

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-EAU CLAIRE

NORTHWEST VS. SOUTHEAST: FACTORS AFFECTING THE 1912
SUFFRAGE REFERENDUM VOTE IN WISCONSIN

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	3
INTRODUCTION.....	4
United States Women’s Suffrage	
Chapter	
1. OVERVIEW OF WISCONSIN SUFFRAGE.....	10
2. ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS.....	17
3. WISCONSIN POPULATION AND INDUSTRIES.....	24
4. POLITICS AND VOTING PATTERNS.....	31
CONCLUSION.....	38
The Outcome of the Referendum Vote	
Appendix	
I. Counties and Cities the Political Equality League organized during the suffrage campaign prior to the Nov. 5, 1912 referendum.....	46
II. Wisconsin Map: Counties that voted in favor of suffrage.....	48
III. Percentages of the County Votes for and against the Nov. 5, 1912 Suffrage Referendum.....	50
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	52

ABSTRACT

In 1911, the Wisconsin legislature passed a suffrage bill that would have allowed women in the state to vote in all elections, but to become a law it had to be voted on in a referendum. The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association and the Political Equality League campaigned potential voters the year prior to the referendum that was set for November 5, 1912, to persuade them to vote in favor of enacting the suffrage bill. The referendum was defeated due to multiple causal factors including ethnic and religious divisions, urban versus rural populations, brewing and agricultural industries, United States and Wisconsin politics, and voting patterns in Wisconsin prior to and during 1912. These factors interconnect to help explain why more northwestern counties voted in favor of suffrage versus southeastern counties where there was more suffrage organization.

INTRODUCTION

UNITED STATES WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions

The notion that women should gain the vote swept across the United States after the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in New York. The movement grew slow at first but gained momentum as time passed. The introductory quotation, part of the *Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions* presented at the convention by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and other prominent women, was modeled after the Declaration of Independence. The Seneca Falls Declaration provides an overview of the twelve resolutions that were adopted at the convention by the women attending. These resolutions helped determine the future actions of women who wanted to gain the rights of full citizens. Among the twelve resolutions adopted, it was agreed that women were equal to men, women can be as productive in the public sphere as they are in the domestic sphere, and that women should “secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.”¹

In 1869, one of the main contributors to the Seneca Falls Convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, together with Susan B. Anthony, formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). The association worked for universal suffrage through the United

¹ Miriam Schneir, ed, *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings*, 3rd ed, (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 76-82.

States federal government. It sought to include women in the Fifteenth Amendment, which only gave black males the right to vote. That same year, Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The AWSA worked for suffrage on a state level through campaigns geared towards individual state governments. In 1890, the NWSA and AWSA combined to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). This group was instrumental in securing the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.²

The 1890s marked the beginning of the Progressive Era in United States history. Reform issues, such as women's suffrage, were being debated and voted on in legislatures and by the population of citizens who could vote. Even with the national association trying to secure universal suffrage, many states still tried to win suffrage on a state level before 1920. By 1911, women gained the vote in the western states of Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah and Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), and California (1911).³ Examples of the effects of enfranchisement in one of the states, Colorado, were included in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives in April of 1912 by U.S. Representative Edward T. Taylor (D), of Colorado. He proclaimed that, on average, 45% of Colorado women voted. He also argued that "women's influence makes it much easier to secure liberal appropriations for educational and humanitarian purposes." Women's voting influence helped enact a multitude of valuable laws in the state of Colorado after 1893. Such laws included: An act establishing a state industrial

² Ted Yanak and Pam Cornelison, *The Great American History Fact-Finder*, with a foreword by Norman Y. Mineta (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1993), 21, 283, 285; Judith Papachristou, *Women Together: A History in Documents of the Women's Movement in the United States*, (New York: Knopf: distributed by Random House, 1976), 99, 107.

³ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, (Madison, Wisconsin: Published under the direction of Industrial Commission, Madison Democrat Printing Co., 1913), 617.

school for girls (1897), developing kindergartens in the schools (1899), establishing a State Bureau of child and animal protection (1901), pure food and drug law (1907), and a child labor law (1911).⁴ Taylor's speech was prompted by a decision the federal government had to make on whether to grant Alaska the right to extend suffrage to women in the territory, and also by the numerous state suffrage campaigns being conducted at the time.

States campaigning for suffrage during 1911-1912 were Ohio, Oregon, Kansas, Michigan, Arizona, and Wisconsin. Many of the states had suffrage leagues campaigning male voters to vote in favor of suffrage in referendums in 1912. For a referendum to occur, a bill has to first be proposed, voted on, and passed in a state's legislature. The bill is then presented to the public to be voted on, in favor or against, to see if the bill will become a law in a state's constitution. The states of Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona adopted suffrage, but Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin defeated referendums in 1912.⁵

Numerous sources can be found when researching the 1911-1912 Wisconsin suffrage campaign and referendum. General overviews of Wisconsin suffrage, and techniques used in campaigning for suffrage can be found. A multitude of suffrage sources were written during the 1910s and 1920s by the suffrage leaders themselves, or written since the 1970s during the second wave of feminism. Wisconsin suffrage organizations and campaigns are mentioned in Wisconsin history books, but among many other topics. Usually three or four major reasons are listed for the 1912 referendum

⁴ Edward Thomas Taylor, *Equal Suffrage in Colorado speech of Hon. Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado, delivered in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, April 24, 1912, in consideration of Bill (H.R. 38) to confer legislative authority on the territory of Alaska, 1912*, Microfiche WO 232, Marquette University Libraries, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 11. (Note: Edward T. Taylor was a U.S. Representative from 1909-1941.)

⁵ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 617.

failing. Some reasons listed for failure are that the suffrage leagues overestimated the following: the Scandinavian vote, the support of the Progressive Republicans, the Socialist vote, and the power of the brewing industry.⁶ However, it is not explained how these reasons relate to each other forcing a majority of voters to vote against the suffrage referendum. One purpose for writing about Wisconsin women's suffrage is to research reasons why the 1912 referendum failed and to look at how they are connected to affect who was in favor or not in favor of suffrage. Another purpose for writing about Wisconsin women's suffrage is to show why more northwestern counties voted for suffrage versus southeastern counties, a fact which few resources have mentioned. Many authors who have written about Wisconsin suffrage argue that the 1912 referendum was a major stepping stone towards winning suffrage in Wisconsin because the state became organized with suffrage leagues, the campaign educated the public about suffrage and why women should vote, and it converted many people to being in favor of suffrage.

Secondary sources giving an overview of women's suffrage in America provide a background for Wisconsin suffrage, such as Judith Papachristou's book *Women Together: A History in Documents of the Women's Movement in the United States*. The *History of Wisconsin* books, volumes four and five, produced by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, help put Wisconsin suffrage into the context of Wisconsin history. Genevieve McBride, a leading author on Wisconsin women, looks at the evolution of women in Wisconsin and focuses more on their fight for suffrage in her books *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage* and *Women's*

⁶ Benedict, Crystal Eastman, "Political Equality League: Report on the Wisconsin Suffrage Campaign," In *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution*, ed. Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), 68-69.

Wisconsin: From Native Matriarchies to the New Millennium. The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* provides informative articles about Wisconsin suffrage and specifically the 1912 referendum as in Marilyn Grant's article "The 1912 Suffrage Referendum: An Exercise in Political Action." *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas* produced by the Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild in 1998, provides a good starting point for looking at the multiple causes for the referendum's failure. It provides maps showing where breweries were located, where certain ethnic groups settled, and where barley was widely grown, among many other topics. The Historical Census Browser website, produced by the University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, provides 1910 population and ethnic census numbers for each Wisconsin county.

One good primary source is *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume 6, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Gage. Volume six provides an overview of Wisconsin suffrage from 1900-1920 and mentions the Political Equality League (PEL), which the author of this paper thought warranted further research. The most valuable source has been the Ada James collection from the Wisconsin Historical Society Archives. Ada James was the president of the PEL, but the campaign manager Crystal Eastman Benedict wrote most of the outgoing correspondence for the PEL. The outgoing correspondence written during 1911-1912 reveals strategies and techniques the PEL employed while campaigning, their difficulties with Reverend Olympia Brown, many of the towns and counties they organized or tried to organize for campaigning, and the opposition they faced from breweries and German Americans. Articles and speeches written by the PEL were also helpful for researching about the campaign. Another good source was the *Blue Book of Wisconsin* from 1913, 1915, 1929, and 1940. They provided

information on voting practices in Wisconsin and other states, statistics for how each county voted in the referendum, agricultural and brewing statistics, as well as other census information. Various Wisconsin newspapers, such as the *Waukesha Freeman* and *Eau Claire Leader*, showed many suffrage advertisements, as well as many articles about presidential and state candidates campaigning prior to Election Day in November of 1912. Government documents from the Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service were also helpful because they provided information on Wisconsin Agriculture in general and specific statistics for each county.

A closer look at the suffrage campaign and referendum in Wisconsin, in 1911-1912, shows that many factors accounted for the referendum's defeat. Many Wisconsin men cast votes on the suffrage question but only fourteen out of seventy-one counties voted in favor of suffrage. Despite the extensive campaign the year prior to the referendum to gain Wisconsin women's suffrage, the referendum failed to pass the voting process due to multiple causal factors. These factors included ethnic and religious divisions, urban versus rural populations, industries such as brewing and agriculture, United States and Wisconsin politics, and voting patterns in Wisconsin prior to and during 1912. These multiple causal factors interconnect to help explain why more northwestern counties voted in favor of suffrage than southeastern counties even though there was more suffrage organization in the southeast prior to the November 5, 1912 vote.

