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Women In Utah History

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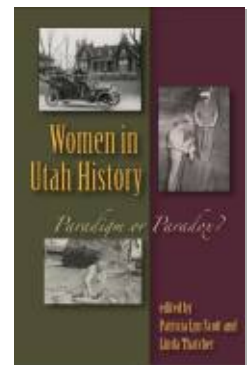
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Women in Politics

Power in the Public Sphere

Kathryn L. MacKay

In November 2003, Olene Walker, Utah's first woman lieutenant governor, made history again by becoming Utah's first woman governor. She took over that position after Governor Michael Leavitt left the job to head the Environmental Protection Agency in the George W. Bush administration. Very popular with Utah voters, Walker intended to run for the position of the state's chief executive in 2004, but she was ousted from the race by Republican delegates at their state convention—this after more than twenty years of public service.

Walker, like many women, entered politics through leading PTAs and women's community organizations and through joining in on the "political housekeeping" within her (Republican) political party. Unlike most women officeholders, however, Walker's public life extended over several years. She was elected to four terms in the Utah State House and would probably have become that House's first female speaker had she not been defeated in her bid for reelection in 1988. She worked briefly for then-governor Norman Bangert as his director of community development. In 1992 she intended to run for Congress in the Second Congressional District but jumped out to join Leavitt's bid for the state's top office. In that so-called "Year of the Woman," each of the three major male candidates for governor had women as their lieutenant governor running mates: Leavitt with Walker, Democrat Stuart Hansen with Paula Julander, and Independent Merrill Cook with Frances Hatch Merrill.

All three women had served in the state legislature. However, these women were among the very few to do so. In the years since the Center for American Women and Politics began collecting and analyzing women's political participation (1971), Utah has consistently ranked lowest in the West for percentage of women in elective office.¹ Utah politics is marked by the political power of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints whose members comprise about 70 percent of the state's population. Whatever social and political



Courtesy Utah State Archives.

Olene Walker is sworn in November 5, 2003, as Utah's first woman governor by Christine Durham, the first woman to serve as a Utah Supreme Court justice and later chief justice. Olene's husband, Myron, is in the center.

roles LDS leaders assign and promote for women—and men, the faithful will work to fulfill. The major roles for women are care-giver and companion which are more often expressed in private settings than in public.² And women are less likely than men to translate their church leadership experiences into political leadership. The percentage of active Mormons in the state legislature is far higher than that of the statewide population, but they are overwhelmingly males. The Utah legislature is an anomaly in the West.

The West led the nation in granting suffrage and in electing women to legislative positions. Soon after suffrage was extended to women throughout the nation (1919), however, the North caught up. From 1933 until 1987, the North had the highest percentage of women legislators of the four regions of the country. In 1987, the West once again surpassed the North and continues to be the region with highest percentage of women legislators.³ Several studies suggest that female legislators are much more likely than male legislators to be concerned about issues relevant to the lives of women and their families, including violence against women, child support, employment, welfare, and reproductive rights.⁴

Utah women are more likely to work outside their homes than other American women. The gender gap in median income is larger in Utah than in the United States as a whole. The Utah birth rate remains more than 30 percent higher than the national birth rate. Utahns also marry and divorce more often



Courtesy of Salt Lake Tribune and Pat Bagley.

Pat Bagley's cartoon appeared in the December 23, 2004, *Salt Lake Tribune*.

than other Americans.⁵ Utah women might be better served by a state legislature in which they were more represented. However, the majority of women in Utah are members of the LDS Church. That religion supports male authority and a division of labor between men and women. LDS women play essential roles in grassroots community and church activities, but their participation in more formal ways through, for example, professional careers and elected offices, is discouraged both by the direct exhortation of church leaders and by more subtle sanctions against deviance from the church-approved ideal that women should be defined by and satisfied with roles as wives and mothers.⁶ Governor Walker, a wife for more than fifty years and the mother of seven, is one LDS woman who negotiated the boundaries of her faith to become not only trained for public life but engaged in that life.

Such negotiations have, perhaps, become more challenging for LDS women since the 1960s, when church authorities took measures to give greater power to men through centralizing church auxiliaries and ending the financial autonomy of the women's auxiliary, the Relief Society, eliminating its monthly magazine, and formalizing instructions to women in mothering and wifely duties. Earlier in the century, church authorities had restricted women's spiritual expressions in healings and blessings, a hallmark of the nineteenth-century Relief Society. Several scholars have argued that the roles of LDS women have become much more diminished in the twentieth century by comparison with their activities in the nineteenth.⁷ Perhaps the shift was that the pragmatic

demands of involving all members of the society, including women, in whatever was needed to build the “kingdom of God” in the American West finally gave way to the luxury of more sharply defined gender roles. Perhaps it was loyalty fostered through strategies such as polygamy and cooperatives which offered some women relative autonomy and economic security that gave way to loyalty fostered through kinship ties and corporate structures in which males had greater authority.⁸ Certainly the support that church leaders offered to Mormon women working to achieve suffrage in the nineteenth century was replaced in the twentieth century by intense support for women working to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment.⁹

The two major struggles which challenged the gendered structures of American political and social life were woman suffrage (1840s-1910s) and the Equal Rights Amendment (1960s-80s). In both movements, women organized to institutionalize their greater participation in the public sphere, their equal citizenship and legal status with men, and their autonomy and independence from men. Women also mobilized to oppose both these efforts. In these battles, women in Utah impacted the national as well as the regional outcomes. And in both battles, the political power of the LDS Church was an issue.

Even before the first settlements in Utah (1847), LDS women participated in congregational voting, a practice begun in LDS Church meetings in 1831. If politics is defined as being involved in the selection of rulers and in the formulation of public policy, then their participation was limited. They voted, not their choice of alternatives, but whether to sustain the acts of their leaders. Those leaders attempted to establish a theocracy. Public policy was both civil and theological. Government officials were both ecclesiastically ordained and democratically elected. Women were allowed to vote in public church meetings, but the persons and policies were already determined in private meetings of the clergy at which women were not allowed.

Mormonism, as the descendent of American Puritanism, with its communitarianism, militant faith, and providential interpretation of history and the Bible, defined the role of women as helpmeets to male priestly authority (authority vested in all adult males, but exercised hierarchically), not as equal partners and not as autonomous individuals.¹⁰ Nineteenth-century Mormonism embraced the Puritan principle of women’s subject status, but tempered the principle with the reality of the intervening centuries in which the private sphere of the family had been democratized and in which the participation of women in almost every arena of the public sphere except that ending at the polling place had increased.¹¹

In 1807 the New Jersey legislature rewrote its state constitution, disfranchising women. This action marked a process of democratization which shifted the right to vote in the person rather than property. No women, even those with control of property (the previous requirement for voting) were thereafter allowed to vote. Power was redistributed so that all white males became voters;

all females became subjects. From that time until 1838 when women (white widows with children in school) voted in Kentucky school elections and 1870 when Utah women voted in Utah municipal elections, no woman in the United States was legally enfranchised.

That enfranchisement of women in Utah resulted from women willing to extend their congregational work into political work. And woman suffrage in Utah resulted from the need in a frontier society to utilize all resources, including women, in order to function and prosper. Because Mormonism needed all hands to “build the kingdom,” LDS women’s productive value expanded their social and economic functions and, consequently, their political participation. The enfranchisement of women in Utah was also part of a national debate about citizenship in relation to slavery and the civil rights of all Americans.

Efforts by Mormons to establish a theocracy in the West was a challenge to American ideals of democracy and the consent of the governed. In establishing the first Anglo-American government in Utah, the Mormons simply elaborated their ecclesiastical machinery into a political government. Early in 1849 LDS leaders created the State of Deseret. The constitution of the proposed state, adopted in March 1849, restricted suffrage to white male residents.¹² The first election was held March 12, 1849, with 655 votes polled. This election was not democratic even for male residents. Men for office were selected not by parties but by the Council of Fifty, the secret organization which attended to the church’s efforts to establish a political kingdom of God. The names were then submitted to the electors for approval.¹³ Public elections were not held in Utah until 1870, after the transcontinental railroad (1869) had opened the territory to greater numbers of non-Mormons.

The U.S. Congress rejected Utah’s application for statehood and established it as a territory in the Compromise of 1850. Congress had plenary power over territories, with the U.S. president appointing governors, some judges, and law enforcement officials. President Millard Fillmore appointed church President Brigham Young as Utah’s first governor. Young ordered the first territorial election to be held August 4, 1851. All the candidates for the first Legislative Assembly of the Territory, save one were unanimously elected. The candidates had been selected by the Council of Fifty.¹⁴

The scrutiny of church leaders on voting for the “right” candidates was further facilitated by the ballots being numbered as provided by a territorial law passed in 1853. Not until 1878 was the marked ballot abolished.¹⁵ With such scrutiny and accustomed to unanimity in convention, Mormons were apathetic about elections. Newspaper editorials chiding the populace for their low voter turnout were numerous in the 1860s, although some of the abstention may also be considered the one way of “casting” votes in opposition.

Mormon women were excluded from participation in the male priesthood groups making religious and political decisions. The women did have their own organizations, but these were also subject to male control.

