspaper reports were in disagreement with one another about the essential "facts" of the story. And, three of the four newspapers preferred editorial silence to editorial exposition explaining candidly why a proposal to extend a democratic process to the women of Michigan had been defeated narrowly.

The American beermakers had formed the United States Brewers Association in 1862, "For the protection of the trade."³ This protection included the financing of political campaigns that involved the interests of the "wets." In 1881, at the U.S.B.A.'s nineteenth annual convention, the brewers adopted a resolution opposing woman's suffrage. The brewers considered equal suffrage even more dangerous than prohibition "'because prohibition could be repealed at any time, but woman's suffrage would

³United States Brewers Association, The Yearbook of the United States Brewers Association, 1911 (New York: United States Brewers Assn., 1912), p. 3.

insure the permanency of prohibition.'"⁴ In 1900, a trustee of the United States Brewers Association, denied such a statement had ever been made and asserted his organization would not interfere in state or national woman's suffrage campaigns.⁵

The events of the Michigan suffrage movement and those of the Michigan brewers were coincidentally intertwined. The Michigan suffragists had obtained the permission of the state legislature for a public vote on equal suffrage in 1912.⁶ In an earlier session, this same legislative body had ratified the Taylor bill, a bill restricting financial cooperation between the brewers and the retail dealers.⁷ In the same year, Michigan beer production dropped from ninth to nineteenth in national competitive output.⁸ Michigan citizens had voted in

⁴Mildred Adams, The Right to be People (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1966), p. 73.

⁵Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., The History of Woman Suffrage, 1883-1900 (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1902), IV, 447-448.

⁶National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 307.

⁷United States Brewers Association, Yearbook of 1911, p. 97. The bill forbade any contact between brewer and saloon keeper, by which the former advanced money to pay for the saloon license and fixtures.

⁸Ibid., p. 140.

thirty-five "dry" counties; breweries in these counties had been forced to close.⁹

With the gradual tightening in production and profits of the Michigan brewers and their associated retailers, the state liquor interests apparently assessed women suffragists as their enemy and saw the enactment of equal suffrage as a threat to their industry. Did the Detroit daily newspapers report or editorially recognize the liquor interests as a powerful anti-suffrage force in the 1912 woman's suffrage campaign and in the defeat of the proposal?

Summary News Reportage
Anti-Suffrage Forces

Campaign of 1912

During the campaign, the four Detroit daily newspapers reported the distribution of anti-suffrage circulars. The anti-literature correlated passage of the woman's suffrage amendment with the advent of prohibition. In its news reportage, the Detroit Free Press alternately attributed the pamphlets to the National Anti-Suffrage Organization and Charles Evans, a Lansing medicine peddler.¹⁰ The

⁹Ibid., p. 97. In 1908, Michigan adopted the local option law on prohibition. Each county could independently decide whether it wanted units of liquor production or distribution within its boundaries.

¹⁰Detroit Free Press, Oct. 25, 1912, p. 3; Detroit Free Press, Nov. 5, 1912, p. 6.

Detroit Journal reported the charges of Michigan suffragists that the circulars emanated from the Michigan liquor industries.¹¹ The Detroit News attributed them to the Women's Christian Temperance Union.¹² The news events reported by the Detroit Times in five front-page stories implied Michigan liquor interests had financed the anti-suffrage literature and Michigan politicians to defeat the equal franchise amendment.¹³

Victory Reversal

After the defeat, the Detroit Free Press reported rumors of vote manipulation by the election officials and unidentified special interest groups. In a page-one editorial cartoon, the Detroit Journal implied the defeat was caused by the Michigan machine politicians, the liquor interests, and the "bought" voters.¹⁴ Neither the Detroit Times nor the Detroit News carried a news story specifically about the state-wide defeat of the amendment.¹⁵ The

¹¹Detroit Journal, Oct. 24, 25, 1912, passim.

¹²Detroit News, Oct. 17, 1912, sec. 5, p. 15.

