MHS
vertical file
Women's Suffrage

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY

Publish
UNIVERSITY OF WASHI

JANUARY 1964 Volume 55 Number 1

CONTENTS

The Other Catholic Candidate: The 1928 Presidential Bid of Thomas J. Walsh ..... PAUL A. CARTER 1

Charles M. Gates Memorial Award 8

The Montana Woman Suffrage Campaign, 1911-14 ..... RONALD SCHAFFER 9

The Progressives of Washington, 1910-12 ..... WILLIAM T. KERR, JR. 16

Legislative Power to Amend Initiatives in Washington State ..... GORDON E. BAKER 28

The Nez Perce and Their War ..... MERLE W. WELLS 35

Recent Books in Review

Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician*, by Horace Samuel Merrill 15

Pease, editor, *The Progressive Years: The Spirit and Achievement of American Reform*, by Keith A. Murray 27

Beal, *"I Will Fight No More Forever,"* by Richard A. Bartlett 38

Wiltsey, *Brave Warriors*, by Robert G. Athearn 38

Haines, *Appaloosa: The Spotted Horse in Art and History*, by Walker D. Wyman 39

VanStone, *Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition*, by Robert F. Spencer 40

Salisbury, *Quoth the Raven: A Little Journey into the Primitive*, by Viola E. Garfield 40

Stewart, *The California Trail: An Epic with Many Heroes*, by W. N. Davis, Jr. 41

Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880*, by Merle W. Wells 41

Morgan, *Westward Tilt: The American West Today*, by Earl Pomeroy 42

Morgan, editor, *The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal*, by Elmo R. Richardson 43

Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations*, by Warren I. Cohen 44

Bjork, editor, *Norwegian-American Studies*, Volume 21, by Peter J. Ristuben 44

Reader's Scrapbook, compiled by Ernestine Brown 45

Cover Illustration

THE PROGRESSIVES of the early 20th century gave strong support to woman suffrage as one means of deepening public interest in governmental reforms. By 1911 Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California had conferred the suffrage on women. Jeannette Rankin led the successful 1914 campaign in her home state of Montana. Ronald Schaffer provided our cover portrait of Miss Rankin.

Editors

Robert E. Burke
Managing

Emily E. Johnson
Associate

Patricia E. Papahadjopoulo
Editorial A

Editorial Advisory Boa

Edwin R. Bingham
University of

Rev. W. L. Davis, S.J.
Gonzaga U

Herman J. Deutsch
Washington State U

Melville Jacobs
University of Wash

Dorothy O. Johansen
Reed

Bruce Le Roy
Washington State Historical

Margaret Ormsby
University of British Co

Merle W. Wells
Idaho Historical

Oscar O. Winther
Indiana U

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUA published by the University of W cooperating with the Washing Historical Society, appears in April, July, and October. Corre concerning both editorial and matters should be sent to the Editor, Parrington Hall, Un Washington, Seattle, Washing Subscriptions are $3.50 per y single copy.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUA assumes no responsibility for s fact or opinion by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter, 15, 1906, at the post office Washington, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

The Montana Woman Suffrage Campaign, 1911-14

BY RONALD SCHAFFER

THE YEARS at the turn of the century were a time of frustration for American suffrage workers. For a decade and a half after 1896, when Idaho became the fourth state to grant women equal voting rights, state suffrage referenda won no victories and suffered six defeats. Equal franchise organizations dwindled in size and enthusiasm, and suffrage arguments found few hearers outside the organizations themselves.

During this period, however, several interrelated factors brought new life to the movement. Women had learned to imitate the campaign methods that male politicians used, and in the late 1900's a few suffrage leaders began to build hierarchical organizations resembling political parties. Furthermore, woman suffrage gained support from the reform movement of the 1900's. Reformers, apprehensive over the tendency of large business to dominate political as well as economic affairs, tried to democratize politics. They looked to woman suffrage, along with such measures as the initiative and the recall, as a way of deepening public interest in government and of forcing government to serve the welfare of the people as well as the interests of the rich.[1]

In the state of Washington, where reformers were active and suffragists well-organized, a suffrage breakthrough was made in 1910. Following that victory, the movement began to revive in other parts of the West.[2] An energetic young woman from Missoula, Jeannette Rankin, helped spread the revival to Montana.

Miss Rankin was what people in those days called a "new" woman: one who did not wish to follow the traditional patterns laid out for her sex. The daughter of a prosperous businessman, she was born in 1880 in a ranch house at the foot of the Bitter Root Mountains. After she was graduated from the University of Montana, she tried teaching school, but she gave this up and became an apprentice dressmaker; later she took a course in furniture design. But these ventures came to nothing.

Miss Rankin had read widely in muckraking literature and, on a trip to the East, had seen the poverty of big-city slum-dwellers. Hence it is not surprising that in 1908 she decided to become a social worker. For two semesters she studied at the New York School of Philanthropy. She then returned West to join the staff of a Seattle children's home society. The job was tedious, however, and her fellow workers were not as inspired or as inspiring as she would have liked. She therefore abandoned settlement work to enter a more exciting activity—the Washington woman suffrage campaign which, she thought, would offer a better opportunity to effect lasting social improvements.

With the end of that campaign, Miss Rankin returned to Missoula, where she joined the local political equality club. The Missoula club, part of a moribund state suffrage organization, named her vice-president. Early in 1914 it sent her to Helena to lobby for a pending suffrage amendment.[3] On February 2 she spoke before the lower house of the legislature.

RONALD SCHAFFER is assistant professor of history at Indiana University. The present article is derived from a revision of his Ph.D. dissertation on the career of Jeannette Rankin.

1 Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 222, 248-49; Ronald Schaffer, "The New York City Woman Suffrage Party, 1909-1919," *New York History*, XLIII (1962), 269-87.

2 Flexner, *Century*, 255; Claudius O. Johnson, "The Adoption of the Initiative and Referendum in Washington," *PNQ*, XXXV (1944), 291-303.

3 Susan B. Anthony and Ida H. Harper, ed., *History of Woman Suffrage*, IV (Rochester, N.Y., 1902), 796 (hereafter cited as *HWS*); Ida H. Harper, ed., *History of Woman Suffrage*, VI (New York, 1922), 361; Peter C. MacFarlane, "Jeannette of Montana," *Collier's*, LIX (April 21, 1917), 7, 8, 34 ff.; Ronald Schaffer, "Jeannette Rankin, Progressive-Isolationist," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1959), Chap. I.

It was unusual in those days for a woman to address an American legislative assembly. The chamber was decorated with flowers for the occasion, and it was crowded with visitors. State senators had come to observe the spectacle, and almost a hundred women milled about on the floor. Accompanied by five of Montana's leading suffragists, Miss Rankin walked to the Speaker's desk. The chamber was noisy as she prepared to speak, but Colonel C. B. Nolan, an old respected member, finally brought the House to order and in his thick brogue introduced Miss Rankin.

When she had finished her speech, an antisuffrage representative presented her with violets; then debate resumed. Colonel Nolan spoke for the bill. Other representatives offered frivolous amendments—for example, that only women with six children should vote. On the third reading (the discussion had carried over to the following day), the resolution failed to gather the two-thirds majority needed to pass an amendment, but it did achieve a majority, and a local paper noted "a wonderful change of sentiment in favor of the bill."[4]

Hoping to increase that sentiment, suffragists set up a temporary state organization and elected Miss Rankin chairman. They canvassed the state, held meetings, made speeches, established local suffrage clubs, and in the summer of 1912 persuaded the major parties to endorse their referendum. That fall, they set up a tent at the state fair (a customary rendezvous for politicians), gave out badges and buttons, and sold five-cent pamphlets written by Jane Addams and by Judge Ben Lindsey. For two weeks before the election, they campaigned against James McNally, an antisuffrage representative. They secured a state senator to introduce their amendment and then induced the governor to support it. In January, 1913, a bill for a woman suffrage referendum passed the Senate 26 to 2 and the House 74 to 2. McNally voted for the resolution.[5]

The next step, convincing a majority of the electorate to approve the suffrage amendment, promised to be difficult. Three influential groups wanted the amendment to fail: the liquor interests, some immigrants, and the organized antisuffragists.

With good reason, suffrage leaders blamed many of their problems on the first of these groups. The Montana Women's Christian Temperance Union had campaigned vigorously for suffrage since territorial days, and other women hoped to use the vote to protect their families against the ravages of alcohol. Liquor dealers, saloonkeepers, brewers, and distillers banded together to protect their businesses against women voters. Woman suffrage, said the Butte *National Forum*, a liquor trade journal, "means the death knell of the saloons and breweries of Montana." "It is up to the saloon men and brewers of Montana to get busy at once and help defeat the amendment."[6]

Immigrants had several grievances against the suffragists. Suffrage workers claimed that American-born women were more fit to govern themselves than were men from overseas. Obviously, they were trying to shatter old-country traditions which allotted separate spheres to men and women. What was perhaps worse, they even threatened that ancient ritual of civilized European men—the custom of drinking together with one's fellow males.[7]

Fortunately for the suffragists, the immigrants who opposed them were usually not the type of men who would elicit sympathy from respectable, old-stock, middle-class citizens. The organized antisuffragists, on the other hand, were led by Easterners who had connections with rich and distinguished American families—and were highly respectable. They included wealthy women, attorneys for great corporations, a railroad tycoon (Charles S. Fairchild), and J. P. Morgan's son-in-law (Herbert L. Satterlee).[8]

THE BASIC THEME of the antisuffragists was "woman's place is in the home," and they offered several reasons why she should be kept there. Suffrage, they said, would hurt the woman voter: it would force new responsibilities upon her while depriving her of accustomed privileges. Furthermore, suffrage, which was related to feminism, would threaten the family because feminism was related to free love. Suffrage was a menace to the social order because women would vote themselves special privileges and exemptions. And it would be ineffectual, because women would vote as their husbands did, and because it contravened a law of nature that woman must be the constructive element in society and man her protector—and man-made

[4] Helena *Independent*, Feb. 2, 1911; Burton K. Wheeler and Paul F. Healy, *Yankee from the West* (Garden City, N.Y., 1962), 91; *HWS*, VI, 361-62.

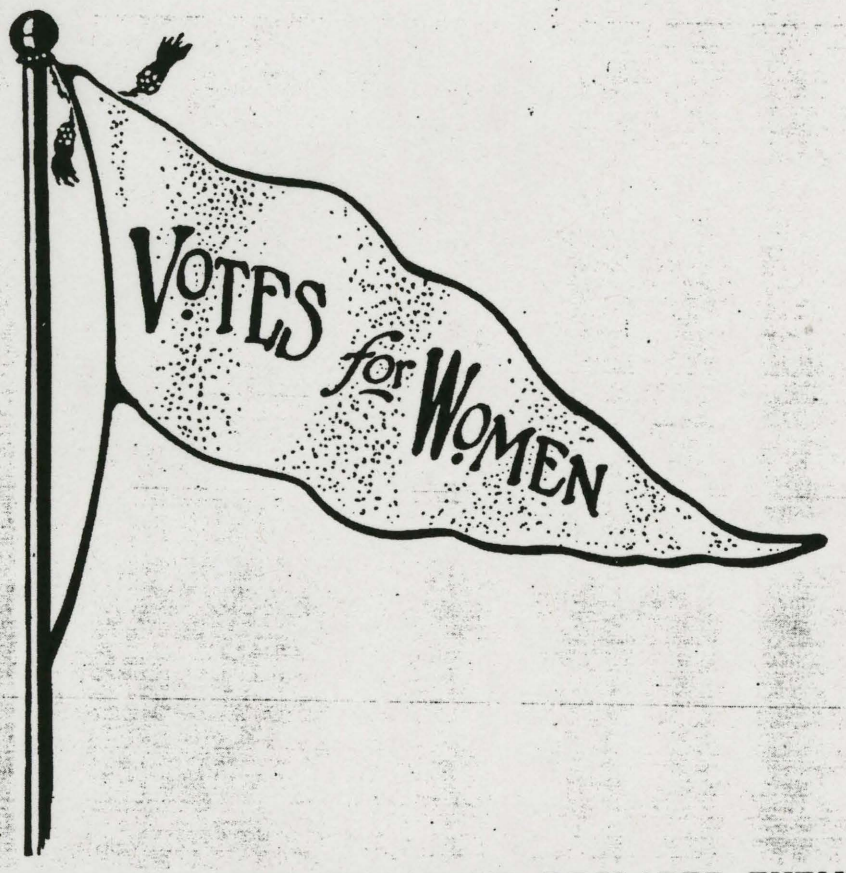
[5] Jeannette Rankin (hereafter JR), "How Suffrage Was Won in Montana," *Proceedings*, Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Nashville, Tennessee, Nov. 12-14, 1914, pp. 134-36; Helena *Independent*, Aug. 30, Sept. 22, 25, 1912; Montana *Senate Journal*, Thirteenth Session (1913), 110, 138, 139; *HWS*, VI, 362.

[6] Helena *Independent*, May 4, 1914; *National Forum* (Butte), Nov. 25, 1913, Jan. 25, 1914; *HWS*, VI, 366-67.

[7] See, for example, Helena *Independent*, May 28, 1914.

[8] *HWS*, V (New York, 1922), 679-80.

ROLL OF HONOR



DISTINGUISHED PEOPLE WHO HAVE DECLARED THEMSELVES FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

STATESMEN	PREACHERS.	MEN OF LETTERS	EDUCATORS.
Abraham Lincoln	Phillips Brooks	Mark Twain	Plato
Theodore Roosevelt	Cardinal Moran	George Meredith	President Charles Eliot
President Taft	Father Scully	Edwin Markham	David Starr Jordan
Senator La Follette	Bishop Potter	Winston Churchill	Dr. William T. Harris
Senator Chamberlain	Dr. Hillis	George W. Cable	Earl Barnes
Senator Borah	Rabbi Hirsch	Israel Zangwill	Charles Zueblin
Governor Brady	Rabbi Fleisher	William Dean Howells	Thomas Huxley
Governor Pardee	Bishop McQuaid	Thomas Wentworth Higginson	Henry George
Governor Shafroth	Robert Collyer	"Mr. Dooley"	John Stuart Mills
Governor Spry	Rabbi Wise	Lincoln Steffens	Judge Ben B. Lindsay
Governor Folk	Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark	John Spargo	President M. Carey Thomas
Governor Hoch	Bishop Hurst	Frederic C. Howe	President Mary E. Wooley
Governor Garvin	Theodore Parker	Charles Edward Russell	Alice Freeman Palmer
Tom Johnson	Minot J. Savage	Ralph Waldo Emerson	Henry B. Blackwell
"Golden Rule" Jones	Dr. Heber Newton	Henry W. Longfellow	Mary Livermore
Brand Whitlock	Bishop Spalding	John Greenleaf Whittier	Edward H. Griggs
Thomas B. Reed	Rev. Charles F. Thwing	Charles Kingsley	Jane Brownlee
John Quincy Adams	Henry Ward Beecher	Jack London	Dr. William E. Huntingdon
Charles Sumner	Bishop Sanford	Upton Sinclair	Ella Flagg Young
William Loyd Garrison	Dr. Raineford	Max Nordau	James Allen Smith

Full-page Announcement in *Votes for Women*, Vol. I, No. 8, Seattle, Washington, July, 1910

legislation could not repeal a natural law. The suffrage movement, the anti's charged, was undemocratic. Only 10 per cent of the women in the United States wanted to vote, while the rest were at best indifferent. "In the great cry of suffragists for democracy," one antisuffragist leader told a Helena audience, "the agitators forget that when they give a few thousand women the vote they are imposing the burden and responsibility of political strife upon millions of women who absolutely resent it, and the principles of democracy are being violated by imposing the will of the minority upon the majority."[9]

Suffragists recognized that this last argument was built around a large grain of fact. One of their most difficult problems was the apathy of Montana women. In trying to make women want to vote, the suffragists used methods already tested in suffrage campaigns of other states—education, detailed organization, and public demonstrations.

They attempted to prove to women that suffrage would offer them many benefits. One of their arguments was that women needed the vote to develop themselves. True, many women did not want the ballot, but this merely reflected a lack of social consciousness understandable in a group which, never having exercised political power, had never developed the grasp of social issues that comes to those who actually vote on social questions. But by giving women a chance to vote, suffrage would sharpen their understanding of the way society operates, create in them a stronger sense of social justice, and make them want to vote away inequities.[10]

Suffrage would also free women economically. One of the most urgent reasons for giving women the vote, suffragists explained, was that millions of women were in the industrial labor market and that many of them worked under lamentable conditions: low wages, long hours, hazardous machinery, and the like. If they had the ballot, they could force the government to set and enforce adequate labor standards.

Furthermore, the housewife as well as the working girl would benefit from having the vote. The enfranchised mother would be able to use her vote to ensure the purity of the foods she purchased, to safeguard her children against public health hazards, and to oversee, indirectly, the conditions under which her family worked. When the family had worked at home, Jeannette Rankin told a rally in Helena, the mother had been able to oversee those conditions directly. With industrialization, however, husband and children had gone off to the factory, and if the housewife wanted to protect them there, she had to make the government her agent. In other words, she had to vote.[11]

Suffragists claimed that there were still other things that women could do with the ballot. They could establish legal equality between the sexes. They could compel state governments to perform social experiments; for example, they could force the Montana legislature to turn the state orphan asylum into an experimental child care center. Through politics, women could work against war.[12] Women, as WCTU suffragists explained, could use their votes in an attempt to make men temperate.

Montana suffrage workers were well aware that it would take more than arguments to win apathetic women. From the experience of suffragists in other states, they knew that detailed organization was essential for spreading propaganda, bringing out voters, and giving women political experience. In 1913 they created a state equal suffrage association, elected Jeannette Rankin chairman, and organized all the counties and many of the precincts of Montana. To avoid constitutional squabbles and quibbling over rules, they adopted neither a constitution nor bylaws.[13]

Using this machine, the suffragists staged public demonstrations. For example, in Helena on May 2, 1914, they held a "Woman's Day" celebration which "reached its zenith," to quote the Helena *Independent*, when three cars filled with Helena society women and suffragists sped up and down Main Street, horns tooting, flags and banners waving.[14] The support of community leaders for such demonstrations made suffrage work respectable.

Educational propaganda, organizational activities, and public demonstrations also helped win the men over. Suffrage arguments that stressed the connections between women's votes and social reform appealed to the progressives and to workers who wanted allies in their struggle against corporate interests. The suffrage organization gave Miss Rankin's followers the kind of weapon that male politicians respected—a

[9] Helena *Independent*, Aug. 30, 1912, Oct. 9, 10, [illegible]

[10] Undated suffrage speech in Montana suffrage material, JR MSS.

[11] *Montana Progressive* (Helena), June 4, 1914; Helena *Independent*, Nov. 27, 1912.

[12] *Montana Progressive*, June 4, 1914.

[13] *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 26, 1914. Other officers of the permanent organization in 1913 were: Mrs. Louis P. Sanders and Mrs. G. M. Gillmore, assistant chairmen; Mrs. Harry Coit, secretary; Mrs. Wilbur L. Smith, treasurer; Mrs. Wallace Perham, finance chairman; and Miss Ida [illegible] bach, press chairman. In 1914 Mrs. John Willis became recording secretary; Mrs. Edith Clinch, treasurer;

chine which women could use, if they won the vote, to reward friends and punish enemies. Public demonstrations provided some of the evidence needed to influence those men who sympathized with the suffrage movement, but who were not sure that women really wanted the vote or that they wanted it badly enough to work hard for it and to suffer the indignities to which they would be exposed in trying to get it.[15] Finally, after the women themselves had been converted, organization, propaganda, and demonstrations presumably would encourage them to prod their husbands and sweethearts, fathers, brothers, and sons to vote "yes" in the suffrage referendum.

PREPARING for that referendum, suffragists tightened up their organization. Miss Rankin went to every county seat recruiting workers. During one twenty-five day period, she traveled 1,300 miles, held a county central committee meeting, and presided at the elections of twenty precinct leaders. Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway traveled 2,375 miles in a seven-week canvass, giving fifty-five talks along the way.

The state suffrage committee issued quantities of propaganda. From headquarters in Butte, suffragists mailed letters to women's clubs, labor unions, granges, and other farm organizations, asking for prosuffrage resolutions. Once a week they sent releases to all the newspapers in the state. Each month they dispatched reports to all women who seemed seriously interested in the campaign. To each of 20,000 voters in country districts they sent a personal letter with leaflets aimed at farmers.

The suffragists used other means to draw attention to their cause. At the 1914 state fair, they distributed copies of their newspaper, the *Suffrage Daily*. To children, even children of antisuffragists, they gave hat bands inscribed: "I want my mother to vote." They plastered posters on walls, addressed motion-picture audiences between showings, and handed out leaflets that were blank, except for this one question: "Do you know the reasons why the ballot should not be granted to women?" Attending rallies, they applauded only when speakers mentioned woman suffrage. Speakers mentioned it frequently.[16]

Women from other states came to Montana bringing with them the full repertoire of suffrage arguments. Harriet B. Laidlaw, New York City suffrage leader, told a Helena audience, "You have no idea how a state is boomed by the suffrage movement. There is nothing that will cause talk about a state more than the agitation resulting from an equal suffrage campaign." Mrs. Grace Benefiel Cotterill of Seattle spoke to Montana workers, telling them that, "As an American mother, I feel that I deserve as much voice in the government under which I and my children must live as does my Chinese laundryman who has been in this country only a few years, or the Italian laborer, who has just taken out his naturalization papers." Antoinette Funk, a Chicago trial lawyer, declared that Montana women had no political control over moral influences outside the home. The mother was supposed to guard her children's morals; yet one visit to an uncensored motion picture might undo every lesson she had taught.