Mormon women had organized an auxiliary in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1842, just twelve years after the church was founded. The group of eighteen women elected their officers, choosing Emma Smith, the wife of church founder Joseph Smith, as president. One of the group, Eliza Roxcy Snow, wrote a constitution and by-laws. However, Joseph Smith rejected the constitution and reorganized the Relief Society, as the women's auxiliary came to be called, under the male priesthood. From then until the present day, officers of the society are appointed by male church leaders, not elected by their female co-workers. However, the Relief Society was, and continues to be, a conduit by which LDS women could make public their religious concerns. LDS women took part in their first united political action when, as members of the Nauvoo Relief Society, they drafted a petition seeking protection for the community of Nauvoo and delivered it to the Illinois governor.¹⁶

The Relief Society was reorganized in Utah in 1867 to carry out relief and “for the accomplishment of every good and noble work.” It again became, like other women's organizations around the country, both religious and secular, a vehicle for women's participation in the community and in politics. Through the society, Mormon women organized to take political action on many issues, including both support for and against women's rights. Much of this action has been encouraged and directed not by the women themselves, but by church leaders.

The Relief Society was one of the many women's organizations which proliferated on an immense scale in the nineteenth century. It claims to be the oldest as well as the largest active women's organization in the United States. (All Mormon women are automatically enrolled as members at age eighteen.) The Relief Society was a charter member of the International Council of Women (1888) and of the National Council of Women (1891); however, since the 1980s, that membership has not been maintained. These organizations served to integrate women into the political culture by providing functional representation for women's concerns. Many, including the Relief Society, had politically oriented civic programs. These organizations attempted to shape opinion on many issues and mediated between women and the public sphere.¹⁷

Three major issues activated women in the political sphere in the nineteenth century—the abolition of slavery, temperance, and woman suffrage. The first two were not issues in Utah. Governor Young accepted slavery as a biblically sanctioned institution. Utah Territorial law allowed the practice of slavery, although black slaves were few in number. Indentured servitude, on the other hand, proliferated, particularly in southern Utah as the Territorial Assembly acted in 1852 to control the trade in Indian servants which had been established under Mexican law. (Slavery and indentured servitude ended in Utah, as in the rest of the nation, in 1865 with the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.) Nor was temperance an issue. Mormons were bound by

their health code, the Word of Wisdom, to shun not only alcoholic beverages but also tobacco, coffee, and tea. Utah women were not, therefore, politicized by participation in these two issues of public policy.

Woman suffrage was, however, a major issue in Utah. It was an issue entangled with the “Mormon Question”—whether a theocracy would be tolerated in the midst of a democracy. Utah woman suffrage became symbolic, not just of women’s liberation from subject status, but also of the political control of the LDS Church. That political control became focused in the national imagination on the practice of polygamy in Mormon country which, in turn, created a constitutional conflict over the meaning and scope of liberty and democracy in the United States. Both Mormon theorists and their critics appropriated woman suffrage to explain woman’s nature and woman’s rights.¹⁸

Even as the Mormons were establishing their theocracy in Utah, in which a few white males governed other males and all women, certain women in the United States were demanding equal rights with men. At the Women’s Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848, more than a hundred men and women signed a Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, including the resolution calling it “the duty of women of this country to secure to themselves the decreed right to the elective franchise.” Those who signed the document pledged themselves to the principles that men and women were created equal and that men had no intrinsic right to exercise authority over women except with their consent. This declaration struck at the very heart of patriarchy.

Even without the vote, Northern women organized in church-related and reform-related societies to further the cause to abolition slavery.¹⁹ During the Civil War, women on the Union side were effectively mobilized to support war efforts, and afterwards women campaigned for the dominant Republican Party, establishing habits of volunteerism which continue to mark women’s work in political parties. During the eleventh National Women’s Rights Convention in May 1866, participants created the American Equal Rights Association to influence Congressional debates on the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which came to include language giving all persons having “equal protection of law.” In 1867 the Kansas ballot included referenda on Negro suffrage and woman suffrage. Both lost by wide margins, though woman suffrage did better than Negro suffrage.

Members of the New England Woman Suffrage Association (organized 1868) proposed a strategy for women suffrage. They suggested a gradual process to enfranchise women in the District of Columbia and the territories, to be followed by a Constitutional amendment at some unspecified time in the future. More radical suffragists led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton lobbied for an amendment that defined suffrage as a right of citizenship and enfranchised women as well as black men.

In 1869 the Equal Rights Association split in two. The American Woman Suffrage Association, which was descended from the New England

Association, agreed to withdraw opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment and to work within the Republican Party. The National Suffrage Association, led by Anthony and Stanton, limited its membership to women and followed a program of more aggressive tactics, including bringing cases to test in court the constitutionality of denying voting rights to women.²⁰

It was during this period of Reconstruction that woman suffrage in Utah was proposed. In 1867–69, New York suffragist Hamilton Wilcox, a leading member of the Universal Franchise Association, proposed experimenting with woman suffrage in the territories, particularly in Utah. He reasoned that the experiment could be made in a territory where there was a large female population. As a fringe benefit, the Mormon marriage system of multiple wives might be eliminated. Utah could be “reconstructed” by enfranchising women, who would thereby be enabled to cast off the bonds of polygamy in the same way that enfranchised African Americans in the South were casting off the bonds of that other “relic of barbarism”—slavery.

The *New York Times* popularized this proposal. An editorial in January 1868 declared: “Female suffrage might perhaps be tried with novel effect in the territory of Utah—the State of Deseret. There the ‘better half’ of humanity is in such a strong numerical majority that even if all the other half should vote the other way, they would carry the election. Perhaps it would result in casting out polygamy and Mormonism in general. . . . Here would be a capital field for women suffrage to make a start, and we presume nobody would object to the experiment.”²¹

In December 1868, George W. Julian of Indiana, one of the “radical Republicans” of Reconstruction, sponsored legislation to enfranchise the women of the western territories (H. R. 1531). When it stalled in Congress, Julian introduced a second bill which proposed suffrage for women in Utah only, with the justification that women there would use the ballot to stop plural marriage. Representatives of Wilcox’s group spoke in support of the bill, explaining that women should be given the same rights that were extended to the “ignorant freedmen of the South.”²² If the project succeeded in Utah, it could be extended elsewhere. If not, only Mormons would suffer.

The bill was supported by Utah’s Congressional delegate William Henry Hooper. When asked by Julian if he spoke for the leading men of Utah, Hooper allowed that he did not, but he said he knew of no reason why they “would not also approve it.”²³ The bill, however, and that proposed by Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy, Republican from Kansas, to amend the Constitution granting franchise on the basis of citizenship only, died in committee.

During 1869, the issue of woman suffrage was much discussed in the Utah press. The *Deseret News*, edited by LDS Church authorities George Q. Cannon and Charles W. Penrose, endorsed the “experiment”: “The plan of giving our ladies the right of suffrage is, in our opinion, a most excellent one. Utah is giving examples to the world in many points. . . . Our ladies can prove

to the world that in a society where the men are worthy of the name, women can be enfranchised without running wild or becoming unsexed.²⁴

Franklin D. Richards, editor of the *Ogden Junction*, supported woman suffrage. His wife, Jane Snyder Richards, and his daughter-in-law, Emily S. Richards, worked tirelessly for the cause. The *Utah Magazine*, a weekly literary journal published by E.L.T. Harrison and William S. Godbe, maintained that “women should be eligible for everything,” although the editor reassured readers that “all that women want is the *right* to vote. . . . Practical turmoil will have no charms for the mass of women.”²⁵

The Godbe family was the center of women’s rights activities in Utah at this time. William and three of his four wives—Annie Thompson, Mary Hampton, and Charlotte Ives Cobb—were all involved. They made the initial contacts with eastern suffrage leaders and convened the first meeting in Utah Territory dealing with woman suffrage. One of the Mrs. Godbes (first name not recorded) was among the distinguished guests at the twentieth anniversary celebration of the inauguration of the women’s rights movement held in New York City in 1870. The Godbes were involved in a newly organized reform movement within the Mormon community—the “New Movement” which hoped to make polygamy a personal choice, not a religious tenet. National suffragists hoped that Godbe women’s political activism gave credibility to the claims of the “curative power” of the vote.²⁶

However, most Mormon women embraced suffrage not as a way to throw off their “bonds,” but rather to publicly defend polygamy. Mormon women became politicized to support the very institution many others hoped their suffrage would destroy. During the first week of January 1870, the women of the Fifteenth Ward in Salt Lake City met to express their opposition to a bill proposed in Congress by Illinois Representative Shelby M. Cullom, designed to enforce the anti-polygamy law of 1862. With Sarah M. Kimball presiding, the women unanimously supported resolutions protesting the bill. Mormon writer and organizer Eliza Roxcy Snow suggested that similar meetings be held throughout the territory.

