

Susan B. Anthony comes to Olathe

A Reader's Theatre Script

*Written by
Mary Feitz*



*Some period language is included in the program that
might be offensive to modern readers.*

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Readers Theater: The 1867 Impartial Suffrage Referendum

Introduction

The final shots of the Civil War were fired in 1865. The end of the war marked an end to the violence that had haunted Kansas for over a decade, but there were many problems left unsolved. The Reconstruction Era (1865-1877) was a period of many changes. Americans grappled with how to rebuild the nation from the ashes of war. What would this new nation look like? Would formerly-enslaved African-Americans (freedmen) achieve full political equality? Should those who fought for the Confederacy be punished? What did the future hold? For those who believed in equal suffrage, the time seemed right for reform.

“The recent war has unsettled all our government foundations. Let us see that in their restoration, all these unjust proscriptions are avoided. Let democracy be defined anew, as *the Government of the People, and the whole people.*” [Circular for the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA), 1867]

While these questions were playing out on a national scale, Kansas was growing quickly. Many newly freed slaves moved to the state from the South in hopes of finding a new life. Migrants from the east and immigrants from around the world came as well, lured by the promise of rich farmland. Between 1860 and 1870, the state’s population increased to over 350,000, a growth of 240%.¹ Of that number, 17,108 were African-American.

In early 1867, the Kansas State Legislature approved a referendum proposing two amendments to the State Constitution: One amendment would eliminate the word “male” from the clause defining the qualities of an elector, and the other would eliminate the word “white.”² In other words, the voters (who at this time included only white males) would decide whether women and African-American men would be granted the right to vote in Kansas. It was the first time in the history of the United States that the issue of women’s suffrage was put to a popular vote. Kansas was thrown into the national spotlight.

In 1866, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) in New York. Anthony and Stanton had been advocates of abolitionism and women’s suffrage for decades, having been major players at the

¹ <http://www.ipsr.ku.edu/ksdata/ksah/population/2pop1.pdf>

² A third amendment, included in the debate but receiving less attention than the other issues, proposed disenfranchising Confederate sympathizers.

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Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. The AERA became involved in the Kansas campaign from the start, sending representatives to speak in the state throughout the year. Some of those speakers included Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Olympia Brown.

This script follows the debate over the suffrage referendum through the year 1867. You will meet several key players in the fight over equal suffrage, and you will step into the shoes of ordinary Kansans as they reflect on the campaign going on in their state.

Content Notice

Many of the quotations found in this script are taken directly from primary sources (works written during the year 1867) including newspaper articles, letters, and diaries. The language used reflects the sentiments and values of the time, but certain passages and themes may be considered objectionable by modern readers. *If, at any time, you as a reader feel uncomfortable reading aloud any passage, let the program host know and they will read it instead.*

Roles

Read by the program presenter/host

NARRATOR

Read by Costumed Interpreters (Audience Members if no interpreters present)

(Suggested props for all: Name placards/pictures of individual to be held by reader)

CLARINA NICHOLS (CN)

OLYMPIA BROWN (OB)

SAMUEL WOOD (SW)

C.H. LANGSTON (CHL)

SUSAN B. ANTHONY (SBA)

Read by Audience Members

READER 1

READER 2

READER 3

READER 4

Script

Episode One – “Dead in Law” [Section Titles are read by the Narrator]

NARRATOR *In 1859, the drafters of the first Kansas Constitution gathered in Wyandotte to craft a set of laws for the future state. Clarina Nichols, a newspaper editor and homesteader from Quindaro, was one of many people who petitioned the convention to include more rights for women, including voting rights. Ultimately, however, the Constitution only granted full suffrage to white men.*

C. NICHOLS When the founders of our state wrote its Constitution eight years ago, they ignored the political existence of half the people of the state—its women! Thanks to efforts by allies of our cause, women were granted the right to own property separately from their husbands, and vote in local school board elections. Until we have a full voice in our government, however, women will remain second-class citizens—*dead* in the eyes of the law!³

NARRATOR *Charles H. Langston was born free in Virginia, and, along with his brother, became one of the first black graduates of Oberlin College in Ohio. He moved to Leavenworth, Kansas in 1862, where he set up a school for escaped slaves. By 1866, he was a vocal advocate for the rights of African-Americans in Kansas.*