Margaret Hinchey, an Irish laundry worker from New York, lectured on suffrage from the point of view of the working girl. She predicted that women would use the ballot to improve industrial conditions, establish a minimum wage, set up mother's pensions, and reform the prison system. Miss Hinchey also used a natural rights argument: "Isn't your sister and your wife and your daughter a person?" she asked. "And if they are, haven't they the right to be distinguished from the lower animals and nonentities by the possession of the ballot?" Jane Thompson, field secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage organization, noted that, the way things were, the attractive women could exert indirect influence on politics, but there was "precious little scope" for the influence of "the homely girl" who was "just as much in earnest about getting through legislation. . . ."[17]

Though most of these speakers and the vast majority of woman suffrage workers served without pay, the campaign cost approximately $8,000. Donors outside Montana, including the National Association, contributed about half that amount. When a state bank collapsed, taking the suffrage treasury with it, Mrs. Laidlaw's banker-husband advanced $600. "General" Rosalie Jones, leader of eastern pilgrimages in which women trekked from one city to another selling suffrage souve-

---

Eloise Knowles, chairman of literature; and Miss Mary O'Neill, press chairman. *HWS*, VI, 362-63.

[14] Helena *Independent*, May 3, 1914.

[15] New York *Times*, Nov. 19, 1916. Miss Rankin thought that Montana men were sympathetic to woman suffrage partly because they remembered how women had shared hardships and responsibilities in frontier days.

[16] JR, "How Montana Was Won," 134-35; JR to Mary W. Dennett, quoted in *Woman's Journal*, XLV (May 16, 1914), 157; Helena *Independent*, July 28, 1914; JR interview with author, December, 1955; leaflet, JR MSS.

[17] Helena *Independent*, Feb. 8, May 28, June 16, July 19, Oct. 4, 1914.

nirs, donated $1,000, part of the proceeds of a pilgrimage to Washington, D.C., from New York City.[18]

Following the technique of "General" Jones, the Montana suffragists liked to raise funds with attention-getting collective activities. Copying a program tested in California, they proclaimed "self-denial week," during which they gave up luxuries including motion pictures, the theater, and afternoon teas, and donated the money saved to the suffrage committee. They held benefit teas and dances, sold "suffrage eats," offered a lecture on how to be beautiful, and presented a musical comedy, "On the Roof Garden," with a cast of twenty-five, including show girls, and featuring such numbers as the "Tango Glide." The production was an artistic success, if not a financial one. The Helena *Independent* called it a "breezy opera."[19]

The climax of the woman suffrage campaign was a parade through Helena during the state fair, late in September, 1914. A mile-long procession was headed by a band from the Anaconda copper mines. Then came Jeannette Rankin and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Association, followed by suffragists wearing yellow jackets, horseback riders, automobiles, labor union marchers, a Butte woman dressed as Sacajawea, two women buglers, and numerous floats. A contingent from the Montana State Men's League for Woman Suffrage participated, and the usual large group of small boys joined the parade. The marchers advanced down Main Street to Sixth Avenue, turned up a long steep hill, and filed into the Helena auditorium, where Dr. Shaw spoke about the meaning of war to American women and called for a suffrage victory to make native-born women political equals of immigrants.[20]

AS REFERENDUM DAY approached, Montana suffragists were overcoming the apathy problem. But what of the other obstacles: antisuffragists, the "liquor interest," and the foreign-born? Luckily for the suffragists, the anti's maneuvered clumsily. Early in 1914, Clara E. Markeson, an antisuffrage worker, met in Butte with representatives of the liquor dealers. The anti's did not wish to give the impression that they were allied with the dealers, and Miss Markeson's purpose may have been to persuade the *National Forum* to cease printing antisuffrage editorials. If so, her mission backfired. Suffragists heard about the meeting, and in a newspaper article entitled "Gumshoe Methods not Popular in Montana," Miss Rankin suggested that Miss Markeson's visit gave evidence that anti's and liquor dealers were affiliated.[21]

Suffragists could do little against the dealers and manufacturers, but the more the liquor men attacked them, the easier it was for them to suggest that a vote for woman suffrage was a vote for temperance or prohibition. Perhaps because they felt they had the "dry" vote wrapped up and hoped to ease the fears of "wets," the suffragists announced early in 1914 that they were "neither for nor against social reform."[22]

The weak spot in the campaign, Chairman Rankin felt, was the work among the immigrants; and she considered it "very fortunate" that there were "so few foreigners" in Montana. But as far as she knew, neither immigrants, liquor dealers, nor organized antisuffragists were able to induce even one state politician to speak out openly against suffrage for women. She attributed this to agitation against Representative McNally in 1912, in her opinion "the best work of the campaign." The politicians, she wrote, "down in their hearts" felt that suffrage would lose, but to keep "on the good side of us," they insisted that "we were going to win. . . ."[23]

The voters of Montana went to the polls November 3, 1914. Some of them, doubtless, were hoping to keep "on the good side" of their women; some were convinced that women deserved to vote or that if women were given the vote, they would work for needed reforms. By a plurality of 3,714 out of 78,890, Montana became one of eleven states, all of them in the West, which granted women full suffrage.[24]

Aside from increasing the number of persons eligible to vote, what did Montana's woman suffrage campaign accomplish? First, it led to a permanent nonpartisan organization of women who were interested in politics. In 1915 the Montana suffrage association re-formed itself into a league of Good Government clubs which

---

[18] JR, "How Montana Was Won," 135; *HWS*, VI, 366; James L. Laidlaw to JR, Oct. 19, 1914, JR MSS; *Montana Progressive*, May 22, 1913.

[19] *Missoulian*, May 7, 1914; Helena *Independent*, Jan. 20, 1913, March 22, Sept. 8, 29, 1914.

[20] *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 26, 1914.

[21] *Montana Progressive*, Jan. 22, May 21, 1914.

[22] Helena *Independent*, Feb. 26, 1914.

[23] JR to Mrs. Harvey Coit, Dec. 15, 1914, JR MSS.

[24] *HWS*, VI, 367.

[25] *Idem;* Helena *Independent*, June 14, 1916.

[26] Schaffer, "Jeannette Rankin," 70, 85-87, 130-39.

[27] Tom Stout, ed., *Montana: Its Story and Biography* (Chicago, 1921), 478-79, 482; Works Projects Administration, Federal Writers Project, *Montana: A State Guide Book* (New York, 1949), 54, 100; K. Ross Toole, *Montana: An Uncommon Land* (Norman, Okla., 1959), 225-26.

[28] New York *American*, March 6, 1918.

investigated social conditions and recommended legislation. Four years later these clubs set up Montana's branch of the National League of Women Voters.[25]

Second, the campaign opened new political opportunities to women. Thus, in 1916, a good year for Democrats in Montana, women voters helped send Jeannette Rankin to Congress on the Republican ticket. Miss Rankin brought herself, her state, and the suffrage movement considerable publicity by attempting to mediate the Butte copper strike of 1917, by voting against war with Germany, and merely by appearing in the House of Representatives as its first woman member.[26]

Third, the suffrage campaign probably accelerated certain social reforms. In 1915 the state legislature passed a workmen's compensation act, provided financial aid to dependent orphans, and set up a retirement fund for public-school teachers. The following year a prohibition referendum was passed, and in 1917, the legislators established an eight-hour day for women workers and created penalties for men who did not support their families. While Montana had adopted social legislation before 1915, it is reasonable to believe that some of these measures passed, or passed when they did, partly because women voted. During the 'twenties, however, in spite of a mild tax-revision program, an old-age pension, and a few other ripples of reform, woman suffrage did not make Montana a model of progressivism.[27]

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the woman suffrage movement was that it elevated women from second-class citizenship and gave them opportunities to govern themselves. In 1918, however, Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin realistically appraised the effects of the suffrage movement. It "must not be expected," she said, "that women's voting will revolutionize government."[28] Although Miss Rankin had specific reference to the Montana campaign of 1911-14, the results of which neither purified politics nor secured thoroughgoing social reform, her comment had relevance for the entire nation.

The Sage of Nininger

IGNATIUS DONNELLY, the colorful, gifted, forceful "Sage of Nininger," has long deserved a biography. Martin Ridge has written an impressive account based on voluminous materials.

Donnelly was born in Philadelphia in 1831; he remained there and practiced law until 1856, when he moved with his bride to Minnesota. At Nininger City, near St. Paul, he immediately engaged in farming and real-estate promotion and soon became engrossed in politics. Donnelly possessed a lively interest in many things and a gift for arousing the interest of others in his varied enterprises. He really had several publics—the pseudo-intellectuals intrigued with Donnelly's efforts to prove that Bacon was the real author of the plays attributed to Shakespeare, fiction readers fascinated with his highly imaginative novels, and, above all, many politically conscious voters reacting to his eloquent crusades for reform and bids for public office.

During much of his life, which ended as the 20th century began, Donnelly was in and out of several political parties, where he demonstrated conspicuous skill and spirit as orator, writer, tactician, and parliamentarian, always carrying with him a sincere desire to better the lot of his fellow men. At one time or another he was a Radical Republican, an Anti-Monopolist, a Greenbacker, an Allianceman, a Populist, and a Democratic supporter. He understood better than most the plight of the Negroes, the role of the railroad builders and managers, the meaning of the protective tariff, and the implications of free silver in both its economic and political aspects.

The author presents all these facets in a restrained manner; he also places in proper perspective Donnelly's views on Jews, thereby removing the Sage of Nininger from the list of cruel racists, where a few people have placed him. Donnelly was at times thoughtless and careless in his statements, as were so many politicians and scribes of his era, but it would be arrant nonsense to suggest that he was ever a conscious bigot himself or knowingly encouraged bigotry.

This is a sound, important book, presenting the record with much care and much detail. Now it would be well if Ridge wrote a briefer account, emphasizing the highlights in the lives of Donnelly and his wife Kate.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL

University of Maryland

Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician. By MARTIN RIDGE. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. x, 427 pp. Bibliography, index, illustrations. $7.95.)

Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)

ELECTION EDITION

THE SUFFRAGE DAILY NEWS

ELECTION EDITION

"Governments Derive Their Just Power From the Consent of the Governed"

BUTTE, MONTANA, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1914.

THE STATE CAMPAIGN FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

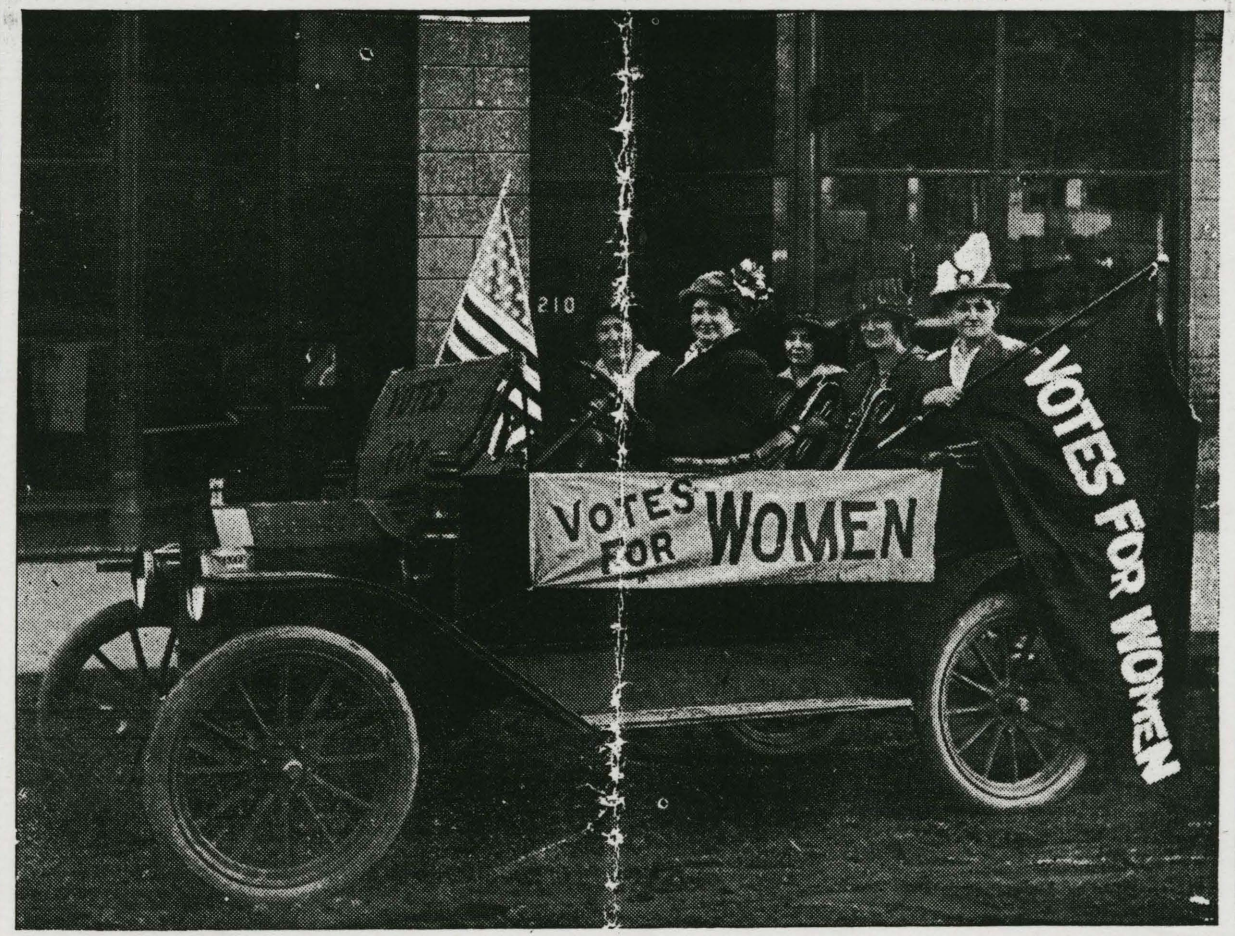
The first suffrage speech ever delivered in Montana was delivered by Miss Willard in 1883. When the Montana state convention met in 1889 to adopt the constitution which was later ratified as the Constitution of the State of Montana, an effort for equal suffrage was made, but the suffrage resolution was defeated by a vote of 43 to 25. The matter was brought up before successive legislatures with varied success till the suffrage bill finally passed in 1913.

The present campaign for Equal Suffrage in Montana, which will, there is good reason to hope, end tomorrow in victory at the polls, began in January, 1911, when the Political Equality Club of Missoula was organized. In that year Miss Jeannette Rankin went to the legislature and succeeded in having an equal suffrage bill introduced in the house. The bill received a majority vote but failed to secure the two thirds majority necessary on passage.

Aside from the work of a few speakers, and the work of the Political Equality Clubs of Missoula, Kalispell and Helena, little was done till August, 1912, when political party conventions were held in Great Falls. Miss Rankin, with a committee of women representing the existing state suffrage organizations, secured at that time the endorse-

Abraham Lincoln says:

"I go for all sharing the privileges of government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding the women."



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: MRS. R. F. FOOTE, MRS. J. B. ELLIS, CHAIRMAN SILVER BOW COUNTY, MRS. H. SALHOLM, MRS. A. OBERMEYER AND MRS. E. G. CLINCH, WHO, WITH MRS. ELLIS' FORD CAR, CAMPAIGNED FOR WOMAN SUFRAGE IN FOUR COUNTIES

THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN BUTTE

The campaign for equal suffrage in Butte has been, of course only a part of the state-wide campaign. It is, to be sure, the part in which we are most interested, but also the part about which least needs to be said, for we have all participated, either as workers or merely as interested onlookers.

The several local suffrage organizations have worked together intelligently and harmoniously. We have done our best, and tomorrow will show whether or not our best has been good enough.

It is impossible to give even a partial list of those whose good work has contributed to that triumph we confidently expect. It is, however, fitting and right that we should mention with deep appreciation the services of State Chairman Miss Jeannette Rankin, her able assistant, Miss Mary O'Neill, and our county chairman, Mrs. J. B. Ellis.

The state association has been particularly generous to Butte in the matter of speakers and help of all kinds, a generosity we thankfully acknowledge. We also wish to thank Mrs. Nellie Hay Root of California for the gift of her services during many weeks.

Man is an individualist; his instinct is to compete rather than to co-operate. Woman is essentially social, the center of



Poster urged "girls" to attend a registration picnic in 1923.



These women waited to vote at a school election in 1908. Women were allowed to vote in such elections in Minnesota before the 19th Amendment was ratified.

Women's suffrage

From town to town she went, searching out people sympathetic to the suffrage movement; arranging afternoon meetings for housewives and night meetings for them and their husbands; selling suffrage literature, buttons and pennants, and sometimes going door to door to find people who'd sign suffrage cards.

Rene E. H. Stevens was one of two suffrage organizers in Minnesota in 1916. Her letters to the suffrage headquarters in Minneapolis have been preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society.

She wrote from Stillwater on Jan. 12, 1916: "With the thermometer at ten below and falling and the wind and snow behaving something awful, we still had twenty-two women at our meeting this afternoon .... A Mrs. Nuzum — bright and interesting — will, if her husband consents, act as local press chairman."

From Worthington on March 25: "There is a large Swedish Lutheran congregation here, the minister and his wife are suffs — but she tells me that the women of the church are very uninlightened." (Her spelling was not always the best, but in one letter she apologized for it, saying the only available reference book in her hotel was a Gideon Bible.)

Four days later: "Yesterday morning I arose at 3 o'clock, stole forth under the starry sky which as yet showed no sign of dawning morning and took the train for Luverne. At three o'clock this a.m. I crept back into bed having put in a day of just 24 hours on the job. I made a lot of calls, with one exception, on women. Found some with heads of bone and hearts of stone, but some more lonely and responsive to the suffrage idea and not the work. I spoke in the evening to the Tourist Club — 25 of leading women. Made a good impression."

Despite her best efforts, Minnesota women didn't get the vote until 1920, when the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified. Only a few western states extended women the vote before that. (Minnesota did come close to becoming the first state to do so. In 1868 a suffrage measure lost in the state house by just one vote. It was never close after that.)

The women's suffrage organization quickly transformed itself into the League of Women Voters, with the important task of educating women about politics. Minnesota women could vote in school elections since 1875, but most of them had limited knowledge of government outside their town. So the league, a nonpartisan organization, held classes to make responsible voters of the women.

Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (MC 169 Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)

Mississippi River Commission records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (MC 169 - Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)

CAMPAIGNING IN MONTANA

MR. AND MRS. JAMES L. LAIDLAW IN WHIRLWIND TOUR.

Stop Off at Billings and Speak for Suffrage There—Butte, Helena, and Missoula Included in Six-Day Tour of State, Under Guidance of Miss Jeanette Rankin.

Territorially, Montana is the largest of the seven 1914 campaign States. Of course, the vote in these States will affect tremendously the victory in the 1915 States, notably the New York victory. Of all the campaign States, the welfare of Montana should be nearest the hearts of New Yorkers, particularly because of the splendid work done in New York by the Montana State president and chairman of the campaign committee, Miss Jeanette Rankin. As organizer for a long time in the Borough of Manhattan for the Woman Suffrage Party, and later as the legislative agent in Albany on the Co-operative Legislative Committee, when she did so much to push our bill through, she accomplished work that we in New York are still profiting by. As field secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Miss Rankin also has gained much experience in other States, where the campaign is pending.

Miss Rankin is looking eagerly to the East for all the help that she can get in her hard work in this great State of Montana. If every Easterner who is on his or her way to the Pacific Coast would paigners went aboard the sleeper. The weather was still tremendously cold, although it is a cold that the Easterner does not find unpleasant, for it is dry and bracing. However, the train again was delayed and Helena was reached five hours late. The suffragists were due at nine o'clock in the morning, and, therefore, the enterprising ladies of Helena thought that a 12:30 luncheon was safe. When they reached the Studio, where the luncheon was to be held, at 2:15, they found twenty-five very cordial, but doubtless hungry, women still waiting around a truly festive board. This was a long table set entirely in yellow—yellow and white dishes, brass and copper jars with yellow flowers, and a yellow table-cover with huge "Votes for Women" on it.

The most prominent women in the town, socially and professionally, were at this luncheon, among them the Governor's wife and the wives of other State and Federal officials, who also served on the reception committee for the reception, to which the Laidlaws were hurried at the close of the luncheon. The luncheon had been prolonged by a speech from Mrs. Laidlaw and one from Dr. Dean. The women were very responsive, and the speech was entirely a campaign speech—in fact, it seemed an impertinence to talk abstract suffrage doctrine to so advanced and intelligent a people as those in Montana.

At Helena the reception was in the ballroom of the Palace Hotel and would have been considered a large and brilliant affair in New York city. It seemed as if everybody in Helena must be there. The great number of young women who acted on the reception committee was a delightful feature of the affair. All through the afternoon it was remarked that the music He presided and spoke very forcefully at the big evening meeting in the Municipal Hall. At this meeting, as at all others, considerable emphasis was, both by Miss Rankin and the visiting suffragists, put upon the fact that suffragists from the East and from other States were coming into Montana by invitation. There was always a considerable ripple of amusement when Mrs. Laidlaw would say: "Far be it from me to come uninvited into the great State of Montana to tell intelligent Montana men and women what they should do upon the suffrage question. We reserve that type of organizing work for the anti-suffragists."

ACTIVITY OF LIQUOR INTERESTS.