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF WISCONSIN SUFFRAGE

The great movement to give women the ballot is here. Why play the ostrich, stick our heads in the sand, and pretend that it is proper and lady-like to do public work indirectly and unsatisfactorily without the ballot, and highly unlady-like and improper to do that work directly and efficiently with the ballot?

Waukesha Freeman July 11, 1912

The first attempt to grant Wisconsin women rights was in the territory's proposed state constitution of 1846. The constitution was going to have a provision stating that "all property owned and acquired by married women would be their separate property."⁷ The voters of Wisconsin rejected the constitution and the issue of women's property rights was not included in the new state's final constitution of 1848.

At the same time the national associations were formed in 1869, the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association (WWSA) was formed. Wisconsin suffrage groups were fighting for the vote on a state level through the Wisconsin Legislature, as opposed to a national level through the federal government. A victory for Wisconsin suffrage came in 1885 with the passage of the school suffrage bill providing women the right to vote in school elections. Two years later, Reverend Olympia Brown, leader of the WWSA, voted for municipal, or local government, offices because she believed local government affected school issues but election officials did not accept her vote. Brown went to court to make the state accept her ballot and the circuit court judge agreed she had the right to vote in municipal elections. The next year, the state Supreme Court overruled the decision, stating that women could only vote in school elections. In a similar case the

⁷ Joseph A. Ranney, "The History of Wisconsin's Women's Rights Law, Part 1: Wisconsin Women and the Law, 1846-1920", <http://www.wisbar.org/wislawmag/archive/history/pt14.html> (accessed 5 February, 2008).

court ruled that school office candidates would have to be listed on a separate ballot for women voters, but Wisconsin did not provide separate ballot boxes until 1901. Until 1901, women could not vote in school elections.⁸

In 1909, an equal suffrage bill was proposed and passed the Senate but not the Assembly. In 1911, state Senator David G. James (R) introduced a full suffrage bill to the Senate and John H. Kamper (R) introduced the same bill to the Assembly.⁹ Senator James introduced Chapter 227, “AN ACT to amend section 12 of the statutes, extending the right of suffrage to women.” Section two of the proposed bill stated, in part:

The question whether the foregoing provisions of this act shall take effect and be in force, shall be submitted to a vote of the people of this state, in the manner provided by law for the submission of an amendment to the constitution, at the next general election to be held in November, 1912. If approved by a majority of all the votes cast on that subject at such election, it shall take effect and be in force from and after such approval by the people; otherwise it shall not take effect or be in force.¹⁰

The proposed bill passed both houses, but to become a law the bill had to be voted on in a referendum by the voters of Wisconsin in November of 1912.

The two suffrage organizations campaigning the year prior to the referendum to persuade voters to vote in favor of suffrage were the WWSA, led by Reverend Olympia Brown, and the PEL formed in 1911, led by Ada L. James. The Wisconsin PEL was

⁸ Ibid; James I. Clark, *Chronicles of Wisconsin*, (Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1955-1956), 7-8.

⁹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 6 (National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922; reprint, New York: Arno Press, Inc, 1969), 707 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹⁰ *Eau Claire Leader* (Eau Claire, WI), 25 September, 1912.

organized as a branch of the National PEL.¹¹ The PEL and WWSA did not combine efforts much in campaigning the year prior to the referendum, exhausting dual efforts to gain the same votes. The main goal of the PEL was to organize local campaign committees in each county before the November vote. The local leagues would be independent from the PEL, but the PEL would send them suffrage literature, *Press Bulletins* to send to county newspapers, and arrange to have suffrage speakers speak for the leagues, among other things. The PEL had state organizers to help counties set up local leagues. The organizers were Alice Curtis, Mabel Judd, Mrs. Rex McCreery, Meda Neubecker, and Sarah James. With both the WWSA and PEL headquarters stationed in Milwaukee, southern counties would have been more readily reachable by suffrage organizers. Suffrage leagues were more densely organized in south, southeastern Wisconsin than in northwestern Wisconsin, but it would still be harder in the south to compel voters to vote in favor of suffrage because of the multitude of anti-suffragists in urban industrial centers, such as the German and brewing communities in Milwaukee.¹² Other important PEL associates were Crystal Eastman Benedict, Campaign Manager; Flora Gapen, Executive Secretary; and Theodora Winton Youmans, Press Chairman. Besides the regular PEL, a colored PEL and Men's PEL were also organized.¹³

¹¹ Genevieve G. McBride, *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage*, (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 199.

¹² Refer to Appendix I to see the counties the PEL organized and Wisconsin Cartographers' Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 77, for a map of Wisconsin suffrage centers.

¹³ Ada James Collection. Articles, speeches and outgoing correspondence. 1816-1952. Wis Mss OP, Boxes 24 and 29; Micro 848 reels 1-4. Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

Besides the PEL and WWSA, many organizations endorsed Wisconsin women's suffrage. Organizations or individuals that endorsed suffrage were: The Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs (which endorsed suffrage only a month before the referendum vote), Wisconsin State Teachers Association, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, Wisconsin State Grange, clergymen's societies, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Senator Robert La Follette.¹⁴

The ideas of public housekeeping and maternalism during the Progressive Era supported women's arguments for suffrage. Public housekeeping emphasized that the work women did in the domestic realm, cleaning and child rearing, could be done in the public realm with social work. Maternalism also emphasized public involvement to protect motherhood. Through public involvement and social work, women improved housing, established playgrounds and public libraries, and tried to get pure food and health laws passed. With the vote, women could make sure these pure food and health laws, and other laws that affected the home and society, were of the highest standard. Other arguments for suffrage were that women should not be taxed without representation, working women have as much right to vote as working men do, and through voting experience mothers and teachers would be able to better educate their children about democracy and citizenship.¹⁵

Many organizations and individuals also opposed suffrage such as conservatives, foreign immigrants, and people associated with the brewing/liquor industry. Only a few

¹⁴ Ibid; Theodora W. Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, (Sept. 1921), 10.

¹⁵ Ibid; Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Duménil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents*, (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2005).

organizations openly opposed and worked against suffrage by giving speeches and placing anti-suffrage articles and advertisements in newspapers. These organizations were the State Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Madison Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and the German-American Alliance. The Madison Association was actually a women's group opposed to suffrage. The group formed after the 1911 suffrage bill passed in the legislature, and was led by Mary C. Hoyt. After the referendum was defeated, Mary C. Hoyt stated in the November 6, 1912, issue of the *Milwaukee Journal* that most women would "rejoice" over the vote outcome and that their "association is not militant and made no active campaign. It merely went on record in behalf of Wisconsin women who do not want suffrage thrust upon them." Some suffragists claimed the association was a front for brewing interests.¹⁶

Anti-suffragists articulated many reasons for opposing suffrage. Crystal Eastman Benedict, campaign manager for the PEL, defined in her own terms in "Definitions of an Antisuffragist" that "The mind of a confirmed 'anti' is as active as a squirrel in a cage. It travels continually around a little circle of fixed ideas acquired in early youth, and swerves not for fact, reason, or impassioned appeal." The leading arguments of anti-suffragists reveal many "fixed ideas" they had about women. Some ideas were that women's place was in the home, women were already represented by their husbands or fathers, women would not be respected anymore, and if women voted they must hold office or fight. It was also argued that the majority of women were opposed to suffrage, it would only double the vote without changing the result because women would vote the

¹⁶ Ibid; *Milwaukee Journal* (Milwaukee, WI), 6 November, 1912.

same as their husbands, and if women gained the vote they would vote in favor of prohibition, putting many people out of work.¹⁷

Social factors were leading causal factors in the campaign and referendum. A generation of women, not just in Wisconsin but all over the United States and the world, were working toward the goal of universal suffrage and equal rights, whether going through federal or state governments. In the October 31 issue of the *Waukesha Freeman*, Theodora Winton Youmans, in her column “Votes for Women,” professed:

Woman suffrage is in the air – a world wide movement affecting the women of all nations and climes. It is the natural and inevitable result of the higher education of women, the next step toward that freedom for women which shall make of them so much better wives and mothers and citizens than we, that, viewed in retrospect, we shall appear pitiable, if not contemptible, by comparison.¹⁸

By 1912, universal suffrage emerged in many countries including New Zealand, Tasmania, Queensland, Commonwealth of Australia, Norway, and Finland. Suffrage was gained in municipal elections in Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and the United Kingdom.¹⁹

Another causal factor in the referendum was the media. According to *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage* by Genevieve McBride, publicity was the most important tactic during the campaign. Theodora Winton Youmans, the PEL’s press chairman, played an integral role in creating awareness about

¹⁷ Ada James Collection. Articles, speeches and outgoing correspondence. 1816-1952. Wis Mss OP, Boxes 24 and 29; Micro 848 reels 1-4. Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin. C.E. Benedict quote in box 24, folder 3, “Definitions of an Antisuffragist”; Theodora W. Youmans, “How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, (Sept. 1921), 10; James I. Clark, *Chronicles of Wisconsin*, 14.

¹⁸ *Waukesha Freeman* (Waukesha, WI), 31 October, 1912.