C.H. LANGSTON We black men, true and loyal citizens of this government, who have fought with honor on the battlefields of the recent war, are denied the right to vote here in our own state. To this I say: With less than the right of self-government, man is less than man. To rob a man of this right takes from him one of the essential elements of his manhood. No man, white or black, can justly be deprived of this right.⁴

NARRATOR *At the beginning of the 1867 State Legislative session, a referendum was passed and sent to Kansas voters for approval. This referendum included two amendments: One would give the vote to African-American men; the other would give the vote to women. The first proposal was generally well-received by*

³ Clarina Nichols, Letter To the Editor of the *Kansas Farmer*, Quindaro, March 21, 1867, *Paraphrased*

⁴C.H. Langston, et. al., from “Proceedings of a Convention of Colored Citizens: Held in the City of Lawrence, October 17, 1866

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Republicans, who held a legislative majority. Most had been against slavery, and "Negro Suffrage" was seen as a logical next step.

READER 1

[Newspaper: *The Atchison Daily Champion*, January 11, 1867]

Senator Ben Simpson, of Miami County, introduced in the Senate this afternoon a joint resolution proposing to the people an amendment to the State Constitution, striking out the word 'white' as a qualification for voting. I am sure that all the Republicans will vote for it.⁵

READER 2

[Newspaper: *The (Ottawa) Western Home Journal*, April 25, 1867]

The Negro needs and must have the ballot in order to live with comfort or with any show of progress in this country. Without it he has changed his place but kept his pain. To all intents and purposes he is a slave without the respect which the ballot will secure for him.

NARRATOR

The female suffrage measure was more controversial. No other state had ever proposed such a thing. Although many people in Kansas welcomed the idea, others believed that including it in the debate would be a distraction from African-American suffrage, which they viewed as a more important and timely cause. Samuel Wood, a state politician and judge, was an outspoken advocate of the women's suffrage amendment, and because of this became a target of criticism. He organized the State Impartial Suffrage Association in March of 1867.

SAMUEL WOOD

Women have the same intellects as men; they have the same accountability to God; they are punished for the violation of laws the same as men. If a woman steals, she must go to jail the same as a man; she is taxed the same as a man to support the government. The question is, shall she have a voice, a vote in that government?⁶ I have called a convention to discuss the matter of universal suffrage, to be held on the 2nd of March. We are planning for a thorough canvass of our state for Impartial Suffrage, without regard to *sex* or *color*.⁷

READER 3

[Newspaper: *The Atchison Daily Champion*, March 5, 1867]

⁵ Senator Ben Simpson's Resolution," in *The Atchison Daily Champion*, January 11, 1867, *Paraphrased*

⁶ Samuel Wood, Letter to *The Emporia Weekly News*, July 12, 1867

⁷ Samuel Wood, et. al, *Circular of the State Impartial Suffrage Association*, April 5, 1867

Sam Wood's new circus, which he called a 'Universal Suffrage' convention, met at Topeka on the 2nd. It didn't amount to much. He wants to tack on female suffrage to negro suffrage and force both through. If it has any effect at all (which we doubt) it will be to defeat both propositions. The people of this state are largely in favor of adult manhood suffrage, but opposed to disgracing and degrading Woman by forcing her into vile partisan strifes and party squabbles!

Episode Two – Banner State of the World

NARRATOR *In 1867, Kansas had a reputation as a “radical” state because of its prominent role in the fight against slavery in the 1850s and 60s. With the introduction of the Impartial Suffrage Amendment, Kansas was again thrown into the national spotlight.*

READER 4 [Newspaper: *The Missouri Democrat*, September 26, 1867]

If there is any State in the country that may well make the experiment, that State is Kansas. There is of course a great deal of natural prejudice to overcome in adapting a change so radical, but Kansas, born in strife and blood, nurtured to this day in radicalism, need not shrink from any idea because it is new.⁸

NARRATOR *Women's suffrage leaders, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, from the New York-based American Equal Rights Association (AERA) recognized the importance of the campaign and sent speakers to Kansas throughout the year.*

