WVRHC Newsletter, Fall 2003

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Editor's note:

After nearly a half century of debate, in June 1919, the Federal Suffrage Amendment granting women the right to vote received the approval of both houses of the United States Congress. Yet, another hurdle lay ahead. In order to become law, the Amendment required ratification in thirty-six of the nation's forty-eight states. This would prove to be a formidable challenge, especially in the South where Federal jurisdiction and scrutiny of local voting practices had long been resented. That fall, West Virginians debated the suffrage issue and watched while other states cast their votes. By the year's end, it was clear that ratification in West Virginia would be essential to the amendment's passage. The events that followed comprise one of the most intriguing political dramas in the state's history.

As leader of the women's suffrage movement in West Virginia, Marion County native Lenna Lowe Yost (1878-1972) found the fate of the women's suffrage movement squarely on her shoulders. She proved equal to the challenge. The following essay, by historian Sarah Baldwin, is based upon an extensive collection of personal papers and documents belonging to Yost, recently acquired by the Regional History Collection, which document the suffragist's heroic efforts during this momentous episode in American history. For the convenience of the reader, bibliographic notes regarding the many primary documents quoted are deleted from this version of the essay. A version with full bibliographic documentation is included in the control folder to the Yost Archives at the West Virginia and Regional History Collection.
Lenna Lowe Yost, like many suffragists, actively promoted woman suffrage and temperance. She joined the Morgantown branch of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1905 to support her husband’s fight as a delegate in the West Virginia legislature to ban the sale of alcohol. Within three years she became president of the state WCTU and, as president, she made suffrage a top issue. In 1913 a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution was offered in the West Virginia House of Delegates where Ellis Yost led the floor fight on behalf of the amendment. Though it passed in the House, it failed in the Senate. Suffragists succeeded in persuading the West Virginia legislature at its next sitting to hold a referendum on amending the state constitution to enfranchise women. Mrs. Yost led the referendum campaign which, despite her political experience and organizational skills, failed. As Ida Husted Harper (author of History of Woman Suffrage, IV, V) bluntly wrote her in 1921, “It was the worst defeat an amendment ever received.” Mrs. Yost thought the conservatism deeply entrenched in West Virginia’s poor, indifferently literate and hardscrabble rural counties largely responsible for the defeat. She also thought the 1916 campaign had laid the groundwork for later success by organizing women throughout most of the state’s 55 counties and stirring them to a greater sense of urgency on the issue. Undaunted by the setback, she served as President of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association (WVaESA) in 1917-1918 as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) continued to work for a national amendment.

On June 4, 1919, 41 years after Senator Aaron A. Sargent first proposed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, the Federal Suffrage Amendment had both House and Senate approval and now needed state ratification. Thirty-six states had to approve the amendment. Though suffragists had confidence that the amendment would be ratified, National American Woman Suffrage Association president Carrie Chapman Catt knew that if, for whatever reasons, the magic 36 should not be achieved, it would be an enormous setback. Suffrage had to come now. They needed those 36 states. One of her first acts was to appoint a Ratification Committee, with a point person for each state. Already in Washington, writing for the WCTU’s Union Signal, Lenna Lowe Yost must have seemed an easy choice. She was a committed suffragist with abundant experience and political savvy. Mrs. Yost’s close ties with the WCTU and Prohibition, however, worried Catt. West Virginia had passed a Prohibition amendment in 1912; the next year Ellis Yost had proposed stiff enforcement of the amendment. Known as “Yost’s law” the measure raised hackles. Mrs. Catt
Governor John J. Cornwell (1867-1953)

thought the 1916 defeat inflicted on woman suffrage in West Virginia was a direct retaliation of the "wets" on the "drys." In a letter preserved in the Yost Archives she warns Mrs. Yost:

...it seems to me that there may be one obstacle which you may not have considered, but which I am sure will exist in West Virginia. Let me say before presenting it that I have heard no complaint from anybody at all. I am just creating this out of my experience. You are president of the W.C.T.U. and naturally your suffrage presentation may of necessity be made largely from that point of view. Although West Virginia is a 'dry' state, there is a tremendous amount of very lively 'wet' sentiment there and if the idea prevails that this is strictly a 'dry' movement, you may happen to lose a single vote in the legislature which would be crucial.