¹⁹ “Timeline of Women’s Suffrage,” Wikipedia Encyclopedia Online, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_women%27s_suffrage (accessed 16 December 2007); Ada James Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

suffrage and the referendum. She wrote a column in the *Waukesha Freeman* called “Votes for Women,” sent weekly *PEL Press Bulletins* to Wisconsin newspapers, as well as to Minnesota and Illinois newspapers with Wisconsin circulations, and sent out post-card questionnaires to newspaper editors in Wisconsin to ask if they favored or opposed suffrage.²⁰ Some editors did not favor suffrage, but many did. A.E. Johnson, for example, of *The Sawyer County Record* answered “I believe in it because women should have as much to say about the government of our country as we have.”²¹ The media, mainly newspapers, could also be used to sway people against suffrage, urging readers to vote no on the pink suffrage ballot on November 5. Anti-suffrage literature also appeared in the State Retail Liquor Dealers Association journal *Progress*.²²

While the media and social factors were leading causes influencing the suffrage campaign and referendum vote, many factors also caused the referendum to fail and more northwestern counties to vote for suffrage versus southeastern counties. Two leading factors affecting the outcome of the vote were ethnicity and religious divisions among the two largest immigrant groups in Wisconsin, the Germans and Scandinavians.

²⁰ Genevieve G. McBride, *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage*, 218-221; idem, ed, *Women’s Wisconsin: From Native Matriarchies to the New Millennium*, With a foreword by Shirley S. Abrahamson, (Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2005), 349.

²¹ *Waukesha Freeman* (Waukesha, WI), 11 July, 1912.

²² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 6, 703.

CHAPTER 2

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS

After all democracy is not a matter of sex, any more than it is a matter of race, color or previous condition, but a matter of the people. The more perfect the recognition of the common rights of all people the more perfect and the more just the democracy. A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would of course recognize the equal rights of women.

Tom L. Johnson, *Political Equality Series Handbook vol. 46*

Wisconsin experienced a large wave of immigration in the 1840s and 1850s. The Germans were one of the leading ethnic groups immigrating to Wisconsin during this time. Another significant group was the Scandinavians, which included the Norwegians, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish. Ethnic groups generally settled together creating ethnic enclaves in Wisconsin. Ethnic groups frequently voted in blocs in elections for a certain party candidate or issue. If ethnic groups were split along religious lines, they most likely would vote along religious lines instead of ethnic lines. According to Roger Wyman in *Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study*, the major determinants of how citizens voted in Wisconsin were along ethnic and religious lines.²³

The Germans were the largest ethnic group to settle in Wisconsin during the nineteenth century. They immigrated in large waves during the 1840s-1850s, and 1880s. Germans and other immigrant groups mainly settled in southern and eastern Wisconsin for agricultural purposes in the 1840s and did not venture past the “Green Bay-Fox-

²³ Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” (Ph.D. thesis., University of Wisconsin, 1970), McIntyre Library, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Books on Microfilm: JK6095.W86.

Wisconsin waterway which divides the state.”²⁴ Specifically, the Germans settled north and west of Milwaukee and Ozaukee Counties. They spread along the eastern border of Wisconsin and eventually into east-central, central Wisconsin up to Marathon and Lincoln counties.²⁵ “By 1890, Germans alone constituted half the foreign-born population and about half of the American-born children of immigrant parents, making them at least one third of Wisconsin’s total population.”²⁶ By 1910, Germans were still heavily concentrated in the eastern part of the state north and west of Milwaukee and Ozaukee Counties, and in north-central Wisconsin by Marathon, Shawano, and Lincoln Counties.

Earlier German immigrants principally settled in southern Wisconsin for agricultural purposes. In the 1880s, newly immigrated Germans settled in urban areas, many in Milwaukee, and worked in German industries. An industry the Germans dominated was brewing. One of the main reasons non-Germans disliked Germans was because of the amount of beer they drank, especially on Sundays. Germans would get together and listen to music, watch theater productions, and drink beer on “German Continental Sunday.”²⁷ A majority of Germans were Catholic, and anti-Catholicism persisted among non-Germans in part due to their beer consumption on the Sabbath.

The Wisconsin counties bordering the Great Lakes were heavily Catholic, which is where most of the German population lived. Germans did not usually vote in elections

²⁴ Agricultural Statistics Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, *A Century of Wisconsin Agriculture, 1848-1948*, Bulletin No. 290, by Wisconsin Crop Reporting Service, Madison, Wisconsin, 1948, WI AGR.3:290.

²⁵ Refer to Appendix II while reading this chapter, to see the location of counties where each ethnic group settled.

²⁶ John D. Buenker, *The History of Wisconsin: The Progressive Era 1893-1914*, Vol. IV, (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1998), 181.

²⁷ Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 517.

and on issues along ethnic lines, but along religious lines. They were split between the Catholics and Lutherans. Starting in the 1840s, German immigrants came mostly from Southern Germanic provinces and were Catholic. Germans who immigrated later in the 1880s were mostly from Northern Germanic provinces and were Lutheran. Generally, German Catholics voted Democrat, and German Lutherans voted Republican. The anti-Catholicism principle of the Republican Party was one of the reasons why most Germans aligned with the Democratic Party. According to *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas* produced by the Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild in 1998, "Throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, much of the state's large foreign-born population viewed churches as central to politics and everyday life."²⁸

Germans did vote as an ethnic bloc if a proposed law would affect a part of their culture or personal liberty. "...German Lutherans frequently coalesced with German Catholics to oppose prohibition and blue laws." Germans resisted assimilation much more compared to other ethnic groups and voted against such things as English being mandatory in schools, liquor regulations, and women's suffrage. Many Germans feared that if women gained the vote, they would vote for prohibition and many Germans would be without jobs, because scores of them worked in brewing and its related industries.²⁹

Besides the Germans, the Scandinavians also settled in Wisconsin in large quantities. The Norwegians were the largest Scandinavian group to immigrate to

²⁸ Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 30.

²⁹Roger Edwards Wyman, "Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study," 336-337; John D. Buenker, *The History of Wisconsin: The Progressive Era 1893-1914*, Vol. IV, quote on p.183; Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 18-19; David L. Brye, *Wisconsin Voting Patterns in the Twentieth Century, 1900-1950*, Modern American History – A Garland Series (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), 103-104.

Wisconsin, in the 1850s. In the United States, Norwegians chiefly settled in the Midwestern states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, eastern South Dakota, and northern Iowa. In Wisconsin, they settled along the southern border, to a great degree in Jefferson Prairie and Rock Prairie in Rock County, Muskego in Waukesha County, Koshkonong in Jefferson County, and Dane County. Many Norwegians pursued agriculture in rural areas of Wisconsin. In the 1860s, many migrated to western Wisconsin to grow wheat, largely in the Coon Valley in Vernon County. Many also settled north of Vernon County in Trempealeau, Buffalo, and Jackson Counties, and in the central counties of Juneau and Adams. From those counties, Norwegians started to spread north and west, up to Barron County around 1870. They became the dominant ethnic group living in western Wisconsin.³⁰

Norwegian immigrants were mostly farmers who grew wheat, grains, and tobacco. They also dairy farmed and raised livestock. Tobacco emerged as a commercial crop in the 1850s in western Wisconsin in the Vernon-Trempealeau County region where a large majority of Norwegians lived.³¹ Immigrated Norwegians were also dominantly Lutheran. In 1890, “Occupying the middle ground were the nearly 30 percent who belonged to immigrant Protestant churches, the overwhelming majority of whom were affiliated with one of several Lutheran synods.”³² One dominant Lutheran Synod in western Wisconsin, as well as in Dane and Rock Counties in the south, was the

³⁰ Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 596-606; Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 20-21; Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale, ed., *Wisconsin Land and Life* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 152-153.

³¹ Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 43.

³² John D. Buenker, *The History of Wisconsin: The Progressive Era 1893-1914*, Vol. IV, 183.

Norwegian Synod. Even with several Lutheran Synods in Wisconsin, the state still “...remained about half Catholic and a third Lutheran into the 1900s, forming a borderland between the heavily Catholic Great Lakes region and the heavily Lutheran Upper Midwest.”³³

Norwegians chiefly voted Republican, and held an anti-Catholic position. They voted along ethnic lines and would align with a political party. In regards to the suffrage referendum of 1912, the PEL and WWSA relied heavily on the Norwegian vote. They thought more Norwegians would vote in favor of suffrage because Norway, at the same time, was in the process of granting universal suffrage in 1912-1913. The PEL and WWSA also thought the other Scandinavian groups would tend to vote in favor of suffrage since their home countries of Finland had universal suffrage, and Sweden and Denmark had municipal women’s suffrage.³⁴

A small congregation of Swedish immigrated to Wisconsin in the 1840s. They settled in southern Wisconsin by Norwegian communities in Rock County. The majority of Swedes immigrated to Wisconsin later than the Germans and Norwegians, between 1860 and 1900. They mainly settled in north and northwestern Wisconsin, as well as across the border into Minnesota. In these areas they pursued work in the lumbering and farming industries. Swedes congregated in Pepin and Pierce Counties northward to Superior in Douglas County, and in the St. Croix Valley. Majorities of Swedes lived in the northeast in Marinette and Florence counties where they worked in ports and mills,

³³ Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 30.