¹³Detroit Times, Oct. 17, 24, 25, 31, 1912, passim; Detroit Times, Nov. 5, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁴Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 1; Detroit Journal, Nov. 28, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁵The Detroit News and the Detroit Times did report the statement of Michigan governor, Chase S. Osborn, that charged "election crooks" with changing ballots to affect the election outcome.

Detroit Times did report, however, the discrepancies between the initial and final vote counts as an indication of fraud.¹⁶

Summary Editorials
Anti-Suffrage
Forces

Campaign of 1912

The Detroit Free Press and Detroit News did not editorially cite any enemies of the Michigan suffragists nor did these dailies endorse the reform. The Detroit Journal editorially recommended the amendment, and commended the liquor forces and politicians for their "hands off" policy in the suffrage campaign. In its editorials, the Detroit Times recognized the liquor organizations as the enemy of suffrage and specifically named the various groups in the alliance.¹⁷

Victory Reversal

The Detroit Free Press hinted the defeat of the woman's suffrage amendment was caused by fraudulent methods. The Free Press did not editorially project who had instigated the fraud. The Detroit Journal blamed the

¹⁶Detroit Times, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 6.

¹⁷Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 2, 1912, p. 4; Editorial, Detroit Times, Oct. 19, 30, 1912, passim; Editorial, Detroit Times, Nov. 5, 1912.

machine politicians and election officials for the defeat. In the guise of rumor, the Detroit Journal implied the liquor interests were also involved in the defeat.¹⁸ The Detroit News said the election officials were inaccurate in their first equal suffrage count, but the final vote was the correct estimate of public opinion on the proposition.¹⁹ The Detroit Times took no editorial stand on the defeat of woman's suffrage.

Conclusion

With the exception of the Detroit Times, the Detroit newspapers did not assess the liquor interests as a powerful anti-suffrage force, a force capable of a victory reversal. The Detroit Free Press, the Detroit Journal, the Detroit Times reported the charges of Michigan citizens that fraudulent methods had been used to defeat the suffrage resolution. The reports of how the victory had been reversed were unclear. The Detroit dailies were not consistent in their reports on which counties had returned revised suffrage counts and had changed the election outcome. For example, the Detroit Free Press reported Saginaw, Ottawa, and St. Clair as the counties that

¹⁸ Editorial, Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4; Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 4; Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4.

¹⁹ Editorial, Detroit News, Dec. 6, 1912, p. 4.

belatedly supplied the anti-suffrage majority; the Detroit Journal editorially cited Kent, Saginaw, St. Clair, and Wayne counties.²⁰

Unlike the reports in the woman's suffrage histories, the Detroit daily newspapers did not indicate that the late-breaking returns from the missing eleven, populous Detroit precincts were the decisive factor in the Michigan suffrage defeat. During the temporary victory period, only one or two sentences, at the end of a column or in the continued section of page-one news stories, mentioned the missing precincts. Only one headline stressed this fact and it was not published until the majority of the missing precincts had sent in their returns. On November 23, the Detroit News headlined a front-page news story, "2,000 More Antis Here Would Have Defeated the Reform."²¹ This headline, and a statement by the Detroit Free Press on November 15 that 1,940 votes would "take care of the [eleven] missing Detroit precincts" [if the shortened ballots were thrown out] indicated that the newspaper editors knew a large vote was being withheld in Detroit.²² The Detroit newspapers did

²⁰Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 1; Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 4.

²¹Detroit News, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 1.

²²Detroit Free Press, Nov. 15, 1912, p. 1. This was the follow-up statement on a one-sentence, November 8 report by the Detroit Free Press that eleven precincts were missing in Detroit.

not emphasize this fact in their news reportage to the Detroit citizenry. None of the Detroit dailies reported how or why the returns from the missing Detroit precincts were suddenly available on November 23.

Michigan Suffragists Blamed
Liquor Interests for
Defeat of 1912

Michigan Suffragists blamed the Detroit and Michigan liquor interests for supplying the needed anti-majority and defeating their cause. The women evaluated the liquor interests as their most potent enemy. The minutes of the Michigan delegation's report at the forty-sixth annual convention of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association in 1913 are a record of the charges made by the state suffrage organizations against the Michigan liquor businesses.