Yost’s first move was to start a petition campaign canvassing West Virginia women on woman suffrage. She wanted to ensure written proof refuting anti-suffragists’ hackneyed claims that women did not want the vote. A circular letter dated July 5 urged the importance of the petition with the admonition: “Please do not decide this work unnecessary. It may depend on West Virginia to complete the required number of thirty-six to ratify the Federal Amendment.” The NAWSA sent in workers to assist with the organization.

That the West Virginia legislature would not sit in regular session again until 1921 posed a major obstacle. Suffragists would have to persuade West Virginia Governor John J. Cornwell to call a special session. Mrs. Yost wrote to West Virginia legislators asking their position on ratification and support for a special session, in some instances on WCTU letterhead and in others on WVaESA letterhead. The Yost Archives document that she contacted at least 22 of West Virginia’s 30 state senators. She introduced herself to the Governor and in early August they met. He explained that the legislature, in a special session that year, had passed a tax on oil and gas companies which he fully expected the companies to challenge in court. Should the courts uphold the challenge, he would have to call the legislature into another special session to raise other tax revenues. The reasonable course was to wait upon the case’s outcome before calling a special session. Mrs. Yost appreciated the Governor’s reluctance to call a series of special legislative sessions. They would see what happened in the courts.

The breather gave her time to organize the suffrage campaign. Responses from legislators proved reassuring. Though not uniformly favorable, most declared themselves ready to vote “yes” to ratification. Senator Harvey W. Harmer, who played a key role, told her: “...I expect to offer the resolution to ratify...unless someone beats me in getting the floor. I think I ought to be given this privilege as I first started the ball rolling in the West Virginia Legislature, by offering a suffrage amendment in 1895.” Chairman Simon Fess of the Republican National Committee assured her of the party’s commitment. She also wanted the West Virginia Republican and Democratic State Committees formally to endorse women suffrage, but both W.E. Baker and Clem Shaver, the respective chairs, suggested certain members would
stand out. It was an early indicator of deep-rooted anti-suffrage sentiment.

Yost asked a former WVESA president to organize a "living petition" to greet legislators when they assembled for the special session when it was called—a living petition in the form of a small delegation from each district: "We have tried this living petition several times, and it is always resultful. More than that, it will give us opportunity for publicity, in showing women's interest in ratification." Yost instructed that there should also be a telegram campaign "to begin the day the session opens. These telegrams should come from both men and women, men especially, I should say."

An important component of the 1916 campaign had been the "Advisory Board" Yost had formed of prominent West Virginia men and women. In the fall of 1919, with the issue of a special session temporarily in abeyance, Mrs. Yost focused on putting together a new "State Advisory Committee" composed of businessmen, clergy, educators, judges, lawyers, newspaper editors and politicians reflecting the depth and breadth of commitment to woman suffrage by leading West Virginians. The responses to the many invitations she sent represented an opportunity for many to affirm their support and for others to express their disapproval. One member of the West Virginia General Federation of Women's Clubs, a stronghold of suffrage support, declined the invitation: "...as I am far from being in sympathy with the coercive tactics used by the Suffrage Association in bringing pressure to bear upon the President, Congress and state Legislature. The spirit smacks too much of I.W.W.ism." The letters record the array of concerns of suffrage supporters and opponents. An invitation, for instance, to Fanny Hoge, a suffragist who had switched her allegiance from the NAWSA to The National Woman's Party, elicited a long, thoughtful letter. Hoge wrote that "for some time I have been wanting to write you...offering a reconciliation ...Wouldn't it make sense for both factions to work together?" She mentions her work with the International Congress of Women, a pacifist organization, and encloses a leaflet printing the League's 1919 resolutions. The Yost Archive includes no response to this tentative olive branch, though Hoge's name appears among those on the Committee. (In fact, the NAWSA and The National Woman’s Party, no doubt to each other’s mutual irritation, offered very differing accounts of West Virginia’s ratification—a matter which sparked sarcasm from Carrie Chapman Catt and concern from Ida Husted Harper that history provide "an account... which will stand historically").

As 1919 dwindled down, it became clear to Mrs. Catt that ratification in West Virginia was becoming increasingly crucial. She decided to write Governor Cornwell directly and impress upon him the urgency of having 36 states ratify the amendment in time for women to vote in the 1920 presidential primaries: "If it would be possible for you to give us the privilege of making public the announcement that West Virginia would call a special session for ratification provided the other states which have promised would do so, it would help us enormously."