³⁴ Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 595, 642; Ada James Collection, 1856-1952, Outgoing correspondence, Box 29, Folder 5, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

and “in bridge, railroad and road construction.” They also did this work in Ashland County and Superior in Douglas County.³⁵ Like the Norwegians, the Swedish were mostly Lutherans and voted Republican. The Swedish Augustana Synod was the largest Lutheran Synod in the 1920s in Polk, Bayfield, and Sawyer Counties in northwestern Wisconsin.³⁶

Danish immigrants began to arrive in Wisconsin in the 1840s. Most settled in the urban areas of southeastern Wisconsin. About 20% lived in Racine and worked in the manufacturing industry. They spread out to Kenosha, Waukesha, and Milwaukee Counties. There were also small settlements in Dane, Juneau, Oconto, Waupaca, and Brown Counties. From the 1860s into the 1900s, a large majority of Danes lived in Polk and St. Croix Counties, working in the farming and lumbering industries. The Danish were not as dominantly Lutheran, but like their fellow Scandinavians, the majority voted Republican.³⁷

Finnish immigrants that settled in Wisconsin were grouped together with the other Scandinavian ethnic groups, because many of the Finns had lived in Sweden for many decades. The Finnish immigrated to Wisconsin in the 1880s and settled mostly in the north. They lived in predominantly rural areas, and were numerous in Douglas, Bayfield, Ashland, Iron, and Price Counties. Some also lived in Vilas and Clark Counties. The Finnish worked in the iron mining, farming, and lumbering industries, as well as in

³⁵ Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 645-646; Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 20; David L. Brye, *Wisconsin Voting Patterns in the Twentieth Century, 1900-1950*, 125.

³⁶ Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 31.

³⁷ Ibid, 20; Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 661-667; Historical Census Browser, (University of Virginia: Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, 2004) <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html> (accessed 5 February 2008).

factories and docks in Ashland and Superior in northern Wisconsin, and Kenosha and Milwaukee in southeastern Wisconsin.³⁸ The Finnish were not as numerous, but a sizable number were Lutheran³⁹ and most likely voted along Republican lines, like the other Scandinavian groups.

The geographical terrain of an area, whether in northwestern or southeastern Wisconsin, influenced the population distribution of an area, and what kinds of industries immigrants worked in. Scandinavians, who settled mostly in rural northern and northwestern Wisconsin, which was not as developed as southern Wisconsin, mainly became farmers. The Germans, who settled mostly in urban eastern and southeastern Wisconsin, worked in industrial cities, many in the brewing industry.

³⁸ Historical Census Browser; Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 20-21.

³⁹ David L. Brye, *Wisconsin Voting Patterns in the Twentieth Century, 1900-1950*, 129.

CHAPTER 3

WISCONSIN POPULATION AND INDUSTRIES

To have a choice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.

John Stuart Mill, *Political Equality Series Handbook vol. 46*

In its early years as a state, Wisconsin was home to a predominately rural population. Most immigrants and settlers from eastern states became farmers who settled in southern and eastern Wisconsin. From about 1860 into the early 1900s, many immigrants settled in the northern and western parts of the state to work in agriculture, the booming lumber industry, and to build railroads. After 1900, the agricultural regions in the northern part of the state grew, while the agricultural regions in the south and east kept at a steady level or declined. Even though the population of the agricultural regions in the south steadied or declined, they still remained more densely populated than the agricultural regions in the north.⁴⁰

While the agricultural and rural population was increasing in the north, the urban population was increasing in the southern and eastern parts of the state. “All across America, the number of people living in urban places was sharply on the rise,” especially from 1880-1900. By 1900, 29.2% of Wisconsin’s population lived in urban cities with 10,000 or more residents.⁴¹ A number of these urban cities were located in southeastern Wisconsin, which had become a major industrial center in the second half of the

⁴⁰David L. Brye, *Wisconsin Voting Patterns in the Twentieth Century, 1900-1950*, 129; *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1929 and 1940; Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, Wisconsin Domesday Book General Studies Vol. I, (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1922), 147.

⁴¹ Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale, ed., *Wisconsin Land and Life*, 145-159.

nineteenth century. Industrial growth was aided by readily accessible resources such as farm land, the Great Lakes for shipping, and a labor force of immigrants who could work in the growing industries.⁴² If new immigrants did not move north right away after arriving in Wisconsin they took industrial jobs in urban cities in the southeastern part of the state. The population grew in industrial centers such as Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee. There were also a few major urban centers in the north such as Marinette, Superior, and Ashland, which were “timber, and iron processing and shipping centers.”⁴³

Milwaukee became a major industrial site for many industries such as flour mills, meatpacking, leather tanning, men’s clothing, leather boots and shoes, heavy manufacturing, brewing, and metalworking and metal fabricating such as making farming and mining equipment.⁴⁴ By 1891, 41% of Milwaukee workers “labored in six industries: cigars; boots and shoes; iron, steel, and heavy manufacturing; tanning; brewing; and railroad shops.”⁴⁵ One industry Milwaukee became a powerhouse in, as well as in the United States, was the brewing industry.

The brewing industry in Wisconsin started to grow in the 1840s when a surge of Germans immigrated to the state. Germans were very knowledgeable in the production of beer, especially lager, and they brought their knowledge and skills with them when they immigrated to the United States. Even though the brewing industry started to dominate in Milwaukee, small local breweries were located throughout Wisconsin. The Milwaukee brewing industry grew based on many factors such as: a good harbor on Lake

⁴² Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 52-53.

⁴³ Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas R. Vale, ed., *Wisconsin Land and Life*, 145-159.

⁴⁴ Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 52-53.

⁴⁵ John D. Buenker, *The History of Wisconsin: The Progressive Era 1893-1914*, Vol. IV, 107.

Michigan to ship barrels of beer, especially to Chicago; plenty of lumber in southern Wisconsin to produce barrels; barley grown in nearby counties; plenty of natural water resources; and winter ice from surrounding lakes used to cool beer, especially for shipping purposes. Milwaukee had a smaller population compared to other major brewing centers, so brewers shipped beer to other cities in America. “By 1873, beer was the most popular drink in Wisconsin, and Milwaukee had gained status as a national beer competitor.”⁴⁶ By 1880, the three major breweries in Milwaukee were the Philip Best (Pabst), the Joseph Schlitz, and the Valentine Blatz. Later on, the Miller Brewing Company also became a major brewer in Milwaukee and the United States.⁴⁷

From 1880 into the early 1900s, “the number of breweries in America steadily decreased, but the quantity of beer produced drastically rose.”⁴⁸ The same phenomenon happened in Wisconsin. According to the 1915 *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, the nine breweries in Milwaukee produced more beer than the rest of the breweries in the state.⁴⁹ The increased number of railroads, pasteurization, and use of bottle caps for packaging, made shipping of beer to a wider market easier. Other industries grew from the increased technology used in producing beer such as “malting, cooperage (barrel making), ice harvesting, refrigeration, brewery machinery, saloon furnishings, and cartage

⁴⁶ Jerry Apps, *Breweries of Wisconsin*, (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 20.

⁴⁷ John G. Gregory, ed, *Southeastern Wisconsin, Vol. I: A History of Old Milwaukee County*, (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1932), 357.

⁴⁸ Eric McKay, “The State of the Brewing Industry,” *Economic Times and Review* (Spring 2003), <http://www.lakehousebeer.com/StateoftheIndustry.html> (accessed 22 January 2008).

⁴⁹ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1915, 36-37.

equipment.” Breweries also developed “networks of brewery-owned saloons” that promoted their beer.⁵⁰

The majority of the German population was against suffrage. The making and consuming of beer was a part of their culture and economic livelihood. In regards to the suffrage referendum, many Germans were against it and feared if women gained the vote, they would vote in favor of prohibition. One reason they correlated women’s suffrage with the temperance movement, was because the Wisconsin Christian Temperance Union was a supporter of the 1911-1912 suffrage campaign. Brewers and saloon keepers, many of them Germans, were also against prohibition and worked to persuade voters to vote against the suffrage referendum. They argued that if prohibition was made a law, it would also affect the other industries dependent on the brewing industry, as well as farmers who sold barley grain to brewers to use for producing malt to make beer.

Prior to Prohibition starting in 1919, barley was sold mostly as a market cereal grain rather than being grown for cattle feed. It was sold to brewers to be malted for the production of beer. The biggest concentration of barley had always been grown in the eastern and southeastern parts of the state. These parts of the state also had fairly large sized urban populations, or were predominately urban, such as the industrial centers of Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee. Milwaukee County’s population was mostly urban at 91% while only 9% was rural. Barley was mostly grown in counties north of Milwaukee in Washington, Dodge, Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, Calumet, and Manitowoc, with some grown in Rock and Walworth Counties.⁵¹ “Between 1895 and 1914, barley acreage

⁵⁰ John D. Buenker, *The History of Wisconsin: The Progressive Era 1893-1914*, Vol. IV, 105.

⁵¹ Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 43; Agricultural Statistics Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, *A Century of Wisconsin Agriculture, 1848-*

nearly doubled, as did its yield in bushels, and the crop's value almost tripled. Its greatest concentration was from Lake Winnebago to the Door County Peninsula," which is right above the previously mentioned counties.⁵²

From 1900 to 1910, the amount of barley grown increased greatly because of a demand to use it for malting. By 1909, more diversified farming in Wisconsin led to seven major crops being grown. Barley had the fourth largest value at \$12,682,136 under hay and forage, oats, and corn.⁵³ From 1900 to 1930, another concentration of barley was grown in northwestern Wisconsin in Pierce and St. Croix Counties, fusing out towards surrounding eastern and southern counties. There was barley grown throughout southwestern and south-central Wisconsin, especially from 1910 to 1930, but a much smaller amount compared to the two concentrated areas.⁵⁴

The northern, western, and southwestern parts of the state were largely agricultural and predominately rural, compared to the more urbanized eastern and southeastern parts of the state where the greatest amount of barley was grown. The rural population exceeded the urban population 57% (1,329,540 residents) to 43% (1,004,320 residents) out of a total of 2,333,540 residents. Numerous counties in the north and northwest did not have urban populations with over 2,500 residents.⁵⁵ Having greater than or less than 2,500 residents was a major factor in deciding if a town or city was

1948, Bulletin No. 290, WI AGR.3:290; Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, Wisconsin Domesday Book General Studies Vol. I, 103; *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913; Historical Census Browser.

