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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.
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.

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. 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. On February 2 she spoke before the lower house of the legislature.

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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 anti-suffrage representative presented her with violets; she, the anti-suffrage representative. They secured a state senator to introduce their amendment and 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 anti-suffrage 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 anti-suffragists.

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 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 respectable 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 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, a menace to the social order because women would vote themselves special privileges and emptions. And it would be ineffectual, because women would vote as their husbands did, because it contravened a law of nature: the woman must be the constructive element in society and man her protector—and man's...

4 Helena Independent, Feb. 2, 1911; Burton K. White and Paul F. Healy, Yankee from the West (Garden City, N.Y., 1962), 91; HWS, VI, 361-62.
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
Abraham Lincoln
Andrew Carnegie
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Theodore Roosevelt
Woodrow Wilson

PREACHERS
Phillip Brooks
Cardinal Manning
Father Scarry
Bishop Potter
Rabbi Hirsch
Rabbi Pincus
Blanche McCauley
Robert Collyer
Rabbi Wise
Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark
Bishop Hurst
Theodore Parker
Miss L. Strong
Dr. Horace Holley
Bishop Spalding
Rev. Charles F. Tomlinson
Henry Ward Beecher
Bishop Sanford
Dr. Rainford

MEN OF LETTERS
Mark Twain
George Meredith
Winston Churchill
William Cobbett
Ibsen
Ezra Pound
T. H. Huxley
H. G. Wells
W. B. Yeats
John Ruskin
Whittaker Chambers
Winston Churchill

EDUCATORS
Pilate
President Charles Eliot
David Starr Jordan
Dr. William T. Harris
Earl Barrows
Charles Zaniboni
Thomas Huston
Henry George
John Stuart Mills
Judge Ben R. Lindsey
President W. Carey Thomas
President Mary E. Woolley
Alice Freeman Palmer
Henry B. Blackwell
Mary Livermore
Edward H. Griggs
John Brownlee
Dr. William E. Huntington
Elia Pegg Young
James Allen Smith

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." 19

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 things that women could do with the ballot. They could establish legal equality between 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 resist war. Women, as WCTU suffragists explained, could use their votes in an attempt to make men temperate.

Montana suffrage workers were well aware it would take more than arguments to make the apathy of Montana women. From the experience of suffragists in other states, they knew that direct organization was essential for spreading propaganda, bringing out voters, and giving women political experience. In 1913, they created the Equal Suffrage Association, elected Jeannette Rankin chairman, and organized all the counties of Montana. To forestall constitutional squabbles and quibbling rules, they adopted neither a constitution nor bylaws. 12

Using this machine, the suffragists staged public demonstrations. For example, in Helena 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 down Main Street, horns tooting, flags and banners waving. 13 The support of community leaders for such demonstrations made suffrage work respectable.

Educational propaganda, organizational activities, and public demonstrations also helped the men over. Suffrage arguments supplied the connections between women's votes and social reform appealed to the progressives as 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—political experience. 10

10 Helena Independent, Aug. 30, 1912, Oct. 9, 10.
11 Undated suffrage speech in Montana suffrage material, JR MSS.
12 Montana Progressive (Helena), June 4, 1914; Helena Independent, Nov. 27, 1912.
13 Montana Progressive, June 4, 1914.
14 Ibid., Feb. 15, 26, 1914. Other officers of the present organization in 1913 were: Mrs. Louis P. Sanders, Mrs. G. M. Gillimore, assistant chairmen; Mrs. Harry Coit, secretary; Mrs. Wilbur L. Smith, treasurer; Wallace Perham, finance chairman; and Miss Ida Bach, press chairman. In 1914 Mrs. John Willis was chairman, Mrs. Edith Clinch, recording secretary; Mrs. Edith Clinch, treasurer.
chime 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. 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 pro-suffrage 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 county 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.

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.”

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-
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 anti-suffrage 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 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 the 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, doubting were hoping to keep "on the good side" of the 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

20 Missoulian, May 7, 1914; Helena Independent, June 20, 1915, March 22, Sept. 8, 1914.
21 Ibid., Sept. 25, 26, 1914.
24JR to Mrs. Harvey Coit, Dec. 15, 1914, JR MSS.
25 HWS, VI, 367.
26 Idem; Helena Independent, June 14, 1916.
29 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.

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

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 by 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 until 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, 1913, 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 for 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, by the political party conventions held in Great Falls. Miss Rankin, with a committee of women representing the existing suffrage organizations, seized at that time the endorsement of the state suffrage convention for the woman suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution.

