

The Story of the Nevada Equal Suffrage Campaign: Memoirs of Anne Martin

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Introduction

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First woman ever to run in any State for the U.S. Senate, arrested by orders of Winston Churchill (with other members of Mrs. Pankhurst's deputation to Great Britain's Prime Minister), offered bail by Herbert Hoover, Nevada and national leader in the movement for woman suffrage—there were high points in the career of Reno's Anne Martin.

Miss Martin is a native of Nevada, born in Empire, the old mill town on the Carson River for crushing Comstock ores, and is still in 1948 a Nevada resident. Daughter of Honorable William O'Hara Martin (State Senator from Ormsby County 1876-1879) and Louise Stadtmuller Martin, well-known Nevada pioneers, she was a student at Bishop Whitaker's School for Girls and a graduate of the University of Nevada, later also earning the degrees of A.B. and A.M. from Leland Stanford University. She was founder and first head of the Department of History at the University of Nevada, 1897-1901, under President Joseph E. Stubbs' administration. In 1899 Miss Martin took leave of absence for travel and study abroad, recommending Miss Jeanne E. Wier, whom she had known at Stanford and brought to Nevada as her substitute.

Miss Martin returned to the University only briefly in 1901, resigning upon the death of her father. Between 1901 and 1911, part of which period was spent in England, she was attracted from the study of history and art to participation in the English movement for equal suffrage for women, then in its stormiest period under the brilliant leadership of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. During this period Miss Martin once was arrested and jailed for "disturbing the peace," with fellow suffrage workers, at orders of the Home Secretary, Winston Churchill. Hearing of the arrest, a Stanford friend of Miss Martin, who was then living in London, Lou Henry Hoover, sent her husband, Herbert Hoover, down to the police station to offer bail for her old college associate. However, by the time Mr. Hoover had arrived at Cannon Row police station to offer bail, Miss Martin had already been released through bail offered by the husband

of one of her fellow prisoners, himself later a British peer and distinguished member of the House of Lords, Lord Pethick Lawrence.

In February 1912, a year after the equal suffrage amendment had passed in Nevada Legislature for the first time, Miss Martin was elected President of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. For some years her whole interest had centered in the movement for woman suffrage. The official history of the woman suffrage movement by Ida H. Harper, and other materials in the University of California (Bancroft) and University of Nevada and Washoe County Libraries give ample proof of the prominent part played by Miss Martin in the State and National equal suffrage movements. Between 1912 and 1914 Miss Martin made speaking tours through every Nevada county, and headed the women's organization which secured the necessary second passage of the State constitutional suffrage amendment by the Legislature of 1913, and popular ratification by the male voters in November 1914. As legislative chairman of the National Woman's Party for the national suffrage amendment, by organization of hearings before the Senate and House committees, by speaking for the amendment before the platform committees at the National Conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties in 1916, and other service in the national suffrage movement, Miss Martin played a key role also by securing the aid of Nevada's Senators Pittman and Newlands toward speeding out of committee and to the Senate calendar the measure which became the nineteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

In 1918 Miss Martin became the first woman ever to run for a seat in the U.S. Senate, polling a very respectable quarter of the total vote, through running as an Independent without party organization backing. Running in again in 1920, she polled an even larger vote. Today still a resident of Reno, in 1945 Miss Martin was appropriately awarded an honorary degree as Doctor of Laws by the University of Nevada.

Senator John Robbins of Elko, introducing Dr. Martin to the Nevada State Senate in 1947, stated that "she has done more for the women of Nevada than any other person." He described her as "long and prominently identified not only as the history of Nevada but as a nationally known figure."*

* Mr. Robbins as quoted in *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 20, 1947.



Anne Martin as President of Nevada Equal Franchise Society, 1912-1914.

(Photo by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.)

The Story of the Nevada Equal Suffrage Campaign¹
Memoirs of Anne Martin

Nevada was the last of the Colorado River Basin States to enfranchise its women. With Montana it was the last of the States of the West to do so. Its equal suffrage campaign from 1912 to 1914 touched practically every inhabitant and created a new epoch in Nevada history. It evoked Nation-wide interest. It is an epic in politics in which a small group of voteless women, working for three years almost night and day, educated and converted a majority of reluctant men voters and brought women into the State's electorate. Women lifted themselves out of the slough of political degradation in which the Constitution had placed them. The men outnumbered the women of Nevada more than two to one. Nevada was and is the most "male" State in the Union, one of several factors which made the campaign more dramatic and at the same time more difficult than the suffrage campaign in other States.

Excepting California, Montana and Arizona, Nevada is the largest in area over which a State-wide suffrage campaign ever had to be waged, more than 110,000 square miles, with the smallest and most scattered population (about 80,000) of any State in the Union. Then, too, at that time living and travel conditions away from the railroads were in the main most primitive and difficult, the roads not graded or surfaced, deeply rutted, gullied, high-centered so that the oil container and the differential of the car were often scraped and damaged—and the choking white alkaline dust was everywhere! But the generosity and hospitality of the mining and ranching population living this home "no man's land" is still one of the pleasantest things in life to remember by those who experienced it.

It made up for the "aloneness" of the first journeys through the State in all weathers, for having to face new towns, large and small (and often hostile people) with nothing but a few previously selected names of inhabitants as introduction, for tramping about in mud and dust, in heat and cold, in ice and snow, knocking at doors, ringing strange door bells, serving as organizer of meetings, as speaker, and finally as newspaper reporter and propagandist for the cause, always carrying a briefcase or handbag full of suffrage literature to be distributed. With one's work done, and the satisfaction of leaving behind one a good suffrage committee of women that would probably function, the haven of a Pullman car and a night's rest on the journey home to Reno was a goal thankfully attained!