On January 13, 1870, a “great indignation meeting” was held at the old tabernacle on Temple Square. Despite the inclement weather, nearly 6,000 women of all ages rallied to object to the Cullom Bill. For the next six weeks, mass meetings of women were convened throughout the territory to sustain resolutions protesting the proposed legislation. The *Deseret News* explained that these “women’s rights meetings” were to “assert the dearest of all women’s prerogatives, mainly her right to choose a husband. . . . Viewed in this light we think the indignation meetings of the ladies of Utah are deserving of consideration by all.”²⁷

These indignation meetings were called and presided over by the so-called “leading sisters,” the elite, most powerful women in Mormon society.²⁸ They commanded the supporting sisters who were officers of the local Relief

Societies and who, in turn, could call for support from thousands of the female rank and file. Mormon women used this religious network to mobilize quickly in particular causes or projects and to provide supportive friendships so important in women's political action.

In the midst of this mass action by Mormon women, the Utah Legislative Assembly considered the propriety of granting the suffrage to women. On January 27, 1870, the Committee on Elections was asked to consider the matter. After two weeks of discussion, members of both houses passed by unanimous vote a bill enfranchising women.²⁹ Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders—both men and women—had decided it would be helpful if the Utah legislature should pass an act granting woman suffrage. William Clayton, Utah's delegate to Congress explained: "To convince the country how utterly without foundation the popular assertions were concerning the women of the Territory, some members of the Legislative Assembly were in favor of passing the law; . . . others favored it, convinced of its propriety by the arguments of the friends of the great political reform."³⁰

That some legislators were convinced of the rightness of woman suffrage on its own merits is possible. The use of woman suffrage to change public opinion negative to LDS women and their support of polygamy seems the more dominant motivation. LDS male leaders were not persuaded to woman suffrage by the rhetoric or actions of women; they had every confidence that the enfranchised Mormon women would vote as they were instructed. As William Clayton observed: "There are not many women here but will sustain all the measures of the authorities better than some of the men do."³¹

On February 12, 1870, Territorial Secretary and Acting Governor S. A. Mann signed into law the act conferring suffrage upon women twenty-one years of age or older who had resided in the territory six months, were born or naturalized in the United States, or were wives, widows, or daughters of native-born or naturalized citizens. Women were still ineligible to hold high judicial, legislative, or executive offices, though they might be allowed to hold minor positions.³²

The act enfranchised about 43,500 women. Two days after the act was signed into law, municipal elections were held in Salt Lake City. Twenty-five women exercised their newly gained right to vote. Brigham Young's grand-niece Seraph Young was reportedly the first woman to cast her ballot. Six months later Utah women went to the polls to cast their ballots in territorial elections. About two thousand women entered the polling places through the separate women's entrances and cast their vote.³³ Many of these women had participated in civics classes sponsored by the Relief Society under the direction of Sarah M. Kimball.

In these elections of 1870 in which women voted, political parties emerged in Utah. Elections in Utah, thereafter, became livelier. Previously with candidates selected by LDS authorities and run without opposition, there

was no campaigning. There was a lot of voter apathy. Voters knew the chosen candidates would be elected whether they voted or not. However, in 1870 the Liberal Party was organized to oppose the church's candidates. William S. Godbe, Edward H. Tullidge, T. B. H. Stenhouse, and others of the New Movement, who had been expelled from the church, formed the nucleus of the party. Their *Utah Magazine* became the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the vehicle for non-Mormon sentiments. After the paper was sold to outsiders in 1873, its editorial stance shifted away from suffrage. Agitator Cornelia Paddock was allowed even more latitude to use its pages to attack polygamy; she also attacked woman suffrage, as used by Mormon women, as meaningless.³⁴

The LDS Church countered by organizing the People's Party. Both parties held conventions and mass rallies at which women participated. Women served on the governing state committee of the People's Party. (Women who served on the committee in the next decades included leading sisters: Mary Isabella Horne, Sarah M. Kimball, Emmeline B. Wells, and Emily S. Richards.)³⁵ Mormon women were much more involved in People's Party activities than non-Mormon women were in Liberal Party activities.

In fact, as LDS women continued to support their religious leaders by voting for church-approved candidates and by defending polygamy on public platforms and in memorials to Congress, non-Mormons increasingly opposed Utah woman suffrage. Those opponents noted that voting requirements for women were less strict than those for men in Utah. Women who were themselves not citizens could vote if they were married to citizens. The several wives of male citizens could all vote, even if they were not citizens. And the church was converting thousands of women in Europe and bringing them to Utah.³⁶

National suffrage leaders carefully watched the Utah experiment. The suffrage movement had been split over several issues: the support for the Fourteenth Amendment, the association with feminist Victoria Woodhull, whose views on marriage were vigorously attacked, and the question of strategy: whether to focus on a national suffrage amendment or to concentrate on the states. Underlying these issues were, however, two different philosophies.

The fearful reactions to the rapid demographic and economic changes affected middle class social arrangements. Those having to do with family produced an ideology of "a woman's place" which adamantly asserted the sacredness of home and motherhood. The American Woman Suffrage Association was supported and directed by people who were attracted to that ideology, the National Woman Suffrage Association by those willing to attack it.

Others supportive of the cultural ideal of "true womanhood" vehemently opposed woman suffrage altogether. The cult of true womanhood defined a sphere secluded from public life where women could demonstrate their moral superiority and power over men. Turning submission into a noble virtue and self-sacrifice into a patriotic duty, the canon of domesticity was by the 1870s

generating a large market for magazines and manuals that taught women proper feminine conduct by emphasizing gender differences. Using the most popular of these publications, *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, a group of nineteen women noted for their social prominence and marriages to politically powerful men published, in May 1871, a petition to the U.S. Congress remonstrating against votes for women. This marks the "official" beginnings of women's anti-suffrage mobilization.³⁷

It was a mobilization which, ironically, contradicted their argument against the vote since they petitioned legislators and produced propaganda for mass consumption—tactics not unlike those of the suffragists whose behavior they scorned. The elite, wealthy women who led the anti-suffrage campaign were very engaged in public affairs—often enjoying prestige as volunteers in various projects. They perceived no need of the ballot for themselves and regarded a mass electorate as a threat to their social position and political power. Their efforts help explain why 480 legislative campaigns in the first forty years of suffrage agitation yielded only four suffrage victories, all in the western states.

The suffrage fight in Utah was imbued with the language of "true womanhood." The Mormon system of multiple wives was considered an affront to Victorian sensibilities. Ironically Mormon women defended the system with rhetoric supportive of the ideology of "woman's place." And certainly after the church became more "respectable," its leaders promoted this ideology in opposition to the women's rights movement. However, during these early years, it was the more radical NWSA which supported Utah woman suffrage and the conservative AWSA which was reluctant. LDS Church leaders accepted the NWSA support as helpful in their fights against anti-polygamy legislation and for statehood. As George Q. Cannon explained: "The extension of suffrage to our women was a most excellent measure. It brought to our aid the friends of women suffrage."³⁸

In June 1871, while touring the western United States on behalf of woman suffrage, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, visited Salt Lake City and met with both New Movement and LDS women. They were invited to address the public from the Salt Lake Tabernacle; one meeting lasted five hours. Stanton, the mother of seven, included advice about limiting the number of children a woman should have. Subsequently, she was barred from Mormon podiums, but not from Mormon audiences. Stanton and Anthony continued to support suffrage for women in Utah, although even the NWSA did not admit Utah women as delegates until 1879, when Emmeline B. Wells and Zina Young Williams Card were chosen to attend the suffrage conference in Washington, D.C.³⁹

For Stanton and Anthony, no marital arrangement was ideal for women. The Mormon arrangement was not offensive enough to the two feminists to prevent them from supporting woman suffrage in Utah.⁴⁰ For other suffragists, however, it seemed so outrageous that they demanded that women in Utah

be disenfranchised. Suffrage had obviously not inspired Mormon women to act against the system of plural marriage nor against the political power of the Mormon Church. As Pauline W. Davis, the organizer of the 1870 celebration which Mrs. Godbe attended, explained: "In Utah it [woman suffrage] is of less account because the women are more under a hierarchy than elsewhere, and as yet vote only as directed."⁴¹ It was the political power of the Mormon theocracy which many feared, and Mormon women voters only strengthened that power.

But Mormon women themselves felt powerful. They did not want to be rescued from polygamy. They treated polygamy as a feminist cause, as an institution which had the capacity to liberate women and help them develop independence. And in the *Woman's Exponent*, started in 1872 by Edward L. Sloan of the *Salt Lake Herald*, but from its inception edited by and for women, all of the themes in women's rights which circulated nationally were discussed: dress reform, health, equal pay with men, access to higher education, and rights to speak in public. Its longtime editor Emmeline B. Wells used its pages to keep Utah women in touch with the women's movement in the rest of the country. By 1881 Utah writer Edward Tullidge could declare that the *Exponent* "wields more real power in politics than all of the newspapers in Utah put together."⁴²

The defense of polygamy continued to involve many rank and file LDS women in public action. They attended mass meetings and signed petitions opposing the several anti-polygamy bills which were considered in the U.S. Congress. In February 1873, the so-called Utah Bill was introduced by Senator Frederick Freelinghuysen of New Jersey. He called for the annulment of women suffrage and the extension throughout Utah of the "common law of England." Woman suffrage associations in Boston, New York, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Santa Clara, California, were among the many associations which lobbied against its passage.⁴³

It should be noted that attempts to repeal woman suffrage were also made in Wyoming. In January 1872, Governor John A. Campbell vetoed the repeal act passed by the Wyoming Territorial Legislature, saying: "No legislator has a right to disfranchise his own constituency." He pointed out that women as voters and jurors had conducted themselves with as much good sense as men.⁴⁴ These efforts to repeal woman suffrage were indicative of the growing opposition and the changing political climate. Never again would woman suffrage be gained so easily as it had in Wyoming and Utah. The move for woman suffrage in Idaho had already died in 1871 with a tie vote in the territorial legislature. (Idaho's state constitution was amended in 1896 to allow woman suffrage.)