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 SUFFRAGE IN FOUR COUNTIES

The campaign for equal suffrage in Butte has been, of course, only a part of the state-wide campaign. It is, to be sure, a part of 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 the morrow 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; the matter of speakers and helpers of all kinds, a generosity we thankfully acknowledge. We also wish to thank Mrs. Nellie Hall, 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
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 unenlightened." (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 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 Verne. At three o'clock this a.m. I crept back into bed having put in a day of just 29 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.
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 the nearest hearts of the 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 Cooperative "Legislative Committee," when she did so much to push our bill through, she accomplished work that was in New York that is still profitable. As field secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Miss Rankin 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 work in this great State of Montana. If every Eastern vote is on his or her way to the Pacific Coast would parniers went aboard the sleeper. The weather was still tremendously cold, and although it is cold that the Easterner does not find unpleasant, 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 entrancing ladies of Helena thought that a 12:30 luncheon was safe. When they reached the Studio, where the luncheon was to be held, at 1:15, 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 luncheon, 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 in so express-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 any 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 Municipal Hall luncheon 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 of cooperation." 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: "If (the Forum) has 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 of back has ever resorted to gum-shoe methods or bushwhacking tactics."

Eminent fitness for her position at the present time, 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," 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 Miss Rankin during her two weeks' absence through the State. A very active group of men, who are members of the Suffrage League, had produced a poster advertising the evening meeting, which, of course, 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 "troops" was divided. At this meeting, as at all others, considerable emphasis was 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."

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

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

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 brilliancy and charm of the men and women who gathered to meet them in that vivacious and dynamic town. Toward the end of the afternoon the reception became a very earnest oration bureaus. 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 disfranchised! In the short conference that Mrs. Laidlaw held 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 back Mrs. Laidlaw is meeting with the Civic League of Northern California in the afternoon. Next week she is to speak at a luncheon on "The Need of Women's Protective Officers in Towns and Cities." On the 24th Mr. and Mrs. Laidlaw arrive at Reno, Nev., where they are to speak several times in the State Convention, which will be in progress.

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 Anaconda, the largest movie-picture and denying that there had been any hint that "our campaign should be laid before this editor for consideration or possible approval for cooperation. On the contrary she (Miss Markeson) refused emphatically such offered cooperation, 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 the Laidlaw's Women's Suffrage party.
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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 chair. The chairmen of the county central committees form the State central committee, and they elect a campaign chair in turn. All are under the State central campaign committee.

About six o'clock a great many of the leading men of the town came in. The leaders 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 Women'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 camp-
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."
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:

Head, Major Department

Chairman, Examining Committee

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. 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.  

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,
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 conservatism 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 clinging 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

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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.  

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

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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 Democrats; 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. 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. Limited debate, horseplay, and a poem took up only 45

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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.

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


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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rep.</th>
<th>Vote</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Silver Bow (Butte)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lewis and Clark (Helena)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Deer Lodge (Anaconda)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cascade (Great Falls)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Missoula (Missoula)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ea.</td>
<td>Flathead, Gallatin, Jefferson, Madison (4)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ea.</td>
<td>Beaverhead, Broadwater, Chouteau, Custer, Fergus, Granite, Meagher, Park, Ravalli (9)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12 (1 absent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ea.</td>
<td>Carbon, Dawson, Powell, Rosebud, Sweet Grass, Teton, Valley, Yellowstone (8)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 (1 absent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

little on the position of the representatives. 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

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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. 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. Woman'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.


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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>2,386</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,398</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>3,347</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>5,328</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>7,484</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>21,982</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>15,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>12,597</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>17,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>20,662</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>16,146</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>14,486</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>15,197</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>9,429</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>5,462</td>
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### Table 4. Development of Montana Population, 1900-1920*

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<th>Year</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>243,000</td>
<td>376,000</td>
<td>549,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Section</td>
<td>93,000</td>
<td>177,000</td>
<td>314,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Population</td>
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<td>243,000</td>
<td>377,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>132,000</td>
<td>241,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Farms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Section</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
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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. 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

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. 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 amendment. 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.

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.)

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.


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." 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.

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.

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' 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.
"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 claqués 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.

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.

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.

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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. Nevada also passed a suffrage referendum that day, bringing the number of equal suffrage states to 11. All were in the West except Kansas.

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


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).*

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</tbody>
</table>

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.)

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. 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-

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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.)
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" — 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 is 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 involved 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 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 Spingarn, 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 see 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 Kaplan's eye is on the women who shared her anti-racist views.