The Nevada suffrage amendment to the State Constitution followed customary usage and struck out the word "male"; perhaps striking out of that word "male" (a usual description of suffrage constitutional amendments) accounts partly for masculine distaste of what seemed a hostile process! The suffrage amendment read: "All citizens

¹ Based on the account by Miss B.M. Wilson, vice president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society 1912-1914, lawyer of Goldfield, Nevada, as published in the official *History of Woman Suffrage*, edited by Ida Husted Harper, vol. VI., pp. 392-399, and on other sources. Revised and brought up to date by Mrs. B.D. Billingshurst in collaboration with Anne Martin.

of the United States (instead of "every male citizen" as in the then existing constitution) of the age of twenty-one and upwards *** shall be entitled to vote *** provided that no person *** convicted of treason or felony *** and no idiot or insane person shall be entitled to the privilege of an elector." The constitutional amendment ended with this new sentence: "There shall be no denial of the elective franchise to any election on account of sex."

Thus were Nevada women to be removed from the category of traitors, criminals, idiots, and insane persons. Few men have understood the indignation and resentment of suffragists at this classification, undoubtedly one of the motive forces of the whole movement; as was also their instinctive desire to escape from the deadening effects of hypocritical and worn-out traditional phrases and acts that so largely dominate political life, and to make a fresh approach to problems of social welfare and human needs. The only suffrage States in the whole United States at the time of the Nevada campaign were Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas, nine in all. It was most important to win Nevada, thus making a solid block of Western States and increasing the power of the suffrage *bloc* in Congress, with the purpose of making the national suffrage amendment a national political issue.

In February 1912, a year after the suffrage amendment had passed the Nevada Legislature for the first time, Miss Anne Martin of Reno, who had spent the years 1909-1911 in England, during which she worked for suffrage under Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, was elected President of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. Miss Martin, a native of Nevada, daughter of Honorable William O'Hara Martin and Louise Stadtmuller Martin, Nevada pioneers, was a graduate of the State University; she had the degrees of A.B. and A.M. from Leland Stanford University; she was found and became head of the Department of History, 1897-1901, in the University of Nevada under President Stubbs; administration. She had studied abroad and traveled widely, but her whole interest had now centered in woman suffrage. Miss B.M. Wilson of Goldfield was elected vice president and Mrs. Grace Bridges of Reno, secretary-treasurer. Mrs. Henry Stanislawsky, former president, had moved to California and the organization, with the long wait between Legislatures and no definite work, had a very small membership (only 11 unpaid members), no county organizations and no funds. The suffrage amendment had taken its first step toward adoption by passing the Legislature in 1911 under Mrs. Stanislawsky's leadership, assisted by Mrs. Alice Chism, Mrs. O.H. Mack, Miss Felice Cohn, Mrs. W.K. Freudenberger, Mrs. Clay Tallman, and others, and by Lieutenant Governor Gilbert Ross, as President of the Senate. Under the Constitution it was necessary to obtain its passage also by the next session in 1913, in order to have it submitted to the male electorate for adoption or rejection in 1914.

The tireless and successful lobby work in the Legislature of 1911 is much to be commended, as was the parliamentary support of Lieutenant Governor Ross, to whom Nevada women owe an unforgettable debt. It was, however, obvious to Miss Martin and her associates that, judging by the experience of other States, and in the absence of State-wide support through county organizations, the favorable legislative vote of 1911 of 16-2 in the Senate, of 31-13 in the Assembly (after much parliamentary scuffling and

some efforts to block it) was an indispensable preliminary step, but that the real battle for submission must be fought in 1913. The risk of failure to win this next vital step through weakness of State and local organizations must be avoided at all costs. Miss Martin, therefore, began the campaign by organizing the State in 1912. She paid her own expenses on speaking trips to every county for this purpose, also on journeys to California and Colorado, to the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference at St. Louis in April 1912, to which she was invited, although Nevada was not a Mississippi Valley State, and to the National Suffrage Convention in Philadelphia in November. She was an invited speaker at both conventions. Here she enlisted the interest and financial support of national and State leaders and an advisory board of influential men and women outside of Nevada was formed.

In February 1913, her report made to the State suffrage convention in Reno, which was attended by forty or more delegates representing a majority of the sixteen counties, showed that the Equal Franchise Society had been developed in one year into a State-wide body, with practically every county organized and a large number of auxiliary town societies, and with nearly one thousand paid-up members. There was a bank balance of several hundred dollars from collections at meetings, monthly pledges of members, and gifts from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Clarence Mackay, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Mrs. Oliver H.P. Belmont, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. George Day of Connecticut, from Connecticut and Massachusetts suffrage associations and other eastern supporters, and from suffrage groups of California, Oregon, Arizona, and Colorado she had been invited to address or with which she had corresponded. Reports also showed that a press bureau had been organized at State Headquarters (principally Miss Martin and Mrs. Bridges) by which Nevada's forty-five newspapers, chiefly rural weeklies, were supplied regularly with a special suffrage news service; that Dr. Shaw gave Miss Martin seventeen sets of the official "*History of Woman Suffrage*" in four large volumes, edited by Ida Husted Harper, and that these were presented to the sixteen leading county libraries of the State and to the University of Nevada library; that owing to the generosity of the editor, Alice Stone Blackwell, every newspaper, all public libraries and railroad men's reading rooms, more than one hundred school districts and three hundred leading men and women throughout the State, received every week the "*Woman's Journal*" (Boston), official organ of the National Suffrage Association, which always contained Nevada suffrage news; that every voter on the county registration lists had been circularized with suffrage literature, and with Mill Wilson's special written leaflet "Women Under Nevada Laws," which set forth the legal discriminations against women. Also, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, leading American feminist, whose epoch-making "*Women and Economics*" and other books were translated into many foreign languages, had promised to come to Nevada later in the spring on a speaking tour.