S.B. ANTHONY Let us cry 'All hail' to young heroic Kansas! How glorious if she shall now teach the nation the one and only way to rebuild our Union, as she ten years ago taught it the one and only way out of slavery.⁹

SAMUEL WOOD Henry B. Blackwell, of New York, and Mrs. Lucy Stone, are now canvassing our state for Impartial Suffrage. Some of the most well-known men and women of the United States have been invited, and promise to visit our state this summer and fall; and we shall succeed; Kansas will be free, and occupy the proudest place, in all time to come, in the history of the world.¹⁰

⁸ From an article in the *Missouri Democrat*, Quoted in *The Western Home Journal*, September 26, 1867

⁹ Letter: Susan B. Anthony to Amy Kirby Post, Feb. 17, 1867

¹⁰ Samuel Wood, et. al, *Circular of the State Impartial Suffrage Association*, April 5, 1867

READER 1 [Letter: Henry Blackwell to Susan B. Anthony, April 21, 1867]

Lucy and I are going all over this State speaking every day, and sometimes twice, journeying from twenty-five to forty miles daily. We climb hills and dash down ravines, ford creeks, and ferry over rivers, rattle across limestone ledges, struggle through muddy bottoms, fight the high winds on the high rolling upland prairies, and address the most astonishing (and astonished) audiences in the most extraordinary places.

READER 2 [Letter from C.I. Guild, in *The Manhattan Independent*]

Last Monday afternoon Dr. Blackwell and Mrs. Lucy Stone addressed an interested and enlightened audience in this place. Nearly all supported striking the word “white” from the Constitution. None rose in opposition. Then in regard to striking out the word ‘male,’ only one voted in opposition. A healthy enthusiasm was awakened!

NARRATOR *Blackwell and Stone were married, but their marriage was called into question because Stone had chosen to keep her maiden name. This was seen as a controversial departure from the norms of the day, and was used as a way to discredit the speakers.*

READER 3 [Charles V. Eskridge, Emporia, KS]

Lucy registered her name in the hotels of Kansas as “Lucy Stone,” and her cowardly “husband” registered *his* as “Henry Blackwell.” Are they or are they *not* married? This sort of behavior will ultimately destroy the sacredness of marriage. These are the kinds of people who support the female suffrage amendment! It has been suggested that Kansas be called the “Stock State,” the “Central State,” and the “Spartan State.” If this proposition passes, it will soon be called the “Free Love State”!¹¹

C. NICHOLS Eskridge’s rumor that Lucy Stone’s relations with Henry Blackwell are illegal is *gross slander*! It is well known that in several states, forms of marriage vary; all are legal if recognized as such by statute. Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell were legally and publicly married ten years ago!

¹¹ C.V. Eskridge, “The Pernicious Proposition,” in *The Emporia Weekly News*, July 12, 1867.
Paraphrased

NARRATOR *Some people were upset by the presence of eastern speakers in Kansas. They believed that the people of Kansas should be free to make their own decisions without the influence of outsiders.*

READER 4 [Newspaper: *The Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, April 4, 1867]

It is not very complimentary to the people of the State that the recent suffrage conventions have included only speakers from abroad. If there is a surplus of idle talent in the East, we suggest that it be employed nearer home. The people of Kansas, in days gone by, have shown an abundant capacity to take care of themselves. They are not ignorant of political matters, and it is their habit of thinking, acting, and voting for themselves.

NARRATOR *After Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell returned home, the AERA sent Olympia Brown, who arrived in Kansas on July 1. As soon as she arrived in Kansas, however, she learned that the AERA could not provide her with any funding or transportation from one town to another.*

OLYMPIA BROWN The meetings were often fifty miles apart, so I had to start at four o'clock in the morning in order to reach the first appointment at two p.m., when after a short stay for lunch and a speech at some school house, we would start again in order to meet an engagement at eight o'clock in the evening. Instead of three or four societies clamoring for the whole field, there was one lone inexperienced young woman without money or means of transportation facing the entire campaign. But all that made no difference to me. I went to Kansas for a purpose, and that purpose engrossed all my time, thoughts, and energies.¹²

READER 1 [Letter: George Roberts to Samuel Wood, July 26, 1867]

I have been very much interested in the talented discourse of Miss O. Brown. The Lady is certainly producing an amazing revolution in the political sentiments of our country. The opposition can't, in her case, use the old excuse that all strong-minded women are exhibitions of masculinity.¹³

¹² Olympia Brown, *Acquaintances Old and New, Among Reformers*, 1911, Paraphrased

¹³ Lucy Stone was considered "too masculine" in manner and dress by her critics.