In the general national political chaos of 1872, the Republican Party emerged victorious but devoid of reform pretensions. Reestablishing national stability replaced Reconstruction radicalism as America's political goal. Opportunities for winning women the vote were at an end, at least for the time being. Women suffrage failed in Colorado in 1877 by a vote of 16,000

against and 6,666 in favor. (Colorado had entered the Union in 1876 with the provision that women could vote in school elections. Not until 1893 did a Populist-supported woman suffrage referendum pass the Colorado voters.)

In January 1876, with other anti-polygamy legislation being considered in Congress, Mormon women again held mass meetings. They petitioned for repeal of the anti-polygamy laws of 1862 (the Morrill Act) and 1874 (the Poland Act). They also asked that each married woman in Utah be granted the right to homestead land in her own name.⁴⁵ The delegation of Mormon women which went to Washington to carry the petition visited woman suffrage leaders. Belva A. Lockwood, the first woman lawyer to be permitted to practice before the Supreme Court, was one of those appointed by the NWSA to denounce any congressional action to disfranchise the women of Utah.⁴⁶

However, other women were politicized in support of anti-polygamy efforts. In 1878 more than 200 women attended a mass rally chaired by Sarah Ann Cooke, a disaffected Mormon.⁴⁷ Utah anti-polygamists prepared letters to the women of the nation and to national clergy denouncing polygamy and also drafted a memorial to Congress asking that Utah statehood be delayed. More than 250,000 signatures from across the country accompanied the petition to Congress. In November of that year, a group of women launched the "Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society," with former Mormon Sarah Ann Cooke as its first president, Gentile Jennie Anderson Froiseth as vice president, and Cornelia Paddock as secretary. Froiseth became the editor (April 1, 1880, to March 1883) of its *Anti-Polygamy Standard*.⁴⁸

Froiseth is an example of a woman who gained confidence and skills through work in clubs. She helped found in 1875, the Blue Tea, Utah's first women's literary club. That network of non-Mormons became the organizational basis for the anti-polygamy movement in Utah. Froiseth took her campaign "to fight to the death that system which so enslaves and degrades our sex," to the national arena as she went on speaking tours of churches in New York and New England.⁴⁹

In 1880 Liberal Party members brought a case testing woman suffrage by seeking a writ of mandamus requiring Robert T. Burton, the Salt Lake City Registrar, to strike from the list of voters the names of Emmeline B. Wells, Cornelia Paddock, and Maria M. Blythe, and the names of all other women before a certain date. The Territorial Supreme Court ruled that Burton had performed his duty in registering the women. In 1882 another test case was brought before the Third District Court. A registrar of Salt Lake City refused to place the names of women on the list of voters. Justice James A. Hunter sustained the Legislative Act of 1870 under which women voted.⁵⁰

That same year Congress passed the Edmunds Act which disfranchised all polygamous men and all women cohabiting with polygamous men. Of the approximately 67,000 voters in the Territory, including 16,750 women, over 25,000 were disfranchised. The Utah Commission was set up to administer an

oath before persons were allowed to vote. In the meantime, another, the fifth, statehood petition was sent to Congress. Three of the seventy-two delegates who had been elected to the convention to prepare the state constitution were women: Emmeline B. Wells, Sarah M. Kimball, and Elizabeth Howard. Women actively supported this statehood petition. It was refused.

Illinois Senator John A. Logan had introduced in Congress in February 1882 an amendment to repeal woman suffrage in Utah. That provision was included in the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act, which included other anti-polygamy measures. Thus, the only vote on woman suffrage taken by the full Congress in the nineteenth century was negative.⁵¹ Mormon women had protested its eminent passage in mass meetings and through petitions. National suffrage leaders had rallied to their cause. However, woman suffrage in Utah was tied to the "Mormon Question." The act denied political rights to all women, even those who did not practice polygamy. Suffrage was being treated, not as a fundamental right for women citizens but as a weapon in the fight against the power of the LDS Church.⁵²

In 1888 Emily S. Richards and Charlotte E. Brown (a non-Mormon) were appointed to represent Utah at the National Suffrage Convention in Washington, D.C., and there were authorized to form a Utah suffrage association. After several preliminary meetings of LDS women leaders in the office of the *Woman's Exponent*, a public call was made for a meeting in the Assembly Hall on January 10, 1889, to organize a Territorial Suffrage Association. Margaret Nightingale Caine, wife of John T. Caine, Utah's delegate to Congress, was elected president.⁵³ One hundred women were enrolled.

The national association appointed Emily S. Richards and Jennie A. Froiseth as state organizers. Froiseth refused to serve. Richards organized auxiliary societies in fourteen counties. By 1890 there were 300 paid members. For the next several years, annual meetings were held in Salt Lake City and delegates were sent to the national meetings. In 1890 the Utah Association held a large picnic celebrating Wyoming's statehood, whose constitution included woman suffrage. In 1892 a large rally celebrated Susan B. Anthony's birthday. By then the National American Suffrage Association had been formed (1890) from the two factions of the woman suffrage movement. The NAWSA concentrated its energies in the next decades on winning suffrage, but not equal rights, for women.

In September 1890, the Manifesto which withdrew public support for new plural marriages, was issued by LDS Church President Wilford Woodruff, after the Edmunds-Tucker Act had been declared constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in May 1890. This accommodation to national norms allowed the church to survive and prosper. By 1892 the Republican and Democratic parties had replaced the People's (Mormon) and Liberal (non-Mormon) parties. This division of Mormons and non-Mormons into a new configuration of political localities divided Mormon women on partisan issues, but not on suffrage.

In 1894 Congress passed the Enabling Act for Utah statehood. Susan B. Anthony wrote to the members of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah urging them to fight to include their suffrage in the state's new constitution. The first evidence of the women's intention to do so appears in the platforms of the political parties which were ratified in conventions in September 1894. The eighteenth of the Republican Party platform's twenty-one planks was: "We favor the granting of equal suffrage to women." The Democratic platform was more emphatic: "The Democrats of Utah are unequivocally in favor of woman suffrage and the political rights and privileges of women equal with that of men, including eligibility to office."⁵⁴

After the election was held in November, the president of the WSA of Salt Lake City, Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson, urged members to visit the newly elected delegates to the constitutional convention to see if they intended to put woman suffrage in the constitution. That women did their work is evident in the *Tribune's* report that "a strong sentiment in favor of giving women the right to vote is manifest by the delegates."⁵⁵

On March 11, eight of the fifteen members of the committee on elections and suffrage met to consider approving a passage taken from the Wyoming constitution: "The rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of the State shall enjoy equally all civil, political and religious rights and privileges." Fred J. Kiesel, a non-Mormon businessman from Ogden, cast the one dissenting vote.

On March 18 both the Salt Lake and Utah Suffrage Associations presented memorials to the convention summarizing the reasons Utah women should have political equality with men. Seventy-five women crowded into the convention hall to present the memorials. For the next month the issue of woman suffrage was discussed in conventions, in the local press, in public debates, in church meetings, and in private conferences.

Many non-Mormons opposed the inclusion of woman suffrage in the constitution, concerned that the addition of some thirty thousand women to the voting rolls, four-fifths of them Mormons, would concentrate power in the hands of Mormon leaders. In April non-Mormons called a meeting in Ogden; they advised that the question of granting woman suffrage beyond participation in school elections would be postponed until a special election could be called by the first legislature.⁵⁶

Mormon male leaders were divided on the matter. Brigham H. Roberts, a Democrat elected from Davis County and one of the Seven Presidents of the First Council of Seventy (the third tier of Mormon General Authorities after the First Presidency and Twelve), argued that the suffrage measure would hurt chances for statehood. He warned further that participation in the political arena would drag women from their high pinnacle. Orson F. Whitney, a Mormon bishop and future apostle, countered with the theory that women would help



Martha Hughes Cannon (1857–1932), noted physician and the first elected woman state senator in the United States, n.d.

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purge away all that was unclean in politics. The woman suffrage section passed by a vote of 75 to 14, with 12 absent and 5 excused. This action was upheld April 18 in another vote (69 to 32) to reconsider the suffrage article.⁵⁷

Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw arrived in Utah May 12 and participated in a Rocky Mountain suffrage conference, held in the hall where the constitutional convention had adjourned a few days before. For two days the suffrage leaders spoke in meetings and were feted at receptions. Mormon women leaders, such as Wells, Jane S. Richards, and Zina D. H. Young, were prominent at these events, as were non-Mormon women like Corinne M. Allen, whose husband, Clarence, had voted in favor of suffrage as a member of the constitutional convention and was elected to Congress in 1895.