An advisory council of Nevada's most prominent men had been formed. Every legislative candidate had been asked to vote for the suffrage amendment, if elected, and, as a result of the favorable public opinion created by the newly organized county groups, more than the necessary number had pledged themselves in writing; so the day after the election in November it was known that there was a safe majority in the

coming Legislature if all pledges were kept. The Legislative Committee of the Equal Franchise Society, led by Miss Martin, was on duty, and within the first two weeks of the session, in January 1913, the amendment was passed by both Houses (49-3 in the Assembly, 19-3 in the Senate), and approved by Governor Oddie on January 31. So it was now before the people, *i.e.*, the male electorate, to reject or adopt in the next general election in November 1914.

The problem before the State convention at Reno in February 1913, was how to educate the male electorate (and the many women who were opposed) and overcome the active opposition of the liquor and other vested interests, which were determined to continue to keep Nevada "wide-open" by "keeping out the women." Nevada was the one "black spot" entirely surrounded by white suffrage States on the suffrage map of the West. The convention re-elected Miss Martin and left in her hands the supervision of building up a majority for the amendment at the election in November 1914. The State headquarters were moved in 1913 from the Cheney building to larger rooms in the Washoe County Bank Building, on the southwest corner of Virginia and Second Streets. During 1913 she had kept the State organization actively at work by trips and speeches through the northern and southern counties and by securing the help of suffrage speakers from other States. Mrs. Gilman arrived in the late spring, as arranged, and held conferences and addressed largely attended meetings at Caliente, Goldfield, and Tonopah on her way north to Reno. (She spoke also in Lovelock, Winnemucca, and Elko on her way back to New York.) At this first major meeting following submission, the Majestic theater in Reno was crowded to the doors; the audience was composed of many more men than women, who listened with thoughtfulness and amusement to her provocative, wise and witty speech and asked many questions at its close. Mrs. Gilman's tour of Nevada undoubtedly raised the still uncoordinated work in the counties to the stature of a State campaign. The people of Nevada began to realize they were asked to take part in a fight to the finish, and that the suffragist position was, "Failure is impossible."

A full-time stenographer was now necessary, and Miss Nell Morrow of Reno, niece of Judge W.A. Massey, ably filled this position as State headquarters secretary. Miss Wilson, the vice president and also president of the Esmeralda County League, with headquarters at Goldfield, was in general charge of the southern counties, which had a very large miners' vote, chiefly new voters who had come to Nevada from Colorado and neighboring States with the rush to the newly discovered mines in the Tonopah and Goldfield region, beginning in 1901. In November 1913 Miss Martin had gone as delegate and speaker to the National Woman Suffrage Convention in Washington, and there, in addition to promises of an organizer and money from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, she secured from Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, the "youth" movement in the suffrage field, promise of the services of Miss Mabel Vernon, perhaps its most capable organizer. She also obtained pledges of \$1,000 from Senator Francis G. Newlands, \$1,000 from Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw of Boston through Mrs. Maud Park, \$1,000 from the National American Woman Suffrage Association, \$500 from Mrs. Fels, \$300 from Miss Eileen Canfield; also \$250 from Mrs. W. O'H. Martin of

Reno (Miss Martin's mother), and many smaller sums from individuals and the organized Nevada suffrage groups.

With the assurance of an adequate fund for office expenses and supplies, salaries, printing, traveling expenses of organizers, automobiles, telegrams and telephones, rent of halls, etc., amounting to over \$7,000 in all, the final "drive" for suffrage for Nevada women was begun after the State convention in February 1914. Miss Vernon arrived, as promised, in April, and at once made a trip around the State to strengthen the county and local organizations. At headquarters in Reno, Miss Martin kept in touch with the work in every section, wrote suffrage leaflets and planned the final campaign. Miss Martin also collaborated with Mary Austin (author of the "*Land of Little Rain*") on a suffrage pamphlet published by the National Association which contrasted the Nevada suffrage problem with that of other States, and was widely distributed. The concrete object of the campaign was to secure the endorsement and support of labor unions, religious and educational groups, women's clubs and political parties; to rouse as many women as possible to active work and to have at least one in charge of every voting precinct; to reach every voter in the State with literature and by a personal message through a house-to-house canvass, and to appeal to both men and women everywhere through press work and public meetings addressed by the best speakers in the country.