Episode Three- Impartial Suffrage for Whom?

NARRATOR

Although the term “Impartial Suffrage” was intended to mean support of suffrage regardless of race or sex, conflicts arose within the movement. Prejudiced attitudes toward African-Americans were common among both reformers and everyday voters. Any perceived divides, real or imagined, were quickly seized upon and exploited by newspaper editors Isaac Kalloch and Charles Eskridge, who published articles that portrayed the causes of African-American suffrage and female suffrage as opposed to each other. This journalistic antagonism did nothing to heal the conflicts brewing in reality.

READER 1

[Newspaper: *The Emporia News*, October 11, 1867]

Kansas is a Radical State; her people are intelligent, and the early history of the State ought to have uprooted prejudices of race out of which so much oppression and hatred grew. Negro hating was the curse of Kansas in her infancy. We trust in maturity it may not prove her shame. For it would be a shame if the people of that State, after all their experiences, were to prove so untrue to their principles as to maintain the disfranchisement of citizens because of race or color.

C.H. LANGSTON

Dear Samuel Wood,

I sent you a letter in April, but have not yet received a reply from you. I hope the cause of negro suffrage will receive help from your organization. In canvassing the state, I hope you will send out two sets of speakers and hold two sets of meetings. One for woman suffrage and the other for negro suffrage. I believe that proposing the two measures as one will lead to the defeat of negro suffrage. I will spend all my energies to make negro enfranchisement a success. I have quit all business, and am now giving all my time to this cause. You must help us. Our people will do what they can.¹⁴

SAMUEL WOOD

I do not oppose negro suffrage. What I have a problem with is the inconsistency and hypocrisy of those who advocate negro suffrage and oppose woman suffrage; the inconsistency and hypocrisy of those negroes who claim rights for themselves that they are not willing other beings with equal intelligence should enjoy.

¹⁴ Charles Langston, *Letter to Samuel Wood*, June 20, 1867, Paraphrased

OLYMPIA BROWN The Republican Party sent out Rev. I.S. Kalloch and Judge Speer, of Leavenworth, to speak against women's suffrage and to denounce its advocates. Among other opponents came Charles Langston, a Negro orator. He appealed to the lowest prejudices of men, asking in public meetings if they wanted, 'every old maid to vote?' and when on one occasion, at a picnic, he followed me in speaking, he rebuked the audience by accusing them of 'preferring every *thing* with a white face to the negro.'¹⁵

READER 2 [Newspaper: *The Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, June 18, 1867]

The speech of Mr. C.H. Langston at Atchison, on 'Impartial Suffrage' seems to have been a one-sided affair. He devoted one hour and fifteen minutes to 'negro suffrage' and five minutes to 'woman suffrage.' The probability is that Langston, like all the negroes, is opposed to female suffrage, and that his five minute talk in its behalf was but a blind.

READER 3 [Letter: Lucy Stone to Susan B. Anthony, May 9, 1867]

Everywhere we go, we have the largest and most enthusiastic meetings, and any one of our audiences would give a majority for women. But the negroes are all against us. There has just now left us, an ignorant black preacher named Twine, who is very confident that women ought not to vote. These men ought not to be allowed to vote before we do, because they will be just so much more dead weight to lift.