On November 5, 1895, the new constitution, with the woman suffrage article, was put to male voters. Women were not allowed to vote. Sarah E. Nelson Anderson had gone to court after a registrar refused to put her name on the voting list. The Territorial Supreme Court had ruled two to one (the

dissenting opinion was given by the Mormon justice, William H. King) that women had not been enfranchised by the Enabling Act. Out of a total vote of 38,992, 7,687 or about one-fifth of the male voters opposed the adoption of the constitution.⁵⁸ The largest percentage of the “no” votes came from counties where there was a substantial non-Mormon vote. When Utah became a state January 4, 1896, it became the fourth to have woman suffrage.

A few women had been placed on the tickets in 1895—Emma McVicker, a non-Mormon educator, for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lillie Pardee for the state senate (she was later appointed clerk of the Senate), and Emmeline B. Wells for the state house. They withdrew after the negative Supreme Court ruling on women enfranchisement. However, in the 1896 election women voted and ran for office—Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, Emmeline B. Wells, and Lucy A. Clark for the state senate; Sarah E. Nelson Anderson, Eurithe K. LaBarthe, Martha Campbell, and Mrs. F. E. Stewart for the House.

Some concern was expressed prior to the November election about the low number of women registered to vote. An editorial in the *Deseret News* complained that “many of the women of Salt Lake City and county have neglected to register, either through indifference or opposition to the idea.” The article further exhorted women to register as a civic duty, using their influence to purify and elevate local politics.⁵⁹ Women did register to vote in numbers only slightly fewer than men. In Salt Lake City 9,085 men and 8,596 women registered; in the county 3,937 men and 3,196 women registered.⁶⁰

It was a year of victory for the Democratic-Populist tickets. The women running as Republicans lost. Dr. Cannon became the first woman state senator in the United States—in a contest in which her friend and woman suffrage co-worker Wells and her husband, Angus M. Cannon, lost. Anderson and LaBarthe, both non-Mormon Democrats, won their contests, and eleven women were elected throughout the state to positions of county recorder. However, all of the women legislative candidates ran behind their tickets.⁶¹ In all subsequent elections, except those of 1900 and 1910, women have run for political offices in Utah.

The shift from local to national parties was challenging for Utah women. The local People’s-Liberal struggle had emphasized the division between Mormon and non-Mormon. Adopting the national two-party system resulted in a new political alignment that often pitted Mormon women leaders against each other in different parties and united Mormons and non-Mormons in the same party.⁶²

As a result of the prolonged Republican campaign to crush polygamy, Mormons were inclined toward the Democratic Party. However, as they worked to stabilize and expand the church’s business interests, many Mormon leaders supported the Republican Party with its protective tariffs and pro-business stance. Most members of the Liberal Party, upon its dissolution, moved into the Republican ranks. Some Mormon women leaders like Wells joined male

leaders in the Republican Party. And some non-Mormon women like Anderson and LaBarthe swelled the ranks of the Democratic Party.

The Socialist Party, organized nationally and in Utah in 1901, also brought together Mormons, non-Mormons, and non-religious people, 10 percent of whom were women.⁶³ Socialism was a popular cause in the West, and socialist women in Utah were mostly married housewives, a significant percentage of them active Mormons. Until 1912 the Socialist Party was the only national political organization unequivocally supporting full voting rights for women.

Women were also drawn to the Progressive Party which supported Theodore Roosevelt when he bolted the Republican Party in the 1912 election. That was a banner year for women candidates. Ten women, four Republicans, two Democrats, three Progressives, and one Socialist ran for the state legislature; and Margaret Zane Cherdion was selected as the first woman in the United States to the electoral college.⁶⁴

Also 1912 saw the election in Kanab, Utah, of an all-women board, with Mary E. Woolley Chamberlain as chair and mayor. Chamberlain (serving under the name Howard to make less public her status as one of the six wives of Thomas Chamberlain who had spent 1888–89 in the state penitentiary for unlawful cohabitation), in reviewing her two years of service, downplayed her election as a “joke” but evaluated the all-women board as having done “more for the town than all the male Boards they have ever had.”⁶⁵

The fight for national woman suffrage continued through these years. In 1899 Carrie Chapman Catt, chair of the National Suffrage Association, visited Utah. A meeting was called and steps taken to form a Utah Council of Women to assist the suffrage effort in other states. (The Council of Women developed into the League of Women Voters.) The officers included women active in Utah woman suffrage efforts and other politics: Emily S. Richards (who wrote *The Republican Catechism Criticized and Amended for the Benefit of the Women of Utah* to convince women to join the Democratic Party) was president; Elizabeth A. Pugmire Hayward (elected in 1914 to the state House of Representatives and in 1918 to the Senate), Mrs. Ira D. Wines, Dr. Jane Wilkin Manning Skolfield (elected in 1912 to the state House), and Mrs. B. T. Pyper as vice-presidents; Elizabeth M. Cohen (elected in 1900 as delegate to the Democratic National Convention, the first woman delegate in the nation) secretary; Anna Thomas Piercy (elected in 1918 to the state House) as assistant secretary; and Hannah S. Lapish as treasurer.⁶⁶

However, in the fourteen years following the triumphs of 1896, the woman suffrage movement met only a succession of defeats. In fact, some scholars suggest that victories in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho actually hampered the cause. Anti-suffragists were able to raise fears about the links of suffrage to populism and socialism, political movements which held “outsider” status in the nation as a whole. Even in the West, woman suffrage stalled. Suffrage



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Kanab Ladies Town Board, 1912–14. The woman in the center is Mary E. Woolley Howard (Chamberlain), when she was chairman of the board and mayor of Kanab.

supporters were not able to translate into a widespread political movement the particular circumstances which had supported woman suffrage. In Wyoming it was about the hopes that suffrage would attract more Euro-American women to the region. In Utah it was about protecting the rights of a religious minority. In Colorado and Idaho woman suffrage was linked to supposed threats by national fiscal conservatives on the mining economy of the Rockies.⁶⁷

During these years, the Utah Council met monthly to raise some money and write letters and petitions to aid the national cause. Then, between 1910 and 1914, seven more western states—Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, and Montana—embraced woman suffrage. These successes were due to a shift in the arguments used by women's rights leaders and to the association of woman suffrage with Progressivism, a reform movement which sought the purification of society, a movement particularly successful politically in the West but which gained widespread national support.

People like Carrie Chapman Catt replaced the earlier feminists who had died or retired by the turn of the century. Catt and the new leaders evolved a set of tactics and a low level of rhetoric designed to minimize controversy. Historian Aileen Kraditor has called it a shift from the "argument from justice" which emphasized the inalienable rights of women as individuals, to an "argument from expediency," which emphasized the ballot as an agent for reforming society.⁶⁸ The new leaders deemphasized the principle that men and women had identical rights to engage in public activities and exploited instead the traditional assumptions about woman's separate sphere—a sphere which

complemented man's and from which women could elevate the moral level of government, cope with human problems, and protect the family if only they could acquire the vote.

Progressivism represented an effort to clean up corruption, disease, and poverty. In this period of general commitment to "reform" (meaning, to extend democracy and eliminate social injustice), the suffragists were able to identify their own cause as being part of the Progressive coalition. The cause thus achieved legitimacy and broad-based support. When the national amendment for woman suffrage was ratified by the Utah Legislature in 1919, it was state senator Elizabeth Pugmire Hayward, long identified with populist and progressive politics activities, who introduced the measure.⁶⁹

And just as woman suffrage became respectable, middle class, and middle-of-the-road, so too did Mormonism. Woman suffrage leaders tempered those ideas most likely to offend public sensibilities to secure the vote. By 1919, LDS leaders, bloodied in the 1904–07 Senate hearings over whether monogamous apostle and senator Reed Smoot should keep his seat, had strenuously disavowed the rhetoric of theocracy and embraced the rhetoric of mainstream democracy.⁷⁰

Smoot's election had represented to some the continued power of the LDS Church in Utah politics, and they questioned whether his loyalty would be to church rather than country. Utah women were also drawn into the prolonged controversy. Corinne Allen used her positions as president of the Utah Mother's Congress (founded in 1898) and leader of the Municipal League (1897), which fought against prostitution, to influence the national congress, which formed an anti-Smoot coalition. Prominent non-Mormons launched the American Party to "free people from apostolic rule." Elizabeth Cohen, former president of the Women's Democratic Club, led the Women's American Club in attacks on senators who supported Smoot. Mormon women organized to accuse Cohen of lies and women's groups of being "the blind tools of certain political conspirators engaged in a relentless persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . to degrade American womanhood."⁷¹ The outcome was that Smoot retained his seat and went on to create a Republican Party machine that dominated Utah politics until 1932.

The practice of polygamy went underground, clung to by those fundamentalists who would not accept the change in policy. It continued as the trait most identified in the public mind with Mormonism, but was publicly ignored by the church and, until recently, privately treated as a skeleton of history. The legacy of polygamy haunts Mormon women, continuing for many as the symbol of women's basic inequality in the church.