Nevada's 80,000 inhabitants (including its approximate 20,000 male voters who were to decide the adoption of the amendment) were dispersed over the enormous area of 110,000 square miles, an area almost twice as large as that of the New England States. Of these, in round numbers, 40,000 were men over twenty-one years of age, of whom only 20,000 remained in the State long enough to vote at the last general election. This meant, on the average, that there was about one voter to every five square miles! There were more than twice as many men as women in the State, with a large proportion of itinerant mining and agricultural workers. This shifting electorate had to be reeducated every two years between elections. There was only one large town, Reno, with about 15,000 inhabitants, and three or four others with a population of a few thousands each; in these towns the greatest hostility to woman suffrage existed; the rest of the people lived far apart in families or small groups, in mining camps on distant mountains, and on remote ranches in the watered valleys. Aside from railroads which connected the chief towns, the only other means of transportation was over very rough, and at times, impassable dirt roads. Nothing could prevent a heavy adverse vote in Reno and other towns where the saloons, with their annexes of gambling rooms and dance halls, and "big business" generally were powerful, so everything depended on reducing their unfavorable majority by building up the largest possible majorities in the mining camps and rural districts. "Every vote counts" was the slogan, and "Give Nevada women a square deal!"

At this point acknowledgment must be made to the county chairmen and local workers who gave devoted service, sometimes at great personal sacrifice, to carry out this long-range plan; they must not be forgotten, these pioneer members of the State organization that had been built up since 1912: Mrs. Alexander Orr, Pioche, Lincoln County; Mrs. Hugh Brown, Tonopah, Nye County; Mrs. Minnie Comins MacDonald, Ely,

White Pine County; Mrs. A.J. McCarthy, Hawthorne, Mineral County; Mrs. C.L. Horsey who cooperated with Mrs. C.P. Squires, Mrs. Orr, and Bird Wilson to carry Clark County; Mrs. Rudolph Zadow and Effie Eather, Eureka, Eureka County; Mrs. J.E. Bray and Miss Emma Vanderleith, Carson City, Ormsby County, who helped also the small committee in Douglas County of which Mrs. Lillian Virgin Finnegan and Dr. Eliza Cook, pioneer woman doctor, were members; Mrs. F.P. Langan and Mrs. Lyman Clark, Virginia City, Storey County; Mrs. G. Webster, Mrs. C.A. Steele, Mrs. J.I. Wilson, and Mrs. George West, Yerington, Lyon County; Mrs. H.C. Taylor and Dr. Nellie Hascall, Fallon, Churchill County; Mrs. M.S. Bonnifield, Winnemucca, and Mrs. Mark Walser, Lovelock, of Humboldt County; Mrs. George Kaeding, Mrs. W.T. Jenkins, Mrs. Alice Rose, and the Lemaire family, Battle Mountain, and Mrs. Chrissie Watt Clark and Mrs. Joe Miller, Austin, of Lander County; Mrs. E.E. Caine, Elko, Elko County; Miss B.M. Wilson, Mrs. Ruby Fitzgerald, Goldfield, Esmeralda County; and a galaxy of members from Reno and Sparks and northern Washoe County in addition to those mentioned in other parts of this article, who stand out for their active and devoted work: Mrs. J.B. Menardi, Mrs. J.E. Church, Mrs. J.E. Stubbs, Miss K. Bardenwerper, Miss L. DeLaguna, Mrs. Miles Kennedy, Mrs. W.H. Hood, Mrs. P.B. Kennedy, Mrs. W.H. Bray, Mrs. H.J. Grubnau, Mrs. S.W. Belford, Mrs. B.D. Billinghamurst, Mrs. Winnie McCunniff, Mrs. Celia Phelps, Mrs. Burroughs Edsall, Minnie Flanigan, Grace Mahan, Margaret Turano, Mary Henry, Sophie Baumann, Mrs. Chas. Gulling, Mrs. Johnson Dixson, Mrs. L.B. Clinedinst, Mrs. Lizzie Schmitt, Mrs. A.C. Swesey, Mrs. F.O. Norton, Mrs. Joseph Redman, Mrs. Charles Boswell, Mrs. Alf Doten, Mrs. Jennie K. Logan, Mrs. L.C. Booth, Mrs. Bessie Eichelberger, Mrs. Tiny Kemble (of Vya) and others who many have been inadvertently omitted. Also the earlier suffrage pioneers, Mrs. John R. Williamson, Mrs. D.B. Boyd, Mrs. Elda Orr, Mrs. Alice Chism must be remembered, the pioneers who bridged the gap between the speaking campaign of Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw in Reno in 1896 and the present campaign, which was destined to be the last and the successful one.

In July 1914 Miss Martin and Miss Vernon started out on their final canvass of the State, "prospecting for votes" in the mines, going underground in the vast mountains by elevator, tunnel, ladder, or in buckets lowered by windlass to talk to the miners who were "on shift" and could not attend the street or hall meetings. To reach less than 100 voters in Austin, the county seat of Lander County, required a two days' journey over the desert, and many places were a several days' trip away from a railroad, like the mining camp of Jarbidge in northern Elko County, and Vya in northern Washoe County. By automobile, wagon, on horseback, climbing up to mining camps on foot, the workers went; making a "house-to-house" canvass of ranches many miles apart; traveling 150 miles over the desert all day to speak to the "camp," which was always assembled on the street in front of the largest and best lighted saloon, on their arrival at dusk. There was often humorous or heated opposition and some heckling from the older men, and, surprisingly, from the younger women with their incongruous war-cry: "Women's place is in the home!" Many were the courtesies received from shirt-sleeved and booted miners and cowboys and from busy housewives and mothers "cumbered with much serving." They were also greatly assisted by the suffrage association's local chairmen, who would hastily obtain substitutes to cook for their "hay crews" or their

men boarders in the smaller mining camps and drive miles to arrange meetings. They always tried to reach a settlement or hospitable ranchhouse for the night. Where this was not possible, they slept on blankets in hayfields or on the ground in the heart of the desert itself, after a midnight drive from the last meeting toward the next day's town on the itinerary. Nevada's brilliant starlit sky and eerie coyote calls, the calm beauty of Nevada nights, gave rest from fatigue. In the silent desert nights the spiritual link with others throughout the world who were striving for similar ends became almost a reality. And one who still lived in time and space seemed almost one with those who dwelt in the timeless and spaceless unknown. Here was compensation!