C.H. LANGSTON They misrepresent me when they imply that I think the friends of female suffrage are opposed to negro suffrage—or that I myself am opposed to female suffrage. I have no such opinion. I only believe that, to submit the two propositions jointly to the people would defeat the one for negro suffrage. There shall be no antagonism between me and the friends of woman suffrage.¹⁶

READER 4 [Letter: R.W. Massey to Samuel Wood, Paola, May 16, 1867]

I am in favor of extending the elective franchise to women but not to negroes. I fail to see that the right of our intelligent,

¹⁵ Olympia Brown, *Acquaintances Old and New, Among Reformers*, 1911

¹⁶ Charles Langston, *Letter to Samuel Wood*, June 20, 1867, *Paraphrased*

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moral, high-minded, patriotic women to vote is the same as for the ignorant, immoral, dirty, filthy negro. The one adds moral strength and power to our political system; the other adds degradation and filth and dirt to a system already degraded and corrupt.

READER 1 [Newspaper: *The Western Home Journal*, September 12, 1867]

It is a matter of profound regret that public attention has been directed away from the question of negro suffrage, in general, thanks to the debate surrounding female suffrage. There is now a danger of its defeat from this fact. The prejudices against the negro are old, strong, inherent, and well high universal.¹⁷ It needs patient thought and earnest and continued discussion to overcome them.

Episode Four- A Furious Debate

NARRATOR *As Eastern activists canvassed the state during the spring and summer, the issue of impartial suffrage became the topic of intense debate among citizens of Kansas. During the 1860s, women were expected to fulfill certain social roles. The “women’s sphere” was the home, where they were expected to be a good wife and mother. Women were considered “purer” than men, and many people believed that getting women involved in the “dirty business” of politics would lead to a downfall of the social order.*

READER 2 [Newspaper: *The Western Home Journal*, May 30, 1867]

These advocates talk of rights ignored and the slavery of the female sex because they cannot vote. Go on, ye wise men and women; reverse the beautiful order of Nature, and teach women to sing bass, drive oxen, and plow corn; the men to crochet, play on the piano, sing alto, etc., then women can assume to make laws and sit in judgment on the affairs of mankind!

READER 3 [Newspaper: *The Osage County Chronicle*, October 12, 1867]

¹⁷ (Prejudices, such as the ones expressed here in the very same newspaper earlier that year) “Admit that the negro is ignorant; admit that his race is an inferior one as to intellectual ability and moral worth, and possible elevation; admit that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of his social fraternization with the white race; admit all his most inveterate enemies declare about him;-- and yet it cannot be consistently controverted but that he has just as good a right, and is just as well-qualified to exercise the elective franchise as multitudes of white people who do exercise it.” [“Suffrage,” from *The Western Home Journal*, April 25, 1867]

It is an aberration of the sexual instinct in any girl to aim at occupations which are incompatible with the duties of maternity, and an equal aberration to smother those maidenly instincts which should lead her not to intrude into the occupations which custom has associated with the male sex.¹⁸

READER 4 [Letter: "Mary" to *The Manhattan Independent*, January 5, 1867]

The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest they are able to attain, and this can only be determined by allowing perfect liberty of choice. To declare that the talent, energy, and force of a woman ought to be limited to only a few modes, pre-approved by men, is unjust and tyrannical toward her.

READER 1 [Sarah E. Nelson, "A Woman's Views of Suffrage"]

I think when a woman leaves her sphere to mingle in the political contests of the nation, she abuses the choicest gift of Heaven—her modesty. I would rather be in the peaceful sanctuary of home and trust the 'ship of state' to our fathers, husbands, and brothers.¹⁹

READER 2 [Margaret Wood, "Letter to the *Daily Kansas Tribune*, May 3, 1867]

Must I teach my daughter that there is no greater ambition, no prouder position in society for her, than to catch a husband? And having caught him, must she cast out the innate self-reliance inherited from her father... and make a nobody of herself?

READER 3 [Anonymous Letter from "A Woman" to *The Western Home Journal*, April 25, 1867]

The suffragists say 'we want our rights.' To which I reply, you can have your rights. You have a perfect right to make your home cheerful and inviting, to always meet your husband with

¹⁸ Republished from the Medical Herald of Leavenworth, from an article subtitled "Androgynism, or the intrusion of one sex into the other's province."

¹⁹ [Sarah E. Nelson, "A Woman's Views of Suffrage," in *The Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, KS, August 1, 1867, Paraphrased.]

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a smile when he comes home, and spend his money as fast as he chooses to let you have it.