⁵² John D. Buenker, *The History of Wisconsin: The Progressive Era 1893-1914*, Vol. IV, 43.

⁵³ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1915, 26-27.

⁵⁴ Agricultural Statistics Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, *A Century of Wisconsin Agriculture, 1848-1948*, Bulletin No. 290, WI AGR.3:290.

⁵⁵ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913; Historical Census Browser.

considered urban or rural. According to The Wisconsin Crop Reporting Service's Bulletin Number 290, *A Century of Wisconsin Agriculture, 1848-1948*, from 1948:

The urban population is classified by the census as people living in incorporated cities and villages with more than 2,500 residents while the rural is classified as people living on farms, in unincorporated places such as towns, and in cities and villages with less than 2,500 inhabitants.⁵⁶

The counties in the north that did have populations over 2,500 residents were major lumbering, mining, and shipping areas such as Douglas (with the city of Superior), Ashland, and Marinette.⁵⁷ Around 1920, the population of Wisconsin then evolved from a rural to more urban population.⁵⁸

Wisconsin's 1910 population census numbers, which would not have changed drastically by 1912, show that all of the counties that voted in favor of suffrage in the referendum were predominately rural, except for Rock and Douglas Counties.⁵⁹ Rock County in southeastern Wisconsin was 57% urban and 43% rural while Douglas County in northwestern Wisconsin was 85% urban and 15% rural.⁶⁰ Most of these counties were dominated by the Scandinavian ethnic groups, who also lived in mostly rural areas. A majority of Scandinavians would be in favor of suffrage, unlike the Germans, because their home countries had already granted women universal suffrage, or at least municipal suffrage. Some of the counties that voted for suffrage also grew large amounts of barley.

⁵⁶ Agricultural Statistics Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, *A Century of Wisconsin Agriculture, 1848-1948*, Bulletin No. 290, 1948, WI AGR.3:290, 4.

⁵⁷ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913; Historical Census Browser.

⁵⁸ Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 82-83. (Note: Sources differ on the decade the Wisconsin population became more urban. Some say 1890 or 1910, but I found more sources that concur on 1920.)

⁵⁹ Refer to Appendix II to see what counties voted for suffrage, and the Historical Census Browser provides 1910 Wisconsin population numbers for each county identifying their urban and rural population numbers.

⁶⁰ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913; Historical Census Browser.

These counties were Rock, Walworth, Pierce, and St. Croix Counties. The vote was nearly even in all of these counties which indicates that the barley farmer's vote had a negative impact on the outcome of the referendum. According to *Chronicles of Wisconsin* put out by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1955-1956, "Brewers, distillers, and liquor dealers...could count on support from the farmer who sold his grain and on the saloon keeper who sold the finished product" to be opposed to suffrage.⁶¹ The vote could have easily gone against suffrage in those counties.

While population distribution and the brewing and agricultural industries did impact the outcome of the vote, politics also played a major role in impacting the outcome of the vote. The 1912 presidential election brought suffrage to the national forefront and split voting among three major political parties, while ethnic voting patterns and other political factors helped to defeat the vote.

⁶¹ James I. Clark, *Chronicles of Wisconsin*, 14.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICS AND VOTING PATTERNS

Wisconsin as our foremost Progressive state should stand for this Progressive movement, which an enlightened legislature endorsed, when it submitted the amendment to the people, with only eighteen votes against it. The voters of Wisconsin should sustain the legislature on Nov. 5.

“Lafollette in Plea for Woman Suffrage”,
Milwaukee Journal, Nov. 2, 1912

Four eras of distinct voting patterns can be identified since Wisconsin statehood in 1848. Democrats dominated from the 1840s to 1855 and Republicans from 1856 to 1900. From 1901 to 1945, the voting was mixed because the Progressives, a faction of the Republican Party, were also a dominant political party alongside the Republicans and Democrats, and the Progressives split the Republican vote. The present era began in 1946 when Wisconsin returned to having just two dominant political parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Even with four identified eras of voting patterns “Wisconsin was thus more Republican than the nation, not only during the 19th century but also during the entire hundred years between 1856 and 1956.”⁶²

During the 1840s and 1850s, Democrats were in favor of suffrage for foreign born immigrants right after they settled in Wisconsin, and Whigs were opposed to it, which is why many Germans aligned with the Democratic Party. Prohibition and slavery were two major issues in the 1850s that made ethnic groups align with particular political parties. The Irish, German, Norwegian, and Dutch supported the Democrats, who were pro-slavery. Yankees from the East Coast and British immigrants supported the Whigs, who were anti-slavery and anti-Catholic. The Republican Party, which was also anti-

⁶² James R. Donoghue, *How Wisconsin Voted: 1848-1972*, 3rd ed. (Madison, Wisconsin: Institute of Governmental Affairs University of Wisconsin-Extension, 1974), 11-14, Uni Ex Gov 2:V6/1974.

slavery, started to take control during the 1850s and 1860s, and absorbed many members from the dying Whig party. By the end of the 1880s, Republican voting was strongest among Protestant Anglo-Americans, Scandinavians, English, Welsh, Scots, Belgians, and Protestant Dutch and Germans. Democratic voting strength was strongest among Irish, Polish, Bohemians, Catholic Dutch and Germans, about half of the German Protestants, and a minority of Native Americans. Major anti-Catholicism forced many Catholics to align with the Democrats and many Lutherans to align with the Republicans.⁶³

Even though ethnic groups strongly aligned with either Republicans or Democrats towards the end of the 1880s, Progressivism took hold in Wisconsin in the 1890s. Building up to the 1890s, Wisconsin politics had been dominated by political “bosses” and machines in the Republican Party that played on ethnic and religious divisions. These “bosses,” along with a few “big business” leaders, monopolized Wisconsin’s economy and politics so they could profit, rather than having citizens’ best interest in mind. Progressive reformers, who were a part of the Republican Party, believed that the “...government was to serve the people. They sought to restrict the power of corporations when it interfered with the needs of individual citizens.”⁶⁴ The leading reformer of Progressivism was Robert M. La Follette. He and the other reformers broke from the Republican Party by 1900, and “formed what came to be known as the progressive wing of the Republican Party.” La Follette wanted to reform railroad regulation and have a direct primary, where the people could vote for party candidates,

⁶³ Roger Edwards Wyman, “Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 32-63.

⁶⁴ “Progressivism and the Wisconsin Idea”, Wisconsin State Historical Society of Wisconsin, http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/tp%2D036/?action=more_essay (accessed 15 April, 2008).

among other reforms. He was elected as Wisconsin's governor from 1901-1906 and as a United States Senator from 1906-1925, under the Progressive Party wing.⁶⁵

With the election of La Follette as governor, and then eventually as a senator, the Progressive idea spread throughout Wisconsin and the United States. Progressivism came to a climactic head in the 1912 presidential election when the Progressives became the third major political party running a candidate for president alongside the Democrats and Republicans. In 1912, like “in the period before 1860... a segment of a major party ha[d] withdrawn from a party convention, assembled in a convention of its own, nominated candidates, and adopted a platform.”⁶⁶ Theodore Roosevelt ran as the Progressive nominee while Woodrow Wilson ran as the Democratic nominee, and William H. Taft, who was president at the time, ran as the Republican nominee. According to an article in the November 5, 1912, issue of the *Eau Claire Leader*, the presidential candidates foretold what parts of the country they expected to win a majority of votes. “Governor Wilson expects to carry everything below the Mason and Dixon’s line and to get many electoral votes in the Middle West.” Roosevelt expected to win many votes in the Western United States, and Taft expected to win many votes in the Eastern United States.⁶⁷

Of the three major political parties, only the Progressives openly endorsed women’s suffrage in their party platform. A platform presents a party’s chief principles and policies. In *National Party Platforms 1840-1964*, political scientists Kirk Porter and

⁶⁵ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 214; Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 80-81 and 84-85, quote on p. 73.

⁶⁶ Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, *National Party Platforms 1840-1964* (Urbana and London: University of Illinois Press, 1966), v.

⁶⁷ *Eau Claire Leader* (Eau Claire, WI), 5 November 1912.

Donald Johnson explain that platforms reflect “the important issues of the year” such as new developments in the economy, and political or social movements. Porter and Johnson explain further that “...platforms are one indication of the predominant forces in operation during any election year and a statement of the issues which individuals representing these forces believe to have the greatest popular appeal. In this sense, they are one barometer of opinion in American political history.”⁶⁸ The “predominant forces” helping to shape what issues are important are economic, social, racial, and other interest groups. The issue of women’s suffrage was in full force during 1912 in many states and the support of the Progressive Party turned women’s suffrage into a national issue in the 1912 campaign. This is one reason why Wisconsin’s suffrage referendum might have had more coverage in the media, and public interest, especially in the northwestern part of the state where there was more progressive support.

Theodora Winton Youmans’ column “Votes for Women” in the June 20, 1912, edition of the *Waukesha Freeman* stated that:

Roosevelt’s declaration in favor of suffrage and his proposition to make it a part of Republican policy is most important for the cause... When he favors woman suffrage it is a pretty sure indication that the general public of the United States is on the way to approve of woman suffrage in the near future, if it does not do so wholly at the present time.⁶⁹

The Democrats and Republicans avoided the issue of women’s suffrage, and did not endorse suffrage in their party platforms. All of the three well established minor political

⁶⁸ Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, *National Party Platforms 1840-1964*, vi and vii.