At dawn a bottle of thermos coffee and a roll or doughnut supplied breakfast and at sunrise, the travelers were ready for the day's journey. The trip covered 3,000 miles, chiefly over ungraded, unsurfaced, dusty, bumpy desert roads, in model "T" Ford card rented by the day or week. Sometimes it was possible to make only 12 miles an hour in the deeply rutted roads, to prevent broken springs and axles—and broken backs! A five gallon kerosene can or water was always carried for emergencies, and for safety, in those grim and sparsely settled desert regions.

Meanwhile at State headquarters in Reno leaflets that had been carefully written as appeals to men to "give Nevada women justice, to give them a square deal" were addressed to lists of voters as they registered for the approaching election, under the supervision of the society's treasurer, Mrs. Bessie Eichelberger. Remembering the early days of the campaign when it was difficult to get even one or two timid women to help, for fear "their husbands might lose their jobs," to enter the back office of headquarters two years later and to find ten or twelve women volunteers working around the long pine table, especially built for the purpose, zealously folding and putting into envelopes and addressing and stamping suffrage leaflets by the thousands, seemed to those responsible for the campaign a triumph in itself. Looking at the picture through artist's eyes, it was as though they had created not only a miracle but a masterpiece!

A State labor conference representing 6,000 members endorsed the amendment as did every labor union that took a vote on it. With characteristic timidity which still prevails among certain women's groups the State Federation of Women's Clubs gave a belated endorsement near the end of the campaign. The official endorsements of the Democratic, Progressive, and Socialist parties were obtained. U.S. Senator Key Pittman gave the amendment his support. So did Senator Francis G. Newlands, Representative E.E. Roberts, Lieutenant Governor Gilbert Ross, Judge Frank Norcross always ready to speak for it. President J.E. Stubbs of the State University opened its student assembly to the campaign's distinguished speakers and untiringly performed many other services, as did Bishop Henry Robinson. Individual Republicans supported it, but the party refused its approval. The leading Republican newspaper, the *Reno Evening Gazette*, was originally favorable to the amendment while under the control of Mrs. George Nixon, widow of Senator Nixon. Later under the reputed influence of George Wingfield, Nevada's chief political leader and industrial magnate, this paper, with other newspapers he controlled, and a group allied with the Nevada bipartisan political

machine, bitterly fought the amendment.² In the final stage of the campaign, as public opinion grew stronger and success seemed assured, the newspapers announced that Mr. Wingfield would leave Nevada with all his investments if the amendment carried. Suffragists were shaken to the core at this statement, which, considering his power, seemed calamitous for the referendum, but they braced themselves to meet its effects. Many wondered how he could take the Goldfield Consolidated mines out of the State, and remove his hotel and banking interests at such short notice! The tense situation was eased somewhat by a newspaper humorist, also something of a prophet as it turned out, who published a rhyme beginning:

“We’re sorry to lose you, George,
But where’re you going to go
With all the women voting
From Maine to Idaho?”

This rhyme was carried widely through the country and the whole incident in the end seemed to help rather than hurt the suffrage campaign. A sense of humor has saved more than one difficult political situation. Mr. J. Holman Buck, editor of the *Western Nevada Miner* at Mina, warmly supported the amendment. Only one or two other newspapers, notable the *Nevada State Journal*, were active in its behalf, but many published campaign news. Nevada papers in one year contained over 200 columns of suffrage matter, which shows not only their cooperation, but the amount of effort put forth by headquarters! Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, whom Miss Martin made a special trip to San Francisco to see, gave the State headquarters the valuable services and paid the expenses of Miss Bessie Beatty, well-known feature writer of its staff, to direct the State-wide press campaign of news and advertisements planned for September and October, just before election in 1914. With the assistance of President Stubbs, and in spite of the opposition of Regent Charles B. Henderson,³ a College Equal Suffrage League was formed at the State University, under the leadership of Miss Clara Smith (Later Mrs. J.O. Beatty) and a suffrage essay contest was promoted in the schools of the State.⁴ Through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw of New York, who were visiting the State president, and Judge William P. Seeds, a Men’s Suffrage League was formed, to counteract the so-called Business Men’s League, organized to fight the amendment. Mr. Laidlaw, prominent New York banker, was the national chairman of the Men’s League for Woman Suffrage.

More than once during the campaign Miss Martin had to endure personal attacks from certain hostile editors, who labeled her followers “The Martinettes.” As the campaign grew in intensity and election day approached, more and more of her

² For very friendly recollections of his association with Mr. Wingfield at Goldfield, see an interview with Bernard Baruch in *New Yorker* magazine, January 3, 1948, pages 28, 29. Hatchets long buried, Mr. Wingfield and Miss Martin have been good friends for many years since the days of their political opposition.