Returns on the amendment were delayed notably from certain Detroit precincts where the opposition was firmly entrenched. The history of careless handling of the amendment, the undue haste in burning the election ballots, the illegalities and irregularities of the vote on suffrage are familiar to you . . . We know that much money and labor was expended by the opposition, mainly the liquor and allied interests . . .²³

In 1915, Jennie Law Hardy, an active worker in the Detroit 1912 campaign effort, testified at a United States

²³Minutes, Michigan Report at National American Woman Suffrage annual convention of 1913, State of Michigan Library, Archives, Brotherton Collection, Vol. I.

House committee hearing on the adoption of national woman's suffrage by federal amendment. Mrs. Hardy told the committee that Michigan voters favored equal suffrage, but that the liquor interests had defeated it in 1912 and 1913. Mrs. Hardy reported, "The liquor interests themselves admitted they spent over a million dollars to defeat it."²⁴

Michigan suffragists planned another equal suffrage campaign in 1918. They were extremely optimistic; the liquor interests had been voted out of Michigan in April, 1916. In a personal letter to Mrs. Belle Brotherton, acting president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Sylvia Vendetto, a Detroit suffragist, predicted the antis would be easily defeated without the financial backing of the liquor interests.

Michigan has gone dry to take effect in April, 1918. With our worst enemies, the liquor saloons, eliminated, what the antis will be able to do will be trifling, as they will no longer have the backing in Michigan by the unlimited money and resources of the liquor traffic. The antis will have to pay their own advertising and printing bills in the coming votes for women campaigns in Michigan. No longer can they depend upon the Retail Liquor Dealers Association of Michigan to pay them as of yore.²⁵

²⁴National American Woman Suffrage Association, The History of Woman Suffrage, V, 474. The woman's suffrage amendment was resubmitted to the voters in April, 1913, and defeated by a 17,507 majority; 168,738 for it, and 264,882 against it.

²⁵Letter, Sylvia Vendetto to Mrs. Belle Brotherton, 1917, State of Michigan Library, Archives, Brotherton Collection, Vol. I.

When Mrs. Vendetto reflected on the defeats of 1912 and 1913, she blamed the liquor interests.

Twice have they [Michigan suffragists] been robbed and cheated out of hard won victories by the liquor interests.

.
As I worked to the best of my ability in both of the above mentioned campaigns in Michigan, I personally know what I say about the Antis is true. I have heard and seen it myself. I am not repeating hearsay.²⁶

United States Senate Investigation
Find Liquor Interests
Illegally Involved in
Suffrage Campaigns

History was to prove the Michigan suffragists had not used the "liquor interests story" as an alibi for their defeats. On November 5, 1918, the "dry" state of Michigan granted its women equal suffrage by a wide margin of favorable votes.²⁷ In September, 1918, an investigation by the Judiciary Subcommittee of the United States Senate into charges of German propaganda by German brewers, uncovered evidence that the United States Brewers Association and its related trades had influenced and financed prohibition and suffrage campaigns.

Some of the charges the U.S.B.A. and its allied interests incurred were: (1) contributing to political

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Michigan, Department of State, Michigan Manual, 1919-1920, p. 498. The favorable majority for suffrage was 34,506 votes; 229,790 for it; and 195,284 against it.

campaigns on a scale without precedent, (2) controlling legislation in the state and nation, (3) subsidizing the press for editorial space, (4) and operating an extensive boycotting system of American manufacturers.²⁸ The private records, subpoenaed from the United States Brewers Association's main office in New York, verified the U.S.B.A.'s political agency had financed campaigns in Michigan.²⁹

Sixty per cent of the Michigan brewers, including ten Detroit breweries, had belonged to the U.S.B.A.'s state affiliate, the Michigan Brewers Association in 1912.³⁰ Members of the state brewers association raised one-third of the money for the state campaigns; the U.S.B.A.'s political agency provided the remaining two thirds.³¹

The private letters and documents from the files of this agency provide reasons why in 1912 Detroit was an anti-suffrage stronghold. Two active front groups for the "wets" operated in Detroit: the Manufacturers and Dealers Club of Detroit, formed by 250 prosperous, Detroit

²⁸U.S., Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Judiciary Report and Hearings of Brewing and Liquor Interests and Bolshevik Propaganda, S. Doc. 62, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 1919, I, 4.