Although Catt later credited her letter in Woman Suffrage and Politics as the spur which caused Governor Cornwell to call a special session, another month and a half elapsed with no action on his part.

Senator Howard Sutherland (1865-1950) supported the suffrage movement, as did virtually all of West Virginia's U.S. Congressmen.
Once the gas and oil companies succeeded in delaying court action, the Governor wanted to be sure that if he called a session to treat the suffrage amendment he would not suffer the humiliation of its being rejected for ratification. He asked Mrs. Yost to have legislators commit themselves by signing a petition requesting a call and sought assurances from legislative leaders that they were confident of a favorable majority on ratification: "I do feel that the safest thing to do is to get a majority of the members in writing on this subject...if [a special session] has to be called for the suffrage amendment especially, I am unwilling to take any chance, and I do not think you should."

Mrs. Yost, though undoubtedly upset by Mrs. Catt's letter to the Governor and its implication that she was not handling the situation properly, continued to press the Governor, who, after falling victim to the influenza epidemic, telegraphed her:

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**Western Union Telegram**

RECEIVED AT

42GQ51

WHEELING WVA 1009AM MAR 9 1920

MRS ELLIS W YOST 110

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS CHARLESTON

I BELIEVE IN WOMEN SUFFRAGE BOTH AS MATTER OF JUSTICE AND PUBLIC POLICY. THE SUFFRAGE VICTORY HAS BEEN WON IF WESTVA FAILS TO ENDORSE IT WILL ONLY DELAY THE CERTAIN RESULT TEMPORARILY. IF AT ALL HOWEVER I HOPE WESTVA WOMEN WILL HAVE THE PLEASURE OF RECORDING THE VICTORY WHICH THEY DESERVE.

H C OGDEN
1028AM

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Wheeling newspaper magnate H. C. Ogden expresses his support of the women's suffrage movement.
Sutherland and virtually all of the West Virginia Congressmen declaring for ratification, statements which she had printed as a pamphlet distributed to their West Virginia colleagues. The delay had allowed her ample time to marshal her forces.

The delay, however, also had put West Virginia—as the potential 34th ratification—in the national spotlight. The Maryland legislature, which had turned down ratification, decided to send an anti-suffrage delegation to its sister state. Senator Sutherland whipped off a telegram to Yost, now in Charleston:

Am informed that committee of the Maryland legislature has been appointed to proceed to Charleston to oppose ratification of suffrage amendment. Better see that they get warm reception.

As the West Virginians who wrote to Mrs. Catt described it:

The opposition which came so suddenly was in the first place national and was exceedingly bitter from this source, possibly because of the approaching nearness of the success of the movement, and anti-suffrage leaders from all over the United States appeared as if by magic.

The never comfortable majority suffragists had anticipated began to thin. Senator Coulter for instance, who had written Mrs. Yost in August, 1919: ...I am in favor of woman's suffrage and see no reason if the Legislature is convened in extraordinary session why I should not support this amendment, now aligned himself with the “no's”. Leanners, emboldened by the show of anti-suffrage support, shifted into the anti camp. The Senate voted first: tied, 14-14. The House, after proponents wrangled a crucial delay of the vote from Friday to the following Monday, debated for hours and then took a vote at 6:30 PM on March 3: 47-40 in favor of the amendment.

Suffrage supporters contacted State Senator Jesse Bloch, then in California. His vote could break the tie. He telephoned and asked a “no” to pair; with loud jeers, anti-suffrage senators refused this ordinary courtesy. If Bloch was to vote, he had to come to Charleston. As the country watched, Bloch made his way by railroad across the country while suffragists and their supporters sought to keep West Virginia legislators in Charleston. Rumors of various sorts circulated freely, including one that suffragists had offered an unseemly quid pro quo to potential supporters. R.P. Sims, the principal of an African American school in Bluefield, sent off a query to Mrs. Yost that he had heard “...women in urging its passage gave the assurance that if they secured the ballot, they would use their influence to secure the disfranchisement of the Negro vote in this State.” A penciled note on Sims’s letter was later erased; whether there was a wit of truth in the report is not documented in the archive.