The focus of the book remains squarely on the larger issues of racial identity and the 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 pernicious 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 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. □
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 glibly pronounced, "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 courage child labor and inaugurate 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 as Christ, Wilson, was too complicated a task to have ever been done. For over a year and a half — that drove him wildly 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.

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Women Who Crossed the Lines Dividing Black and White

From First Arts Page

"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."

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

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 hanged 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 polarized 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.

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

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

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 Baniting, left, and Taylor Gordon. Carla Kaplan, above right, writes about them and others in "Miss Anne in Harlem."
Scandal-Scalded Murdoch Onstage, in an Australian Cabaret-Style Play

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


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 realm," 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 début 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 adjudical pileup, "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.

From First Arts Page

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. Murdoch was deliberate, Mr. Williamson said, part and parcel of his decision to depart from his more familiar realistic 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 cafe-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
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.

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 familiar story or push the obvious buttons.

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

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.

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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."

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.

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Baroque

The latest iteration of the Pixies: from left, Kim Shattuck, David Lovering, Black Francis and Joey Santiago.
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 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 experience taking dance lessons to hear music better.

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

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

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 cell phones 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 Guv’ners,” 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.

Richard III came immediately to a playwright’s mind.

One of Australia’s best-known playwrights, David Williamson, is appearing as Mr. Murdoch’s 82-year-old self, also offers com-

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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.

By BRIAN STELTER

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 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-

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

“Tiny Times 2,” a film about four Shanghai students who celebrate the luxe life, is causing consternation in China.
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 contain great food and drinks and offer a glimpse of China’s vibrant 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 critics 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 “crazy” materialism and “bad taste.” The New York-based media scholar Ying Guo, writing with Frances Higson in The Atlantic online in an article cited in China, condemned the film’s “twisted male narcissism.”

Others leapt to the defense of the movie and its maker. The Global Times editor Hu Xijin called Mr. Guo “superman,” while the critic Teng Jinjing, 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 groups, inundating critics like Mr. Zhou with tens of thousands of complimentary online posts and flocks 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 bags, and definitely not because you gave me expensive boots. Even if you didn’t have a cent, I would still love you.

The material girls of ‘Tiny Times’ covet Chanel and have a nation tsking.

The director, Guo Jingming.

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 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 PalFest: 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,” “The Americans,” and “Modern Family.” Though a full lineup was not immediately announced, the Paley Center said in a news release that early talent would be pale and creators of programs like “Orange Is the New Black,” “Elementary,” “The Americans,” “Boardwalk Empire,” “The O’Jays,” and “Magic City.”

The Chocolate Factory.
Several Broadway producers went to London to see “Merrily,” and privately expressed high regard for it, but no plans to have been announced to bring the show to Broadway. The story of three close friends, “Merrily We Roll Along,” has been released in a version that avoids 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 revived but has yet to return to Broadway.

LeBron James Developing
TV Series for Starz
Having fulfilled his goal of winning an NBA 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 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 neighborhood and, having achieved fame and fortune, now struggle “with the rewards of money, star- dom, 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 Board of Ford; and 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.

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The Pixies Motor On, With a New Bassist

From First Arts Page

The members were ambivalent about the band going on tour. 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 comment. 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," said Richard 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 screaming 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.

"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 some of 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.
**A Look Behind What You Hear**

The soft baffle that streams from the circular building in Nicolas Philibert's documentary "La Maison de la Radio" is a singular human hum. The imposing white structure, which overlooks the Seine in the 16th arrondissement of Paris, is a walk from the Eiffel Tower, home to Radio France, the state broadcasting company, which has several networks and many more stations. Designed by the architect Bernhard and known as La Maison de la Radio, the building functions as something of a geophysical 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 a whirl of faces and voices, with illuminating words like Japan, earthquake and Strauss-Kahn cutting through the conversation. These headline fragments temporally situates 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 jibie 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.

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 lead men and women, along with the supporting cast members and guest stars like Mr. Eco. Among the most vivid main characters is Marguerite Gauze, who sits behind a console 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 subtler line readings, guiding them with admissible serenity past fumblw words.

Ms. Gauze 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 grinly 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 similarities unclear if Ms. Gauze only directs performers or if she also casts them. Mr. Philibert's intimate, calculated voice is very appealing, as can be his patience, both of which were crucial to turning his 2002 documentary, "To Be and 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 to a cookie shop where a 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, fitting from one face to the other, it seems 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 document and that another version of the work was linked to its absence of images, and that 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."