²⁹Ibid., 1021.

³⁰United States Brewers Association, Yearbook of 1911, p. 319.

³¹U.S., Congress, Senate, Report of Brewing and Liquor Interests, I, 327, 805-808.

businessmen; and the German-American Alliance, an organization of German beermakers.³²

In 1912, ten Detroit breweries belonged to the Detroit-based Michigan Brewers Association. On October 13, 1913, Harry Rickels, president of the Manufacturers and Dealers Club, reported to the U.S.B.A.'s Interstate Conference Committee that a split in the Michigan brewers organization has caused a continual weakening in the Michigan liquor alliance.

Three and one-half years ago [1909] a division occurred between the brewers in Detroit city and those in the rest of the state and the [country brewers] separated from what was then designated as the Michigan State Brewers Association. That disorganization created a very bad condition in the up-state counties . . .³³

In his report, Rickels petitioned the national office for help in future campaigns. He referred to the past help of the U.S.B.A., and his reference suggested what might have occurred in Detroit precincts during the 1912 woman's suffrage campaign.

Any of those men who helped us out so nobly in Michigan a year or so ago, could come to Detroit to the Central Office and get an idea of the situation and take grips and go into the localities and stay

³²Ibid., 834-835, 1162.

³³Ibid., 1163. In the 1912 woman's suffrage campaign, the majority of the out-state counties favored the equal suffrage amendment, but Detroit precincts defeated it in Wayne county by 11,872 votes.

there until after election day. [They were] men thoroughly capable and competent to take on an election from the beginning to the end, organizing the precincts, wards or election districts, and to seeing that the desired results were brought about.³⁴

Assessment of Detroit Dailies
News Reportage and Editorials
Of Anti-Suffrage Forces'
Campaign and Defeat

The circumstantial evidence produced by the U.S. Senate investigation, in addition to testimonials from Michigan women, indicate the liquor interests were an active anti-suffrage force in the 1912 campaign that ended in defeat. During the campaign, the Detroit Times, with the least circulation, was the only newspaper to report and editorially cite the liquor interests as the active enemy of woman's suffrage.³⁵ Although no indictments were brought against any of the Detroit daily newspapers for accepting funds from the liquor alliance, it is noteworthy that the Detroit Times, the only daily to crusade for the suffragists, also advocated prohibition and rejected advertisements from the Michigan liquor businesses.³⁶

³⁴U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of Brewing and Liquor Interests, I, 1163.

³⁵The circulation of the Detroit Times in 1912 was 32,537; For comparison of the circulation to that of the other Detroit dailies (see supra, pp. 22-25).

³⁶Editorial, Detroit Times, Oct. 28, 1912, p. 9.

In the post-election period, the evidence indicates the withholding of the election returns in Detroit precincts was important and was part of a pre-conceived plan to defeat the equal suffrage amendment, regardless of the wishes of the Michigan electorate. The Detroit Journal was the only daily to editorially discuss whether fraud was involved in the delayed returns from various counties.³⁷ The Journal was also the only Detroit newspaper to hint involvement of the liquor interests in the victory reversal.³⁸ Both the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit Journal editorially recommended a vote recount or resubmission of the amendment to the electorate.³⁹

Considering each newspaper's total performance, however, both before and after the election, not one of the Detroit daily newspapers adequately informed the Detroit public about the major opponent to woman's suffrage. In the pre-election period, the majority of citizens did not know the liquor interests were working, behind the mask of other organizations, to defeat the amendment.