Senate President Sensil and Senator Harmer, well respected for his grasp of legislature rules, managed to fend off maneuverings to adjourn the Senate before Bloch’s arrival. The faithful 14—as the 14 senators who had voted “yes” came to be known—proved stalwart. Anti-suffragists, though, had one more card to play: A.R. Montgomery, a former West Virginia senator who had resigned in 1919 and whose seat remained vacant, “rescinded” his resignation. Once Bloch arrived in
In addition to introducing bills for women's suffrage, West Virginia legislator Harvey W. Harmer (1865-1961) sponsored legislative measures to make the state's higher education system non-partisan.

the capital, "antis" attempted to use the question of whether the resignation was effective to block a vote on ratification. Senator Harmer outmaneuvered suffrage opponents; a vote was called. One senator, seeing that the vote was going to be successful, hastily switched sides. On March 10, 1920, the West Virginia Senate voted—16-13—to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Yet another problem cropped up. Mrs. Catt wrote:

In Connecticut a sudden appearance through the press of many statements to the effect that the Federal Suffrage Amendment would not enfranchise the women of Connecticut in any event since they had 'male' in their constitution; that women could only vote for senators and members of the House of Representatives and all that kind of thing, has been evidently inspired.

She wanted Mrs. Yost to use her contacts with the leading members of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage to produce legal statements countering the claims. Mrs. Yost complied.

The unremitting pressure, however, had begun to show. Mrs. Catt's March 22 letter to Mrs. Yost in which she acknowledges the legal opinion and the statements she sought goes on to say:

If...there was any hiatus in the letters, or telegraphic communications from this office, which led you to believe that we were for a single moment unmindful of the terrible strain under which you were laboring, that we did not appreciate your conscientious purpose, and were not grateful for all you were doing and did, allow me now to set your heart at rest on this score.

Mrs. Yost did, with some reluctance, agree to go to Connecticut as part of the "Emergency Corps" the NAWSA organized to rouse a citizens' call for a legislative special session.

Though no doubt Mrs. Catt did value her extraordinary efforts, Mrs. Yost, amid the frenetic demands for statements, legal opinions and speaking engagements, may well have thought that Mrs. Catt failed to appreciate fully how precarious the situation had been. It stung too that the NAWSA's journal The Woman Citizen never fully reported on the West Virginia success. She later wrote to Ida Husted Harper:

The Suffragist gave great space to the part these two girls played in the campaign, including pictures which they had taken with Senator Bloch. These girls themselves commented to me on the fact that The Woman Citizen never even printed the picture of Senator Bloch and myself which appeared in many dailies of the country through the International News and also the Underwood and Underwood service.
When West Virginia was thrust to the forefront of the ratification campaign, Mrs. Yost displayed the tenacity, political savvy and consummate diplomatic skills to fend off, with the allies she had so carefully cultivated, the attempts of opponents to wrest victory from suffragists. Those on the ground with her knew the critical role she played when confronted with:

...what at first seemed to be a situation impossible of solution, but, with rare tact and a soundness of judgment that we have seldom seen equaled, Mrs. Yost's leadership has brought about a complete victory.

As supporters of suffrage, we are sending you this without Mrs. Yost's knowledge and simply in order that at least some part of the credit due may be given her by her leaders in the cause of equal suffrage."

The following year when Mrs. Harper sought each state's suffrage history for Volume V of *History of Woman Suffrage*, she raised the issue of the dismal 1916 defeat and whether The Woman's Party had played as significant a role in Senator Bloch's dramatic cross-country flight and the subsequent ratification by the West Virginia legislature:

*One of the most important is to know definitely who summoned Senator Bloch back to West Virginia. Some reports say that he read about the situation in the newspapers and came of his own accord. Others say that the friends in the Legislature telegraphed an urgent message to him. The National Party takes the entire credit of bringing him back to West Virginia.*

Mrs. Yost's considered reply, in contrast to Carrie Chapman Catt's own account in *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, cited the state's rural population and southern heritage as crucial:

*In considering the reasons for [the 1916] defeat we should recall that referendums south of the Mason and Dixon line were not tried. The results had there been referendums can well be estimated by the result in West Virginia. I have often thought if women from the North could have known intimately and more generally of social conditions and prejudices in the South, they could better appreciate now how little we owe to the South for the enfranchisement of women.*

With West Virginia's ratification, Mrs. Yost soon involved herself in state and national Republican Party activities. She chaired the West Virginia Republican Convention in August 1920 and was named Chair of the "Associate" Committee [i.e., Women's Committee] of the state Republican Committee. She also attended the Republican National Convention and briefly held the gavel, thus becoming the first woman to chair a major national convention; she also served as a tally clerk at the convention, the first woman to do so. Through the next eight years as a member of the Republican National Committee and finally as Director of the Women's Division, she urged women to become politically active.