Many references were made to the interesting situation that has aroused all Montana whereby Miss Markeson is quoted by the National Forum (the liquor organ) as having come before the liquor men to lay her plans with them for the proposed anti-suffrage campaign. The *National Forum* says: "Miss Markeson agreed to return to Butte with two or three other ladies about the first of March, and at that time she would lay her campaign before us for our consideration and possible approval for co-operation." After commenting upon the failure of Miss Markeson to get the paper to change its policy of fighting suffrage in the open in the interests of the liquor traffic it continues: "It (the *Forum*) has taken the position that any business which cannot stand before the public and fight for its existence openly and in the daylight will not be tolerated . . . neither the paper nor the organization back of it has ever resorted to gum-shoe methods or bushwhacking tactics."

This last week the Anaconda *Standard* has published a letter from Mrs. Dodge





eminent fitness for her position at the head of the Montana campaign, not only because of her continually developing ability and organizing power, but because of the State-wide esteem and affection in which she is held. Everywhere there had been very pretty exhibitions of affection toward this "native daughter," whose Montana traditions and pioneer parentage are well known. Certainly when they arrived at Missoula the adage about a prophet being without honor in his own country was not exemplified. Missoula had certainly been working hard for suffrage and for the honor of Miss Rankin during her two weeks' absence through the State. A very active group of young men, who are members of the Suffrage League, had produced a poster advertising the evening meeting which for wit and "boosting" qualities could not have been excelled even in Billings, the town of the booster.

CAMPAIGNERS IN MISSOULA.

Arriving at Missoula about eleven o'clock in the morning, the "troupe" was divided. Mr. Laidlaw was met by a committee of ten men, leading suffragists and business men of the town, among whom was ex-Senator Dickson, the Progressive. He was taken to a men's luncheon, where the suffrage campaign was discussed. At Miss Rankin's home a luncheon was given to Mrs. Laidlaw, at which the principal women workers discussed their plans. In the afternoon there was a very large reception at the home of Mrs. Thompson, who, besides being a suffragist, is State Federation president of the Woman's Clubs. The day ended with the largest mass meeting that was held on the trip. The big Missoula theatre was crowded to the top gallery—people were standing in every available spot, leaning over railings and sitting in window seats, and several hundred were turned away from the standing room by the firemen.

Again, at the close of the evening, new suffrage recruits came forward, and a new Men's League was formed.

Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw, at midnight, took a regretful leave of Miss Rankin, her family, and Montana.

After two or three days' rest Miss Rankin is planning to return to Butte, to hold her State campaign convention meeting, with the chairman of counties, the leaders of precincts, presidents of clubs, etc., to make more intensive plans

Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (MC 169 - Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)



JAMES LEES LAIDLAW,
President of the New York Men's League.



MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW,
Chairman for Manhattan, of the Woman Suffrage Party.

stop and do a few days' work for Montana on the way, it would be a great help.

Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, on their way to California, consented to stop in Montana for a six-day whirlwind campaign.

On their way out, Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw stopped in Fargo long enough for a conference with Mrs. Darrow, the State president of North Dakota. The Fargo women are full of hope for their victory in 1914, and full of enthusiasm for what the neighboring State president, Miss Rankin, had done for them; but their cry also was, "We need help from the East if North Dakota is to win." As the suffrage couple left Fargo, the temperature began to drop, and as they entered Montana the temperature was forty degrees below zero, which caused very slow train service.

BILLINGS THEIR FIRST STOP.

They arrived at Billings, their first Montana stop, four hours late, and so missed the luncheon that had been planned. Miss Rankin met them at the station, and began her personally conducted and continuous five-day hustle for votes in the Montana campaign. She first took them to the reception at the principal hotel in Billings. The travellers were certainly tremendously surprised, not only at the artistic beauty of the hotel, but at the brilliance and charm of the men and women who gathered to meet them in that very active and dynamic town. Toward the end of the afternoon the reception became a very earnest or-

was too good to waste on a mere reception, and later in the day the dozens of young men and women who were there evidently agreed, and the State Suffrage reception turned into a most delightful tea dance, at which were seen some of the most expert and recent dancing steps to be seen anywhere.

From the reception they went to a dinner at the Men's Club in Helena with Wellington Rankin, president of the Helena Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and from there to another mass meeting at the City Auditorium, at which Col. C. B. Nolan presided. Mayor Purcell and other prominent men sat on the platform. The Governor regretted his absence because of indisposition. The speakers were Miss Jeanette Rankin and Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw. The usual questions enlivened the meeting towards the close. The Easterners were quite horrified to find that collections were not the inevitable concomitant of the suffrage meeting, so Mrs. Laidlaw started the ball rolling and they took up the first Helena suffrage collection which amounted to $50.

The approach to Butte, in the snow and moonlight, with the brilliant lights of its mines and its streets glittering in the crystal air, was an exciting experience. Once arrived in the town, the sense of excitement deepened. The streets seemed thoroughly metropolitan, with their seething, active crowds.

From the train they went to the Ansonia, the largest moving-picture and

denying that there had been any hint that "our campaign should be laid before this editor for consideration or possible approval for coöperation. On the contrary she (Miss Markeson) refused emphatically such offered coöperation, acting under my instructions."

Now everybody is waiting with great joy the forthcoming number of the *National Forum*, as it would seem to the casual reader of the *Forum* and of Mrs. Dodge's letter that the former had been given the lie. Montana suffragists are saying with great glee that "When the anti-suffrage liquor interests and the anti-suffrage ladies fall out, suffragists will 'come into their own'!"

A MEN'S LEAGUE FORMED.

All of the principal papers in Butte—the *Anaconda Standard*, the Butte *Miner*, and the *Post*, in giving accounts of the evening meeting emphasized the very enthusiastic formation of the new "Men's League for Woman's Suffrage." At the close of the meeting some of the leading professional and business men of the city crowded to the platform, and a preliminary organization was effected.

Another thing that brought great applause in all the Montana meetings was Mrs. Laidlaw's announcement, in the course of her presentation of the Congressional work which is being organized under Mrs. Medill McCormick, that the Congressmen from Montana had voted recently against the Democratic caucus, and had stood in favor of es-

After two or three days' rest Miss Rankin is planning to return to Butte, to hold her State campaign convention meeting, with the chairman of counties, the leaders of precincts, presidents of clubs, etc., to make more intensive plans for the campaign.

PROCEED TO CALIFORNIA.

The Laidlaws continued on their way to California. The arrival in San Francisco was accompanied by a reunion with many of the friends and suffrage workers whom Mrs. Laidlaw had seen just at the beginning of the California campaign. It seemed like going into an oasis to be where there were no women to be enfranchised! In the short conference that Mrs. Laidlaw had with the California workers it is evident that the women have most generously "made good" as citizens and voters.

On the day of sending this report East Mrs. Laidlaw is meeting with the Civic Centre workers of Northern California in the afternoon. Next week she is to speak at a luncheon on "The Need of Women Protective Officers in Towns and Cities."

On the 23d Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw arrive at Reno, Nev., where they are to speak several times in the State Convention which will be in progress.

Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (MC 169 - Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)

BILLINGS THEIR FIRST STOP.

They arrived at Billings, their first Montana stop, four hours late, and so missed the luncheon that had been planned. Miss Rankin met them at the station, and began her personally conducted and continuous five-day hustle for votes in the Montana campaign. She first took them to the reception at the principal hotel in Billings. The travellers were certainly tremendously surprised, not only at the artistic beauty of the hotel, but at the brilliance and charm of the men and women who gathered to meet them in that very active and dynamic town. Toward the end of the afternoon the reception became a very earnest organization meeting, at which Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw and Miss Rankin spoke, and from which precinct officers and a temporary chairman for the county were appointed, pledges for work taken, and plans for a more thorough campaign organization laid.

It might be said right here that the plan of organization for the Montana campaign, which is being rapidly carried out in every county is as follows: Leaders are elected in each voting precinct, and the leaders of the precincts form the county general committee and elect a chairman. The chairmen of the county central committees form the State central committee, and they elect a campaign chairman in turn. All are under the central State campaign committee.

About six o'clock a great many of the leading men of the town came in. Many of the women at the meeting, who were ready to devote themselves to the winning of the campaign, were young matrons with home duties, many with children.

Among the men who came in late to the reception were a number of men prominent politically. Senator George, a State Senator, had a long conference with Mr. Laidlaw and pledged himself to work in the campaign. He said he was ready to speak for the amendment as much and as often as he could.

FIRST SUFFRAGE MASS MEETING.

At the Kennedy Hall and at the Auditorium a mass meeting was held in the evening, the first of the kind Billings has ever had for suffrage. Mrs. Henry Frith, president of the Woman's Club, presided and introduced Miss Rankin, who laid before the audience the plan of the campaign. Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw then spoke, and after that questions were asked and answered.

At twelve o'clock that night the came close. The Easterners were quite horrified to find that collections were not the inevitable concomitant of the suffrage meeting, so Mrs. Laidlaw started the ball rolling and they took up the first Helena suffrage collection which amounted to $50.

The approach to Butte, in the snow and moonlight, with the brilliant lights of its mines and its streets glittering in the crystal air, was an exciting experience. Once arrived in the town, the sense of excitement deepened. The streets seemed thoroughly metropolitan, with their seething, active crowds.

From the train they went to the Ansonia, the largest moving-picture and vaudeville house in town, where more than one thousand persons were gathered. The manager was most cordial and gave a liberal allowance of time for the suffrage "turn" in his Sunday night programme. The audience was one of the most responsive that Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw ever had met.

Miss Mary E. O'Neil, who met the workers at the station and undertook to pilot them around Butte, is a devoted suffrage worker and also president of the club of three hundred girls. She has a great amount of influence with the young people of the town.

In the morning the time was taken up with being photographed, newspaper interviews, and work at the newly opened Montana State campaign headquarters in the Hotel Thornton.

RECEPTION AN OFFICIAL OPENING.

The large reception in the afternoon was sort of an official opening of these new headquarters, as they adjoined the big parlors where the reception was held. The afternoon, before the reception, was also kept very full for the campaigners. A luncheon was held at one o'clock at the principal men's club, the Silver Bow, which was a campaign conference of the inside workers. Among the women at this luncheon was Mrs. Margaret Rozsa, the newly-elected member of the School Board. She was the ex-president of the Suffrage Club, and, as she is the first woman to hold a school office, the Butte suffragists felt that this was an indication of kindly public feeling towards suffrage. At two o'clock there was a business meeting, at half-past two Mrs. Laidlaw was asked to speak at a special matinée at the big moving-picture house, and at 3:15 the reception began.

Mayor Lewis J. Duncan and Mrs. Duncan both assisted in the day's activities.

evening meeting emphasized the very enthusiastic formation of the new "Men's League for Woman's Suffrage." At the close of the meeting some of the leading professional and business men of the city crowded to the platform, and a preliminary organization was effected.

Another thing that brought great applause in all the Montana meetings was Mrs. Laidlaw's announcement, in the course of her presentation of the Congressional work which is being organized under Mrs. Medill McCormick, that the Congressmen from Montana had voted recently against the Democratic caucus, and had stood in favor of establishing a House Committee on Woman's Suffrage. Also Dr. Shaw's earnest message of greeting to Montana as a campaign State, which she had sent by Mrs. Laidlaw, as a National Board member, was received with much pleasure.

Probably the most enjoyable and happiest of all the days of the tour was that spent in Missoula. The Eastern visitors had been impressed with the growing realization of Miss Rankin's

Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (MC 169 - Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)

N.C. 6/14/19

In Memoriam

Dr. Maria M. Dean

TO be a friend to the most unhappy and least appealing classes of the community is surely one of the noblest tests of a great nature. Among the many splendid things standing to the credit of Dr. Maria M. Dean, of Helena, Mont., leading woman physician, prominent child welfare worker and foremost in the struggle for enfranchisement of the women of Montana, was her work for the care and training of mental defectives.

Dr. Dean, who died at the home of her sister late in May, was a native of Madison, Wis. She was a graduate of the collegiate department of the University of Wisconsin and studied medicine in Boston, Mass., and in Germany.

Twenty-five years ago she began to practice medicine in Helena, and during those years identified herself with every effort for community betterment.

"The high ideals, the social services, the spotless life of this fine woman were of tremendous value to this community," says a Helena paper, editorially. "She rendered to her fellow-citizens of Helena a species of social good that is far above material achievements and activities, . . . and the community was proud of her during her life."

For several years Dr. Dean served on the Board of Education of her city, for some time as its chairman. She was also a member of the State Board of Health. During her college years, Dr. Dean had made a special study of criminology and of the care and cure of the mentally defective. Her wide knowledge along this line made her advice always eagerly sought in every welfare movement.

"It is valuable," comments the press of her city, concerning her, "to make the desert blossom as the rose, but to be a friend to the weak, the poor and the unfortunate; to strive early and late for the good of one's fellows; to be a soldier standing ever behind moral standards; to be one whose soul is permanently engaged in the magnificent struggle for the uplift of humanity—the struggle that never fails in spite of all the sordidness and selfishness of the world, this is to reach a character high above anything upon the merely material plane."

MHS
324.623
W21W

THE WINNING OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MONTANA

by

DORIS BUCK WARD

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

Approved:

Pierre C. Mullan
Head, Major Department

Richard B. Roeder
Chairman, Examining Committee

Henry L. Parsons
Graduate Dean

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
Bozeman, Montana

June, 1974

caught the suffragists, as well as Sherlock, by surprise. They protested that they had not been notified of committee hearings; besides, they claimed, the committee had assured them a favorable report.[21] Suffragists quickly mobilized. Petitioning (which had begun in September) had continued into January, particularly by women's clubs. These petitions were called in, and MWSA's President Tower rushed home from the East.[22]

On January 28 the Judiciary Committee held its hearing in the Senate chamber. Galleries were packed. In unprecedented deference, the committee gave their seats on the Senate floor to the suffragists who were to testify, while they sat on the platform. Mrs. Adelaide Staves Reeder spoke on the increasing numbers of women taxpayers and wage earners and their genuine stake in full citizenship. Mrs. Thomas Walsh admitted that maybe it was true that the mass of women opposed equal suffrage, but such resistance was common to all great reforms. Mr. M. P. Haggerty thought that denial of rights to women constituted "intellectual prostitution." Also testifying during the orderly 1 1/2-hour hearing were Dr. Maria Dean, Mrs. R. B. Matheson, Mr. S. C. Herron,

---

[21] Butte Miner, January 14, 1903, p. 1; January 15, 1903, p. 1; Helena Independent, January 15, 1903, p. 8; January 16, 1903, p. 8.

[22] Minutes of the Helena Equal Suffrage Club, September 13, 1902 (text of the petition), Montana Historical Society Library; Butte Miner, January 15, 1903, p. 7; January 18, 1903, p. 11; Helena Independent, January 21, 1903, p. 4.

and Miss Gail Laughlin. No opponents showed. MWSA President Clara Tower presented petitions which had more than 2,000 signators. The committee immediately retired in executive session and decided unanimously to order the bill printed. On the following day advocates of equal suffrage presented similar testimony to the House Judiciary Committee in open session of the chamber.[23]

The Senate again debated SB 1 on February 5. Although the bill was read in entirety, Senator Meyer was unhappy with his colleagues' unreasoned treatment. "Nothing gives resistance to this measure," he charged, "but that spirit of conservativism which prompts us not to adopt new measures." Nonetheless, he met the worn, "untenable" arguments, assuring opponents that suffrage would not wipe out woman's admirable characteristics. "Men [sic] will always remain the strong, steady oak, and woman the clining vine. . . . It is [her] good in politics that we want." Senator Maddox, a rigid "anti," admitted that the subject of equal suffrage "could not be laughed out of court." His principal objection to the bill, he now declared, was the form of the ballot. In his opinion submission of any amendment was tantamount to passage, simply because voters perfunctorily marked their ballots. He would favor submission if means could be devised to obtain a full

---

[23] Butte Miner, January 29, 1903, pp. 1, 8, 10; January 30, 1903, pp. 1, 10; Helena Independent, January 29, 1903, p. 5; January 30, 1903, p. 5.

and fair expression of the people. The Senate killed the bill by a larger margin this second time--16 to 10.[24]

Mildly hopeful, suffragists took the cue from Maddox to amend the House bill so that the electorate would have a separate ballot for the suffrage question. Without further debate the House approved their revised version 40 to 24, but this was slightly short of the required two-thirds. On reconsideration two Lewis and Clark representatives switched to the opposition for a final tally of 38 to 27. Defeat in the House nullified need for further Senate attention to the suffrage amendment.[25]

Montana suffragists in 1903 pressed their bills beyond reasonable hope for passage so they would have a voting record for use in the next election. However, the vote didn't necessarily indicate individual commitment of the legislators because some of them played to publicity on the issue. There was no discernible alignment of the major parties on the equal suffrage bill. But representatives of minor parties, all from Silver Bow and Deer Lodge counties, gave almost unanimous support. Of the 11 Labor members, 5 Fusion-Democrats, and lone Anti-Trust

---

[24] Butte Miner, February 6, 1903, pp. 1,8; February 7, 1903, p. 9; Helena Independent, February 6, p. 5.

[25] Helena Independent, February 7, 1903, p. 8; February 11, 1903, p. 8; Butte Miner, February 7, 1903, p. 9

Democrat, only one bolted to oppose woman suffrage (2 were absent). Other urban centers and the rural areas show a mixed record on the issue.[26]

In 1899 NAWSA's Mary Garrett Hay had belittled previous suffrage campaigns in Montana, conducted without national help. But in 1903 the outside "experts" from NAWSA had no more to show. They obtained complete endorsement by labor's officialdom. However, the mere 2,000 equal suffrage petitioners indicates that union rank-and-file had not concurred, maybe in reaction to suffragists' anti-foreign expressions. And NAWSA failed to get a lasting commitment from clubwomen. Many of the socialites recruited for this suffrage campaign quickly returned to their more mundane interests.

The Independent judged that woman suffrage in Montana would be postponed for years, for where was proof of practical benefit?

> The truth is that the people of this state are conservative and do not as a rule believe in trying experiments. . . . As a matter of sentiment and theory the women to-day are able to make out a pretty good case, but political matters

---

[26] Helena Independent, February 6, 1903, p. 4; February 5, 1903, p. 5; February 11, 1903, p. 8; Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 103, 104. In the Senate 6 Democrats and 4 Republicans supported the suffrage bill, while 8 of each party opposed it. Supporting in the House were 22 Republicans, 13 Labor and Fusion-Democrats, and 3 Democarts; opposing were 22 Republicans, 1 Fusion-Democrat, and 3 Democrats. William Lindsay, Republican state chairman (who had voted for woman suffrage twice), warned that the time was not opportune for submission. Sponsor Connor, floor leader, was a rising Republican star. (Helena Independent, January 31, 1903, p. 4; February 3, 1903, p. 4.)

> go further than the sentimental side of things and demand practical results.[27]

"Practical" matters indeed demanded political attention in the 1903 legislature, even though no senatorial seat was in contest. At the vortex of excitement were the alleged frauds by Heinze forces in the Silver Bow election, the impeachment and acquittal without trial of Judge Harney, the change of venue bill, and the power politics of Carter, Clark, and Heinze. Even reform questions on gambling, a fellow servant bill, and proposal for a railroad commission involved more "practical" facets than the enfranchisement of women. Without the force of ballot, women's appeal for rights remained subordinate to interests of established political power.

In 1905 the House again considered a woman suffrage bill, HB 77 sponsored by William W. Berry, of Lewis and Clark County. Neither opponents nor advocates seemed keenly interested in the bill. After hearing testimony from several suffragists (Mrs. J. M. Lewis, Mrs. Walter Matheson, and Miss Mary O'Neill), the Committee on Judiciary returned a majority report in favor of the bill. The chamber adopted it without debate. Promoters of the initiative and referendum bill, wanting to assure one of the three places on the ballot for their issue, had discouraged action on any other proposal for a constitutional

---

[27] Helena Independent, February 6, 1903, p. 4.

amendment until their own passed. Labor was emphatic on this point of priority.[28] The suffrage amendment, however, did not appear to have a chance to carry, so it was permitted to advance to final consideration on February 14. Galleries were crowded.

Sponsor Berry avoided discussion of the merits of woman suffrage. But citing 6,000 petitioners as evidence of the people's interest, he pleaded for submission. Berry and J. M. Kennedy, of Silver Bow County, stressed that the suffrage measure complemented the principle of direct legislation to which all parties were pledged. The opposition again questioned women's desire for the ballot and asserted that it was the legislator's duty, as demonstrated by the two-thirds requirement, to carefully consider the merit of proposed amendments. The House facetiously passed, and then withdrew, an amendment to the suffrage bill to restrict the ballot to men and women with at least two children. Advocates rebuked their colleagues for lack of earnestness and common courtesy.[29] Limited debate, horseplay, and a poem took up only 45

---

[28] House Journal, January 25, 1905, p. 70 (resolution from the State Federation of Labor). No more than three amendments could be submitted at a given election.

[29] Helena Independent, February 16, 1905, p. 5; Butte Miner, February 15, 1905, p. 1; Great Falls Tribune, February 15, 1905, p. 1; Daily Missoulian, February 15, 1905, p. 1. Only the latter reported petitions; possibly Berry was referring to a cumulative total from previous campaigns.

