The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: the Case of Illinois, 1850-1920

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been the densest. These were also locations where dry influence was often weak and the Crusades had few results. Election successes ascribed to the Crusade, however, were in smaller towns where prohibition sentiment was the strongest and saloons were often circumscribed. Kansas Crusades, therefore, seemed to appear where the saloon may have been the strongest and enjoyed its successes where the drys were.

Kansas's peculiar prohibition history extends to the role of women. Kansas women had equality with men on saloon licensing, although only in small towns; and they were prominent in the Kansas Temperance Society, which backed woman suffrage, the Kansas Temperance party, and Good Templars. Kansas women seemed to have little philosophical affinity with Crusaders and to be poor prospects as recruits. The conundrum of the Crusade and Kansas is one for the readers of these excellent books to resolve.

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Women's history continues to flourish as measured by such indicators as the number of books and articles published, papers read at professional meetings, and courses offered. Recent growth has been more than just quantitative, however, as the number and variety of subjects has continued to expand. During the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s most of the increase occurred on the private side of American women's experiences, with growing numbers of studies on marriage, motherhood, work, and activity in voluntary associations. Although these areas continue to attract large numbers of historians, a growing proportion of recent investigations has focused on the public side of the lives of American women, on such activities as the campaign for suffrage and the ways in which women used the ballot following the enactment of suffrage extension.

Recent interest in the history of woman suffrage is a revival of an earlier concern with the topic, with much of the earlier writing on the movement a product of the 1950s and 1960s, decades in which relatively few historians studied the experiences of women. The new suffrage scholarship differs from that of an earlier day in at least two respects. One is the choice of limited geographical areas, usually a single
state, in which to examine an aspect of suffrage history. The second difference is a much more interdisciplinary approach to the study of both the campaign for the vote and the ballot behavior of women after they attained it. Steven M. Buechler’s book, *The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850–1920,* exemplifies both of these characteristics of the new suffrage scholarship. The author, a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin–Platteville, is primarily concerned with changes in the Illinois suffrage movement, and with attempting to explain the transformation of the movement from its inception to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Buechler classifies the campaign for suffrage extension as a long-term social movement which changed considerably during its seventy years. In chapter two he discusses “Issues in the Sociology of Social Movements,” applying sociological theory to historical analysis. He concludes that changes in the larger society, such as urbanization, industrialization, the “new” immigration, and the long-term increase in rights and opportunities for women, explain most of the transformation of the Illinois woman suffrage movement between 1850 and 1920. He summarizes this conclusion by noting that “when the social context changes, movements change as well” (215).

Buechler detects three distinct periods in the history of the Illinois woman suffrage movement. The first, 1850–1870, was the era of abolition, Civil War, and early Reconstruction. In Illinois, as in other states, “the abolitionist movement provided an impetus to involvement in the nascent women’s rights movement” (57). The war contributed to the state’s suffrage extension movement by setting “in motion certain processes that led to a more effective and better organized women’s rights movement by the end of the decade” (59). The first phase of the Illinois movement ended with the establishment of the two rival national organizations, the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association.

The second period in the history of the Illinois movement, 1870–1890, differed from the preceding era in several respects. The most obvious change was a decline in “momentum from a peak of 1870 to a valley of 1890” (102). The movement was also more moralistic and class-conscious than it had been in earlier decades. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, the most important figure in the second phase of the Illinois movement, expressed this moralism when she wrote, “Let our watchword from henceforth be, not what can our country, our government do for us, but rather, what can we do for our country and for the perpetuity of our government?” (116). During this period “The temperance issue had considerable impact on the suffrage cause... in the Midwest” (117).
Following two decades of decline, the Illinois suffrage movement entered its final phase in the 1890s. It scored only limited victories in the early years of this era, and then gradually gathered strength, culminating in legislative adoption of a Presidential Suffrage Bill in 1913. This law provided Illinois women with "all the voting rights that were practically possible at that time, and . . . contributed to the momentum of the national campaign which itself culminated in the federal amendment victory of 1919" (148). Illinois advocates of woman suffrage achieved considerably more success after 1890 than previously because of "the wide diversity of groups that were either recruited into the cause or came to support it for their own reasons" (149).

Because most earlier writing about the campaign for woman suffrage has focused on the "national" movement, which has generally meant activities in the Northeast, Buechler's analysis of the Illinois movement makes this a particularly welcome addition to the literature. He claims too much, however, when he argues that this is a "regional study," and when he extends his argument in an appendix comparing and contrasting "The National Movement and the Midwestern Movement." This is a study of the movement in one midwestern state. Only investigations of the suffrage campaign in other states of the region can tell us whether or not the Illinois movement was typical or representative of suffrage extension activity in the Middle West.

If this volume encourages similar analyses of the suffrage phenomenon in other midwestern states, we can hope that they join this study in helping to eliminate what Buechler calls a "black hole" in our knowledge of the suffrage movement. Most previous studies have tended to focus on either the years before 1870 or those after 1890, with virtually no attention to the decades between those two dates. This characteristic of most suffrage historiography can be seen in the major work on the Iowa movement, Louise R. Noun's Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Iowa (1969). Noun's first nine chapters conclude with 1872. The final chapter focuses on Carrie Chapman Catt and attempts to cover half a century, 1872–1919. As a result, we know very little about the last fifty years of the Iowa movement. The Noun volume is a useful beginning, but Buechler's analysis of the Illinois campaign for suffrage extension whets our appetite for a comparable volume on Iowa, including, surely, an explanation of how and why Iowa women received significant suffrage only with the addition of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, rather than as a result of prior state action.

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