⁶⁹ *Waukesha Freeman* (Waukesha, WI), 20 June 1912.

parties – Prohibitionists, Socialists and Socialist Labor Party – endorsed suffrage in their party platforms, but it was not as significant of a priority as with the Progressives.⁷⁰

Woodrow Wilson won a majority of the votes for president throughout the country. A headline on the front page of the November 15, 1912, issue for the *Barron County Shield* newspaper, reported “Wilson Sweeps Entire Country.” Wilson won a majority of electoral votes in the south. He also won states in the north such as Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa, as well as many dominant Republican states. Roosevelt came in second winning six states including Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Michigan, and Taft came in third winning Utah and Vermont.⁷¹

Wisconsin voted in favor of the Democratic Party in 1912. The main reason for the Democratic win in Wisconsin was the Republican vote was split between the stalwart, conservative Republicans and the Progressives. The majority of Democratic votes were won in the south, southeastern, and eastern counties, and some central counties. The majority of Republican votes were won in the north and northwestern counties, and some central counties. The few counties that voted Progressive lay on the Wisconsin/Minnesota border: Bayfield, Douglas, Burnett, Polk, Pierce, and Washburn.⁷² Because of the significant support for Progressivism in northwestern Wisconsin, it most likely affected how the public voted on the suffrage referendum (more in favor than

⁷⁰ Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, *National Party Platforms 1840-1964*, 182-190.; Jo Freeman, “The Rise of Political Woman in the Election of 1912,” 2003, <http://www.uic.edu/orgs/cwluherstory/jofreeman/polhistory/1912.htm>, (accessed 5 February 2008).

⁷¹ *Barron County Shield* (Barron County, WI), 15 November 1912.

⁷² *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 214; Wisconsin Cartographer’s Guild, *Wisconsin’s Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 80-81 and 84-85.

against), because there were few suffrage leagues in the northwest compared to the southeast to sway voting.

The national election for President, state election for governor and other offices, and four referendums, were all being voted for on November 5, 1912. Three different colored ballots were used to vote for the various offices and referendums. The three ballots were: light blue to vote for president and vice president; white to vote for state, congressional, legislative, and county candidates/officers; and pink to vote on the suffrage referendum question. The three other referendums being voted for, relating to land and payment of salaries to judges of the Supreme Court, were on the white ballot.⁷³

The PEL used the separate pink suffrage ballot to their advantage while campaigning for the referendum. A day or two before the election, the league sent out instructions to suffrage supporters and men who had signed pledge cards saying they would vote for suffrage, about the color of the ballot and how to fill it out. They placed advertisements in street cars and newspapers saying to vote yes for women's suffrage on the pink ballot on November 5. The Eau Claire Political Equality League placed similar advertisements in the *Eau Claire Leader* newspaper a week before the election. One advertisement from November 3, 1912, professed to "Vote yes on woman suffrage. The women of Wisconsin do want to vote. Can't you trust them?" with the words pink ballot in parentheses.⁷⁴

Wisconsin anti-suffrage leagues and other groups opposed to suffrage also used the separate pink suffrage ballot in their favor, by running newspaper advertisements

⁷³ *Barron County Shield* (Barron County, WI), 25 October 1912.

⁷⁴ *Eau Claire Leader* (Eau Claire, WI), 3 November 1912.

urging voters to reject the pink ballot on November 5. The one question on the pink ballot could make it easier for illiterate or foreign men who could not speak English to vote against suffrage, by just placing an “X” in the no column. In a letter to Governor Francis McGovern from March 12, 1913, Ada L. James declared that “Because of the little pink ballot more votes were cast on the suffrage referendum than for the three candidates for Governor put together.” Later she wrote that some men who voted could not speak the language, but they had “the pink ballot with but a single question, made it possible for these men to defeat our enfranchisement.”⁷⁵

Even though La Follette was elected senator under the Progressive ticket, and Wilson for president under the Democratic ticket, Wisconsin still voted for a Republican governor, Francis E. McGovern, in 1912. McGovern received a total of 179,317 votes, but the Democratic nominee, John C. Karel, came in a close second, with 167,298 of the votes.⁷⁶ Out of all four referendums, the suffrage question received the most votes, with 227,054 against, 62.6% of the votes, and 135,736 in favor, 37.4% of the votes.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ada James Collection, 1856-1952, Outgoing correspondence, Micro 484 reel 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

⁷⁶ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 260.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 270-271.

CONCLUSION

THE OUTCOME OF THE REFERENDUM VOTE

Women's suffrage was just postponed. It wasn't settled. A question is never settled until it is settled right.

Waukesha Freeman, Nov. 21, 1912

The outcome of the referendum, with 62.6% of the votes against and 37.4% of the votes in favor of suffrage, might seem like a simple win/lose situation with citizens either supporting suffrage or not, but many factors affected the outcome of the vote. One factor was the German population. From 1900 to 1914, a majority of Germans voted Democrat in elections. The leading Democratic and German counties that would vote mainly for Democrats in elections were Ozaukee, Dodge, Jefferson, Washington, Calumet, Green Lake, Marathon, and Manitowoc, which are all in southeast, eastern, and central Wisconsin.⁷⁸ In the 1912 presidential election these counties, as well as most of the counties in southeastern and central Wisconsin, voted Democrat.⁷⁹ The Democratic Party did not openly endorse suffrage, unlike the Progressives, and the majority of Germans also opposed suffrage. These strongly Democratic and German populated counties in southeast, eastern, and central Wisconsin correlate to what counties voted against the suffrage referendum. All of eastern, and most of southern and central Wisconsin, voted against the referendum in such counties as Calumet (80.8% against, 19.2% for), Dodge

⁷⁸ Roger Edwards Wyman, "Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study," 342.

⁷⁹ *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 214.

(76% against, 24% for), Marathon (77.1% against, 22.9% for), Milwaukee (66.2% against, 41.2% for), and Ozaukee (87.4% against, 12.6% for).⁸⁰

Many suffrage organizations were organized by the PEL in southern, central, and eastern Wisconsin such as in Dodge, Milwaukee, Juneau, Marathon, Iowa, Outagamie, and Brown Counties, but it did not help to sway enough voters to vote in favor of suffrage.⁸¹ According to Genevieve McBride in *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage*, some factors that did help to defeat the vote in many rural counties and Milwaukee were “the ‘immigrant vote’ and the ‘liquor lobby.’”⁸² Wisconsin population census statistics from 1910, show that many of the counties in southern, central, and eastern Wisconsin were 50% or more rural, but not predominately rural.⁸³ Many Germans lived in rural areas on the eastern border of Wisconsin above Milwaukee. This section of Wisconsin is also where the largest concentration of barley has always been grown. The brewers and German immigrants in the urban centers in the southeast also helped to defeat the referendum. In Crystal Eastman Benedict’s “Report on the Wisconsin Suffrage Campaign,” she emphasizes that:

...the brewers didn’t fight us openly. The important thing was that everybody who did business with them from the farmer who sold them barley to the big city newspapers who sold them advertising space, knew how they stood. Thus, their

⁸⁰ Ibid, 270-271. (Refer to Appendix III to see county percentages of votes in favor and against the referendum.)

⁸¹ Ada James Collection. (Refer to Appendix I to where the PEL organized county and city leagues.)

⁸² Genevieve G. McBride, *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage*, 229.

⁸³ Historical Census Browser

mere enormous corporate existence in the State was a constant effective protest against the suffrage referendum.⁸⁴

The eastern border of Wisconsin, as well as much of central and northern-central Wisconsin, was mostly Catholic, according to a 1926 map found in *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, that compares Lutheran and Catholic ratios in the state.⁸⁵ About half or more of the Germans in Wisconsin were Catholic, and most German Catholics voted for the Democratic Party in elections.

Unlike most of the counties in southern Wisconsin, three voted in favor of the suffrage referendum: Lafayette, Rock, and Walworth Counties. Barley was grown in Rock and Walworth Counties which would connect them to the breweries when farmers would sell their barley for malting purposes. Walworth and Lafayette voted Democrat in the presidential election while Rock voted Republican. Rock County had more of an urban population according to the 1910 census, but Walworth and Lafayette were predominately rural. Lafayette and Walworth Counties had a larger ratio of Catholics, while Rock County had a larger ratio of Lutherans. The numerous suffrage organizations in all three counties along with a dominance of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish communities surrounding Rock and Walworth certainly helped with them voting in favor of suffrage. Suffrage leagues in these counties would be able to rally support for suffrage to counter the Democratic, barley farmer, and Catholic minded voters. In all three counties the vote was nearly even, but it tilted in favor of suffrage.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Benedict, Crystal Eastman, "Political Equality League: Report on the Wisconsin Suffrage Campaign," In *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution*, ed. Blanche Wiesen Cook (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), 68-69.

⁸⁵ Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 31.