In the post-election period, Detroit readers did not know their votes were being withheld for illegal purposes. By their omissions and inadequacies, the Detroit

³⁷ Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 4.

³⁸ Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4.

³⁹ Editorial, Detroit Free Press, Nov. 26, 1912, p. 4; Editorial, Detroit Journal, Nov. 23, 1912, p. 4.

newspapers failed in their role of public informer. They did not meet the high standards for press responsibility to the public. The newspapers were not "on guard against unfairness" nor "aroused [to defend] human liberty" in a supposedly free election.⁴⁰

Summary News Reportage of Issues

Pre-Election Period

Another aspect of the role of the press as informer is its ability to present objective, understandable, and timely information to its readers on matters of public concern. The Detroit newspapers did not report and editorially discuss the issues involved in the passage of the woman's suffrage amendment with honesty and comprehension. The campaign activities were not given unbiased news coverage.

In the pre-election period, the Detroit daily newspapers carried seven news feature stories on the issues involved in the woman's suffrage reform. The Detroit Free Press carried two news feature stories, both contributed by Eleanor Gage, a suffrage writer. Miss Gage explained why the working woman, the propertyholder and the homemaker needed equal voting rights.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Edwin Emery, Press and America, p. 718.

⁴¹ Detroit Free Press, Oct. 20, 1912, sec. 5, p. 7; Detroit Free Press, Nov. 3, 1912, sec. 5, p. 7.

The Detroit Journal carried three news feature stories on why different citizens advocated the need of women voters. A Detroit chauffeur claimed the "working girl" deserved the vote; a Toledo clubwoman said her married woman needed it; and a Polish magazine writer reported the foreign-born women wanted it.⁴²

The Detroit News carried one news feature story on the issue. The story reported how the inept remarks of an Olivet College professor had influenced an Olivet labor crew against suffrage. In a news story, the Detroit Times discussed whether the automobile had increased woman's desire for the ballot.⁴³ All the Detroit dailies carried public endorsements of the reform.

Post-Election Period

In the first three weeks of the post-election period, Michigan was considered to be an equal suffrage state. During this period, the Detroit Journal and the Detroit News reported what affects the newly enfranchised women would have on Michigan public affairs. The Detroit Journal predicted Detroit women would clean-up the city government. The Journal reinforced its prediction with

⁴²Detroit Journal, Oct. 22, 1912, p. 13; Detroit Journal, Nov. 30, 1912, passim.

⁴³Detroit News, Nov. 2, 1912, p. 6. Detroit Times, Oct. 19, 1912, p. 9.

quotations from suffrage leaders. For example, Dr. Mary Stevens, president of the College Equal Suffrage League, told the Journal, "'Detroit women will certainly take a keen interest in the movement to banish graft and corruption . . . On all moral issues you will find the women taking a decided stand on the side of right and cleanliness.'"⁴⁴

In three front-page news stories, the Detroit News predicted the main affect of women voters would be state-wide prohibition. The News did not consult Michigan suffrage leaders to verify this statement. In its November 12 edition, the News quoted state prohibition leaders on this prediction. In a story November 13, the daily again linked prohibition with women voters, but this time without any verification.⁴⁵ In its last post-election story run on November 18, only the headline and news lead referred to the Michigan women voters. The lead sentence reported that the women voters would "swing" many local option contests in the April, 1913 election. On November 19, 1912, the page-one cartoon printed by the News pictured Michigan women voting out the saloons.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Detroit Journal, Nov. 7, 1912, p. 2.

⁴⁵Detroit News, Nov. 12, 13, 1912, passim.

⁴⁶Detroit News, Nov. 18, 19, 1912, passim.

Summary of Editorials on Issues

The Detroit Times was the only daily that editorially commented on why Michigan women needed the vote. The Times editorially examined the case of Mabel Green, the Detroit woman who committed suicide to give her three-year-old son a place in the state orphanage.⁴⁷ In the post-election period, the Detroit Free Press, the Detroit Journal, and the Detroit Times discussed the affect of women voters on state government.