³ C.B. Henderson was later Nevada’s U.S. Senator and Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

⁴ Mrs. Beatty in 1948 was elected Republican Party State Chairwoman.

time and the time of her colleagues was spent in replying as creatively and persuasively as possible, but with the necessary firmness and force, to sometimes appallingly unfair attacks on the operation of suffrage in enfranchised States. One frequently used misstatement was that in Colorado chiefly the prostitutes voted, which made it undesirable for “respectable” women to go to the polls! An obvious reply to this canard started by the vice interests was first, that it was untrue to fact, and second, that if true, “better the *slave* as voters than the *slavers!*”

A State-wide Anti-Suffrage Society was organized during the last months, led by Mrs. Jewett Adams and Mrs. Paris Ellis of Carson, Mrs. Frank M. Lee of Reno, and Mrs. John Henderson of Elko. Miss Minnie Bronson of New York and Mrs. J.D. Oliphant of New Jersey, sent by the National Anti-Suffrage Association, toured the State under their auspices. In contrast with the hardships of travel to remote places endured by the loyal workers for suffrage and the economic problems always to be solved, the speakers for the “antis” visited only the large towns, were provided with every obtainable luxury and the meetings were remarkable well advertised and arranged. They undoubtedly were supported by the liquor and other vested interests. Is it merely a coincidence that the most exclusive and presumably the best educated section of society—the so-called aristocratic section—so often voted with the saloon interests to defeat woman suffrage? Not only in Nevada, of course, but in other State campaigns. And not only in Nevada did social ostracism have to be endured by the leaders for projecting the ideological issues of suffrage into politics and splitting society into two armed camps!

The organizer promised by the National Suffrage Association, Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon, arrived in September and was sent at once to organize more thoroughly the southern counties, as success depended on an overwhelming vote from the miners and ranchers there. Miss Margaret A. Foley of Boston, who had the most powerful voice of any speaker for street meetings, also came, as arranged by the State president, for constant speaking through the northern and southern counties during the last two months. Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, national vice president, gave a priceless four days to a whirlwind tour. The Overland Limited was stopped for her to speak at Elko, where she was met by Miss Martin, and at Winnemucca. She ended her trip in Reno, where she addressed an overflow mass meeting at the Majestic Theater just two weeks before election day. Her spiritual beauty and sincerity, her wisdom and her light touch of humor won her audiences. A large public dinner was given in her honor at the Riverside Hotel by the State Franchise Society. Four years later Miss Addams wrote of this campaign trip in connection with Miss Martin’s candidacy for the United States Senate in 1918; “When the suffrage amendment was pending in Nevada I had the pleasure of campaigning with Miss Martin, who was then president of the State Equal Suffrage Association. I was very much impressed with her understanding of the conditions both in the cities and the mining camps and with the hearty goodwill with which she was everywhere received. Her practical experience in the State, combined with her knowledge of economics and history, give her a most unusual preparation for dealing with the perplexing problems so shortly to be considered in the United States Senate.”

Dr. Shaw, tireless crusader and incomparable speaker, traveled swiftly through the State by train and automobile during the eight days she gave in October, which were filled with receptions and crowded meetings. Mrs. Martin, mother of the State president, gave a reception in her beautiful Mill Street home in Reno (at the corner of Mill and Lake Streets since 1925 when Lake Street was opened through the old home's garden), and its hospitality was extended throughout the campaign to those who came from outside the State to help it. Dr. Shaw's strenuous itinerary included mass meetings at Battle Mountain, Winnemucca, Lovelock, Reno, Washoe (Bowers Mansion), Carson City, Virginia City, Tonopah, Goldfield, Las Vegas, and Caliente. Like the lion-hearted old campaigner she was, she made no complaint. She won many hundreds of votes for the amendment. Later she wrote of her Nevada tour in her autobiography "*The Story of a Pioneer*," p. 305: "In Nevada (1914) the most interesting feature of the campaign was the splendid work of the women. In each of the little towns there was the same spirit of ceaseless activity and determination. The president of the State association, Miss Anne Martin, who was at the head of the campaign work, accompanied me one Sunday when we drove seventy miles and spoke four times; and she also was my companion in a wonderful journey over the mountains. Miss Martin was a tireless and worthy leader of the fine workers in her State." Dr. Shaw referred here to the last day of her campaign from Reno before she left for the southern part of the State, when she addressed an audience gathered at Bowers Mansion on the way to Carson City, and large audiences in Carson City and Virginia City. This was followed by the journey back to Reno over the Geiger Grade, from which she obtained the unforgettable view of the Sierra Nevada range, with snow-crevassed Slide Mountain, and white Mount Rose lifting itself above it.

In addition to Jane Addams, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Gilman, other notable outside speakers and workers, whose interest was aroused by the State president and who gave their services during the three years' sustained effort where Miss Annie Kenney of London, one of Mrs. Pankhurst's chief workers, Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Miss Ida Craft and "General" Rosalie Jones of New York; Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. William Kent, Dr. Charles F. Aked, J. Stitt Wilson, former Mayor of Berkeley, Miss Gail Laughlin, Dr. Mary Sperry, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Miss Maud Younger, Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, Mrs. Alice Park, Mrs. Eleanor Stewart, Mrs. Mary Ringrose, all of California. The last named did valuable work among the Catholics. Mrs. Grace Cotterill worked with labor unions as did Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon; both women, owing their prominence in the national labor movement, were most helpful. Miss Mary Bulkley and Mrs. Alice Day Jackson, a granddaughter of Isabelle Beecher Hooker, whom Miss Martin had interested on her visit to Connecticut, came at their own expense, and for three weeks canvassed Reno, Carson City, Virginia City and other places. Miss Vernon's work in organization and her many strong speeches on the streets of Reno and in meetings throughout the State were an important factor in winning votes. While many splendid Nevada women worked with enthusiasm and great efficiency in every county, it was conceded that without Miss Martin's leadership in finding and organizing them and her direction of the campaign during the years 1912-1914 and without the money she gave and raised, woman suffrage in Nevada undoubtedly would have been delayed for several years. She was determined that her native State should not be

subjected to the “disgrace” of coming into suffrage like a backward southern State, under the national suffrage amendment, but that by obtaining the passage of the State amendment, Nevada would give its political power to the passage by Congress of the national amendment. She personally contributed in her traveling expenses and other ways nearly \$3,000. Aside from this sum the entire three years’ campaign was made at a cost of about \$7,000.