C. NICHOLS

There is no doubt that a large proportion of the people of Kansas are satisfied that we have all the rights we want, while a respectable minority think rights that we have should be taken from us. But these are the conclusions of thoughtlessness.²⁰

READER 4

[Newspaper: *The Western Home Journal*, September 19, 1867]

Any act that would allow high-minded, pure, and cultivated women to vote will also allow the most degraded and vicious of their sex to the polls as well. The latter would certainly take the opportunity more, we think. What would be the result? The polls would be crowded with the lowest of women, from whose contact the virtuous, the refined, the pure-minded, would shrink as from the presence of the plague!

READER 1

[Newspaper: *The Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, August 10, 1867]

Some men argue that woman will be demoralized. She will be dragged down to the level of the lowest pot-house politician. How can these men rate the characters of their mothers, their wives, and their sisters so low? The women of Kansas are no such ninnies, no such weak-minded simpletons as that charge would indicate! They are virtuous, intelligent, clear-headed, and sober, and, if allowed to vote, would help to rid the state of intemperance and vice.

Episode Five – Anthony, Stanton, and Train

NARRATOR

At the beginning of September, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton arrived in Kansas to campaign until the election. They began traveling around the state making speeches. One of their biggest obstacles, was the fact that they did not have much money. In a letter to Samuel Wood, Anthony wrote that she was forced to spend her “last hundred” dollars to afford the trip to Kansas. ²¹

²⁰ Clarina Nichols, Letter to the Editor of the *Kansas Farmer*, Quindaro, March 21, 1867

²¹ “The ‘Jackson Fund’—\$1800.00—is taken out of our hands by the Massachusetts Court; hence, the only reliance we had is gone, and we are left without a dollar—every speaker who goes to Kansas must now pay her own expenses out of her own private purse, unless money should come to us from some unknown unexpected source. I shall run the risk—as I told you—and draw upon almost my last

S.B. ANTHONY Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Gage, and myself will go to Kansas the last days of August to be ready for your mass conventions beginning the 3rd of September. We are all going with the feeling that the *demand is imperative*—that Kansas must take the initiative.²²

READER 2 [Newspaper: *The Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, September 7, 1867]

Wyandotte, KS

The meetings of the friends of Impartial Suffrage, advertised to be held here on Wednesday afternoon and evening of this week, came off as expected. They were held in the Congregational Church. The house was very crowded. The meeting in the afternoon was addressed by Miss Susan B. Anthony in a very able and eloquent speech, wherein she claimed the ballot for the negro as well as the woman.

READER 3 [Newspaper: *The Topeka Weekly Leader*, September 12, 1867]

Topeka, KS

Miss A., the 'time-honored maiden,'²³ seemed only desirous to sell some pamphlet speeches of other ancient ladies, at the small price of twenty-five cents each. She insisted that as men and women were of the same physical formation (with a slight variation), their political rights were the same. 'Do we not,' she said, suffer as much from hunger, cold, etc.? 'If you prick us do we not bleed?' Whether true or false, it is certainly a very poor argument in favor of suffrage, for the same can be said of all living things.

READER 4 [Newspaper: *The Manhattan Independent*, September 14, 1867]

Manhattan, KS

Last Saturday afternoon Miss Susan B. Anthony addressed a small audience in Gove's Hall, on the 'female suffrage' proposition. Her talk did not amount to anything of interest.

hundred to go. I tell you this, that you may not contract debts under the impression that our association can pay them, for it cannot." Susan B. Anthony, Letter to Samuel Wood, August 9, 1867

²² Susan B. Anthony, Letter to Samuel Wood, New York, July 13, 1867

²³ Reference to the fact that she was unmarried at age 47

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She said that any man who voted against 'female suffrage' was a blockhead, although she afterward modified the remark as to exclude farmers. She challenged the opponents of the proposition to offer any and all objections, but no man wanted to enter into a 'talk' with such a virago.²⁴

OLYMPIA BROWN A celebration by the colored people took place on the 21st of September, in the grove near Highland. It was largely attended, and was an occasion of real enjoyment. The colored people unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing in the advocates of female suffrage, the best friends of the colored man, and planting themselves upon the broad platform of impartial suffrage, without regard for sex or color.