This basic inequality was not challenged by the Mormon women leaders as they became involved in politics. They politicked in support of their church and to protect its place and privilege. Most LDS women who became involved in politics did so, not to overthrow patriarchy, but to extend their domestic sphere

into “municipal housekeeping,” political purification, and protective social reform. Mormon women also became involved to show themselves capable, intelligent, and independent in countering the image as sluts or slaves.⁷²

There were feminists who challenged male privilege, such as Charlotte Ives Cobb Godbe, who worked for woman suffrage because it was morally right for women to participate in their government. Utah populist and socialist Kate S. Hilliard lectured against Mormon “priesthood sexism” and all organized religion as hindrances to women’s rights. But even these women were not misfits or malcontents on the periphery of society. They worked within established systems and with other women—Godbe was treasurer of the Territorial Suffrage Association in 1889; Hilliard was a state organizer for the Utah Federation of Women’s Clubs in 1902.

Respectable women were involved in the Utah woman suffrage effort—married, mothers, active in church and community work. Respectable women ran for office and worked in the political parties. Many of the women who ran for office during the first decades after statehood had been involved in the suffrage effort: Cannon, Wells, Clark, Anderson, Coulter, Hayward, and Wolstenholme.⁷³ And although women who had worked together for Utah suffrage were separated in partisan politics, many continued their friendships and worked together for national suffrage and for local causes. Capable, intelligent, energetic women formed networks to politically promote self-education, child protection, and urban improvements. One example is the kindergarten movement of the 1890s which resulted in 1903 legislation establishing kindergartens in every Utah town of over 2500 residents.⁷⁴ Another is the support led by state legislator Amy Brown Lyman, a future Relief Society general president, for the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act (or the Sheppard-Towner Act, 1921) to provide better maternity and infant care. Both efforts linked Utah women to the national political arena.⁷⁵

Some of the women who ran for political office in Utah prior to 1920 had professional careers—Martha Hughes Cannon and Jane Wilkin Manning Skolfield were medical doctors, Mary Anna Clark Geigus Coulter was a lawyer, Grace Copp Stratton Airey was an osteopath, Cloa Pearl Huffaker Clegg was a school teacher, and Emmeline B. Wells and Kate Hilliard were journalists. All were involved in club work—Eurithe LaBarthe and Antoinette Brown Kinney were presidents of the Ladies Literary Club; Lily Clayton Wolstenholme and Anna Holden King helped found the Women’s Republican Club. These politicians organized other women in church or community projects which involved public action. Annie Wells Cannon founded the first Red Cross chapter in Utah. Delora Edith Wilkens Blakely created the Sarah Daft Home for the aged.

Nationally woman suffrage had limited impact on politics. It failed to help women achieve equality of legal, economic, or social rights. Women did not vote as a reform bloc or in any pattern different from men. Woman

suffrage simply doubled the electorate. Some scholars argue that anti-suffragist women were perhaps right in predicting a loss of power for women as they lost their place “above” politics, as the force of moral order. But it was a loss which had more to do with changing economics and gender roles than with suffrage. Many men and women rejected domesticity as an ideal. Much of the municipal housekeeping and charity work that had belonged to the woman’s sphere was surrendered to government functions. Lacking a sense of common ground, women fragmented politically. In rejecting the woman’s sphere as an organizing principle, women did not act as a separate political bloc.⁷⁶

However, the level of organization among women after 1920 remained high. Women still joined women’s organizations as they had for generations. And new organizations were created, including the American Association of University Women (AAUW) and the YWCA. The National League of Women Voters evolved into a “good government” rather than a feminist organization, its premise being to ready women for political life. Scores of new associations of women professionals were also founded between 1915 and 1930. Women in Utah joined local affiliates of all these organizations, worked to educate the public, and lobbied for specific bills.

A good example of women who continued to organize for political influence in Utah is the Women’s State Legislative Council of Utah. It was organized in 1920 with delegates from women’s organizations and Jeannette A. Hyde as president to “investigate and study subjects of state and national interest for the purpose of influencing and bringing to fruition beneficial legislation for the state of Utah.”⁷⁷ Like the League of Women Voters, it involved many women through the years as researchers, writers, and advocates. In 1926, for example, the tax committee, led by Florence Kimball published its research on *Fundamentals of Utah Taxation*. The committee recommended that some provision should be made whereby financially poor school districts might receive adequate funds to “care properly for the educational needs of children.”⁷⁸

During the 1920s, as women continued to be politically active mostly through organizations rather than as individual candidates, the national political parties made appeals to potential women voters by setting up women’s divisions which mirrored women’s clubs. However, unlike women’s clubs, these party organizations were not controlled by women, but rather by male elites. The Republican Party was particularly successful nationally in creating a place for women to gain leadership experience while they did the work of party “housekeeping.” By the 1940s the image of the Republican Party club woman had become a stereotype.

One of the most accomplished of these Utah Republican club women was Ivy Baker Priest. She achieved national fame, not through winning an election but through working for the election of others. She got into Republican Party work with her mother, a community activist in Bingham,

Reva Beck Bosone ran for Congress against Ivy Baker Priest in 1950 and won. This election garnered national interest because Bosone entered politics through more traditional male routes (law and public service). Bosone was the eleventh woman admitted to practice law in Utah (1930).
Photo, 1954.



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Utah. Priest became a delegate to the state Republican convention in 1937 and to the national convention in 1948. She lost her bid for Congress in 1950 but her campaigning, particularly among women voters, for the 1952 election of Dwight D. Eisenhower won her the appointment as U.S. Treasurer, a position in which she served eight years.⁷⁹

In her 1950 run for Congress, Priest lost to the incumbent, Reva Beck Bosone. Although not the first national election in which women were pitted against each other, this election was still unusual enough to generate national attention. Unlike Priest and most women who ran for office in Utah and the nation, Bosone did not enter formal politics through service in community and party organizations. She entered through the routes more traditional for male legislators: law and public service. In 1930 Bosone was the eleventh woman admitted to practice law in Utah. She got involved in Democratic Party politics through Elise Furer Musser,⁸⁰ the national committeewoman, and Carolyn Wolfe, the state chair of the party. Bosone was elected to the state legislature and then, in 1936, was elected as Utah's first woman judge. She ended her twelve-year stint on the bench to again run for office and was elected in 1948 as Utah's

first woman member of Congress. In Congress she became the first woman to serve as a member of the Interior Committee. Although she won again in 1950, she lost other bids in 1952 and 1954 during the Republican insurgency.⁸¹

Women in Utah, as well as the nation, continued to be involved in politics much less often through elected office than through the hard work of sisterhood in their own groups and the hard work of sustaining campaigns for their political parties. If women were elected, it was many times more often at the local level than at state and federal levels. Hundreds of thousands more women worked within organizations to bring various issues to public attention and to impact policy rather than to be public and to make policy.⁸²

In 1972 Jean M. Westwood from West Jordan, Utah, became the first woman to be elected chair of a national political party. Although not well-known publicly, Westwood had been a “tough, loyal soldier” in the Democratic Party.⁸³ That same year the U.S. Senate passed and sent on to state legislatures for ratification the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution which declared: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex.”⁸⁴ Spurred by the revival of feminism in the late 1960s and 1970s, the ERA received much early support as thirty states ratified it within one year of its Senate approval. Utah was not one of those states. (Ten of the thirteen western states ratified the ERA by 1974; Idaho voted to rescind its ratification in 1977.)

Women had established Utah branches of the National Organization of Women (1966) and the National Women’s Political Caucus (1971), both organizations mobilized to remove legal barriers to women’s economic, social, and political equality with men. However, other Utah women joined competing networks of women to oppose those efforts, such as the National Committee to Stop ERA (1972) which became the Eagle Forum (1975), both headed by Phyllis Schlafly, who had been a speechwriter for Barry Goldwater. The fight over the Equal Rights Amendment paralleled the fight over woman suffrage with women using political strategies of rallies, publications, lobbying, and demonstrations against each other.⁸⁵

This time, however, LDS Church leadership was critical of “women’s liberation.” It tasked its Special Affairs Committee in 1974 to work against ratification of the ERA by soliciting Relief Society leaders to publicly oppose the ERA and by funding and directing local efforts to prevent ratification.⁸⁶ Thereby, thousands of LDS women again participated in the American political process, albeit with an agenda and direction from a male hierarchy. The First Presidency issued a formal statement against ratification in 1976. The ERA ultimately failed to achieve ratification by the required thirty-eight states, even though the deadline for ratification was extended to June 30, 1982. This defeat, part of the conservative backlash that gained momentum in the mid-1970s, did not reflect national public support for the amendment which never fell below 54 percent.⁸⁷

Organizations formed to oppose the ERA rapidly expanded to organize women in a broader agenda of political and social conservatism. Anxieties about changes in gender roles and about waning male relevance became linked to the larger conservative agenda. Ironically many who defended the importance of women's domestic roles deviated from those roles in the conduct of their own lives as they worked hard to recruit other women to engage in political activities to oppose issues raised by feminists.⁸⁸ By the time there was another contest for Congress between two women candidates in Utah, the modern women's movement and its opposition had recruited and trained many women lobbyists and candidates.