Conclusion

The Detroit News, by not verifying its predictions on the future actions of Michigan women, used its news columns for reporting the editor's opinion instead of facts. The editorial cartoon emphasized the bias apparent in its news stories. This is slanted news. With the exception of the Detroit News, the Detroit dailies were not blatantly biased; rather, they de-emphasized the societal conditions that affected women in 1912. The stories in the Free Press were the only ones that commented on the problems of women. The low wages, the ineffectiveness of the woman to control her home environment these were some of the problems. The Detroit dailies

⁴⁷ Editorial, Detroit Times, Oct. 30, 1912, p. 9.

did not put the facts of the women's situation into a context that would give them meaning to the reader.

Summary News Reportage
Campaign Activities

The Detroit dailies seemed more interested in reportage of what Michigan women did, rather than what they said. There were many more published news stories on campaign activities than on issues.

The placement of a news story in a newspaper is one indication of the editors' estimation of its news worthiness.⁴⁸ The news stories on the daily campaign activities of Michigan suffragists did not receive front-page, or even page-two or page-three placement in the majority of cases. The news coverage of the suffrage speeches, neighborhood canvassing, and street meetings, were placed in the middle or last pages of the four newspapers.

The Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press consistently placed suffrage news on the women's pages, a spot unlikely to be read by the male readers and voters. These newspapers also reported letters to the editor in their news columns, using the same type-size, style, and lay-out as for news stories. If the reader did not note

⁴⁸Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, p. 54.

the warning printed in one-sixteenth inch letters [To the editor] he read opinions as facts.⁴⁹

The Michigan women conducted a campaign based on the reasoned presentation of arguments, personal contact with voters, and distributions of literature. The campaign was devoid of flamboyancy and campaign attention-getting gimmicks. The only colorful campaign activity was the one-night rally with its motorcade and fireworks. This event received front-page coverage by the Detroit Journal and the Detroit Times.⁵⁰ The only other campaign event to be given page-one coverage was the reporting of the women challengers. The Detroit Journal reported the fainting spell of Mrs. McMahon; the Detroit News the timidity of an unidentified woman challenger.⁵¹

The four Detroit newspapers, either before or after the election, complimented the Michigan suffragists on the decorum and dignity of their campaign. But they did not give the suffragists top billing in their news columns, however.

⁴⁹ Detroit Free Press, Oct. 27, 1912, passim; Detroit Free Press, Nov. 3, 1912, sec. 2, p. 4; Detroit News, Nov. 3, 1912, p. 11.

⁵⁰ (See supra, pp. 49-50.)

⁵¹ (See supra, pp. 54-55 and p. 59.)

Why Did Detroit Dailies
Fail As Public
Informer?

The suffrage events and issues were given spotty news coverage because these stories lacked news interest. "The criteria of news interest are recency or firstness, proximity, combat, human interest, and novelty."⁵²

The activities of the Michigan suffragists were based on the reiteration of issues. The issues were not new or unique to Michigan voters. American women had been fighting for their social, economic, and political rights since pre-Civil War days.⁵³ The Michigan suffragists refused to stoop to violence to draw attention to and news coverage of their plight. In 1912, the campaign news of the Michigan suffragists lacked recency, proximity, and combat interest. And, Michigan women had not, as yet, learned how to create news events that were rated as being novel or that involved human interest.⁵⁴ The

⁵²Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, p. 55.

⁵³(See supra, p. 5.)

⁵⁴In the build-up period prior to the 1918 Michigan woman's suffrage campaign, the editors of the Michigan Suffragist, the state organization's publication begun in 1915 urged the women to create news the Michigan newspapers would publish. The editors suggested that the local clubs sponsor plays, costume parties, and parades to publicize their cause. These were all events that the newspapers might print because of their novelty or human interest appeal; Michigan Suffragist, State of Michigan Library, Archives, Brotherton Collection, Vol. I.