The 1905 legislature submitted an amendment for direct legislation to the electorate. It carried in November 1906 by a huge majority, 36,374 to 6,616. (Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, p. 119.)

minutes before the House decisively killed the bill, 33 for and 37 opposed. As a public issue woman suffrage would be dormant for the next six years, until its revival in the 1911 legislative assembly.[30]

During debate, only Democrats spoke for the bill and only Republicans against it. The vote, however, was not so partisan. Supporting woman suffrage were 14 Republicans, 14 Democrats, and 5 Laborites; opposing were 22 Republicans, 11 Democrats, 2 Fusion, and 2 Laborites. A breakdown of counties by size of population as indicated by number of representatives, is more revealing. (See Table 2.) Silver Bow and Lewis and Clark counties, the two most populous, favored woman suffrage nearly 3 to 1. The next three most populous counties (Deer Lodge, Cascade, and Missoula) divided about evenly. The next group, with three representatives each, voted 2 to 1 against woman suffrage; and this same ratio held for the 21 least populated of the 26 counties. Within county groupings, party affiliation seemed to bear

---

[30] House Journal, January 25, 1905, pp. 54, 94, 205; Butte Miner, January 28, 1905, p. 1; January 31, 1904, p. 9; Daily Missoulian, January 31, 1905, p. 1; Helena Independent, January 30, 1905, p. 5.

Mary Long Alderson (in "A Half Century of Progress for Montana Women," p. 16) stated that suffragists "went before the legislature" in 1907 without success; and Larson (in "Battle for the Ballot," p. 34) reported a brief flurry of interest during that session. The legislative journals have no reference to any suffrage bill in the 1907 or 1909 sessions. Mrs. Alderson's account was written years after the events. Larson offered no source.

Table 2. Vote on the Woman Suffrage Bill, 1905*

No. of Rep.		Vote For	Vote Against	
12	Silver Bow (Butte)	9	3	
7	Lewis and Clark (Helena)	5	2	
		14	5	
6	Deer Lodge (Anaconda)	3	3	
5	Cascade (Great Falls)	2	3	
4	Missoula (Missoula)	2	2	
		7	8	
3 ea.	Flathead, Gallatin, Jefferson, Madison (4)	4	8	
2 ea.	Beaverhead, Broadwater, Chouteau, Custer, Fergus, Granite, Meagher, Park, Ravalli (9)	5	12	(1 absent)
1 ea.	Carbon, Dawson, Powell, Rosebud, Sweet Grass, Teton, Valley, Yellowstone (8)	3	4	(1 absent)
		12	24	

*Source: Ellis L. Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864: An Atlas of Elections (Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1958), p. 110; Montana, House Journal of the Ninth Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1905, p. 205.

little on the position of the representatives.[31] Thus the strength of support for woman suffrage in 1905 seems directly related to urban development. Minor parties were not a factor.

Incubation for Reform

Although the woman suffrage movement seemed dead in Montana between 1905 and 1911, complex socio-economic changes occurred during this period to set the stage for a popular surge for political reforms, including equal suffrage in 1914. The reform mood had momentum by 1910, peaked in 1912, but carried over to 1916. It was part of a nationwide progressive wave to bring greater control of government to the people in order to preserve traditional social values.

Montana reformers worried most about intrusion of corporate power into public affairs. As the twentieth century began, the "kerosene and copper" trust acquired control over the press of the state. In October 1903 the Amalgamated Copper Company (ACC, or "the Company") paralyzed the Montana economy in a shutdown to force a special session of the legislature. As a result of the "Fair Trial" law then enacted, ACC soon absorbed F. Augustus Heinze and its major

---

[31] Based on roll call on HB 77 (Montana, House Journal of the Ninth Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1905, p. 205) and Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, p. 110.

competitors. The War of the Copper Kings was over. The Company had demonstrated economic and political domination of the state. It did not relax its power position during the following years. In 1909 the legislature legalized corporate mergers in Montana, giving out-of-state monopolies even greater powers. Just before the 1911 legislature convened, Judge E. K. Cheadle warned that special interests in Montana were far stronger than state government, an "absurd and dangerous" condition.[32] The "effluvia" of which Toole spoke in 1903 still ladened Montana's political atmosphere.

As nationally, the prospect for purifying government in Montana was keyed to fuller popular control of the machinery of politics. Structural reforms such as primary election, initiative and referendum, and direct election of United States senators appeared to reformers as promising devices to shift the locus of political power. These changes would increase the potential of citizens already enfranchised. But equal suffrage would extend the popular base to an entire new class. Women's application to help clean the "stables" had become more admissible.

Political dissidents had characteristically advocated equal suffrage in anticipation of women's support for other reforms.

---

[32] Montana Lookout, January 23, 1909, p. 4; Western News, September 6, 1910, p. 1; Fergus County Democrat, quoted in Montana Lookout, December 31, 1910, p. 2.

Socialists, successors to the People's party in Montana, included equal franchise in a large package of reforms by which they meant to break the alleged control of the privileged class over laws and the ballot. The Socialists reform proposals were more tempered than their radical rhetoric, and Montanans seem to have taken the Socialist program, not as a radical whimsy, but as a constructive means to a more responsive government. Socialists rivalled Progressives in voting strength in 1912, then took a lead over them in 1914.

Progressives, too, saw advantage in sharing the ballot with women, not only to broaden the base for reforms, but also to hold old American values against the unsettling impact of urbanization and industrialization. Only after a sweep of progressive initiatives in 1912 did political leaders accord woman suffrage earnest attention. Politicians got the message that the electorate was discontent with corruption and privilege in affairs of government; the people could and would change the system. Thus, the revival of the woman suffrage issue in Montana was a part and product of the progressive movement.

Homesteading on a large scale, a phenomenon concurrent with progressivism in Montana, changed the character of the state's populace to one more receptive to woman suffrage. In 1905 Montana still had a vast domain of unappropriated public lands. The wanted settlers were slow in coming--fewer than 3,500 homestead entries yearly through 1907. Most of the early homesteaders in Montana had qualified under

the 1862 Homestead Act, which limited stakes to 160 acres. That size was not sufficient in semi-arid, non-irrigable sections. Montana agricultural experts thought 20-30 million acres of this semi-arid land could be dry-farmed. Railroads and commercial interests took up dryland promotion and reaped a quick bonanza in real estate. Many large ranches were broken up for private sales, and Indian lands were opened to settlement. In February 1909, after years of sharp controversy over public land policy, Congress passed the Mondell Homestead Act, doubling the allowable dryland acreage. Congress further encouraged homesteaders by liberalizing residency requirements in 1912. For eight years, beginning in 1910, homesteaders thronged into Montana. (See Table 3.) Irrigation made other agricultural development attractive. Thus the rural population, particularly in the dry eastern counties, increased more rapidly than other segments. (See Table 4.) By 1909 the value of Montana's agricultural product had surpassed the value of its mineral production.[33]

---

[33]Mary Wilma M. Hargreaves, Dry Farming in the Northern Great Plains, 1900-1925 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), passim (see especially pp. 329-356, 373-382, 439-448); Ralph H. Farmer, "Analytical Survey and Study of Agricultural Conditions and the Mortgage Loan Experience of the Federal Land Bank of Spokane in the State of Montana, 1917-1927" (unpublished typescript, University of Idaho, Moscow, n.d.), pp. 2-9; K. Ross Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana: A State of Extremes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), Chs. 2 and 3.

Because county boundaries changed extensively, comparison of local growth 1910-1920 is difficult. However, the eastern and northern areas doubled or tripled their population during this period. Although

Table 3. Homestead Entries in Montana, 1905-1919*

Year	Number	Year	Number
1905	2,386	1913	17,844
1906	3,398	1914	20,662
1907	3,347	1915	16,146
1908	5,328	1916	14,486
1909	7,484	1917	15,197
1910	21,982	1918	9,429
1911	15,399	1919	5,462
1912	12,597		

*Source: Ralph H. Farmer, "Analytical Survey and Study of the Agricultural Conditions and the Mortgage Loan Experience of the Federal Land Bank of Spokane in the State of Montana, 1917-1927" (unpublished typescript, University of Idaho, Moscow, n. d.), p. 6.

Table 4. Development of Montana Population, 1900-1920*

	1900	1910	1920
Total Population	243,000	376,000	549,000
Eastern Section	93,000	177,000	314,000
Rural Population	159,000	243,000	377,000
Eastern Section	72,000	132,000	241,000
Number of Farms	13,000	26,000	58,000
Eastern Section	7,000	18,000	46,000

*Source: Mary Wilma M. Hargreaves, Dry Farming in the Northern Great Plains, 1900-1925 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 441.

The homesteaders came with families to build homes and permanent communities. These women were not a fragile, protected sex; rather they proved their capacities beside their menfolk. Their ballot would strengthen agricultural interests (many shared with progressives) in governmental issues. Why would rural men deny their women a part in public decisions?

In November 1910 the doldrums of the national suffrage movement ended as Washington voters adopted woman suffrage by a wide margin (52,299 to 29,676). It was the first state to approve since 1896, when women in Utah and Idaho won the ballot.[34] Opposition to equal suffrage in Montana apparently had mellowed, too. The Great Falls Tribune, still hesitant to take a stand for woman's vote, indicated in December 1910 that sentiment was maturing in support of equal franchise. The editor pointed out that higher education for women stimulated their civic interest and serious wish to participate in public decisions. In a

---

a major portion of settlement was complete by 1914 (when the electorate passed on woman suffrage), peak settlement in the "Triangle," north of Great Falls, came in 1917 and 1918. (Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 129, 131, 174, 177; Hargreaves, Dry Farming in the Northern Great Plains, 1900-1925, p. 442.)

[34]Washington in 1910 took a lead on the national Progressive movement by electing a highly progressive legislature (but within traditional parties). The coincidence of adoption of the suffrage amendment and the reforms enacted that year support the theory that woman suffrage was a common element of progressive ideology. (William T. Kerr, Jr., "The Progressives of Washington, 1910-1912," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, January 1964, pp. 16-27.)

subsequent column the editor remarked that, as more states granted women the ballot, experience demonstrated that many of the old arguments against woman suffrage were without merit.[35] Montana thought had changed a great deal since 1905.

---

[35]Great Falls Tribune, quoted in Montana Lookout, December 10, 1910, p. 6; February 11, 1911, p. 6.

Following the party conventions, suffragists pressed legislative candidates for individual pledges of support. In Butte, women vigorously campaigned against "anti" James McNally. (He won his re-bid for a House seat, but expediently voted for the 1913 suffrage bill.) After the election, suffragists wrote letters to Sam Stewart, governor-elect, and to W. W. McDowell, lieutenant governor-elect, asking that they direct fulfillment of their party's suffrage pledge. Holdover Senator Tom Stout, progressive Democrat from Fergus County, agreed to sponsor an equal suffrage bill in the coming legislature.

Democrats won every state and national office in the Montana election of 1912, and they controlled both legislative chambers. The electorate had demonstrated depth of reform mood by passing all four initiatives (the first ever on a Montana ballot): for direct primary elections, popular referendum for election of United States senators, presidential preference primary, and a corrupt practices act. All carried by more than 70 per cent. Thus, voters could be expected to hold the Democrats accountable for their progressive platform. Governor Stewart in his message recommended that the legislature enact the various reforms pledged in the party platform, including the amendment to strike "male" from voter qualifications. Unlike Toole in 1902, Stewart offered no oratory on the subject of equal suffrage.[12]

---

[12]Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 136-147; "Governor's Message," Helena Independent, January 7, 1913, pp. 1, 3.

Suffragists were not confident. The conservative wing of both major parties was strongly represented in the legislature. The limit of three constitutional amendments per election might deny the equal suffrage question a place on the 1914 ballot. And liquor interests were prepared to fight legislation unfavorable to them. Two liquor lobbyists muscled in on tables assigned to reporters in the House, insisting on the privilege because they would publish a monthly circular in Butte (for the liquor league's Montana Protective Association). Understandably, saloonmen contended that woman suffrage would mean agitation for local option, so their axe was ready for the suffrage bill.[13]

As legislators assembled at the capital in early January 1913, suffragists from all sections of the state also convened there to establish a permanent state structure, to plan their lobbying, and to organize for a continuing campaign. This new Montana Equal Suffrage Association (MESA) operated freely without constitution or by-laws, and, at least until the Central Committee's second meeting (in late June 1913), it did not affiliate with NAWSA. Miss Rankin continued as

---

[13]"Legislative Gossip," Helena Independent, January 7, 1913, p. 3; Montana Progressive, January 16, 1913, p. 4. Possibly House rules barred lobbyists from the floor at that time.

chairman and Miss Ida Auerbach became press chairman.[14] Miss Rankin urged her colleagues not to form a suffrage party, since all of Montana's political parties were pledged to support submission of an equal suffrage amdnement. In a body, the organized suffragists called on the governor and the legislative chambers, then applauded the governor's endorsement from the galleries. Politicians could not ignore the activity of the determined women.[15]

---

[14]Other officers were: assistant chairman, Mrs. Grace Gilmore (Glendive, also in WCTU), and Mrs. Helen Fitzgerald Sanders (Butte, daughter-in-law of Wilbur Sanders); secretary, Mrs. Eleanor Sample Coit (Big Timber); treasurer, Mrs. Wilbur Smith (Helena); finance chairman, Mrs. Wallace Perham (Glendive, also in WCTU); and literature chairman, Mrs. Harry Poindexter (Dillon). At the next meeting, called by Mrs. Coit in June 1913, Mrs. John Willis (Glasgow) was added as recording secretary; Miss Mary Cantwell (Hunters' Hot Springs) became literature chairman. Mary O'Neill also was named press chairman by June 1914. (Beginning October 1, 1913, a professional journalist had already replaced Miss Auerbach--maybe Miss O'Neill, maybe Miss Mildred Sherrill of Butte.) Also by June 1914 Mrs. Edith Clinch (Butte, also in WCTU) was treasurer; Miss Eloise Knowles (Missoula) was literature chairman; Dr. Maria Dean (Helena) and Mrs. L. O. Edmunds (Absarokee) were finance chairmen. (Helena Independent, January 7, 1913, p. 5; Montana Progressive, June 26, 1913, p. 2; October 8, 1913, p. 2; "Weekly Bulletin," June 12, 1914, cited by Larson, "Battle for the Ballot," p. 36.

Several accounts explain that the 1913-1914 MESA avoided a constitution because of dissension over an earlier one. This study was unable to verify the incident. Another plausible explanation is suggested by Miss Rankin's pragmatism and preference for flexibility; she was not interested in mundane procedures or history.

Mrs. Coit initiated inquiry about national affiliation in an exchange of letters with Mary Ware Dennett in May and June 1913. (Woman Suffrage file, Historical Society Library, Helena.)

[15]Helena Independent, January 4, 1913, p. 8; January 7, 1913, p. 5; January 8, 1913, p. 2.

Stout's equal suffrage bill (SB 1) came up early in the session and sailed through. There was no debate in the Senate and very little in the House, where Joseph Pope (of the Anti-Saloon League) was ready with his own suffrage bill. Both houses passed SB 1 nearly unanimously: 26 to 2 in the Senate and 74 to 2 in the House. Only Republicans cast opposing votes. Party discipline kept the Democratic record unstained. With their heavy majority Democrats were pressed to honor their campaign pledge. Several who opposed woman suffrage grumbled through their duty to cast a supporting vote. The governor signed SB 1 on January 25, 1913.[16]

Although the work of the Helena Equality League and Miss Rankin had borne fruit in the legislature, the happy suffragists knew that much work lay ahead. The amendment would be submitted to the electorate on a separate ballot in an off-year election. Opposition was sure to mount to vie for the vote of Montana's males.[17] And because NAWSA appointed Jeannette Rankin national Field Secretary, she could not give Montana her prime attention for a while.

---

[16]Montana, Senate Journal, Thirteenth Session, 1913, pp. 109-110; passim; Montana, House Journal, Thirteenth Session, 1913, p. 169; Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, p. 142.

[17]Helena Independent, January 24, 1913, p. 8; Montana Progressive (Helena), January 30, 1913, pp. 1, 7.

Butte and Silver Bow County suffragists promptly sparked enthusiasm with a rally. Sarepta Sanders spoke, urging that women "spend less time on bridge and reading the Ladies Home Journal and give more thought to human welfare." She stressed that voting was a serious responsibility. Woman's vote would not bring about the millennium, but it would be used to "hasten the coming of a more just state."[18] Great Falls suffragists organized on March 20. Miss Frieda Fligelman, principal speaker, denied narrow feminist aims and cast the suffrage movement in a broad humanitarian mold. Women asked for the franchise as citizens, she stressed. The ballot was not their final goal; rather it was a means to a more decent social existence.[19]

New York banker James Laidlaw, national president of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, lent his assistance to form a Montana chapter in July 1913. It was the first affiliate in the West. The organization gave tacit endorsement to the principle of equal suffrage from publicly-respected men. Probably it did little actual work. Wellington D. Rankin, Jeannette's lawyer brother of Helena, was president of the Montana League.[20]

---

[18] Montana Progressive, February 7, 1913, p. 7.

[19] Ibid., March 27, 1913, p. 7.

[20] Other officers, all "vice presidents" except for A. B. Castell, secretary, were: Pearl I. Hindley (Boulder), W. J. McCormick (Missoula), James O'Connor (Livingston), John L. Slattery (Glasgow), Sam W. Teagarden (Forest Grove), and H. D. Weenink (Dillon). (Montana Progressive, July 31, 1913, p. 2.)

From February 1913 possibly until January 1914, Miss Rankin devoted most of her time to national suffrage work. She assisted campaigns in North Dakota, Michigan, and Florida. She participated in demonstrations by suffragists in Washington, D. C. which were led by the militant Alice Paul: the parade on the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration which nearly turned into a riot, and the July 31 pilgrimage bearing petitions to Congress. And she lobbied on Capitol Hill. However, Miss Rankin did find time to attend meetings of the Montana suffragists's state central committee in late June (in Livingston) and in late September (in Butte).[21]

The Montana suffrage campaign moved into its final stage early in 1914. MESA opened headquarters in Butte on February 1, an event announced by a letter from Jeannette Rankin to every voter. And that month Mr. and Mrs. James Laidlaw of New York, on Miss Rankin's invitation, called briefly in several Montana cities convenient to their private rail car--Billings, Helena, Butte, and Missoula. For five days the Laidlaws and Miss Rankin spoke at meetings and attended special social events. Their whirlwind campaign helped to lend prestige to the

---

[21]Harris, "Jeannette Rankin," pp. 70-77; Suffrage Daily News, November 2, 1914. Perhaps Mrs. James Sanders of Butte and Mrs. Harvey Coit of Big Timber carried the burden of the MESA leadership in this period.

suffrage cause and to fill its coffers.[22] "Guests" they were, but also outsiders, the first of several professional suffragists to work in Montana's final campaign.

The MESA suffragists criss-crossed the state in 1914. Miss Rankin herself logged 9,000 miles. They staged some suffrage events of their own, but ubiquitously appeared at other gatherings: at conventions of women's organizations and of the state press, at agricultural fairs, and at holiday celebrations. They planted claques to "inspire" politicians to speak for suffrage. The MESA suffragists supplemented their personal appearance campaign with extensive printed materials, feature stories in newspapers, and special editions of many publications. Their "Weekly Bulletin," submitted to editors throughout the state, aimed especially at rural people.

Outside speakers, mostly from the East and widely known among suffragists, assisted in all but four Montana counties. The most publicized were "General" Rosalie Jones and "Colonel" Ida Craft, Miss Margaret Hinchey (a laundry worker), and Kathryn Blake (a school principal dedicated also to peace).[23] These NAWSA workers were not

---

[22] Montana Progressive, February 12, 1914, pp. 1, 2; Clippings in the Woman Suffrage collection, Montana Historical Society Library, Helena.

[23] Montana Progressive, July 28, 1914, p. 3; Harris, "Jeannette Rankin," pp. 86-88.

well-received. A story relates that in Miles City during the Fourth of July parade, cowpunchers vented their antagonism toward "General" Jones by roping her as she marched.[24]

Montana's budget was not strained by this external aid, since most of the outside speakers volunteered their services and even paid part or all of their travel expenses. Montana suffragists were grateful for direct financial aid, also. NAWSA and suffrage organizations of other states covered about half of the $9,000 spent on the Montana campaign. Rosalie Jones donated $1,000 which she had raised during the 1913 pilgrimage from New York to Washington, D. C. And the Laidlaws added $600 to National's help to replenish MESA funds lost when a Butte bank failed in September 1914.[25]

The work of the Montana Equal Suffrage Association was supplemented in 1913 and 1914 by a separate suffrage campaign conducted by the WCTU. The MESA and the WCTU became irreconcilable over strategy in dealing with the tie between prohibition and the ballot for women. However, the two organizations agreed on major concepts: that woman had special attributes, and that society needed woman's vote. Both groups viewed enfranchisement of women not as an ultimate goal, but as

---

[24]Interview with Mrs. Agnes Wiggenhorn.

[25]Montana Progressive, May 22, 1913, p. 3; Topping, "Montana," HWS, VI, p. 365; Schaffer, "The Montana Woman Suffrage Campaign," pp. 13-14.

tool to be used for social betterment. Both saw the vote as a serious responsibility for which women needed broad civic preparation.

Both Montana suffrage groups in this final period turned to a modified Victorian concept of woman which was consonant with popular thought. Woman was morally and intellectually different from man. Her needs and views were related to home and family, an orientation which nourished a superior moral being. Rarely did either suffrage group mention that women should have full political rights for reason of equal justice. Feminist theories of individual rights had been largely swept under the rug. Women were needed in public affairs precisely because of their inherent, unique qualities.

Both the MESA and the WCTU saw extension of the franchise to women as a means to obtain legislation which they regarded as necessary to safeguard traditional social ideals. To the MESA this meant progressive measures for greater protection of the interests of women and children, health and safety regulation, and political reforms to curb the selfish and corrupt elements of power. To the WCTU it also meant statutory control over personal morality. The WCTU intended to apply women's power to secure restrictive laws to achieve civic righteousness. to "bring a moral, uplifting element into the electorate."[26]

---

[26] Woman's Voice, December 1914, p. 7.