In 1994 Enid Greene Waldholtz unseated incumbent Karen Shepherd in the Second Congressional District. Unlike Bosone and Priest's cordial race of 1950, this race was acrimonious and, as it turned out, fraudulent. Although Shepherd was a graduate of BYU, married and the mother of two, she had also been president of the Equal Rights Legal Fund and the owner of *Network* magazine (1978–88), aimed at women progressives. She was labeled "anti-family." Greene, the newcomer to politics, benefitted from the conservative tide. She became the "darling" of the Newt Gingrich Congress, especially when she gave birth to a daughter during her term. However, when it was discovered that her husband had embezzled huge sums of money from her father to finance the campaign, Greene chose not to run for reelection.

Public womanhood continues in Utah and the nation into the twenty-first century. Increasing numbers of women run for public office at every level of government. Women are reelected at close to the same rate as incumbent men. Among all voting-age people, women have voted at higher rates than men in every presidential election since 1984.⁸⁹ And in the election year of 2004, no group received more attention than the 22 million unmarried women who were eligible to vote but had not cast ballots in the 2000 presidential election.

Women have always been involved in politics through their own organizations. They have trained themselves about public issues and have worked to impact public policies. Politics is not just about elections, government, and public affairs; it is about the power to influence decisions made within human groups. Politics is about setting an agenda for public debate. This book which declares that women and women's ideas and experiences matter in Utah history is a political act.

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9. Martha Sonntag Bradley, “The Mormon Relief Society and the IWY,” *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Spring 1995): 105–67.
10. Alan P. Gimes, *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (New York: Oxford, 1967), chap. 2. The description of Mormonism is taken from Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 3.
11. A good overview of the political roles of American women to 1900 is Louise M. Young, “Women’s Place in American Politics: The Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Politics* 38 (August 1976): 295–335. Helpful interpretive studies of woman suffrage are Eleanor Flexner, *A Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman’s Suffrage Movement, 1890–1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965). Marjorie Spruill Wheller, ed. *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale, Ohio: NewSage Press, 1995), accompanied the PBS American Experience television program of the same name.
12. *Constitution of the State of Deseret*, Article II, Section 10, 1859, retrieved April 10, 2005, from <http://relarchive.byu.edu/19th/descriptions/constitution.html>.
13. Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1968).
14. Ralph Lorenzo Jack, “Territorial Politics: 1847–1876” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1970), 69.
15. *Ibid.*, 75–76.
16. Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: The Biography of Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 127.

17. For examples of women's organizations in other parts of the country, see Mary Ann Irwin, "Going About and Doing Good': The Politics of Benevolence, Welfare, and Gender in San Francisco, 1850–1880," *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (Summer 1999): 365–96; and Anne M. Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
18. Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), chap. 5. For the richest collection of the scholarship on Utah suffrage, see Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Battle for the Ballot : Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870–1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997).
19. Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 112–28.
20. The Supreme Court ruled in a test case in Missouri: "There is no doubt that women may be citizens. They are persons, and by the fourteenth amendment 'all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof' are expressly declared to be 'citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.' But, in our opinion, it did not need this amendment to give them that position. . . . If the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, then the constitution and laws of Missouri confining it to men are in violation of the Constitution of the United States, as amended, and consequently void. The direct question is, therefore, presented whether all citizens are necessarily voters." The court opined that they are not and continued: "No argument as to woman's need of suffrage can be considered. We can only act upon her rights as they exist. It is not for us to look at the hardship of withholding. Our duty is at an end if we find it is within the power of a State to withhold. Being unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one, and that the constitutions and laws of the several States which commit that important trust to men alone are not necessarily void, we affirm the judgment [made in the lower court that the state of Missouri could lawfully define voters as men only]." *Minor v. Happersett*, U.S. 162, October, 1874.
 While the Missouri case was going through the courts, so was the case of Susan B. Anthony who had registered, cast a ballot in Rochester, New York, in a federal election, and then been arrested for "illegal voting." Anthony's conviction was not appealed. Doug Linder, "The Trial of Susan B. Anthony, 1873," *Famous Trials*, 2004, retrieved July 2004 from <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/frtrial/anthony/sbhome.html>.
21. Quoted in Ralph C. Jack, "Woman Suffrage in Utah as an Issue in the Mormon-Non-Mormon Press of the Territory, 1870–1887" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), 35.
22. House Resolution 64: "To discourage polygamy in Utah by granting the right of suffrage to the women of that Territory," was introduced March 15, 1869. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 1st Session, 1869, 72. The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution which granted suffrage to black males was proposed in February 1869.

23. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Publishing, 1886), 435.
24. *Deseret News*, August 6, 1869. See also Thomas G. Alexander, "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 20–30.
25. Edward Tullidge, "Our Woman's Platform," *Utah Magazine* 3 (May 8 and July 31, 1869): 199.
26. For a rich discussion of the role of the New Movement in enfranchising Utah women, see Lola Van Wagenen, *Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994; printed, Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, Dissertations in LDS History Series, 2003).
27. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
28. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The Leading Sisters: A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Mormon Society," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 25–40.
29. Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 1985, 364. According to Susa Young Gates: "President Brigham Young called into council the leading men of the legislature, President George A. Smith, Lorenzo Snow, Abram O. Smoot, George Q. Cannon, and William Maughan, and he suggested the advisability of granting the right of suffrage to the women of Utah, committing the responsibility of the whole measure to Abram O. Smoot." Susa Young Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," manuscript, p. 17, in Susa Young Gates Collection, Box 17, Utah State Historical Society.
30. Quoted in Lola Van Wagenen, "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1991): 35. See also Beverly Beeton, *Women Vote in the West* (New York: Garland, 1986).
31. Quoted in Jack, "Woman Suffrage," 72.
32. Van Wagenen, *Sister Wives and Suffragists*, 7.
33. Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," 12; Beeton, "Woman Suffrage," 11.
34. Van Wagenen, *Sister Wives*, 36–37.
35. Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," 12.
36. Beverly Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1976): 2, discusses the concern in both England and the United States for the "surplus women problem."
37. Susan E. Marshall, *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign against Woman Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 19–20.
38. Quoted in Beeton, "Woman Suffrage," 118.
39. "Both Utah women addressed the convention, attended congressional committee meetings, called upon the President of the United States and presented the case of the 'Mormon' women to the Lady of the White House, Mrs. Hayes." Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," 15.
40. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More* (New York: European Press, 1898), 286, hoped that the Mormon women would eventually give up their vigorous

support of the Mormon “arrangement” and come to “understand that governments and religions are human inventions, that the Bible, prayer books, catechisms, and encyclical letters are all emanations from the brain of man.” Then they would “no longer be oppressed by the injunctions that come to them with the divine authority of “Thus saith the Lord.”

41. Pauline W. Davis, *A History of the National Women Rights Movement* (1871; reprinted New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 25.
42. Quoted in Ileen Ann Waspe LeCheminant, “The Status of Women in the Philosophy of Mormonism from 1830 to 1895” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1942); see also Sherilyn Cox Bennion, “The *Woman’s Exponent*: 42 Years of Speaking for Women,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976): 222–39. Edward Tullidge was involved with the Mormon dissenters of the New Movement. In 1877 he published *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall) with help from Joseph Smith’s widow, Emma Hale Smith Bidamon.
43. See Mary Isabella Horne, “Appreciative,” *Women’s Exponent*, January 15, 1874. See also “A resolution expressing appreciation to the women’s suffrage associations accepted unanimously at a large meeting of the Senior and Junior Co-operative Retrenchment Association,” n.d., manuscript, Susa Young Gates Collection, Box 17, Utah State Historical Society. Under English common law, women were not regarded as legal persons or entities. The Mormons had declared common law not operable in Utah. Members of Congress seemed less concerned that Utah women voted than that they did not vote against LDS candidates. Some members saw woman suffrage in Utah as “another monstrous instance of Mormon craft” by which Mormon leaders could offset their potential loss of power through the influx of non-Mormons by enfranchising women who would vote for Mormon candidates. Mormon male leaders countered with arguments that the majority of women did not vote. Thomas Fitch, *Arguments . . . in Opposition to House Bill 3791* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers Printers, 1873) 17–19.
44. Quoted in Beverly Beeton and G. Thomas Edwards, “Susan B. Anthony’s Woman Suffrage Crusade in the American West,” *Women in the West*, edited by Glenda Riley (Manhattan, Kan.: Sunflower University Press, 1982), 11.
45. The Homestead Act (1862) turned over vast amounts of the public domain to private citizens. A homesteader had only to be the head of a household and at least 21 years of age to claim a 160–acre parcel of land. Since married women were not considered heads of households, only unmarried, widowed, or divorced women could claim homestead land.
46. Belva A. Lockwood, “The Disfranchisement of the Women of Utah,” *Ogden Daily Herald*, June 9, 1883, 4. For descriptions of the mass meetings of Mormon women in 1870, 1876, and 1886 see Heather Symones Cannon, “Practical Politicians,” *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, edited by Claudia L. Bushman (1976, reprinted with a new introduction by Ann Firor Scott, Logan: Utah State University, 1997), 162–69.
47. Patricia Lyn Scott, “The Respected Mrs. Cooke: Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke,” in *Worth Their Salt Too: More Notable But Often Unnoticed Women of Utah*, edited by Colleen Whitney (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 1–27. See also Barbara