Out of 240 precincts in the State every one that had as few as ten votes (and many with less) was canvassed and open air or hall meetings held before election. More than 180 were organized, each with a woman leader, who, with her committee, “picketed the polls” every hour during election day, November 3, 1914, handing out the final appeal to give women a square deal by voting for the amendment; they also watched the counting of votes after the polls closed, on election night, to prevent the amendment being counted out, as had happened in other States. The suffrage map showing Nevada as the last “black spot” in the West was printed in every newspaper and on every leaflet, put up in public places and hung on large banners in the streets.

The amendment received the largest proportionate vote for woman suffrage on record, largely due to what was described by political observers at the time as the State’s “superb organization.” Reno and Washoe County, as had been anticipated, went against, by a majority that was brought down to approximately 600. Of the remaining fifteen counties, three others, among the oldest in Nevada—Ormsby, Storey, and Eureka—also defeated it, but the favorable majorities of the other northern counties and the staunch support of the miners in the south won the victory. Esmeralda, a mining county and one of the largest in population, gave a majority for the amendment in nearly every precinct; this was largely due to the able work of its president Miss B.M. Wilson. Out of 18,193 votes cast on it in the State, with 10,936 ayes and 7,257 noes, it had a majority in its favor of 3,679, and Nevada gave its leverage on Congress to the national suffrage amendment.

At the annual convention of the State Equal Franchise Society in Reno in February 1915, the Nevada Woman’s Civic League was formed as its successor. It continued an affiliated member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, pledged to support the national amendment. Its objects were also to meet a general demand of the newly enfranchised women for information about the wise use of the ballot, and to work for good government, social welfare and equality of men and women in government. Miss Martin was elected national chairman of the National Woman’s Party in June 1916 in Chicago, and spent the years 1916-1918 as legislative chairman in charge of the national suffrage amendment in Washington; she directed the work when it passed the House of Representatives for the first time in history on January 10, 1915. The years 1918-1920 were also chiefly spent in Washington and the East on behalf of the passage of the amendment and of ratification by eastern States. The National Woman’s Party, the “youth” movement in the suffrage field which, as such, won the bitter hostility of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and a group of older suffragists, was an important factor in winning the amendment. It finally passed both houses of Congress and was submitted to the States for ratification in June 1919. It was proclaimed by the Secretary of State August 26, 1920, as the nineteenth amendment of

the National Constitution, following ratification by the 36th State, Tennessee, after a month's unbelievably baffling battle in which every known subterfuge was used to defeat ratification. Miss Martin knew that Nevada as a suffrage State was certain to ratify. She had Governor Boyle's assurance that he would call the special session, so she did not leave her work in Washington for the merely formal ritual of ratification in Nevada, so neatly carried out, in the main, by her former faithful suffrage workers on February 7, 1920.

The latter half of 1918 and 1920 Miss Martin spent at home in Nevada, putting through her two campaigns for the United States Senate. In 1918 she was the first woman ever nominated, from any State, for this office. She ran as an Independent. One of the chief planks in her platform was opposition to prevailing monopolies in land and water rights of the big cattle companies; she sought to obtain fairer distribution and increase water storage and thus increase the number of small farms and families—thereby enlarging the stable population of Nevada, and promoting social stability. She obtained a good vote—helped by the endorsement of the State Federation of Labor—as the election records show: nearly one-quarter of the more than 20,000 votes cast, with four candidates in the field. Political leaders of both parties conceded that she inadvertently decided the election in 1920 by winning so many votes from the incumbent, Senator Henderson, the Governor Oddie was elected. She could hardly have expected election as the first woman candidate (nor as an Independent) but she hoped to encourage women, not only in Nevada, but in other States, to assert promptly and take an equal part in government on every level following their national enfranchisement. (In this hope, with other feminists, she has been vastly disappointed with Nevada. Since her absence from the State, enforced by family duties, for approximately the last twenty years, men have assumed monopolistic control of politics and government as in no other State in the Union excepting perhaps some parts of the deep South, and women have in the main meekly acquiesced therein!) Also, during the years 1919 and 1920 in Washington, with the approval and cooperation of Julia Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau, in the three articles she wrote for *“Good Housekeeping Magazine”* and by lobbying work with Congress she initiated the passage of the Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infancy. This Act has become the basis for work of the Public Health Service for the protection of maternity and infancy in the States. Its enactment marked a mile-stone in the expression of woman's power to advance social welfare, following the ratification of the national suffrage amendment.

In recognition of Miss Martin's leadership in this fight for State and national suffrage and her work in other fields, the University of Nevada in 1945 conferred upon her the degree of Doctor of Laws with this citation: “Anne Henrietta Martin ... native daughter, distinguished alumnus, student and scholar, inspiring teacher, disciple of world peace, pioneer in the triumphant struggle for women's rights, leader of womankind ... Doctor of Laws.”