Although the National Anti-Suffrage Association sent Miss Minnie Bronson, its executive secretary, and Mrs. J. D. Oliphant, activities of the Antis in Montana were very limited.

Meanwhile, endorsement of the equal suffrage amendment by all political parties, campaigning in the state by NAWSA president Shaw, and the climactic parade at the State Fair (in Helena on September 25) fueled the momentum and confidence of the suffragists. The History of Woman Suffrage recorded:

> The most picturesque and educative feature of the whole campaign and the greatest awakener was the enormous suffrage parade. . . . Thousands of men and women from all parts of the State marched, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was at the head, and next, carrying banners, came Dr. Dean, the past president, and Miss Rankin, the present State chairman. A huge American flag was carried by women representing States having full suffrage, a yellow one for the States now having campaign; a large gray banner for the partial suffrage States and a black banner for the non-suffrage States. Each county and city in the State had its banner. The Men's League marched and there were as many men as women in the parade.[54]

Biographer Harris reported also that the procession was a mile long and included 20 automobiles, two bands, floats, horseback riders, and 600 women in white and yellow suffrage costumes. Dr. Shaw and Judge E. K. Cheadle spoke to a large audience in the city auditorium after the parade. This event forcefully demonstrated the breadth of support for equal suffrage and women's sincerity in asking for the ballot.

---

[54]Topping, "Montana," HWS, VI, p. 366.

Montana suffragists were well aware that, despite precautions on the part of suffragists, corrupt election maneuvers by the opposition had nearly wiped out the California victory and allegedly had stolen Michigan's approval from them. Poll watchers were on the job throughout Montana on election day (November 3, 1914). State law required that election officials seal one copy of the election report with the ballots until official canvass, but in Anaconda officials locked away all copies. They had no immediate report available. Without the Anaconda tally, election returns for Montana became a cliff-hanger. Suffragists feared that after vote counts elsewhere were known, the Anaconda vote would be manipulated sufficiently to defeat the suffrage amendment. Jeannette Rankin telegraphed NAWSA headquarters in New York about the threat, and the news went out to the Associated Press. MESA got local legal counsel. Mrs. Edith Clinch, with a team of helpers, took up guard in Anaconda, and Dr. Mary Atwater and assistants watched the canvass in Boulder (Jefferson County). The suffragists' victory was narrow (52.3%)--41,302 to 37,558.[55] Nevada also passed a suffrage referendum that day, bringing the number of equal suffrage states to 11. All were in the West except Kansas.[56]

---

[55]Board, "The Lady From Montana," pp. 56-60

[56]Wyoming had equal suffrage continuously from 1869 and was admitted to statehood with the privilege in 1890. Other states through 1914 gained equal suffrage by the amendment process. They were Colorado 1893, Idaho 1896, Utah 1896, Washington 1910, California 1911, Arizona

Suffragists never felt confident of a fair count. However, it was an off-year election, and the slate was very short. Also, the woman suffrage amendment was submitted on a separate ballot. Where there was considerable deviation between the percentage of votes cast on the suffrage issue as compared to those cast for the Congressional race, it can be explained (except for Wibaux County). For example, Silver Bow County cast nearly 2,200 (19%) more votes for the Congressional race than on the suffrage issue. But Butte's mayor, Lewis Duncan, was a Socialist candidate for Congress. Furthermore, Butte was the stronghold of liquor interests, many of the foreign-born resided there, and a labor crisis (which brought martial law to Butte from September 1 through election day) had handicapped campaigning for suffrage. But Wibaux County is a puzzler. That tiny grassland county reported just over 500 ballots for Congress (heavily Republican) but nearly 800 on woman suffrage. Wibaux most soundly defeated woman suffrage, with only 35 per cent support.[57]

1912, Kansas 1912, Oregon 1912, Montana 1914, and Nevada 1914. The Territory of Alaska legislated equal suffrage in 1913 as its first statute. Also, in 1913 Illinois legislated presidential suffrage for women. (NAWSA, Victory: How the Women Won It, pp. 161-162.)

[57]Derived from Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 152-154.

Regional patterns offer the clearest basis for understanding Montana's suffrage vote. The Northwest region--mountainous, with lumber, mixed agriculture, and some mining--gave solid support to the amendment. Eight of the nine counties with strongest support were in this area, giving 63 per cent of their 14,330 aggregate vote in favor of equal suffrage. The other area of major support followed the Yellowstone Valley east of the mountains, except for a weak area around Glendive. This region was mostly grassland and agriculture (some irrigated), but also mining around Red Lodge (Carbon County). Railroads and homesteading had encouraged a recent spurt in population. Omitting the Glendive link (Dawson and Wibaux counties), this region gave 57 per cent of its 11,180 aggregate vote for the suffrage amendment.

Firmly turning thumbs down on equal suffrage was the block of older communities running from the southwest mountain area to the Missouri Valley as far as Fort Benton. This area had a mixed economic base--ranches in the southwest, mixed agriculture, the heart of Montana's mining, the state capital, and the Great Falls community with industry and wheatlands opening to homesteaders. Montana's major urban centers were located in this negative block, except for Missoula, home of the state university, and Billings, a newcomer.[58] (See Table 6.)

---

[58] Ibid., p. 153.

Table 6. Per Cent of County Votes in Support of Woman Suffrage (1914), Prohibition (1916), and Minor Parties (1914).*

County	Suffrage		Prohibition	Minor Parties (Congressional Vote)		
	Pct.	Number		Total	Prog.	Soc.
Ravalli	70	1,389	71	39	23	16
Sanders	66	799	62	20	9	11
Missoula	64	2,481	60	34	10	24
Stillwater	62	659	65	20	16	4
Flathead	61	1,830	64	44	30	13
Lincoln	61	609	64	35	8	27
Mineral	60	393	52	36	7	29
Toole	60	538	68	10	2	9
Teton	58	1,005	69	15	5	10
Custer	58	1,053	58	26	16	10
Big Horn	57	291	56	5	4	1
Richland	57	928	63	29	21	8
Yellowstone	57	1,712	62	20	14	6
Rosebud	56	654	64	8	2	6
Carbon	56	1,099	63	18	2	16
Park	53	1,162	55	18	8	10
Meagher	53	732	63	9	3	6
Fergus	53	1,890	65	19	9	10
Valley	52	950	69	21	9	12
Broadwater	51	483	62	9	3	16
Musselshell	51	864	61	15	2	13
Hill	51	1,018	62	20	5	15
Silver Bow	50	4,471	42	35	3	32
Chouteau	50	908	65	8	2	6
Madison	49	746	57	11	3	8
Jefferson	48	468	57	26	13	13
Dawson	48	1,003	64	11	4	7
Sheridan	48	1,420	66	29	15	15
Cascade	48	1,943	53	11	2	10

(table continued)

Table 6--Continued

County	Suffrage		Prohibition	Minor Parties (Congressional Vote)		
	Pct.	Number		Total	Prog.	Soc.
Gallatin	47	1,325	64	8	3	5
Granite	47	417	58	24	10	14
Lewis & Clark	47	1,718	49	15	9	7
Fallon	47	915	58	14	7	7
Powell	45	609	57	17	4	13
Beaverhead	43	605	55	10	5	5
Sweet Grass	42	323	64	22	18	4
Deer Lodge	41	1,098	48	5	1	4
Blaine	40	511	68	29	21	8
Wibaux	35	283	56	10	2	8
Montana	52	41,302	58	22	8	14

*Source: Derived from Ellis L. Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864: An Atlas of Elections (Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1958), pp. 149, 153, 166.

Progressivism and prohibition often seemed to share a common path with woman suffrage. How closely were these socio-political issues correlated? Agitation for women's franchise in Montana had waxed and waned with the Populist party in the 1890's and later grew with the progressive surge. The Socialist and Progressive parties for years had claimed special concern for economic and political equality for women. In Montana, Progressive strength at the polls peaked in 1912, but Socialists still ran well in 1914 (with 14% of the Congressional vote). A county-by-county look at election returns that year reveals some tendencies but no stable correlation between support for the minor parties and the suffrage amendment. Five of the seven strongest counties for equal suffrage also were the strongest for minor parties. Silver Bow was the only county outside this group to give more than 30 per cent of its vote to minor parties. On the other hand (besides Silver Bow County), Sheridan, Jefferson, and Blaine voted over 25 per cent for minors yet defeated woman suffrage.[59] (See Table 6.)

The case of prohibition and equal suffrage is similar. Seven of the nine top supporters of woman suffrage voted over 60 per cent for prohibition. Only 6 of the 17 counties that defeated the suffrage amendment gave that much favor to prohibition. The prohibition movement might have been a factor in the suffrage vote in the Yellowstone Valley, where the WCTU had many active chapters.[60] (See Table 6.)

---

[59] Ibid., pp. 149, 153.

[60] Ibid., pp. 153, 166.

No single factor, or set of factors, seems to explain adequately why the counties voted as they did on equal suffrage. Montana was a sparsely populated, pluralistic, frontier society. Thus local conditions and personalities could easily skew the sentiment of communities in regard to enfranchisement of their women.

To keep up the momentum of the purpose behind woman suffrage, Jeannette Rankin issued a general call to Montana women to join suffragists in Helena on January 21 and 22 (1915) to organize for intelligent use of the ballot. Miss Rankin realized that this was a critical formative period in citizenship for Montana women.[61] She was aware, too, that Montana would be watched by those still struggling over equal suffrage elsewhere.

Many of the suffrage work-horses, as well as male political leaders, addressed the convention, including Governor Sam V. Stewart, Wellington D. Rankin, Dr. Maria Dean, Nanita Bagley Sherlock, Mary O'Neill, Mary Stewart, and Belle Fligelman. Several speakers recommended that the women remain independent from present parties, and several discouraged them from forming a woman's party. The con-

---

[61] Lewis and Clark County hit an early snag. Many women, when registering to vote, protested having to reveal their age. The county attorney smoothed the process by ruling that a declaration of "over 21" would suffice. (Helena Independent, January 24, 1915, p. 5.)

Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (MC 169 - Anaconda Copper Mining Company Re

vention took all of this advice. The women organized the Montana Good Government Association, forerunner of the League of Women Voters in Montana, to encourage women's informed participation in government on a non-partisan basis. The convention postponed election of officers until a June meeting in Missoula. Meanwhile, the association operated under a state central committee and continued a statewide structure as used by the suffragists. A large committee was named to recommend legislation dealing with many particular interests of women and children. Prophetically, the women adjourned to attend a House committee hearing on prohibition.[62] (A prohibition amendment was approved by 58 per cent of the electorate in the next election.)

In 1916, the first election in which women were eligible to public office, Jeannette Rankin was elected to Congress, the first woman to sit in a national parliamentary body. Emma A. Ingalls, of Flathead County, and Maggie Smith Hathaway won seats in the Montana House of Representatives, while May Trumper became the state's first woman to serve as State Superintendent of Public Instruction.[63] But it would be nearly two decades until women would be allowed to serve on juries in Montana.

---

[62] Helena Independent, January 20, 1915, p. 8; January 22, 1915, p. 2; January 23, 1915, p. 8; Montana Progressive, January 14, 1915, p. 2.

[63] Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864, pp. 160, 164, passim.

Uptown Girls

White women participated in the Harlem Renaissance as philanthropists, activists, authors and patrons.

By MARTHA A. SANDWEISS

TIME HASN'T BEEN KIND to the white women who participated in the Harlem Renaissance. As philanthropists and activists, authors and patrons, they sought a place for themselves in that remarkable outpouring of African-American art during the 1920s and '30s. Some, constrained by social expectations, effaced the records of their work. Others made it difficult for historians to treat them with much seriousness. What, after all, can we do with someone like Nancy Cunard, a British steamship heiress raised on a remote English estate, who felt no shame in proclaiming "I speak as if I were a Negro myself"?

MISS ANNE IN HARLEM
The White Women of the Black Renaissance
By Carla Kaplan
Illustrated. 505 pp. Harper. $28.99.

"Miss Anne" — the dismissive collective name given to white women — makes bit appearances in the literature of the era as a dilettante or imperious patron; later, she's depicted as a thrill-seeking "slummer." Always, she lurks in the shadows of her male counterparts in scholarly studies of the movement. But she was there, encouraging writers, underwriting cultural institutions, supporting progressive political causes. And many leading Harlem Renaissance figures — including Langston Hughes, Alain Locke and Nella Larsen — had reason to be grateful to her. At least for a while. Like everything else about Miss Anne, those relationships got complicated.

In this remarkable work of historical recovery, Carla Kaplan, author of "Zora Neale Hurston: A Life in Letters," does well by a group of women who got so much wrong. She resurrects Miss Anne as a cultural figure and explores the messy contradictions of her life, moving her from the periphery of a story about white patronage and boundary-testing interracial liaisons to the center. With a focus on six of the roughly 60 white women active in the Harlem Renaissance, Kaplan delineates Miss Anne as a counterpart to the better known flapper or "new woman" of the Roaring Twenties. But this is really a collection of individual stories, a group biography that lets the idiosyncrasies of the individual women shine through. "Negrotarians," as the writer and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston called Harlem's white patrons, were a diverse crew, full of good intentions, startling blind spots and astonishing self-confidence.

"Miss Anne in Harlem" gives just passing attention to the era's quieter patrons, like Mary White Ovington, a founder of the N.A.A.C.P., or the philanthropist Amy Spingarn. Kaplan's eye is on the women who raised more complicated questions about racial self-identity. So we meet Cunard, a self-appointed expert on African-American life, who organized and self-published a massive 855-page anthology, "Negro," an "entirely documentary" record of the race, even though she'd made only brief trips to America and had never been to Africa. And we encounter Charlotte Osgood Mason, an imperious anti-Semite and collector of African art, who demanded that her Harlem protégés call her "Godmother." It would be easy to dismiss such women as high-handed interlopers. But Kaplan urges us to take them seriously and to use their sometimes overwrought, even outrageous, expressions of cross-racial solidarity as a way to understand a broader set of questions about racial identity.

The book is full of fresh discoveries. Kaplan learns that Lillian Wood, author of the radical 1920s anti-lynching novel "Let My People Go," was actually white, not black, as other scholars have imagined. She reveals that Josephine Cogdell Schuyler, the white daughter of a Klan member and the wife of the African-American journalist George Schuyler, collaborated anonymously on much of her husband's work and used several pseudonyms to write for his journal, conveying the false impression of a community of white women who shared her anti-racist views.

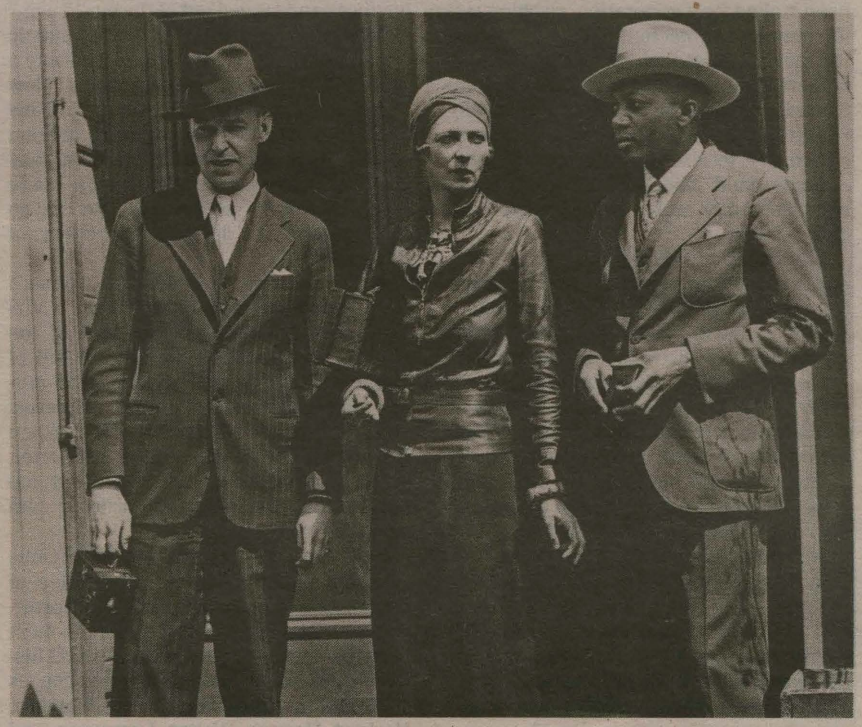
But the focus of the book remains squarely on the larger issues of racial identity raised by Miss Anne's deep personal identification with African-American life. Miss Anne wanted to suggest that race was a constructed ideal, yet she stumbled over the internal contradictions of her impulses. She fought against racial essentialism and the perverse logic of America's one-drop rule, which proclaimed that even a trace of African heritage made one black, but she also celebrated the seeming vitality and distinctiveness of black culture. Josephine Cogdell Schuyler wrote in her diary the night before her wedding: "To my mind, the white race, the Anglo-Saxon especially, is spiritually depleted. America must mate with the Negro to save herself." In a similar expression of romantic racialism, the philanthropist Charlotte Osgood Mason lauded "the creative impulse throbbing in the African race." As Kaplan suggests, white men could sometimes get away with ideas like this; a dose of black culture offered a useful inoculation against the debilitating sterility of the industrial world. But white women who sought an intimate connection with African-American life were seen as traitors to the race, even sexual deviants.

What was race anyway? That's the big question Miss Anne's actions raised. If race was simply a myth or fiction, could one reimagine racial identity as something based on affiliation rather than blood? Some of the writers of the Harlem Renaissance asked much the same thing. In Nella Larsen's "Passing" and James Weldon Johnson's "Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man," for example, light-skinned protagonists of African-American heritage successfully pass as white, demonstrating that racial identity could hinge on voluntary association and careful self-presentation. Their radical acts blur the color line and expose the absurdity of the one-drop rule. Approaching the color line from the other side, Miss Anne reframed the issues. If race wasn't determined by biology, why couldn't a white woman feel black? Why couldn't she repudiate her own culture to embrace another?

MANY HARLEM INTELLECTUALS decried racial essentialism, just as Miss Anne did. But a conflicting set of values celebrated "race pride." Many excoriated the biracial Jean Toomer for not wishing to be included in anthologies of Negro literature, and conversely praised the anti-lynching activist and N.A.A.C.P. executive secretary Walter White for identifying as black when his appearance gave no suggestion of his African ancestry. Even the protagonists of Larsen's and Johnson's novels about passing, came to regret their decisions. They could pass across the color line, but it was not worth the cost of losing their families, their people, their race. Race might be a fiction. But somehow, it still mattered.

Miss Anne didn't have it easy. White critics viewed her as sex-crazed or degenerate, and her desire to speak for others made her a problematic figure in the black community as well. When Fannie Hurst included a stereotyped mammy figure in her best-selling novel "Imitation of Life," Zora Neale Hurston, once close to Hurst, wrote an essay titled "You Don't Know Us Negroes," criticizing books by white writers that "made out they were holding a looking glass to the Negro" but "had everything in them but Negroness." I am a "better Negro" than most of the Negroes I know, Charlotte Osgood Mason told the Jamaican-American poet Claude McKay. Small wonder that her protégés Langston Hughes and Hurston broke from her iron grip.

Miss Anne makes for a messy heroine. But in Kaplan's deeply researched book, she becomes a useful cultural type, for all her inconsistencies and inability to effect broad social change. As Americans debate whether this might truly be a "post-racial" age, Miss Anne's ambitions and failures remind us what happened when an earlier generation of earnest and committed (if sometimes misguided) women questioned the meaning of the color line, and pushed for the right to define their own racial identities. They discovered that even if race is a fiction, the power of race is real. □



The British shipping heiress Nancy Cunard, circa 1932, with John Banting, left, a painter, and Taylor Gordon, a writer.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

MARTHA A. SANDWEISS *is a professor of history at Princeton University and the author of "Passing Strange: A Gilded Age Tale of Love and Deception Across the Color Line."*

Professor in Chief

When Woodrow Wilson moved from the university to the White House, he faced a host of domestic and international challenges.

By KEVIN BAKER

NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT was more improbable than Thomas Woodrow Wilson. None better embodied how we like to think of ourselves in the greater world.

A Princeton University president and political economy professor given to making high-minded speeches and advocating a parliamentary system, Wilson held no public office until he was 54 years old. Recruited to run for governor of New Jersey in 1910 by a Democratic machine boss who thought he would be easily controlled, the prof schooled the pro in practical politics, passing a reform agenda that curbed the power of parties and corporations alike. "After dealing with college politicians," he gibed, "I find that the men with whom I am dealing with now seem like amateurs."

Adroitly riding the progressive wave breaking over the country, Wilson took the presidency two years later, only the second Democrat to capture the White House since the Civil War. He possessed a rare instinct for power and how to use it. Once in Washington he put his theories to the test, audaciously choosing to rule more as a prime minister than a traditional chief executive. Within 10 months he had passed a progressive agenda that had been stalled for a generation, slashing tariff rates that protected monopolies, passing the first permanent federal income tax and creating the Federal Reserve system to end the bank panics that continually ravaged the American economy. More reforms — to bolster antitrust laws, discourage child labor and inaugurate the eight-hour day and workers' compensation — followed.

Handsome and charismatic, Wilson was our first modern president, holding regular news conferences, complaining about having to live in Washington and delighting in popular distractions like baseball games, detective stories, golf and especially the new moving pictures. He adored women and had remarkably modern partnerships with them, sharing every aspect of his work and his ideas with his wife, Ellen, and, after she died, with his second wife, Edith. He also had a longtime — and apparently platonic — female friend.