- Haywood, "Utah's Anti-Polygamy Society, 1878–1884" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980).
48. Froiseth later used writings from the *Standard* to produce *Women of Mormonism or The Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (Detroit, Mich.: C. G. G. Paine, 1886); available on-line at http://www.polygamyinfo.com/wom_book.htm. Frances Willard, president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, then largest women's political organization in the country, wrote an introduction to the book.
 49. Patricia Lyn Scott, "Jennie Anderson and the Blue Tea," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 71 (Winter 2003): 20–35.
 50. Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in the West," 95–96; also Jean Bickmore White, "Gentle Persuaders: Utah's First Women Legislators," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 41–42.
 51. Sarah Barringer Gordon, "The Liberty of Self Degradation: Polygamy, Woman Suffrage, and Consent in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 83 (December 1996): 815–47.
 52. That the Mormon women did vote as a block in support of the Mormon Church candidates and issues is obliquely admitted in the 1886 protest sent to Congress that the women were being deprived of suffrage "for no other reason than that we do not vote to suit our political opponents." "*Mormon Women's Protest, An Appeal for Freedom, Justice and Equal Rights* . . ." (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1886) 18.
 53. Other officers elected were Lydia D. Alder, Nellie R. Weber and Priscilla J. Riter, vice-presidents; Cornelia N. Clayton, secretary; Charlotte I. Cobb Kirby, corresponding secretary; and Margie Dwyer, treasurer; Maria Y. Dougall, Nettie Y. Snell, Ann E. Grosebeck, Phoebe Y. Beatie, Jennie Rowe, members of the executive committee. Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," 15–16.
 54. Jean Bickmore White, "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Fall 1974): 344–45, 347.
 55. *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 4, 1895; quoted in White, "Woman's Place," 348. Ruth May Fox, active in the Utah Woman Suffrage Association and the Republican Party, noted in her diary going around several times with petitions, "to find out who [was] . . . willing the suffrage clause should remain in the constitution. Met with very good success." Linda Thatcher, ed., "'I Care Nothing for Politics': Ruth May Fox, Forgotten Suffragist," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 249.
 56. White, "Women's Place Is in the Constitution," 361.
 57. *Ibid.*, 363.
 58. Results of the election given by Utah Commission, quoted in White, "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution," 364. Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," 18, lists the results as 28,618 for and 2,687 against.
 59. The *Deseret News* comments on the women's participation in the 1896 election is the typical rhetoric about women's nullifying role and the evidence that the role then, as later, also included "domestic service": "In all the precincts, the ladies, who now are exercising the right of franchise for the first time in Utah for many years, were

much in evidence; their presence undoubtedly had much to do with the tranquility that has already been referred to. In addition to having a nullifying influence on . . . disturbances at the polls, they also set good examples of their zeal and activity . . . Then again, they did much towards keeping the workers in bright cheer by the substantial bands, hot coffee and other good things that they gave to them from time to time." "Fight at Home," *Deseret News*, November 5, 1896, 1. According to the *Salt Lake Tribune Almanac*, 1899, 36, the first woman to vote in Utah after statehood was Mrs. George Mollins, who cast her ballot in the municipal election at the mining town of Mercur, April 21, 1896. The first woman office holder was Mrs. M. J. Atwood who was elected school trustee in Kamas, Summit County, January 9, 1886. Quoted in Jean Bickmore White, "Utah State Elections, 1895–1899" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1968), 123.

60. "Registration Record," *Deseret News*, October 26, 1896, 5.
61. For example, of the five elected to the state senate from the sixth district, Cannon had 7,868 votes compared to Caine 5,371, Haboor 8,429, Ridout 8,272, Whitaker 9,068. "Election Returns," *Deseret News*, November 3, 1920, 1.
62. For discussion of the shift into national political parties see Thomas G. Alexander, "Political Patterns of Early Statehood, 1896–1919," in *Utah's History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978): 409–28. See also Kenneth G. Stauffer, "Utah Politics, 1912–1918" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1972).
63. Sillito, "Women Socialists," 235–36.
64. Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," 22–23. Statistics compiled by Gates during 1915 show there were in Utah 65,000 men and 75,000 women voters. In 1914 90 percent of the women cast their vote, compared with 65 percent of the men. Gates, "Suffrage in Utah," insert page 11. Since voter surveys were not done, it is not known what percentage of women voters voted for women candidates.
65. Mary W. Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 62. Members of the board included Luella McAllister, Blanche Hamblin, Tamar Hamblin, and Ada Seegmiller. Susa Young Gates, *Utah Women in Politics* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1914), 16.
66. [Susanna Young Gates], "Utah," in *The History of Woman Suffrage*, edited by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (1902; reprinted, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 645.
67. Gayle Gullett, *Becoming Citizens: The Emergence and Development of the California Women's Movement, 1880–1911* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 100.
68. Aileen Kraditor, ed., *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973), 110–31.
69. Delia M. Abbott and Beverly J. White, comps., *Women Legislators of Utah, 1896–1993* [Salt Lake City: Governor's Commission for Women and Families, 1993], 56.
70. Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

71. *Deseret Evening News*, 22 June 1905; quoted in Jeffrey Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847–1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
72. Gary L. Bunker and Carol Bunker, “Woman Suffrage, Popular Art, and Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Winter 1991): 32–51.
73. For biographical information on Utah women legislators, see Abbott and White, *Women Legislators of Utah*.
74. Carol Cornwall Madsen, “Decade of Détente: The Mormon-Gentile Female Relationship in Nineteenth Century Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (1995): 298–319.
75. Loretta L. Hefner, “The National Women’s Relief Society and the U.S. Sheppard-Towner Act,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1982): 255–67.
76. Paula Baker, “The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1789–1920,” *American Historical Review* 89 (June 1984): 620–47.
77. Women’s State Legislative Council of Utah records, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
78. Florence Kimball and Mrs. H. S. Tanner, *Fundamentals of Utah Taxation* (Salt Lake City: Women’s State Legislative Committee Tax Committee, 1926).
79. Stanford J. Layton, “Ivy Baker Priest, Treasurer of the U.S.,” in *Worth Their Salt: Notable But Often Unnoticed Women of Utah*, edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 219–27.
80. Juanita Brooks and Janet G. Butler, eds. “Utah’s Peace Advocate, the ‘Mormona’: Elise Furer Musser,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 151–66. Furer Musser began her social service and political career with work in Neighborhood House, a settlement house patterned after Hull House, established in Salt Lake in the 1890s. She became influential in Utah’s Democratic Women’s Club, served as state senator (1933–34), and was the only woman delegate (appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt) to the Buenos Aires Peace Conference in 1936. It was she who responded to a national effort to organize women state legislators. In 1936 she helped organize the Utah Order of Women Legislators. One of their topics of discussion in 1938 was the Equal Rights Amendment then before Congress.
81. Beverly B. Clopton, *Her Honor the Judge: The Story of Reva Beck Bosone* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980).
82. Janet A. Flammang, ed., *Political Women: Current Roles in State and Local Government* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1984); also her *Women’s Political Voice: How Women Are Transforming the Study and Practice of Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997).
83. Jean M. Westwood, “The Political Status of Women—1974,” *Wisconsin Academy Review* 20 (Spring 1941): 2–6.
84. The original Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1923, three years after the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified. The initial language, changed in 1943, provided: “Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.” It had been drafted by the radical suffragist Alice Paul, whose National Woman’s Party had split from the

ranks of mainstream suffragism. Some form of the Equal Rights Amendment was introduced in nearly every succeeding session of Congress, but it was a half century before it received any serious attention. Martha Craig Daughtrey, "Women and the Constitution: Where We Are at the End of the Century," *New York University Law Review* 75 (April 2000): 6.

85. In the 1973 legislative session in which Utah lawmakers considered the amendment, members of the Governor's Committee on the Status of Women served as a steering committee for efforts in support of the measure. Other women, such as herbalist Reba Lazenby, were sponsored by the John Birch Society to organize HOTDOGS (Humanitarians Opposed to the Degradation of Our Girls) which succeeded in defeating ratification. Marilyn Warenski, *Patriarchs and Politics, the Plight of the Mormon Woman* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 182–87.
86. D. Michael Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign Against the Equal Rights Amendment," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 85–155. Quinn maintains that "existing evidence verifies a . . . successful effort by the LDS Church to prevent ratification of the ERA in Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia." The church was also successful in its campaign to rescind ratification in Idaho. However, Mormons and their "ecumenical allies" were not successful in rescinding ERA ratification in California, Hawaii, Iowa, Montana, Texas, and Wyoming.
87. *The Equal Rights Amendment: Guaranteeing Equal Rights for Women under the Constitution*, United Commission on Civil Rights Clearinghouse Publication 68 (July 1981); retrieved April 2005 from <http://www.thelizlibrary.org/suffrage/eracom.htm>.
88. Susan E. Marshall, "Marilyn vs. Hillary: Women's Place in New Right Politics," *Women and Politics* 16 (1996): 55–75.
89. For most of the presidential elections since women nationally gained the right to vote, men have proved more likely to vote than women. In 1964, for example, 72 percent of voting-age males participated, versus only 67 percent of voting-age females. However, as more women participated in the workplace, more women voted. (Employed people are more likely to vote.). U.S. Census Bureau, "Women by the Numbers, 2004," retrieved in August 2004 from <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/womencensus1.html>.