READER 3 [Newspaper: *The Olathe Mirror*, October 24, 1867]

Olathe, KS

Col. Moonlight²⁵ spoke earnestly in favor of Negro suffrage, and was followed by Mrs. Susan B. Anthony who ably advocated the cause of all disfranchised classes. She is an earnest and able advocate of the cause in which she has been so long engaged.

NARRATOR *In October, George Francis Train entered the Kansas campaign. Train was well-known as a railroad and shipping entrepreneur, world traveler, and self-proclaimed presidential candidate. He was known for his charismatic, humorous speeches and strong opinions women's suffrage. He was a Democrat, and accused of being a "Copperhead," a supporter of the Confederacy. He was invited to speak in Kansas in hopes that he would help win over the Democrats of the state.*

READER 4 [Telegram]

To: George Francis Train

Come to Kansas to stump for equal rights and female suffrage. The people want you. The women want you.

Signed, S.N. Wood, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, etc.

READER 1 [Poem by George Francis Train]

²⁴ Noun: A domineering, violent, or bad-tempered woman.

²⁵ Thomas Moonlight, Colonel of the 11th Kansas Cavalry during the Civil War

“Kansas will win the world’s applause
As the sole champion of Women’s cause
So light the bonfire! Have the flag unfurled!
To the Banner State of all the world.”²⁶

S.B. ANTHONY

We saw that the Republican vote was largely against the woman’s amendment, so we asked ourselves what could be done to capture enough Democratic votes to outweigh the reluctant Republicans. At that moment, George Francis Train appeared in the State as an advocate of woman suffrage. He appealed most effectively to the prejudices of the ignorant; convincing them not to lift the negroes above the heads of their own mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters.²⁷

READER 3

[Speech by George Francis Train]

Men need refining. Let woman fulfill her God-like mission. She is nobler, purer, better than men. Society is unjustly organized. Man escapes censure and punishment for acts that damn the woman. Is this right? Let her vote, and the reformation begins.

READER 4

[Newspaper: *The Leavenworth Evening Bulletin*]

We were sadly disappointed in Mr. Train’s speech, for we expected to hear a good sound sense argument in favor of female suffrage. But instead of a logical speech, we were favored with a conglomerated mass of nonsense—the most prominent idea being GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN. It began with TRAIN and ended with TRAIN. He went bobbing round, and occasionally touched upon the question of female suffrage, just enough to convince Miss Anthony that he had not forgotten the subject.

READER 1

[Newspaper: *The Olathe Mirror*, October 24, 1867]

Train has Female Suffrage on the brain, and we should think so, because he said so, just one hundred and fifty thousand times. He is the most ready speaker we have ever heard, so far as flow of language is concerned. As to connecting words in a logical way, he seems to know nothing about it. We think the truest remark he made was, that some years ago, he opened his mouth and had never shut it since.

²⁶ George Francis Train, Poem in Preface of *Championship of Women*, 1867

²⁷ In “History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 2, Paraphrased

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NARRATOR

George Train appealed to the Democrats, who at that time, were known as a party of former slaveowners and Southern sympathizers, by denouncing the idea of African-American suffrage. He claimed that, by allowing black men to vote before white women, white men would be betraying their race. He supported "education tests" for voters, ensuring the disenfranchisement of the newly-freed slaves, most of whom were illiterate. This idea was very common in other parts of the country, and would become a key feature of "Jim Crow Laws" which prevented African-Americans from voting in the South.

READER 2

[Newspaper: *The Leavenworth Daily Conservative*]

Train, the Copperhead, speaks at Lawrence tonight, and denounces the negroes as traitors. He is favor of female suffrage and himself for next President.

READER 3

[Poem by George Francis Train]

When Kalloch, Dunlap, and Soreno Howe²⁸
Before the altar with lustful passions bow
Cried 'up with the blacks and down with the whites,'
Thank God, they ceased to champion Women's Rights!