The failure of Nevada writers to treat adequately this epoch in Nevada history is regrettable, but it is not beyond correction. The line of cleavage, the gulf between the interests of men and women as expressed in politics is probably wider and deeper in the

United States than in any other country in the world, including India, Burma, and Japan—and it is wider and deeper in Nevada than in any other State in the Union, again excepting perhaps some States in the deep South. Our writers (especially women) can help to bridge this gulf. It must be bridged. In no field is more clearly shown man's ignoral of women's interest and accomplishments, his instinctive and purposeful determination to dominate what Charlotte Perkins Gilman calls the "man-state," than in the field of history. The "*History of Nevada*," edited by J. G. Scrugham, published in three volumes in 1935, entirely neglects the Nevada equal suffrage campaign and its contribution to Nevada history by amending the State Constitution and opening the way to participation of many thousands of women in government.⁵ It notes merely that the suffrage amendment was adopted—as if it had suddenly been evolved out of thin air or had mysteriously been dropped from another planet, to be signed by the Governor!

This neglect also applies to the publications of the Nevada Historical Society of which Dr. Jeanne Elizabeth Wier is secretary.⁶ There is no mention of the Nevada equal suffrage campaign in the Historical Society's reports, a campaign which received national recognition. For twenty-five years following the victory in 1914, Miss Wier stated she was unable—for lack of space—to place the suffrage records in the Society's archives. In 1939 it became necessary to find a safer place for them than the woodshed room in which they were stored. At the invitation of Dr. Herbert I. Priestly and Dr. Herbert S. Bolton, librarian and director, respectively, of the Bancroft Library, both eminent and internationally known historians, Miss Martin placed these records, including a valuable collection of documents and books, in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. They were there as a loan for one year, and made a permanent gift at the expiration of that time when the Nevada Historical Society made no effort to obtain them. They are labeled "The Anne Martin Suffrage Collection." It is regrettable that this collection is lost to Nevada, and that Nevada students must go to Berkeley for research work upon it.

Another example of neglect is the Nevada history text-book entitled "*Our State—Nevada*" by Dr. Effie Mona Mack, Chair of Social Studies in the Reno Senior High School, and Byrd Wall Sawyer.⁷ It has been adopted by the Nevada State Textbook Commission for use in the Nevada schools. This textbook "covers" the Nevada equal suffrage campaign in this crisp sentence (p. 289): "Women sought the right to vote ... and suffrage was granted to them in 1914." No more, no less!

It is a matter of great moment to Nevada (which up to 1912, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, had been one of the most backward of all the States,

⁵ See Senator Scrugham's *History*, Vol. I, pp. 481, 510, 511. Compare John Koontz, Secretary of State, *Political History of Nevada, 1948*, pp. 19, 52.

⁶ Dr. Wier was for many years, until 1940, Head of the University of Nevada History Department and also organizer and still director of the Nevada State Historical Society, with library and museum in Reno. Dr. Wier came to Nevada through Miss Martin, who knew her in Stanford University as a good history student. On Miss Martin's recommendation to President Stubbs, Miss Wier was invited to substitute for Miss Martin in the history department while she was on leave of absence studying in Europe, 1899-1901. When Miss Martin found it necessary to resign in 1901, she recommended Miss Wier as her successor.

⁷ Dr. Mack is the chief living historian of Nevada, author of books and articles on Nevada history and on Mark Twain in Nevada.

probably, in social welfare legislation), that its teachers should be informed and sensitive in regard to social values and ingenious and able in imparting them to students, the future legislators. It is of great moment to Nevada, for example, that suggestions to students for special study should include, in addition to suggestions to study the lives of millionaires and politicians, as emphasized by this text-book, suggestions to study lives of men and women educators, of churchmen and humanitarians, including the lives of social reformers and suffrage leaders, who are not even mentioned! Without doubt the pioneers in education and human welfare and the women pioneers who put through the State suffrage amendment, thus opening an ear of new social development in Nevada, should be cited as an example for boys and girls to emulate, in any textbook used as a basis for social study!

Certainly the suffragists' long-sustained effort and accomplishment is a part of Nevada history and should be emphasized and recorded. So far nationally known newspapers and magazines, the press services, official suffrage and university publication, the "*Encyclopedia Britannica*" and the national "*Who's Who in America*" are alone in having published authoritative facts, as given here, about this work. A recent life of Jane Addams tells the story of an ardent Hull-House volunteer's complaint that a woman for whom she had done much was not even grateful, and Jane Addams' reply in that ringing girlish voice of hers, "Was that why you helped? For thanks?" Anne Martin and her colleagues cannot be accused of winning suffrage "for thanks." Their work was done to remove an age-long injustice to women, to release their innate but undeveloped powers for their own good and for the good of the State; its purpose was to permit women to assume in political life their historic role in human affairs, the conservation and development of human and social values; it was based, as stated earlier in these memoirs, on the instinctive but conscious desire to escape from the deadening effects of hypocritical and traditional phrases and machinations that so generally dominate political life, and to make a fresh approach to problems of government, of social welfare and human needs. Broadening the base of democracy by the enfranchisement of new groups of the people has been the aim of humankind through the ages. Making women part of the electorate is an achievement of historical importance.

The suffrage chapter is an integral part of Nevada history. That chapter and its development are already impressing themselves on the social history of the State. It is surely the responsibility of teachers and writers to study it and to make it a part of recorded history. The whole suffrage campaign is a demonstration of the spiritual power of the minority in converting the entrenched mass opinion of the majority for the benefit of the State. It surely should be held up as an example for boys and girls, the future leaders and voters of Nevada, to follow. History shows time and again that out of such effort is born power for the advancement of all.