⁸⁶ Ibid; Historical Census Browser; *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 270-271,

Adams County, in south-central Wisconsin, and Jackson County, in west-central Wisconsin, both voted in favor of suffrage. Both counties were predominantly rural, and voted Republican in the 1912 presidential election. They had sizable Norwegian populations, but some Germans lived in northern Adams County and in connecting counties of Wood, Waushara, and Portage. Pockets of German communities settled all over the state so some Germans also lived in Jackson County. Barley was grown in Jackson in the early 1900s. This would connect them to the brewing industry with farmers selling barley to brewers, and could increase the no vote in the suffrage referendum. Both Adams and Jackson Counties had a larger majority of Lutherans compared to Catholics in 1926, which is most likely the same pattern found from 1910 through 1920. Jackson had a PEL suffrage league in Black River Falls, but it is unclear whether Adams had any suffrage leagues. There were numerous leagues in neighboring Juneau County, which could have helped sway residents in Adams County to vote in favor of suffrage. The vote for the suffrage referendum was nearly equal in these counties, but tilted in favor of suffrage.⁸⁷

The vote for suffrage in northwestern Wisconsin was very different compared to the suffrage vote in southeast, eastern, and central Wisconsin. Most of the counties in the northwest voted in favor of suffrage. The dominance of the Scandinavian ethnic groups living in northwestern Wisconsin was a contributing factor to the vote's outcome. From 1900 to 1914, the majority of Scandinavians voted Republican. Some of the leading Republican and Scandinavian counties were Polk, Burnett, Bayfield, Florence,

⁸⁷ Historical Census Browser; *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 214, 270-271; Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service of Agriculture, *County Agricultural Statistics Series, Wisconsin*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1954, AGR.3/2: A 21/1954-AGR.3/2: W 24/1954; Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 31.

Trempealeau, and Vernon, in northern and western Wisconsin.⁸⁸ In the 1912 presidential election, Vernon, Florence, and Trempealeau voted Republican, while Polk, Burnett, and Bayfield voted Progressive.

In 1912, the Scandinavian Republican vote was not as strong because the various ethnic groups split their support between Roosevelt and Taft in the presidential election. Five of the nine northwestern counties that voted in favor of suffrage--Douglas, Bayfield, Burnett, Polk, and Pierce--voted the Progressive ticket. The Progressive Party openly endorsed suffrage, which might have persuaded residents in these counties to vote more in favor of suffrage, especially when only Pierce and Douglas Counties had suffrage leagues. Even with the limited amount of suffrage leagues in these counties, once a league was formed, "it became part of the state network to reach out farther into the rural areas and to provide a contact for the two state headquarters." One way leagues would reach out to rural voters was by speaking and handing out suffrage literature at state and county fairs which "brought the state's rural population together" and enabled suffragists to speak directly with farmers. All five counties were predominately rural, except for Douglas whose city of Superior contained a large portion of its urban population. All four Scandinavian groups lived somewhere in these counties, with the Norwegians being the most distributed among them.⁸⁹

Even with a predominately rural population in four out of the five counties, only Pierce and Polk grew a significant amount of barley. From 1900 to 1930, particularly

⁸⁸ Roger Edwards Wyman, "Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study," 347.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 644-669; Historical Census Browser; *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 214, 270-271; Marilyn Grant, "The 1912 Suffrage Referendum: An Exercise in Political Action," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 4, issue 2, 1980-1981, 116-118, first quote on p. 113, second quote on p.115; Ada James Collection.

around 1910, barley was grown in abundance in Pierce and St. Croix Counties, as well as in counties towards the east and south, where a large Swedish population lived and grew barley. Barley grown in these areas might have tilted votes against the suffrage referendum, if a sizable number of farmers sold their crops to brewers. St. Croix County was not predominantly rural like Pierce County, with being 89% rural and 11% urban, and it also voted Democrat in the 1912 election. St. Croix, Douglas, and Bayfield had a larger ratio of Catholics living in their counties, while Pierce, Polk, and Burnett had a larger ratio of Lutherans. Pierce and St. Croix Counties did vote for suffrage, but the vote was nearly even, unlike to the south in Pepin County where the vote went 61.8% against and 38.2% in favor and in Buffalo County 66.9% against and 33.1% in favor of suffrage. Douglas, Bayfield, and Burnett Counties voted with a majority in favor of suffrage, while in Polk County the vote was 55.5% in favor and 44.5% against suffrage.⁹⁰

Rusk and Barron Counties both voted Republican in the presidential election and were predominately rural. Barron grew a significant amount of barley around 1910, radiating from the Pierce and St. Croix area, while Rusk grew an insignificant amount. Barron County had a sizable amount of Norwegians, Swedish, and Danish living in its county, while a mixture of Scandinavian ethnicities lived in Rusk County. Barron had a larger ratio of Lutherans, while Rusk had a larger ratio of Catholics. Between the two, only Barron County had suffrage leagues. Both voted in favor of suffrage with Barron

⁹⁰ Roger Edwards Wyman, "Voting Behavior in the Progressive Era: Wisconsin as a Case Study," 644-669; Historical Census Browser; *Blue Book of Wisconsin*, 1913, 117, 214, 270-271; Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service of Agriculture, *County Agricultural Statistics Series, Wisconsin*, AGR.3/2: A 21/1954-AGR.3/2: W 24/1954; Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 31.

County voting 54.7% in favor and 45.3% against and Rusk County voting 55.9% in favor and 44.1% against suffrage.⁹¹

Sawyer County voted Democrat in the presidential election. In 1926, there was a larger ratio of Catholics to Lutherans in this county, which was probably a pattern seen in the previous decade. This would increase the Democratic vote, because many Catholics voted the Democratic ticket. Sawyer was predominately rural, but did not grow barley. A mixture of Scandinavian ethnicities also lived in Sawyer. A suffrage league had been developed, but the vote for suffrage in Sawyer was nearly even.⁹²

Even though a number of counties voted in favor of suffrage, the referendum was defeated almost two to one. Many causal factors affected the referendum's defeat and connect to help explain why mostly northwestern counties voted for suffrage rather than southeastern counties where there was more suffrage organization. Even though the 1912 referendum failed to give women the vote, it was a major stepping stone for Wisconsin women's suffrage. It educated the public about the importance of women's suffrage and organized the state into suffrage leagues. This enabled everyone in favor of women's suffrage to keep fighting for a government that would settle the question of women's suffrage the right way.

In 1913, the PEL and WWSA joined efforts and merged their organizations. They kept the WWSA name, and elected a new president, Theodora Winton Youmans. Another suffrage bill was introduced in 1913 that passed through the legislature, but was vetoed by Governor McGovern before it reached the referendum stage. A national

⁹¹ Ibid; Wisconsin Cartographer's Guild, *Wisconsin's Past and Present: A Historical Atlas*, 21 and 31.

⁹² Ibid.

suffrage amendment was passed in 1919 and Wisconsin was the first to ratify the amendment. The suffrage, or Nineteenth, amendment was adopted in 1920.⁹³

⁹³ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 6, 707-708; Ruth De Young Kohler, *The Story of Wisconsin Women*, (Wisconsin: The Committee on Wisconsin Women, 1948), Local History, Special Collections and Archives, McIntyre Library, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, Wisconsin, 63; Marilyn Grant, "The 1912 Suffrage Referendum: An Exercise in Political Action," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 4, issue 2, 1980-1981, 116-118.

Appendix I

Counties and Cities the Political Equality League organized during the suffrage campaign prior to the Nov. 5, 1912 referendum

Counties (31)	Cities (54)	Region of Wisconsin the city/county is found
*Barron	Chetek	Northwest
Brown	De Pere, Green Bay	East
Buffalo	Mondovi, Gilmanton, Naples	West
	Chippewa Falls (Chippewa Cty)	Northwest
Clark		West-central
Columbia		South-central/south
Crawford	Prairie du Chien	Southwest
Dane	Madison	South
	Beaver Dam (Dodge Cty), Watertown (Dodge/Jefferson Cty)	Southeast
Door	Sturgeon Bay	East
	*Superior (Douglas Cty)	Northwest
Dunn	Menomonie, New Richmond, Colfax, Knapp	Northwest
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	Northwest
Fond du Lac		East
Forest	Crandon	Northeast
Grant	Fennimore	Southwest
Iowa	Dodgeville, Mineral Point	South
	*Black River Falls (Jackson Cty)	West-central
Juneau	Elroy, New Lisbon, Mauston	South-central
Kewaunee		East
La Crosse		West
*Lafayette	New Diggings, Darlington	South
	Antigo (Langlade Cty)	Northeast
	Wausau (Marathon Cty)	Central
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa, West Allis	Southeast
Monroe	Sparta	West
Oneida	Rhineland	North
Outagamie	Appleton, Seymour	East
*Pierce		Northwest
	Burlington (Racine Cty)	Southeast
	Richland Center (Richland Cty)	Southwest
*Rock	Evansville, Janesville	South/southeast
Sauk	Baraboo, Reedsburg	South-central
*Sawyer		Northwest
Shawano		Northeast

	*Hudson, New Richmond (St. Croix Cty)	Northwest
Trempealeau	Whitehall	West
Vernon	Viroqua	Southwest
*Walworth	Sharon, Lake Geneva, Whitewater, Elkhorn, East Troy	Southeast
	Hartland (Waukesha Cty)	Southeast
Winnebago	Oshkosh	East/east-central
	Grand Rapids (Wood Cty)	Central

* - Designates what counties voted for the Referendum

- Counties not organized that passed referendum:
 - Adams (South-central Wisconsin)
 - Bayfield (Northwest Wisconsin)
 - Burnett (Northwest Wisconsin)
 - Polk (Northwest Wisconsin)
 - Rusk (Northwest Wisconsin)

- More organizations but could be either the city or the county:
 - Kenosha (Southeastern Wisconsin)
 - Manitowoc (Eastern Wisconsin)
 - Marinette (Northeastern Wisconsin)
 - Portage (Central Wisconsin)
 - Sheboygan (Eastern Wisconsin)
 - Waukesha (Southeastern Wisconsin)
 - Waupaca (East-central Wisconsin)