READER 4

[Newspaper: *The Fort Scott Monitor*, October 25, 1867]

Fort Scott, KS

George Francis Train completely capsized our border city Saturday night a the night. He has swept through Leavenworth, Lawrence, Olathe, Mound City, to Fort Scott, like a prairie fire scattering the on-the-fence politicians, and carrying the entire Democratic Party almost solid for woman suffrage. His platform is: woman first, negro last. He is willing to make education the test.

READER 1

[Newspaper: *The Topeka Leader*, November 1, 1867]

Had there been a spark of vitality left in the Female Suffrage cause, the advent of George Francis Train must have smothered it entirely. Language has never served so despicable

²⁸ A list of newspaper editors who had spoken against him and professed to support African-American suffrage

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a purpose as when it conveys to a disgusted auditory the ridiculous conceits and jabbering fancies of this mountebank.²⁹

Finale – Banner State of the World?

NARRATOR

*The election was held on November 5th. When the results came in, it quickly became clear that **neither** amendment had passed. Only 6 counties voted a majority “for” black suffrage,³⁰ and only 2 counties voted a majority for female suffrage.³¹ To many people, the defeat came as no surprise. Some had predicted the defeat from the start, believing that the inclusion of the issue of women’s suffrage had caused both amendments to fail. Others pointed to the negativity of the last months of the campaign, particularly to the controversial presence of George Train.*

READER 2

[Speech by Isaac Kalloch, November 7, 1867]

Because the advocates of women’s suffrage were endangering negro suffrage I took the field against it. All of the energies of the party were being directed to it, Samuel Crawford at the head of them and Samuel Wood at the tail of them. All this time the negro was scarcely mentioned. And, as events are rapidly demonstrating, the rabid friends of female suffrage are the enemies of the negro.

S.B. ANTHONY

Our liberal men counseled us to silence during the war, and we were silent on our own wrongs; they counseled us again to silence in Kansas and New York, lest we should defeat 'negro suffrage,' and threatened if we were not, we might fight the battle alone. We chose the latter, and were defeated. But standing alone we learned our power... woman must lead the way to her own enfranchisement.³²

READER 3

[Letter: Charles Robinson³³ to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, December 5, 1867]

It is very remarkable that Miss Anthony and yourself should be so magnetized by Train, when every one else seems to regard

²⁹ Noun: a person who deceives others, especially in order to trick them out of their money; a charlatan.

³⁰ Cherokee, Ottawa, Wabaunsee, Osage, Riley, and Lyon.

³¹ Osage and Cherokee. Douglas County, home of Lawrence, not only voted against both amendments, but saw the highest proportion of votes “against” women’s suffrage of any county.

³² History of Women’s Suffrage, 1887, 267-268

³³ Former Governor of Kansas

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him as an egotist and clown. I appreciate your feelings and believe you sincere in your admiration of the man, but if you could get outside the magic circle and read the efforts of his speeches, all about himself, nominating himself for President, etc etc., using the pronoun "I" to the hundredth power, you would think as some others do, that the great moral campaign for female suffrage in Kansas had ended in a gravel farce.

S.B. ANTHONY [Letter to Olympia Brown]

Dear Olympia,

Never was defeat so glorious a victory. My dear Olympia, if ever any money gets into my power to control, you shall have evidence that I appreciate the herculean work you have done in Kansas the past four long months.

OLYMPIA BROWN My disappointment and defeat were softened by this letter from Susan B. Anthony. I would have gone further and done more for those words of appreciation from Susan. I was a hero worshipper then. Pity it is that the illusions of youth are so often doomed to be dissipated by larger experience.³⁴

NARRATOR *The defeat of women's suffrage in Kansas was a turning point for the AERA. In the following years, the organization divided into two factions. One faction—led by Lucy Stone—opposed Stanton and Anthony's involvement with George Francis Train, and supported African-American suffrage, even if it came before women's suffrage. The other faction, led by Anthony and Stanton, refused to support African-American suffrage unless it was granted at the same time as female suffrage.*

Women in Kansas were finally granted the right to vote in 1912—45 years after the Impartial Suffrage Campaign. Kansas became the eighth state to grant women full voting rights. With the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, women nationwide won the vote. "Jim Crow" laws that made it systematically difficult for people of color to vote persisted until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

³⁴ Olympia Brown, Acquaintances Old and New, Among Reformers, 1911