A. Scott Berg tells the story of Wilson, the man, very well indeed. The author of four previous prizewinning, best-selling biographies, he has a novelist's eye for the striking detail, and a vivid prose style.

He is on less sure footing when it comes to Wilson, the statesman. Too often, he relies on shoddy sources that distort the historical record. The Black Death recurred frequently, but it did not last for 400 years. Henry Cabot Lodge was not a right-winger, the Royal Navy did not take "a timorous approach" to German U-boats and Winston Churchill did not believe that "America should have minded its own business and stayed out of the world war."

Berg gives us little on the vital economic debates of the Progressive Era, and only a perfunctory comparison of Wilson's "New Freedom" and Teddy Roosevelt's "New Nationalism." There is barely a mention of the Pujo committee's investigations into our financial system, which made many of Wilson's reforms possible, and no attempt to assess the long-term effects of these reforms.

He does better on issues like women's rights and especially race. Wilson, a Virginia native steeped in the lore of the "Lost Cause," stuffed his cabinet full of bigoted Southern mediocrities, who cruelly segregated federal offices, cafeterias and washrooms for the first time. When a black journalist and Wilson supporter, William Monroe Trotter, protested too persistently, the president ordered him out of his office.

Both his temper and his injudicious selection of advisers were indicative of flaws that would come to devour his presidency. Wilson attracted some of the most talented figures in American political history to his administration and his causes — Franklin Roosevelt, Louis Brandeis, Herbert Hoover, Walter Lippmann and Bernard Baruch, among others — but too often he failed to delegate well, routinely writing his own speeches and even typing his own policy papers. Absolute loyalty was valued over candor. Again and again, Wilson broke with his closest associates when he felt they had betrayed him.

Despite these tendencies, he managed much of the war effort brilliantly, delivering a surprisingly effective army of more than two million men to France by the end of 1918. The United States stumbled onto the world stage a full-blown colossus, turning overnight from the world's largest debtor nation to practically its sole creditor. Arriving in Europe to negotiate the peace, Wilson was greeted with an ecstasy no American president had ever matched, hailed as the savior of mankind.

He was quickly wrestled back to earth by his allies, the French premier Georges Clemenceau and the British prime minister David Lloyd George, and embroiled in endless, debilitating conferences on every detail of reconstructing the world. Wilson's always fragile constitution began to break down. He suffered repeated cerebral episodes in Paris — probably strokes, perhaps even early onsets of dementia — that drove him into fits of paranoia and incoherence.

Wilson nonetheless carried his main objective back to America, a treaty for a "League of Nations," intended to prevent future wars. Ratification required support from Republican senators he had needlessly antagonized and cut out of the diplomatic process, and when they demanded changes to the treaty he refused. The Senate, led by the waspish Lodge, responded with a campaign of insult and filibuster. Wilson tried to take his case to the people, embarking on an arduous speaking tour of the West, but there he broke down once and for all. Rushed back to Washington, he suffered a crushing stroke that left him an invalid for the rest of his life.

THE GOVERNMENT PROFESSOR now put the Constitution through an acid test. For over a month, Wilson's contact with the outside world was limited largely to his wife, Edith, and his doctor, and he remained in his bedroom for nearly all of his last year and a half in office. Rumors flew that the president had gone mad, while the country descended into bloody chaos. Corporate America crushed the country's labor unions, and white mobs attacked black communities. The dark side of Wilson's war effort had been a series of restrictive laws, censorship decrees and organized vigilantism designed to silence dissent and leaving the country, as Berg states, in "a period of repression as egregious as any in American history." Now his most abysmal appointment of all, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, used these wartime statutes to raid homes and social clubs throughout the nation — and inject into our political system the hardy plague bacillus of J. Edgar Hoover.

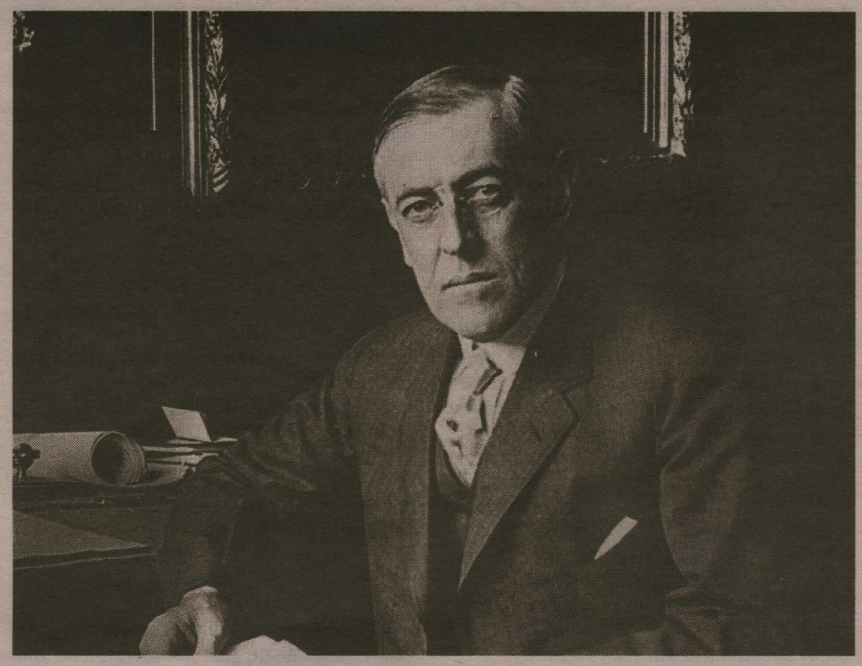
To the end, Wilson refused to compromise even though, as Berg points out, the changes Lodge insisted on were to a large degree cosmetic, and would have preserved the League. Wilson let it die instead, living out the last five years of his life as a shuffling wreck of a man.

Here begins the enduring national legend of Wilson as Christ, the American leader clean of hands and noble at heart, betrayed by perfidious Europe and the "little group of willful men" back home in the Senate. Wilson's final struggle is indeed a tragedy and Berg plumbs its depths, but once again he elides the broader context.

Nowhere does he address Margaret MacMillan's arguments in "Paris 1919" that the whole idea of a tragic peace is overstated — that deconstructing the ancient empires leveled by World War I was too complicated a task to have ever gone well, and that there was no conceivable peace the Germans would not have resented.

Yes, we should have joined Wilson's League. But how much would a deeply isolationist and distracted America have wanted to intervene in the Europe of the 1930s? How much would England and France have allowed us to do so? In short, did Woodrow Wilson's martyrdom really matter so much in the end . . . or is it more a story we like to tell ourselves? □

WILSON
By A. Scott Berg
Illustrated. 818 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $40.



Woodrow Wilson

Wilson assembled a talented staff, but he valued absolute loyalty over candor.

KEVIN BAKER'S *latest novel is "The Big Crowd."*

PHOTOGRAPH BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

Women Who Crossed the Lines Dividing Black and White

From First Arts Page

A new book describes a daring few who went uptown and stayed.

"She pushed the boundaries of the possible," Ms. Kaplan said during a recent visit to Edgecombe Avenue to talk about her new book "Miss Anne in Harlem: The White Women of the Black Renaissance," to be published Tuesday by Harper. "For a woman of her social milieu and class, what she did wasn't just breaking taboos. It was literally unthinkable."

And Josephine wasn't alone. In the book, Ms. Kaplan draws on a wealth of far-flung archival evidence to illuminate the lives of white women who might have arrived in Harlem as slummers and tourists but stayed as patrons, activists, hostesses and wives, courting — and sometimes deserving — suspicion and ridicule from both sides of the color line.

To many whites, they were reckless do-gooders or frivolous flappers who went too far, betraying their race and sullying their womanhood. To many blacks, they were "Miss Anne," dismissive slang for a privileged white woman who gets away with "doin' something no one can" (as Little Richard once put it in a song).

Arnold Rampersad, the Stanford literary scholar and biographer of Langston Hughes and Ralph Ellison, called Ms. Kaplan's title "cheeky," but credited her with filling a notable historical gap.

"She has uncovered all these personal stories that are slipping out of history altogether," Mr. Rampersad said, adding: "The book is going to become part of the essential reading on the Harlem Renaissance."



BARBARA KER-SEYMER

The shipping heiress Nancy Cunard in one of a series of solarized images that made her skin appear black.

women who spent significant time in Harlem in the 1920s and early '30s, but discovered that even some of the most prominent figures had left behind surprisingly little in the way of personal letters or diaries.

"I wanted to tell their stories from inside their own heads," Ms. Kaplan said. "These women were so easy to mock or dismiss, I wanted to let them speak for themselves."

The cast Ms. Kaplan has assembled would certainly make for an odd dinner party. It's hard to imagine what the flamboyant British shipping heiress Nancy Cunard — who sparked a public frenzy in 1932 when it was reported (falsely) that she was holed up in a New York hotel with Paul Robeson — would find to say to Lillian E. Wood, a spinster Tennessee schoolteacher whose anti-lynching novel "Let My People Go" drew respectful notice in Harlem.

Actually, Wood would not have been in the book at all if not for a Kaplan discovery. While editing a scholarly edition of "Let My People Go" more than a decade ago, she found an unpublished autobiography in an obscure library showing that Wood, whose novel had long been included in bibliographies of African-American writers of the 1920s, was not black. Ms. Kaplan calls Wood, whose book (unusually for a white writer) was put out by a black publisher, a case of "passive passing." Other women in the book, however, were more active in their efforts to shed or complicate their white identity, and Ms. Kaplan doesn't stint on the often embarrassing details.

Cunard wondered if "maybe I was an African one time," and posed for a series of solarized photographs that made her skin appear deep black and her pearl chokers like a noose. Charlotte Osgood Mason, a Park Avenue arts patron eager to promote "the primitive element," exhorted protégés like Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston to build a "flaming pathway" to Africa while proclaiming herself "a better Negro" than most blacks she knew.

"These women are on balance pretty cringe-worthy," Ms. Kaplan said. "But they are also bold, pioneering, courageous and ahead of their time." Ms. Kaplan confessed to feeling almost "protective" of Josephine Schuyler, a one-time Mack Sennett pinup model and aspiring novelist who found Greenwich Village bohemia too tame and so moved uptown, marrying a man whose lifelong infidelities devastated her.

"In her mind, she invented a bargain:



SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE



HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Schuyler family, top from left: Philippa, and her parents, Josephine and George. Nancy Cunard, above left, held a 1932 news conference denouncing rumors linking her and Paul Robeson, flanked by her friends John Banting, left, and Taylor Gordon. Carla Kaplan, above right, writes about them and others in "Miss Anne in Harlem."

cluding "Black No More," a scathing satirical novel about a mad scientist who invents a process for turning blacks white). Josephine also published her

"What did Fannie Hurst give back?" Ms. Kaplan said. "Almost nothing."

White scholars in African-American studies can face their own charges of

contributions are unlikely to be as awkward as "To a Pickaninny," a white poet's ode to adorably "dusky" children published in the magazine of the Na-

Ms. Kaplan, who is white, said she began thinking about the Miss Anne project while editing "Zora Neale Hurston: A Life in Letters," a landmark 900-page collection published in 2002. There was plenty of information available on Hurston's many African-American and white male friends and colleagues, but little on the white women she encountered in Harlem.

Ms. Kaplan, 55, a professor of English at Northeastern University in Boston, drew up a list of some five dozen white

I will cross the race line, and you will never cheat on me," Ms. Kaplan said. "You could say she was naïve, but her story broke my heart."

Ms. Kaplan sees Josephine Schuyler not just as a wronged wife, but as a secret literary partner for her husband. In the Schuyler family papers at the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Ms. Kaplan found evidence suggesting that Josephine heavily edited or even helped write parts of her husband's output (in-

own journalism under a variety of pen names and personas, both black and white. "She was a real shape shifter," Ms. Kaplan said.

She is far less forgiving of Fannie Hurst, author of the best-selling 1933 novel "Imitation of Life," about a young black girl's tragic efforts to pass as white. In a scathing chapter Ms. Kaplan depicts Hurst as coolly exploiting her friendship with Hurston while researching the novel, then volunteering her name, but little else, to black causes.

Miss Anne-like presumption. Ms. Kaplan said she probably wouldn't have undertaken the book if she hadn't already spent seven years of hard archival labor assembling the Hurston volume — the first major collection of letters by an African-American woman, she is quick to note.

Ms. Kaplan said she was thinking of creating a virtual "Miss Anne archive" on her Web site, where people can post historical material or family stories, from either side of the color line. The

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1931 (and reprinted at the beginning of "Miss Anne in Harlem"). But that's not necessarily because society has come so far, Ms. Kaplan said.

"It's an absurd, ridiculous, racist poem, but I don't think it was published just to make fun of," she said. "We still haven't figured out racial difference. We've created a system where we're supposed to love difference, but only in certain ways."

Scandal-Scalded Murdoch Onstage, in an Australian Cabaret-Style Play

From First Arts Page

mentary and direction as the action unfolds — very quickly to accommodate a career spanning more than six decades.

Mr. Williamson, whose fiddling with the text and constant updating took him through 50 revisions, starts with Mr. Murdoch as the young heir to a failing Australian newspaper and follows him as he parlays success in Australia to tabloid triumphs in Britain, the purchase of The Times of London, and inroads into the United States.

Little is left out, not even the shaving-cream pie that a comedian heaved at Mr. Murdoch when he appeared to testify before a parliamentary committee looking into the hacking scandal.

The six other members of the ensemble cast take on multiple roles to populate an often crowded canvas.

'Rupert' delivers pies in the face but stops short of heads on platters.

The reviews have been good, although critics hoping to see Mr. Murdoch's head served on a platter came away disappointed.

The Age, Melbourne's non-Murdoch daily, praised Mr. O'Shea's portrayal of Mr. Murdoch as "a roguish larrikin" (Australian slang for a hooligan or rowdy) with a "hint of menace beneath the charisma," while complaining that Mr. Williamson pulled too many punches.

It was an open question how the Murdoch-owned papers would handle the subject. The Australian, a national daily owned by Mr. Murdoch, gave a more than respectful account of the play. Its reviewer complained that Mr. Williamson had tried to cram too many events into one evening's entertainment, but called the first act "light and delightfully funny." Lee Lewis, the director, he wrote, "sets a cracking pace, and her cast doesn't miss a beat."

The hands-off approach to Mr. Mur-



JEFF BUSBY

A scene from "Rupert," in which Sean O'Shea, as Rupert Murdoch, arrives to testify before a parliamentary panel.

doch was deliberate, Mr. Williamson said, part and parcel of his decision to depart from his more familiar naturalistic style and use the cabaret format.

The Murdoch character "invites the audience to see his real story," not the story from what a Murdoch paper might call "effete caffe-latte-sipping inner-city left-liberal elites," Mr. Williamson said. "He casts his own show so that the younger version of himself is considerably more handsome and dynamic than he was, but, as he tells his audience, this is his show, so he can do what he likes."

Mr. Williamson is probably better known to American audiences as a screenwriter. He wrote the film version of his play "Don's Party," directed by Bruce Beresford, and the screenplays for "Gallipoli" and "The Year of Living Dangerously," both directed by Peter Weir.

In Australia, where he first rose to prominence in the early 1970s, he is best known for satirical plays like "The Removalists," "The Perfectionist" and "Brilliant Lies," which he has turned out at the rate of nearly one a year.

Brett Sheehy, the artistic director of the Melbourne Theater Company, approached Mr. Williamson a year and a half ago to write a play. "I told him I'd love him to consider something which was a bit different from his usual work — something which was thematically very global," Mr. Sheehy said. "I asked him where was the heat and passion in discussions with his friends, at dinner parties, barbecues, get-togethers? He said: 'Oh God, that's easy. The power

Richard Bean is also writing a play about the phone-hacking affair.

relationship between the media and politics. The News of the World troubles. The Leveson Inquiry.'"

Mr. Sheehy suggested that he take that as his subject, and splash it on a big canvas.

"Rupert immediately sprang to mind as a subject," Mr. Williamson said. "He is the most powerful Australian or ex-Australian ever to have lived."

A dramatic precursor immediately presented itself: Richard III. "Both men, through a combination of boldness, ruthlessness, charm and steely ambition rose to rule their realms," Mr. Williamson said. "Richard gets his comeuppance on Bosworth Field, but what's remarkable about Rupert is that he never does. The other difference, I guess, is that Richard killed many to get to the top. Rupert just fires anyone who doesn't toe the ideological line."

As a dramatic figure, Mr. Murdoch has already made his debut on the stage, as the thinly disguised press baron Lambert Le Roux in "Pravda," David Hare and Howard Brenton's 1985 satire about the British newspaper industry. Anthony Hopkins took the role.

In "Selling Hitler," a 1991 British television mini-series about the Hitler diaries hoax, Barry Humphries acted the part of Mr. Murdoch, whose newspaper The Sunday Times (in London) ran excerpts from the fake diaries.

In an interview with The Age, Mr. Bean described his play in progress as "funny but grotesque," and, in an adjectival pileup, a "state of the nation, press, politics and police in bed with each other" play.

Mr. Murdoch was invited to "Rupert," but has not responded. A theater spokeswoman said that members of his extended family were expected. The play is to come to Washington in March for five performances at the International Theater Festival.

1,5

The New York Times

In a Puzzle, A Clearer Look at 9/11

A dozen years of distance expands the options for documentarians who want to mark the anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks, but it requires insight and subtlety to take full advantage of the possibilities. "The Flag," an absorbing film by Michael Tucker and Petra Epperlein, being broadcast on Wednesday night on CNN, has both of those qualities, making it as rewarding as it is thought-provoking.

NEIL GENZLINGER

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Other Sept. 11 works coming up in the next few days — "9/11: The Heartland Tapes," on the Smithsonian Channel, and "Hero Dogs of 9/11," on Animal Planet — have merit as well, but "The Flag" does more than simply retell the

The story of a flag leads to subtle insights on a tragedy.

familiar story or push the obvious buttons.

The CNN film, based on a book by David Friend, focuses on the smudged American flag that three firefighters raised through the dust of the collapsed buildings at ground zero late in the afternoon of Sept. 11, 2001. A photograph of the flag raising taken by Thomas E. Franklin of the New Jersey newspaper The Record became a heartening, patriotic symbol for many on an otherwise awful day, and so did the flag itself. It flew at Yankee Stadium and on battleships in the Middle East — or so everyone thought.

Continued on Page 2

Baroque

Pixies Motor On, With New Bassist



KEVIN SCANLON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The latest iteration of the Pixies: from left, Kim Shattuck, David Lovering, Black Francis and Joey Santiago.

Crossing The Lines Dividing The Races

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

Today, the mustard-yellow brick building at 321 Edgecombe Avenue in Harlem doesn't look like much. A metal security gate guards the small courtyard, while drab curtains and collapsed Pampers boxes cover the windows, blocking the summer sun.

But back in the early '30s, at the tail end of the Harlem Renaissance, it was home to one of New York's, and perhaps America's, most unusual families: the black journalist George Schuyler; his white Texas heiress wife, Josephine Cogdell Schuyler; and their daughter, Philippa, a musical and intellectual prodigy soon to be hailed as "the Shirley Temple of American Negroes."

White women of the Harlem Renaissance.

George Schuyler has long been a fixture in histories of the era, and Philippa got her own full-scale biography years ago.

But to the literary scholar Carla Kaplan, Josephine — who committed suicide in 1969 — deserves to be remembered not just as the stage mother from hell she is usually depicted as, but as a bold if sometimes awkward pioneer at the frontiers of American thinking about racial identity.

Continued on Page 5



Embedding, Feet First

The strains of softly undulating lute music filled the space in a teaching studio inside Dance New Amsterdam as two rows of dancers, clad in Lycra and cotton exercise wear, closed in on one another and detached again in a graceful motion, then glided through a turn, ornamented with a quick, circular flick of the wrist. We were a group of 18 dancers taking part in a workshop on Baroque dance led by Catherine Turocy, the founder of the New York Baroque Dance Company and one of the leading

CORINNA da FONSECA-WOLLHEIM

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Taking dance lessons to hear music better.

figures in the historical dance movement of the past 40 years.

Well, there were 17 dancers, and then there was I.

I have no background in ballet, and although I enthusiastically seize any opportunity to dance, I have only limited experience with choreography. More often than not during the three-day workshop, I found myself facing the wrong way after a 180-degree turn, or backed roughly into another dancer. But I had signed up because I was curious to experi-

Continued on Page 2

By BEN SISARIO

A couple of years ago, when the Pixies were almost 300 concerts into their second life as reunited heroes of alternative rock, they played a casino in Canada. The symbolism stopped them for a moment: had the Pixies succumbed to stereotype and become an oldies act?

"It was like, Ha ha, here we are at the casino," Charles Thompson, a k a Black Francis, the lead singer, said in an interview recently. "Is this the shape of things to come?"

Now, taking a step they had put off

A fresh EP, and a tour, minus a longtime member loved by fans.

since returning in 2004, the Pixies are finally releasing the equivalent of a new album, their first in 22 years. After teasing fans in June with a new song, "Bagboy," the band issued the four-song "EP-1" early on Tuesday, the first in a series of mini-releases it plans to put out sporadically over the next 15 months.