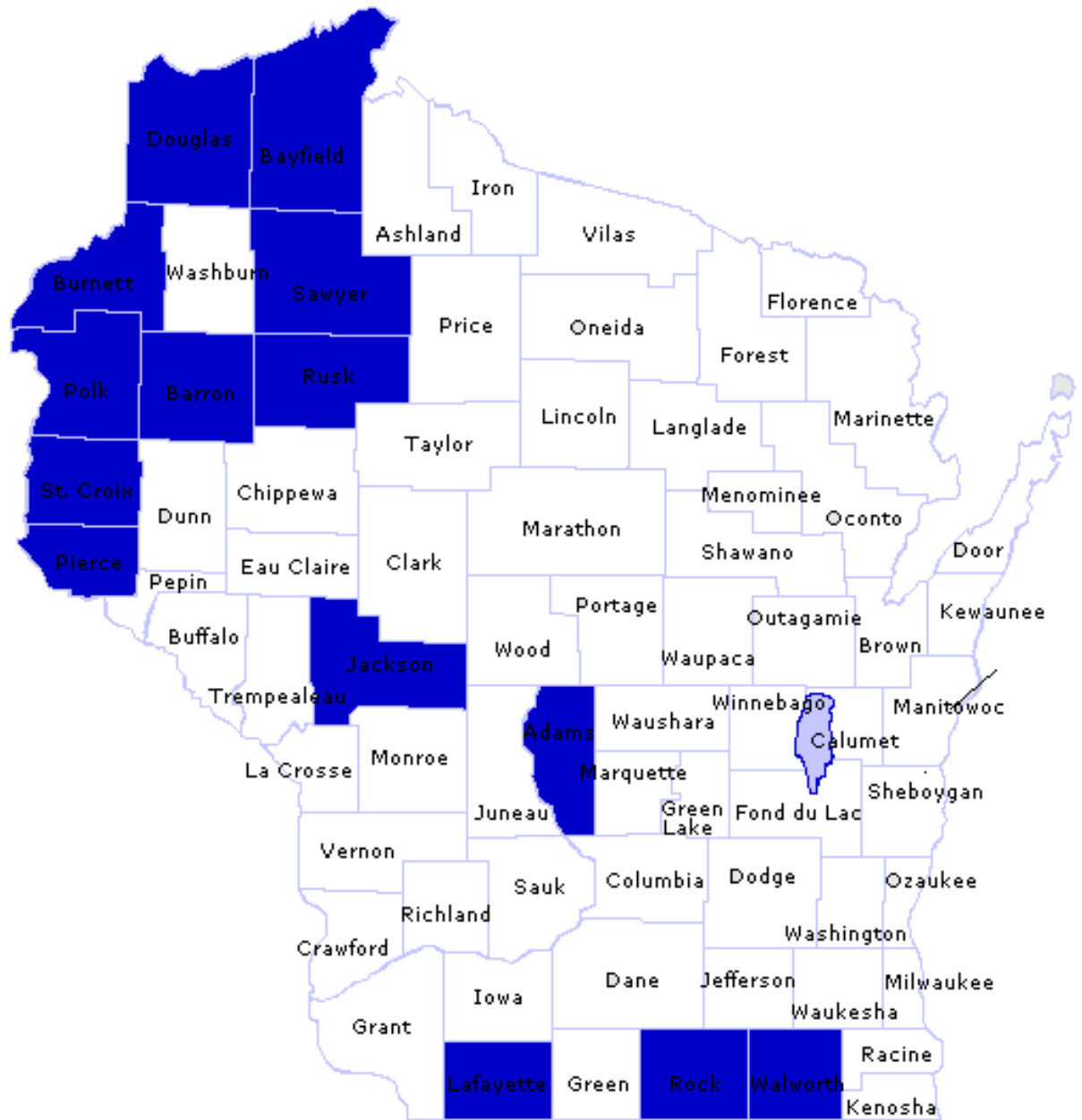
Table Sources:

Ada James Collection. Articles, speeches and outgoing correspondence. 1816-1952. Wis Mss OP, Boxes 24 and 29; Micro 848 reels 1-4. Wisconsin Historical Society Archives. Madison, Wisconsin.

Blue Book of Wisconsin. Published under the direction of Industrial Commission, Madison Democrat Printing Co. Madison, Wisconsin, 1913, WI A. 1:1913.

(Note: The counties in the table are the ones I found mentioned as having suffrage leagues. An article paid for by the PEL, from the November 4, 1912, edition of the *Milwaukee Journal* said that 64 counties had active suffrage organizations.)

Appendix II



- The 14 out of 71 counties that voted yes in the 1912 suffrage referendum (Menominee County was not created until the 1960s. In 1912, there were only 71 counties in Wisconsin, versus the 72 counties this present day map shows.)

Sources:

Map source: <http://www.dot.wisconsin.gov/travel/maps/county.htm>

Blue Book of Wisconsin. Published under the direction of Industrial Commission, Madison Democrat Printing Co. Madison, Wisconsin, 1913, WI A. 1:1913.

Appendix III

Percentages of the County Votes for and against the Nov. 5, 1912 Suffrage Referendum

	Votes For		Votes Against		
County Name	#	%	#	%	Total #
*Adams	708	52.7	635	47.3	1,343
Ashland	1,463	44.4	1,830	55.6	3,293
*Barron	2,028	54.7	1,677	45.3	3,705
*Bayfield	1,318	62.1	806	37.9	2,124
Brown	2,498	31.7	5,387	68.3	7,885
Buffalo	764	33.1	1,543	66.9	2,307
*Burnett	817	61.1	521	38.9	1,338
Calumet	514	19.2	2,170	80.8	2,684
Chippewa	1,939	41.6	2,725	58.4	4,664
Clark	1,690	40.0	2,536	60.0	4,226
Columbia	2,262	42.1	3,113	57.9	5,375
Crawford	1,214	43.3	1,588	56.7	2,802
Dane	6,717	42.5	9,102	57.5	15,819
Dodge	2,009	24.0	6,365	76.0	8,374
Door	1,065	38.7	1,685	61.3	2,750
*Douglas	2,277	64.1	1,277	35.9	3,554
Dunn	1,694	49.3	1,741	50.7	3,435
Eau Claire	2,074	45.9	2,445	54.1	4,519
Florence	278	44.3	349	55.7	627
Fond du Lac	2,831	32.1	6,002	67.9	8,833
Forest	487	39.6	744	60.4	1,231
Grant	3,150	43.4	4,108	56.6	7,258
Green	1,728	45.8	2,043	54.2	3,771
Green Lake	770	28.6	1,921	71.4	2,691
Iowa	1,838	42.4	2,497	57.6	4,335
Iron	519	48.3	555	51.7	1,074
*Jackson	1,256	52.9	1,120	47.1	2,376
Jefferson	1,608	26.0	4,582	74.0	6,190
Juneau	1,124	43.0	1,488	57.0	2,612
Kenosha	2,144	44.7	2,651	55.3	4,795
Kewaunee	687	22.4	2,377	77.6	3,064
La Crosse	2,271	30.4	5,206	69.6	7,477
*Lafayette	2,131	50.7	2,073	49.3	4,204
Langlade	1,119	38.1	1,817	61.9	2,936
Lincoln	1,030	33.2	2,077	66.8	3,107
Manitowoc	1,533	21.2	5,682	78.8	7,215
Marathon	1,924	22.9	6,476	77.1	8,400
Marinette	1,585	35.4	2,897	64.6	4,482

Marquette	597	30.0	1,393	70.0	1,990
Milwaukee	20,445	33.8	40,029	66.2	60,474
Monroe	1,829	41.2	2,609	58.8	4,438
Oconto	1,233	30.7	2,789	69.3	4,022
Oneida	868	42.3	1,050	54.7	1,918
Outagamie	2,517	31.6	5,439	68.4	7,956
Ozaukee	352	12.6	2,445	87.4	2,797
Pepin	466	38.2	753	61.8	1,219
*Pierce	1,732	55.5	1,387	44.5	3,119
*Polk	1,588	55.5	1,271	44.5	2,859
Portage	1,780	35.1	3,294	64.9	5,074
Price	1,062	48.7	1,118	51.3	2,180
Racine	3,277	41.0	4,726	59.0	8,003
Richland	1,765	47.8	1,924	52.1	3,689
*Rock	4,332	51.1	4,152	48.9	8,484
*Rusk	889	55.9	700	44.1	1,589
*St. Croix	2,123	51.0	2,040	49.0	4,163
Sauk	2,041	38.5	3,260	61.5	5,301
*Sawyer	466	51.4	441	48.6	907
Shawano	1,103	25.6	3,199	74.4	4,302
Sheboygan	2,393	25.8	6,865	74.2	9,258
Taylor	662	30.5	1,510	69.5	2,172
Trempealeau	1,589	45.1	1,938	54.9	3,527
Vernon	1,852	43.5	2,409	56.5	4,261
Vilas	1,852	43.5	2,409	56.5	4,261
*Walworth	2,621	52.6	2,365	47.4	4,986
Washburn	703	49.7	712	50.3	1,415
Washington	768	17.2	3,690	82.8	4,458
Waukesha	2,774	39.1	4,319	60.9	7,093
Waupaca	1,989	38.5	3,179	61.5	5,168
Waushara	1,309	46.8	1,488	53.2	2,797
Winnebago	3,302	31.5	7,164	68.5	10,466
Wood	1,875	37.2	3,163	62.8	5,038
Total for all Counties	135,736	37.4	227,054	62.6	362,970

* - Designates what counties voted for the Referendum

- Milwaukee County had 16.7% of the total number of votes cast on the woman's suffrage question in the referendum

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