Commission on Freedom of the Press noted in 1947 that the singular use of these criteria for judging the news interest of a story limits accuracy and significance of the newspaper in its role as public informer. The Detroit newspapers in their news coverage and editorial interpretation of campaign news events and issues seemed to have performed in the familiar, rather than in the outstanding way.

To attract the maximum audience, the press emphasizes the exceptional rather than the representative, the sensational rather than the significant. Many activities lie below the surface of what are conventionally regarded as reportable incidents.⁵⁵

If the Detroit newspapers were interested in the sensational why did they not expose the liquor interests in the belated defeat? There is no evidence that any of these newspapers were financed to withhold information. Not corruption, but fear of a powerful, industrial concern may be why the Detroit daily newspapers remained silent--fear of a brewing and liquor alliance that had the power to boycott leading Michigan manufacturers, fear of the alliance that had a blacklist of newspaper enterprises opposed to the "wet" interests.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, p. 55.

⁵⁶U.S., Congress, Senate, Report on Brewing and Liquor Interests, I, 144-154, 813.

The reason for the lethargy of the press in its role as public informer frequently is "not corruption, but ignorance, inertia and fear--the same kind of fear that permeates American life--these are the fundamental causes for the failure of the American newspapers in giving the public the facts which the public has a right to demand."⁵⁷

⁵⁷Nelson Crawford, The Ethics of Journalism (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1924), p. 74.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Theories of a Free and Responsible Press

- Berelson, Bernard and Janovitz, Morris. Public Opinion and Communications. New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- Bird, George L. and Mervin, Frederick F. The Press and Society. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951.
- Blumberg, Nathan B. One Party Press? Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1954.
- Chenery, William L. Freedom of the Press. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955.
- Commission on Freedom of the Press. A Free and Responsible Press. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Crawford, Nelson Antrim. The Ethics of Journalism. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1924.
- Emery, Edwin. The Press and America. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954.
- Flint, Leon Nelson. The Conscience of a Newspaper. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925.
- _____. The Editorial. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1928.
- Gerald, James Edward. The Social Responsibility of the Press. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963.
- Gross, Gerald, ed. The Responsibility of the Press. New York: Fliet Publishing Company, 1966.
- Hocking, William Ernest. Freedom of the Press. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Ickes, Harold L. Freedom of the Press Today. New York: Vanguard Press, 1941.

- Jefferson, Thomas. The Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Andrew A. Lipscomb. Vol. XI. Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1904.
- Johnson, Gerald White. What Is News? New York: A. A. Knopf, 1926.
- Jones, Robert William. The Editorial Pages. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930.
- Jones, Vincent S. "Bold Experimentation Needed to Improve Newspaper Contest." Journalism Quarterly, XXV (March, 1948), 20-21.
- Laurence, David. "Reporting the Political News at Washington." American Political Science Review, XXII (Nov., 1928), 893-902.
- Marquette University School of Journalism. Social Responsibility of the Newspress. Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 1962.
- Padover, Saul K., ed. Thomas Jefferson on Democracy. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1946.
- Rogers, James Edward. The American Newspaper. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909.
- Salmon, Lucy Maynard. The Newspaper and the Historian. New York: Oxford University Press, 1923.
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch Symposium on Freedom of the Press. St. Louis: The Post-Dispatch, 1938.
- Siebert, Frederick Seaton. The Rights and Privileges of the Press. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934.
- Siebert, Fred S.; Petersen, Theodore; and Schramm, Wilbur. Four Theories of Press Freedom. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963.
- Smith, Charles W. Public Opinion in a Democracy. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

Histories of the Woman Suffrage Movement

- Adams, Mildred. The Right to be People. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1967.