Selling new material on the reunion circuit is never easy, and the bar is high for the Pixies, whose juxtaposition of the jagged, sweet and darkly comic on albums like "Surfer Rosa" (1988) and "Doolittle" (1989) have influenced generations of bands. But the new music also comes just weeks after the announcement that Kim Deal, the bassist and perhaps most beloved member, was leaving the group, raising the question of whether fans will accept the Pixies

Continued on Page 4



JULIFF FAMILY

Josephine Cogdell Schuyler on her roof in Harlem.

A Scandal-Scalded Murdoch as a Song-and-Dance Man



JEFF BUSBY

David Williamson's play "Rupert," at the Melbourne Theater Company in Australia.

By WILLIAM GRIMES

It has been an eventful couple of years for Rupert Murdoch. In Britain, evidence that reporters at several of his newspapers routinely hacked into private cellphones as they pursued hot stories led to the demise of News of the World, one of his mightiest tabloids, and incited an official government inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the British press.

Last June, Mr. Murdoch announced that he was divorcing his third wife, Wendi Deng, whom he married in 1999. And now, with Australia in the midst of a federal election campaign, Mr. Murdoch, a harsh critic of the incumbent Labor Party and the owner of 70 percent of the country's newspapers, is once again the topic of the day in his native land.

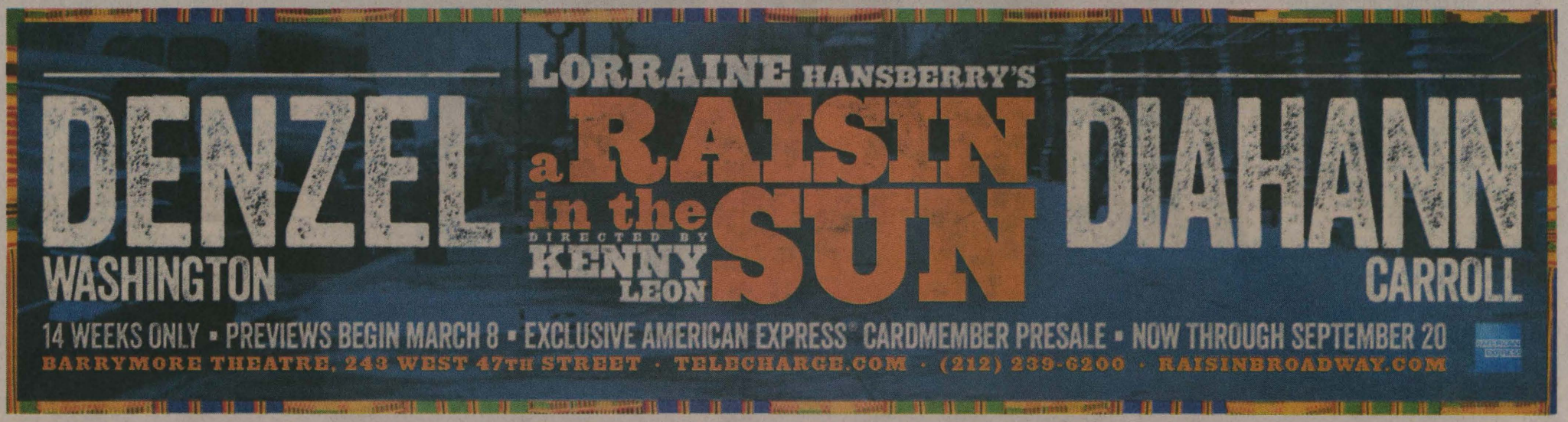
The dramatists have taken note. Richard Bean, the author of "One Man, Two Guvnors," is writing a play on the phone-hacking scandal for the National Theater in London at the invitation of its artistic director, Nicholas Hytner. Closer to home, the Melbourne Theater Company has just staged the premiere of "Rupert," a cabaret-style dramatization of Mr. Murdoch's life by

Richard III came immediately to a playwright's mind.

one of Australia's best-known playwrights, David Williamson.

The play, which opened on Thursday at the Arts Center in Melbourne, uses two actors to play Murdoch. Guy Edmonds is the young Rupert. Sean O'Shea, appearing as Mr. Murdoch's 82-year-old self, also offers com-

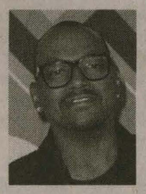
Continued on Page 5



Arts, Briefly

Compiled by Dave Itzkoff

New Role for Jackson on 'American Idol'



The longtime "American Idol" judge **Randy Jackson**, left, will be back for that singing competition's 13th season but in a new role as in-house mentor to the contestants, Fox announced on Tuesday. Though the network did not cast it this way, Mr. Jackson will essentially replace **Jimmy Iovine**, the music producer who was the in-house mentor the past three seasons. Mr. Iovine's exit was first reported last month. The new role for Mr. Jackson assures he will remain a regular on "Idol," where he was a judge for the first 12 seasons. In a statement he alluded to previous reports that prophesied his departure: "Surprise, surprise! I am so happy to be back as part of this amazing show that started it all." Fox also formally announced its new judges panel on Tuesday, confirming the aforementioned reports. One new judge, **Harry Connick Jr.**, will join **Keith Urban**, who became a judge this time last year, and **Jennifer Lopez**, who was a judge during seasons 10 and 11 and is returning to the table. The judges will begin taking part in "Idol" auditions this week, as will **Ryan Seacrest**, the show's host since its inception in 2002. Fox said in a news release that Mr. Iovine's Interscope Records will "continue to release 'Idol' winner and contestant music." Interscope has done so for several years.

BRIAN STELTER



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Natasha, Pierre And Comet on the Move

The big red pop-up tent in the meatpacking district — home to the unusual nightclub-meets-musical production of "Natasha, Pierre and the Great Comet of 1812" — is moving uptown to the theater district, though not to a Broadway house. At least not yet.

"The Great Comet," starring **Phillipa Soo** and **Lucas Steele**, above, and based on a section of Tolstoy's "War and Peace," was one of the best reviewed shows of the 2012-13 season. It will mount its tent in an empty lot on West 45th Street near Eighth Avenue. A 14-week run of "Com-

'Merrily We Roll Along' To Be Screened

An acclaimed London production of the **Stephen Sondheim**-George Furth musical "Merrily We Roll Along," which Mr. Sondheim said was the best one he had ever seen, will be screened in movie theaters in New York and worldwide on Oct. 23, the producers and the film distributors announced on Tuesday. The production received rave reviews last fall after opening at the Menier Chocolate Factory, then transferred to the West End, where the run ended in late July. Directed by the British actress **Maria Friedman**, a three-time winner of the Olivier Award, "Merrily" starred several veterans of British theater, including **Jenna Russell** (below, with **Mark Umbers**). Ms. Russell was a Tony nominee for the 2008 Broadway run of "Sunday in the Park With George" — another production of a Sondheim musical that began at





CHINA LION FILM

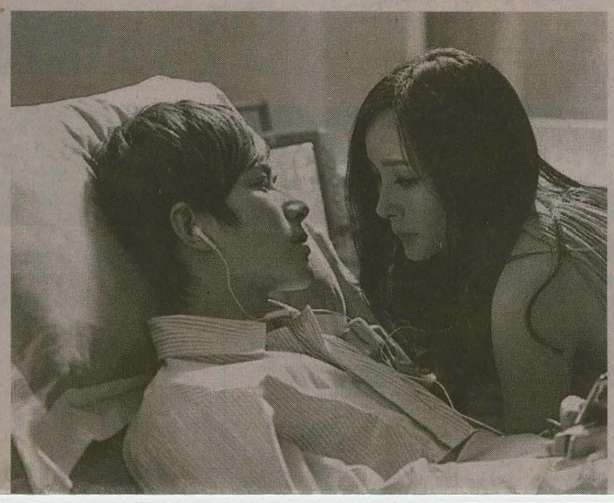
"Tiny Times 2," a film about four Shanghai students who celebrate the luxe life, is causing consternation in China.

A Film-Fueled Culture Clash Over Values in China

By SHEILA MELVIN

BEIJING — Amid the usual crop of Western-imported blockbuster fare (see "Jurassic Park 3D," "Monsters University," "Pacific Rim"), two homegrown movies about four fashion-obsessed girlfriends at a Shanghai university have unexpectedly made their way to the top of China's box office here this summer.

The first, "Tiny Times 1," beat Hollywood's "Man of Steel" when it opened here in late June, grossing more than $43 million its first week, according to Entgroup, a film industry research company. The sequel, "Tiny Times 2," which opened on Aug. 8, grossed more than $47 million in its first three weeks. ("Tiny Times 1" opened in select North American



lowed up with a second novel, which sold 600,000 copies its first month.

Scandal erupted, however, when he was accused of plagiarism; in 2006, a court ruled that the second book shared major plot elements and other similarities with another author's work and ordered Mr. Guo to pay damages. He did so, albeit without apologizing or acknowledging error, and was castigated in the Chinese press.

The incident, though, did little to harm his career. His 2007 novel, about a pregnant high school student who kills herself, sold a million copies in 10 days. Mr. Guo then wrote the "Tiny Times" series, which includes a third book; became an editor at Changjiang Literature and Art Publishing

et" will begin on Sept. 24, its producers announced on Tuesday; the show's downtown run ended on Monday night.

Mindful that the Spiegelworld tent drew a picket line for its lack of union employees, the "Comet" producers — who used nonunion musicians and waiters in the meatpacking district — are altering the audience experience in ways that may raise production costs but avoid a labor protest. The major change involves food: The tent is styled like a Russian supper club, but the plentiful dinner of seafood and chicken — which had been included in the ticket prices, ranging from $125 to $237.50 — will be dropped in the theater district to save money. Ticket prices will remain the same; nibbles like pierogies will still be provided, as will the show's lucrative vodka, Champagne and other alcohol sales. The cost of musicians and perhaps crew members for the show are likely to increase, **Howard Kagan**, a lead producer, said, as a result of negotiations that he said he was having with theatrical unions.

PATRICK HEALY

PaleyFest: Made in NY Coming in October

For those die-hard New York television viewers who aren't satisfied just to see their favorite shows play on a box in their living room once a week, and who want to share some in-person time with the cast members and creators of those programs, the Paley Center for Media will soon offer some relief. On Tuesday it said that in October it would introduce a New York incarnation of its annual PaleyFest, focusing on shows and talent from the Big Apple. This festival, called PaleyFest: Made in NY and presented in partnership with the Mayor's Office of Media and Entertainment, will run Oct. 2-6 at the Paley Center in Manhattan. Over the 30 years it has run in Los Angeles, PaleyFest has featured panels with the stars of broadcast and cable TV series like "American Horror Story," "Parks and Recreation," "Mad Men" and "Modern Family." Though a full lineup was not immediately announced, the Paley Center said in a news release that events would include panels with the casts and creators of "Orange Is the New Black," "Elementary," "The Americans," "Small Empires With **Alexis Ohanian**," "The Outs" and "Boardwalk Empire." Tickets will go on sale to Paley Center members on Wednesday and to the general public on Friday.



TRISTRAM KENTON

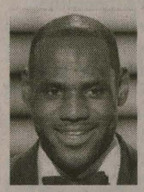
the Chocolate Factory.

Several Broadway producers went to London to see "Merrily," and privately expressed high regard for it, but no plans have been announced to bring the show to Broadway. The story of three close friends, "Merrily We Roll Along" is best known for its unusual narrative framework — the plot unfolds backward, with the main characters first appearing on stage with their relationship in tatters, and their falling out is then told in reverse chronology over 20 years. The original Broadway production opened in 1981 to mixed reviews and closed quickly; the show has since been revised but has yet to return to Broadway.

PATRICK HEALY

LeBron James Developing TV Series for Starz

Having fulfilled his goal of winning an N.B.A. championship twice, **LeBron James**, below, is taking his talents to cable TV. The Starz cable channel said in a news release on Tuesday that it was working with Mr. James, the Miami Heat forward and four-time most valuable player, to develop a half-hour comedy series called "Survivor's Remorse." The series, Starz said, will "explore the complexity, comedy and drama of an experience that everyone reads about, but few understand — what truly happens when you make it out." The network said the scripted series would chronicle the lives of two fictional cousins who grew up in a tough Philadelphia neighborhood and, having achieved fame and fortune, now struggle "with the rewards of money, stardom, love and, occasionally, the guilt of having 'made it.'"



"Survivor's Remorse," which is in development and has not yet been ordered as a series, will be produced by Mr. James and **Maverick Carter**, his childhood friend and business manager; as well as **Tom Werner**, the "Cosby Show" producer turned chairman of the Boston Red Sox; and **Mike O'Malley**, the comic actor who has appeared on "Glee" and "Justified." Mr. James said in a statement that "Survivor's Remorse" would offer "a story that needed to be told." Among his favorite shows he cited "Boardwalk Empire," "24," "Scandal" and "Magic City," a Starz series.

markets in July, and its sequel opened in New York on Friday.) Ticket sales for both movies qualified them as major hits in China.

But the films, made by the fledgling director Guo Jingming and based on his series of best-selling novels, have also made an impact beyond the box office. They have become a lightning rod for this nation's evolving view of its growing youth culture. Many established Chinese cultural commentators are outraged by these works' overt celebration of materialism, and this anger has spurred a surprisingly robust counterattack by the movies' many young fans.

Film critics have described the first movie as being like "The Devil Wears Prada" meets "Sex and the City" (without the sex). The Chinese critic Raymond Zhou denounced "Tiny Times" in The Beijing Evening News and in a subsequent appearance on the China Central Television show "Crossover," faulting its undercurrent of "crass" materialism and "bad taste." The New York-based media scholar Ying Zhu, writing with Frances Hisgen in The Atlantic online in an article widely cited in China, condemned the film's "twisted male narcissism."

Others leapt to the defense of both movie and maker. The Global Times editor Hu Xijin called Mr. Guo "superman," while the critic Teng Jimeng, speaking on "Crossover," lauded "Tiny Times" as a "feminist film." The People's Daily jumped into the scrum with a package of three articles that offered varying assessments of the movie, followed later by a fourth that was largely critical.

Meanwhile, Mr. Guo's fans, primarily young and female, have rallied with the fervor of groupies, inundating critics like Mr. Zhou with tens of thousands of condemnatory online posts and flocking to theaters.

"The controversy is bigger than I anticipated," Mr. Guo said.

His books are stuffed with English-language brand names like Chanel and Gucci and choice



The director Guo Jingming.

FENG LI/GETTY IMAGES

CHINA LION FILM

Cheney Chen, left, and Mini Yang in "Tiny Times 2," part of a franchise faulted for its materialism but a hit with young fans.

phrases. ("Economy class kills me!" and "I hate Beijing!") His films show the actual designer goods and include dialogue that has also riled commentators, like this exchange in "Tiny Times 1" between two star-crossed young lovers:

"I like you," the young man says, "not because you've had a driver since you were little, and not because you have designer

> The material girls of 'Tiny Times' covet Chanel and have a nation tsking.

bags, and definitely not because you gave me expensive boots. Even if you didn't have a cent, I would still like you."

The woman then turns on him: "Let me tell you, love without materialism is just a pile of sand!"

The movies are "like a product-placement commercial," said the opera and film director Chen Shi-Zheng, whose credits include the Chinese version of "High School Musical." "But Guo Jingming is a brand for Chinese youth."

Mr. Guo's films spotlight the growing cultural influence of social and economic shifts brought about by longstanding government policy, namely the success of China's urbanization effort, which has increased the urban population to 53 percent today, from 19 percent in 1979. This shift has created a vast new cohort that can afford cultural experiences like movie theaters: China has more than 13,000 film screens, according to the Xinhua news service, with new ones added in 2012 at a rate of 10.5 a day. The demographic change is leading moviemakers and other cultural content providers to start catering to the tastes of these "new urbanites," which often differ from those of longtime residents of major cities.

The franchise also reflects how wealth has become such a standard measure of value. Many articles about "Tiny Times" note Mr. Guo's ranking on the Chinese Writers Rich List — he topped it in 2011 and came in fourth in 2012 — without a trace of irony.

"Everything is measured by money," Mr. Chen said. "Thirty years ago, we had ideology, but now people are brought up with materialism. Consumer culture is what's valuable to them. Maybe some day, they'll come back to the meaning of life."

In Mr. Chen's view, much of the controversy over "Tiny Times" stems from the comparative newness of youth culture in China. "People don't know how to take it," he said. "China is catching up with the rest of the world." Since China has about 450 million people under the age of 25, and the average age of a moviegoer here is 21.2, this catching up is likely to be fast.

The 30-year-old Mr. Guo seems ideally placed to understand new urbanites because he is one. Born to a middle-class family in Zigong, Sichuan, he moved to Shanghai when he won the New Concept Writing Competition in 2001. He attended college and wrote a novel in his spare time. His book, "City of Fantasy," sold more than 1.5 million copies. In 2004, Mr. Guo, still a student, founded a magazine to publish other young novelists. Today, he has a publishing and entertainment empire that includes ZUI Book and the magazines ZUI Fiction, ZUI Novel, and ZUI Comic. (ZUI stands for "zestful, unique, ideal.")

"I never thought this movie would lead to so much discussion," Mr. Guo said. "But this state of affairs in which everyone can explain his own viewpoint is good."

Jo Lusby, the managing director of Penguin North Asia, who has worked with Mr. Guo on several projects, said, "It takes an awful lot of courage to do this." She added, "It's not a given that these won't be censored," referring to the movies. "There are no easy choices in China. Everything has risks."

Mr. Guo said he had studied the "technically useful comments" about his filmmaking, but "when it comes to 'Tiny Times,' the work itself, I feel that I will stick with my own ideas." He added, "After all, I am the person who best understands 'Tiny Times.'"

The debate is not over: "Tiny Times 3" is due out next year.

LINCOLN PLAZA CINEMAS
1886 BROADWAY BETWEEN 62ND & 63RD STREETS
For Info & Advance Tickets CALL (212) 757-2280 or visit www.lincolnplazacinema.com
BLUE JASMINE 11:00AM, 11:40AM, 12:20, 1:00, 1:40, 2:20, 3:00, 3:40, 4:20, 5:00, 5:40, 6:20, 7:00, 7:40, 8:20, 9:00, 9:40, 10:20PM
THE GRANDMASTER 11:05AM, 1:10, 3:25, 5:35, 7:15, 8:00, 9:30, 10:25PM
UNA NOCHE 12:30, 2:25, 4:25, 6:45, 9:05PM
CUTIE AND THE BOXER 1:15, 3:05, 5:20PM "LAST 2 DAYS!"

SUNSHINE CINEMA — LANDMARK THEATRES
143 East Houston St. 212-260-7289
Closed Captioning Descriptive Video Svc.
tickets.landmarktheatres.com
AFTERNOON DELIGHT 12:00*, 3:15, 5:30, 7:50, 10:10 *12:00pm rattle & reel! Caregivers and Infants ONLY!
DRINKING BUDDIES 12:45, 3:00, 5:00, 8:00, 10:00
SHORT TERM 12 12:00, 2:15, 4:30, 7:00, 9:30
IN A WORLD... 12:30, 2:45, 5:10, 7:15, 9:45
THE SPECTACULAR NOW 12:15, 2:30, 4:45, 7:45, 9:55
NO TEXTING ALLOWED

FILM FORUM
Houston St (w. of 6 Av) 212-727-8110
TICKETS ONLINE www.filmforum.org
NICOLAS PHILIBERT 7:50 TONITE
LA MAISON DE LA RADIO STARTS TODAY 2 WEEKS
1:00, 3:20, 5:40, 7:50, 10
SUMMER SCI-FI FANTASY HORROR
THE DAY THE EARTH STOOD STILL 2:40, 6:10 2 FOR 1
WAR OF THE WORLDS 1, 4:30, 8
MULHOLLAND DR. 9:20
DAZZLING RESTORATIONS
ALIEN 1:20, 7:00 LAST 2 DAYS
ALIENS 3:40, 9:20

ANGELIKA FILM CENTER
www.angelikafilmcenter.com
Corner of Houston & Mercer 995-2000
CLOSED CIRCUIT 11:00AM, 12:00, 1:15, 3:30, 5:45, 8:00, 9:30, 10:15PM
THE GRANDMASTER 10:00AM, 12:25, 2:50, 5:15, 7:40, 10:05PM
THERESE 2:10, 4:35, 7:00PM
AUSTENLAND 10:50AM, 1:05, 3:20, 5:35, 7:50, 10:05PM
BLUE JASMINE 10:10AM, 11:10AM, 12:25, 1:25, 2:40, 3:40, 4:55, 5:55, 7:10, 8:10, 9:25, 10:25PM

IFC CENTER 323 SIXTH AVENUE AT WEST THIRD STREET 212-924-7771
DE PALMA'S PASSION 10:45AM, 12:45PM, 3:00, 5:15, 7:35, 9:50PM
OUR NIXON 10:40AM, 12:20PM, 2:15, 4:10, 8:10, 8:15, 10:10PM
UNA NOCHE 12:40, 2:25, 8:25, 8:25PM
THE TRIALS OF MUHAMMAD ALI 3:40, 5:10, 9:25PM
AIN'T THEM BODIES SAINTS 11:05AM, 12:55PM, 3:05, 7:15PM
PRINCE AVALANCHE LAST 2 DAYS! 10:50AM, 10:25PM
MUSEUM HOURS 5:55PM
FRANCES HA 1:40, 4:30, 8:20, 10:15PM
Showtimes valid for WEDNESDAY only. Advance tickets at IFCCENTER.COM

film society lincoln center
PASSION 12:00PM, 2:15, 4:30, 7:00, 9:30PM
SHORT TERM 12* 11:00AM, 1:10, 3:20, 5:35, 7:45, 9:50PM
IN A WORLD 11:00AM, 1:05, 3:15, 5:30, 7:45, 9:50PM
TWENTY FEET FROM STARDOM 12:00PM, 5:00PM, REDUCED AMPHITHEATER PRICING!
BLACKFISH 2:30PM, 7:15PM, REDUCED AMPHITHEATER PRICING!
Elinor Bunin Munroe Film Center 144 West 65th Street
* Walter Reade Theater 165 West 65th Street
For theaters and info: 212-875-5600 or www.filmlinc.com

The Pixies Motor On, With a New Bassist

From First Arts Page

without her.

New music was always on the bucket list for the Pixies, even if the members were ambivalent about it. In 2004, the band released two songs, "Bam Thwok" and a cover of Warren Zevon's "Ain't That Pretty at All," but nothing followed.

For a while, it didn't seem to matter. The reunited band, which also includes the guitarist Joey Santiago and the drummer David Lovering, has played 324 concerts around the world, and sold about $65 million in tickets, according to its management. Eventually, though, some new fuel was needed to keep the train moving and the musicians feeling inspired.



"If we're going to keep touring like this, we need some kind of new story, a new life, something," Mr. Thompson said over lunch on a weekend day trip to Manhattan from western Massachusetts, where he lives with his wife and five children.

Last fall, the band booked a studio in the bucolic Welsh countryside with Gil Norton, who produced three of the Pixies' five original studio albums. According to the remaining Pixies, Ms. Deal — who clashed with Mr. Thompson in the band's first incarnation — was present at the start of the sessions but then abruptly announced that she could not continue. Through a spokeswoman, Ms. Deal declined to comment. (She is currently on a reunion tour with her own band, the Breeders.)

"It took us three days to mourn about it," Mr. Santiago said of Ms. Deal's departure, and then the men decided to continue without her.

"I hate to say it, but I'm not going to let one snafu get in the way," he added in a recent interview after a rehearsal in Los Angeles with Mr. Lovering. "It's time to put on the guitar. It's time to shine. No one is going to take that away from me."

To help the band find its sound after so many years, Mr. Norton gave them a riddle. Referring to an old Pixies song, he had them imagine that for all this time they had been off playing on the Planet of Sound, and only now returning to Earth.

The results are less screamy and uptight than the old Pixies. But plenty of their defining obsessions are still there, like the twangy surf guitar and sci-fi surrealism on "Andro Queen." Mr. Santiago, who in his non-Pixies career has made music for television and film, said that he "scored" his parts to add outer-space atmospherics.



GEORGE PIMENTEL/WIREIMAGE

The new EP, far left, and, above from left, David Lovering, Black Francis and Kim Deal.

"Another Toe in the Ocean" and "What Goes Boom" are more straightforward rock, but on "Indie Cindy" — for which the band also released a video on Tuesday — the band uses some of the sudden dynamic shifts that were its most recognizable signature. Mr. Thompson describes the track as a love song that reflects the anxiety of trying to seduce his audience all over again. "Indie Cindy, be in love with me," he sings. "I beg for you to carry me."

"It's all about self-doubt," Mr. Thompson explained. "It says to the audience: 'I don't know if this romance has still got what it needs to happen again. I don't know if you'll accept me; I don't know if I accept you. But we have this memory. Can we do it again?'"

For the recording sessions, the band recruited Simon Archer, a k a Ding, who has played with PJ Harvey and the Fall. Kim Shattuck of the band the Muffs will fill in on the band's latest tour, which comes to the Bowery Ballroom and the Music Hall of Williamsburg this month.

The band will not say how many more releases are in store, but, like "EP-1," they are to come out through the Pixies' Web site, with no advance notice. The EP's, with artwork by Vaughan Oliver, the band's longtime designer, will be available as downloads and as a 10-inch vinyl record. No longer on any label, the band now controls its business itself and has become a model of online marketing.

When asked why they decided to release music this way, the band and its advisers say that the album is a tired format that is tied to the needs of the old music business. "When you're an artist like the Pixies, you don't have to play by those rules," said Richard Jones, the band's manager. Mr. Thompson also acknowledges that it is a way to avoid somewhat the pressure of the Big Comeback Album.

The news of Ms. Deal's departure was met with sadness but not much outrage online; maybe it was expected, sooner or later. But whether fans will embrace the new music and lineup is another story.

"The whole charm of the reunion was that Kim and Charles had put their differences aside to play together again," said Charles Aaron, the editor at large of Spin. "It made you feel like it was about the music and not just the money. Now that she's left again, it's going to be hard for a lot of people to take this seriously as the Pixies."

If "Bagboy" is any indication, fans are still curious. The song was released as a free download just two weeks after the announcement of Ms. Deal's departure. The first tweet came 22 seconds after the song was released, Mr. Jones said, and within 17 minutes, the song was being played on BBC radio. On Tuesday, "Indie Cindy" also made its way onto Twitter's list of trending topics.

The Pixies' tour begins on Monday in Los Angeles, and most of the shows the band has announced so far have sold out.

"All we can do," Mr. Lovering added, "is go forward and just prove ourselves."

From the Planet of Sound, all the way back down to Earth.

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

BROADWAY

Annie
Now see 2-time Tony winner Faith Prince as Miss Hannigan!
Today at 2
ANNIE
Ticketmaster.com or 877-250-2929
AnnieTheMusical.com
Groups 12+: AnnieGroups.com
Now with 6:30pm curtains Tue, Thu & Sun

JERSEY BOYS
BEST MUSICAL
2006 Tony Award Winner
Today at 2 & 7
"TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE! IT'S TERRIFIC!" —NY Post
JERSEY BOYS
Tue-Thu 7; Fri & Sat 8; Wed & Sat 2; Sun 3
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Group Discounts (15+): 877-536-3437
JerseyBoysBroadway.com
August Wilson Thea(+) 245 W. 52nd St.

MORMON
Winner of 9 Tony Awards including BEST MUSICAL!
Tonight at 7
THE BOOK OF MORMON
212-239-6200 or Telecharge.com
Groups 15+: 212-239-6262
BookofMormonBroadway.com
Tu 7; We 7; Th 7; Fr 8; Sa 2 & 8; Su 2 & 7
Eugene O'Neill Theatre (+) 230 W 49th St.

BLUE MAN GROUP
TODAY AT 8
"THE SHOW ROCKS!"- NY Times
"A SENSATION!"- TIME Magazine
Experience the Phenomenon
BLUE MAN GROUP
1-800-BLUEMAN - BLUEMAN.COM
Wed-Fri 8, Sat 2,5 & 8, Sun 2 & 5
Groups of 15+: (212) 260-8993
Astor Place Theatre, 434 Lafayette St.



Palace Theatre (+), Broadway & 47 Street

RAISIN

14 WEEKS ONLY
DENZEL WASHINGTON
LORRAINE HANSBERRY'S
A RAISIN IN THE SUN
DIAHANN CARROLL
Directed by KENNY LEON
American Express Presale Now - 9/20
Previews Begin March 8
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
RaisinBroadway.com
Barrymore Theatre (+), 243 West 47th St.

BigFish

FIRST PREVIEW TOMORROW at 8pm
Dream, Love, Live... BIGGER.
BIG FISH
A New Broadway Musical
Book by John August
Music & Lyrics by Andrew Lippa
Direction & Choreography by
5-Time Tony Winner Susan Stroman
BigFishTheMusical.com / 877-250-2929
Groups (12+) 212-239-6262
Neil Simon Theatre (+), 250 W. 52nd St.

RODGERS + HAMMERSTEIN'S CINDERELLA
THE TONY AWARD-WINNING MUSICAL
"PURE MAGIC!" -AP
Today at 2 & 7:30, Tom'w at 7
RODGERS + HAMMERSTEIN'S
CINDERELLA
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Groups (10+/12+) 212-239-6262
CinderellaOnBroadway.com
Broadway Theatre (+), Bway at 53rd St.

FIRSTDATE

Tonight at 8
"SASSY, MADCAP FUN!" – AP
Zachary Levi Krysta Rodriguez
FIRST DATE
Broadway's Musical Comedy
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
FirstDateTheMusical.com
Tue 7; Wed-Fri 8; Sat 2 & 8; Sun 3 & 7
Longacre Theatre(+), 220 W. 48TH ST.

THE GLASS MENAGERIE by TENNESSEE WILLIAMS
ONLY 17 WEEKS!
PREVIEWS BEGIN TOMORROW AT 8
"Glorious & Gorgeous."
-Ben Brantley, NY Times
CHERRY JONES ZACHARY QUINTO
THE GLASS MENAGERIE
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Thu-Sat 8; Sat & Sun 2; Sun 7
TheGlassMenagerieBroadway.com
Booth Theatre, 222 West 45th St.

WINNER! BEST MUSICAL
2013 TONY AWARD
Today at 2 & 8, Tom'w at 7
KINKY BOOTS
Book by Harvey Fierstein
Music & Lyrics by Cyndi Lauper
Direction/Choreography by Jerry Mitchell
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Groups (10+): 1-800-BROADWAY
Tue & Thu 7, Fri 8, Wed & Sat 2 & 8, Sun 3
KinkyBootsTheMusical.com
Al Hirschfeld Theatre (+), 302 W. 45th St.

Today at 2 & 8
Benny Andersson & Bjorn Ulvaeus'
MAMMA MIA!
The Smash Hit Musical
Based on the Songs of ABBA
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Groups: mammamiagroups.com
Mon-Sat 8; Wed & Sat 2&8
www.MammaMiaNorthAmerica.com
Winter Garden Theatre(+) 1634 Bway

Matilda

"A miracle is what it is. Unique and unforgettable." -Rolling Stone
Today at 2 & 8
Roald Dahl's
MATILDA
THE MUSICAL
MatildaTheMusical.com
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Groups of 10+ Call 877-536-3437
Tue, Thu 7; Fri 8; Wed, Sat 2 & 8; Sun 3
Shubert Theatre (+), 225 West 44th Street

Disney **NEWSIES**

Today at 2 & 7:30
Best Original Score Best Choreography
2012 TONY AWARD WINNER!
DISNEY presents
NEWSIES
Tickets & info: NewsiesTheMusical.com
or call (866) 870-2717
Groups (15+) 800-439-9000
This Wk: We 2&7:30; Fr 8; Sa 2&8; Su 3
Nxt Wk: Fri 8; Sat 2&8; Sun 1&6:30
Nederlander Theatre (+) 208 W. 41st St.

Once

Today at 2 & 8
8 TONY AWARDS
INCLUDING BEST MUSICAL
"A GEM" - NEW YORK POST
ONCE
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Tue & Thur 7, Wed & Sat 2 & 8, Fri 8, Sun 3
OnceMusical.com
The Jacobs Theatre (+) 242 W. 45th St.

Today at 2:30 & 8 , Tom'w at 8
WINNER BEST MUSICAL REVIVAL!
2013 TONY AWARD
PIPPIN
Book by ROGER O. HIRSON
Music & Lyrics by STEPHEN SCHWARTZ
Directed by
DIANE PAULUS
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Groups (10+): 800-BROADWAY x2
Tues-Sat 8, Wed & Sat 2:30, Sun 3
PippinTheMusical.com
Music Box Theatre (+), 239 W. 45th St.

SOUL DOCTOR

Performances Today at 2 & 8
"CELEBRATORY!"
- The New York Times
SOUL DOCTOR
The New Broadway Musical
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Groups, call 800-432-7780
SoulDoctorBroadway.com
Circle in the Sq Theatre, 50 St. w. of Bway

SPIDER-MAN

NOW IN ITS THIRD THRILLING YEAR!
Tomorrow at 7:30
SPIDER-MAN
TURN OFF THE DARK
877-250-2929 or Ticketmaster.com
Mon, Tue, Thu 7:30; Fri 8
Sat 2 & 8; Sun 1:30 & 7:30
SpiderManOnBroadway.com
Foxwoods Theatre (+), 213 W. 42nd St.

Tonight at 7
DISNEY presents
THE LION KING
The Landmark Musical Event
Tickets & info: LionKing.com
or call 866-870-2717
Groups (20+): 800-439-9000
Tu-We 7; Th-Fr 8; Sa 2&8; Su 1&6:30
Minskoff Theatre(+), B'way & 45th Street

PHANTOM

Today at 2 & 8
Now Celebrating 25 Years on Broadway
Visit Telecharge.com or call 212-239-6200
THE PHANTOM OF THE OPERA
Mon 8; Tues 7; Wed-Sat 8; Wed & Sat 2
Grps: 800-BROADWAY or 212-239-6262
Majestic Theatre(+) 247 W. 44th St.

THE TRIP TO **BOUNTIFUL**

Last Chance! Now Through Oct. 9 ONLY
Today at 2
CICELY TYSON VANESSA WILLIAMS
THE TRIP TO BOUNTIFUL
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Tu, Th 7; We 2; Fr 8; Sa 2 & 8; Su 3
TheTripToBountifulBroadway.com
Sondheim Theatre (+) 124 W. 43 St.

WICKED

"Broadway's Biggest Blockbuster"
—The New York Times
Tonight at 7
WICKED
Music and Lyrics by Stephen Schwartz
Book by Winnie Holzman
Based on the novel by Gregory Maguire
Musical Staging by Wayne Cilento
Directed by Joe Mantello
Tu & We 7; Th & Fr 8; Sa 2 & 8; Su 2 & 7
Ticketmaster.com or 877-250-2929
Groups: 646-289-6885/877-321-0020
WickedtheMusical.com
Gershwin Theatre(+) 222 West 51st St.

OFF-BROADWAY

ANTHEM

10 WEEKS ONLY - BEGINS SEPT 25
AYN RAND'S ANTHEM
Based on the Best-Selling Novel
A New Play Adapted by Jeff Britting
Directed by Ann Ciccolella
AnthemThePlay.com or (212) 352-3101
Premium Seats Available
Groups (10+): (646) 588-4783
Baryshnikov Arts Center 450 W. 37th St.

AROUND the WORLD in 80 DAYS

39 STEPS MEETS THE AMAZING RACE
"Take This Wild Trip!" NY POST
"High-Tech Razzle! Slick Steampunk" NYT
AROUND THE WORLD IN 80 DAYS
Su/Tu/We 7p, Th/Fr/Sa 8p, Sa/Su 230p
Call Telecharge (212) 239-6200
THE NEW THEATER at 45th Street
www.AroundTheWorldInNYC.com

BILL W. and Dr. BOB

TODAY AT 2:30 & 7
"Captures the humor of the human experience" - The New York Times
BILL W. AND DR. BOB
Call 1-866-811-4111
BillWandDrBob.com
Tues - Thur 7; Wed 2:30 & 7
Fri 8; Sat 3 & 8; Sun 3
SoHo Playhouse, 15 Vandam Street

"ABSOLUTELY DELICIOUS!" - Variety
Today at 2:30 & 7:30pm
BUYER & CELLAR
Starring MICHAEL URIE
The #1 Comedy of the Season!
Wed-Sun 7:30; Wed, Sat & Sun 2:30
SmartTix.com (212) 868-4444
Barrow Street Theatre 27 Barrow St.
BUYERandCELLAR.com

THE OLD FRIENDS

TODAY AT 2 & 7:30!
Signature Theatre presents
THE OLD FRIENDS
By Horton Foote
Directed by Michael Wilson
Mon, Tues, Wed, & Fri at 7:30,
Wed at 2, Sat at 2 & 8, Sun at 2
212-244-7529 signaturetheatre.org
The Pershing Square Signature Center
480 W. 42nd Street

OLD JEWS TELLING JOKES

FINAL 2 WEEKS!
"MADCAP AND HILARIOUS!"
—Daily News
Today at 2
OLD JEWS TELLING JOKES
Tue 7; Wed 2; Fri 8
Sat 2 & 8; Sun 3 & 7
Telecharge.com/212-239-6200
www.ojtjonstage.com
The Westside Theatre, 407 West 43rd St.

PETER AND THE STARCATCHER

WINNER! 5 TONY AWARDS
"You must experience it for yourself!"
- The New York Times
PETER AND THE STARCATCHER
Telecharge.com or 212-239-6200
Mon 7;Wed 2 & 7;Th-Fri 8;Sat 2 & 8;Sun 3
PeterandtheStarcatcher.com
Groups (10+) 877-321-0020
New World Stages, 340 West 50th St.

stop. reset.

TONIGHT & TOMORROW AT 7:30!
Signature Theatre presents
stop. reset.
Written and Directed by
Regina Taylor
Tues-Fri at 7:30, Sat at 2 & 8, Sun at 2
212-244-7529 www.signaturetheatre.org
The Pershing Square Signature Center
480 W. 42nd Street

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS
THE TWO-CHARACTER PLAY

LAST CHANCE - Final Perf. Sept. 29
NY TIMES CRITICS PICK! Today at 2&8
"Sensational - Powerful!" - NY Times
AMANDA PLUMMER BRAD DOURIF
TENNESSEE WILLLIAMS
THE TWO-CHARACTER PLAY
Telecharge.com 212.239.6200
New World Stages, 340 W. 50th St.

THE WEIR
by Conor McPherson
"Told so theatrically that you'll savor each peat-scented phrase -Wall Street Journal
"Wonderfully intimate" -NY Times
"An excellent cast" -Time Out (5 Stars)
Extended through September 15th
The Irish Repertory Theatre (+) 132 W 22
www.IRISHREP.org/ 212-727-2737

THIS SIGN (+) WHEN FOLLOWING THE NAME OF A THEATER, INDICATES THAT A SHOW IS EQUIPPED WITH AN INFRARED ASSISTIVE LISTENING DEVICE.



KINO LORBER

The singer Maïa Vidal in the documentary "La Maison de la Radio," directed by Nicolas Philibert.

A Look Behind What You Hear

MANOHLA DARGIS
FILM REVIEW

The soft babble that streams from the circular building in Nicolas Philibert's documentary "La Maison de la Radio" is a singularly human hum. The imposing white structure, which overlooks the Seine in the 16th arrondissement in Paris, an easy walk from the Eiffel Tower, is home to Radio France, the state broadcasting company, which has seven networks and many more stations. Designed by the architect Henry Bernard and known as La Maison de la Radio, the building functions as something of a geographic placeholder in Mr. Philibert's movie, which offers fleeting peeks at the news-gathering worker bees, velvet-voiced on-air personalities and visiting luminaries who congregate inside it.

Mr. Philibert opens on a whirl of faces and voices, with illuminating words like Japan, earthquake and Strauss-Kahn cutting through the commotion. These headline fragments temporally situate you, which is helpful, because Mr. Philibert shuns conventional nonfiction signposts like voice-overs and on-screen information. Instead, using a stationary camera (the absence of jiggle is nice) and a fly-on-the-wall approach, he inserts you into rooms, next to bodies and among voices. None of these are identified while they're on camera, but if you know what the veteran screenwriter Jean-Claude Carrière looks like, or if you stick around to read the end credits, you will know he's one of the guests who pass through. A somewhat jolly Umberto Eco shows up in a studio at one point, too.

There's a suggestion that the movie takes place over a 24-hour period, although Mr. Philibert has said that he and his team shot for six months, from January to July 2011. This synthetic time frame gives all the material a narrative shape, turning snippets from different weeks, months and broadcasts into a day-in-the-life story. As in many such stories, there are also leading men and women, along with the supporting cast members and guest stars like Mr. Eco. Among the most vivid main characters is Marguerite Gateau, who sits behind a console, at times with her head somewhat cocked — as if she were picking up frequencies the rest of us can't hear — and directs performers for a dramatic program on the subtlest line readings, guiding them with admirable serenity past fumbled words.

Ms. Gateau is pleasant company, even for the brief time she's on screen, and it's understandable that Mr. Philibert continues to return to her, along with a grimly funny Marie-Claude Rabot-Pinson, whose job seems to be pulling choice news items from the information flowing in. Yet the precise nature of Ms. Rabot-Pinson's job remains frustratingly unclear. Does she make assignments, write the news, edit copy? Who knows? It's similarly unclear if Ms. Gateau only directs performers or if she also casts them. Mr. Philibert's intimate, calm style can be very appealing, as can be his patience, both of which were crucial to turning his 2002 documentary, "To Be and to Have" — which follows a class of schoolchildren and their teacher over a year — into an epic of human emotion.

There are some memorable moments in "La Maison de la Radio," like a brief, lightly comic visit with a classical music personality who's plonked behind a stack of CDs so towering that he looks like a drowning man. This interlude, however, seems over before it has begun. And, as Mr. Philibert continues to pop in and out of different studios, in and out of the building, flitting from one face to the other, it feels as if he were searching for a story that never emerges. In an article that ran in The Guardian in June 2012, Mr. Philibert mentioned that he was then working on this documentary. "The strength of radio is linked to its absence of images, and that's what attracted me to the subject," he wrote. "It's a paradox: a film about radio. Who knows? Maybe it's not such a good idea, after all."

La Maison de la Radio

Opens on Wednesday in Manhattan.

Directed and edited by Nicolas Philibert; directors of photography, Mr. Philibert, Katell Djian and Laurent Chevallier; produced by Serge Lalou; released by Kino Lorber Films. At Film Forum, 209 West Houston Street, west of Avenue of the Americas, South Village. In French, with English subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 43 minutes. This film is not rated.

JEOPARDY!
CLUE OF THE DAY
WHO'S YOUR MAMA?
MODELS ELIZABETH & GEORGIA MAY JAGGER
FOR THE CORRECT RESPONSE, WATCH JEOPARDY! TODAY OR LOOK IN THIS SPACE TOMORROW IN THE TIMES.
Yesterday's Response: Who is Nathaniel Hawthorne?
Watch JEOPARDY!

The New York Times
TimesTalks
YOUTUBE.COM/TIMESTALKS