- Beard, Mary R. Woman As Force In History. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1946.
- Blackwell, Alice Stone. Lucy Stone. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1930.
- Catt, Carrie Chapman and Shuler, Nettie Rogers. Woman Suffrage and Politics. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1923.
- Crathern, Alice Tarbell, comp. In Detroit Courage Was the Fashion. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953.
- Flexner, Eleanor. Century of Struggle. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard, 1959.
- Fox, Karolena M. "History of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Movement." Michigan History Magazine, II (1930), 92-95.
- Grimes, Alan P. The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Harper, Ida Husted. The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony. Kansas City: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1899.
- Irwin, Inez Haynes. Angels and Amazons. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1933.
- Jones, Samuel. Treatise on the Right of Suffrage. Boston: Otis, Broaders and Company, 1842.
- Kraditor, Aileen S. The Ideas of Woman Suffrage Movement. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.
- _____, ed. Up from the Pedestal. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1968.
- Martin, Edward Sandford. The Unrest of Women. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1913.
- National American Woman Suffrage Association. The History of Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920, Vol. V. Edited by Ida Husted Harper. 6 vols. New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1922.
- _____. The History of Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920. Vol. VI. Edited by Ida Husted Harper. 6 vols. New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1922.

- Phelps, Edith M. Selected Articles on Woman Suffrage. Minneapolis: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1910.
- O'Neill, William L. The Woman Movement. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1969.
- Porter, Kirk H. A History of Suffrage in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918.
- Riegal, Robert E. American Feminists. Laurence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1963.
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Anthony, Susan B.; and Gage, Matilda Joslyn, eds. The History of Woman Suffrage, 1876-1885. Vol. III, 6 vols. Rochester, N. Y.: Charles Mann, 1886.
- Severn, Bill. Free But Not Equal. New York: Julian Messner, 1967.
- Squire, Belle. The Woman Movement In America. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911.
- Vigman, Fred K. Beauty's Triumph. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1966.

Michigan and Newspaper Histories

- Beeson, Lewis, ed. This is Michigan. Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Historical Commission, 1949.
- Burton, Clarence M. and Burton, Agnes M. History of Wayne County and the City of Detroit Michigan. Chicago and Detroit: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1930.
- Campbell, Alice P. "The Bull Moose Movement in Michigan." Michigan History Magazine, XXV, 34-47.
- Cook, Webster. Michigan, Its History and Government. New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1905.
- Bald, F. Clever. Michigan In Four Centuries. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1954.
- Dunbar, Willis Frederick. Michigan Through the Centuries. Vol. I. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1955.

Fuller, George N. Michigan Centennial History. Vol. II. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1939.

N. W. Ayer & Son. American Newspapers Annual and Directory. Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1912.

Quaife, M. M. and Glazer, Sidney. Michigan. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948.

Related Histories and Annuals

Forcey, Charles. The Crossroads of Liberalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Faulkner, Harold Underwood. The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931.

Gibbs, Philip and Grant, Bernard. The Balkan War. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1914.

Mowry, George E. The Era of Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1958.

Nye, Russel B. Midwestern Progressive Politics. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1951.

Schurman, Jacob Gould. The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914.

Sullivan, Mark. The United States, 1900-1925. Vol. IV of Our Times. 9 vols. London and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.

United States Brewers Association. The Yearbook and Proceedings of the Fifty-First Annual Convention. New York: United States Brewers Ass., 1911.

_____. The Yearbook and Proceedings of the Fifty-Third Annual Convention. New York: United States Brewers Ass., 1913.

Valentine, Alan. 1913, America Between Two Worlds. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962.

Government Documents

Michigan Department of State, Michigan Official Directory and Legislative Manual, 1875-1876.

- _____. Michigan Manual, 1913-1914.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Report and Hearings on Brewing and Liquor Interests and Bolshevek Propaganda.
S. Doc. 137, 65th Cong., 1st session, 1919.
- U.S. Constitution.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census.
Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1900:
Manufacturing, Vol. VIII.
- _____. Statistical Abstract of the United States. Vol.
XXXV. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing
Office, 1912.

Special Collections

State of Michigan Library. Archives, Brotherton Collec-
tion. 2 vols.

Newspapers

- Detroit Free Press, October 17 - November 29, 1912.
- Detroit Journal, October 17 - November 29, 1912.
- Detroit News, October 17 - November 29, 1912.
- Detroit Times, October 17 - November 29, 1912.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293010102030