She never wrote her own account of the West Virginia ratification. In West Virginia, as with ratification of the 19th Amendment nationwide, the
public and suffragists believed ratification inevitable. In fact, it proved far from easy as this archive vividly records. West Virginia and the ratification of the 19th Amendment remains a story worth the telling.

**SELECTED ACCESSIONS LIST:**


Non-book items related to author Isaac Asimov and themes of science and science fiction. Includes sound recordings, VHS videotapes, motion picture film, computerized reference tools, board and computer games, and a poster, wallchart, and calendar.


Group of four Charleston insurance ledgers including: (1) Insurance register, 7.25 x 11.25'', 223 pp., accounts for Aug. 1884 through June 1888, includes identification of Chas. F. Littlepage with offices in

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**WVU-Pitt Football program cover, 1928. The Mountaineers defeated their archrivals by a score of 9-6.**


the Kanawha Valley Bank Building; (2) ledger, 8 x 13'', approx. 155 pp., first part has account pages for July 1, 1876 through Oct. 1880, pages 125-141 have policy expirations, pages 191-195 and 209-219 have "Kanawha Valley Bank" headings with listing of deposits, account totals, etc.; (3) indexed ledger, 10.5 x 15.75'', 184 pp. (92 numbered), for Dec. 1877 through April 1886, this book was for the Royal Ins. Co. of Liverpool with head office in Cincinnati, belonged to N.B. Coleman, Charleston agent, includes policies for the City of Charleston (p.29), the Ruffner Bros. (several pages), and the Capitol Building of WV (p. 84); (4) indexed ledger similar to no. 3 above, probably also Coleman's, 10.5 x 16'', 108 pp. (54 numbered), June 1880 through April 1886; both of Coleman's ledgers include sample forms, etc., loose in books.
Churches. Methodist Episcopal (Wadestown).
Ledger of the Methodist Episcopal Church of
Wadestown, WV. Includes lists of pastors, members,
baptisms, marriages, and collections.

Football Program. Pamphlet, 1928, 32 pages.
“Official Souvenir Program. Pittsburgh - West
Virginia, Football Game. The Stadium, Saturday,
October 13, 1928. Published by the Department of
Athletics, University of Pittsburgh. Edited by Don F.
Saunders. Price Twenty-Five Cents.” 32 pages in
wrappers, 10 3/4 x 7 3/4 inches, stapled. Front cover
depicts a male Pittsburgh cheerleader dressed in white,
in front of a green and gold background that includes
silhouetted players, and the title “West Virginia 25¢
Pittsburgh” in rust and green. The program includes
Pittsburgh-West Virginia game scores from 1895 to
1927; the 1928 schedules, portraits and group photo­
graphs of the coaches and players, lineups, and yells
and songs for both teams; and several advertisements,
including one for a Clara Bow movie and one for the
Gulf Refining Company.

Harkcom Family. Records, 1996-2003, 3 in. Gift,
Genealogical research records regarding the family
of James Harkcom (1793-1879) and Margaret Snider
Harkcom (1807-1882), ca. 1790-2000.

Heatherly and McVicker Families. Records, 1980-
Genealogy research records regarding the Heatherly
family of Barbour and Taylor counties, and the
McVickers family of Taylor County. Includes family
group sheets, photos, land records, research notes, and
vital records. Original documentation is in transcript
and facsimile form. Records assembled 1980-2000 by
Sandra Delaney covering 1773 to 2000.

Jackson’s Farewell Address. Broadside, 1837, 21 in.
“President Jackson’s Farewell Address to the People
of the United States.” Richmond, VA: Baile &
Gallaher, 1837. Broadside, printed on cloth, framed.

King, Frank. Mine Safety Scrapbook. Scrapbook,
Scrapbook of clippings regarding coal mine safety in
West Virginia compiled by Frank King, head of the
West Virginia Department of Mines in the 1950s. Top­
ics include safety programs, mine inspections, clo­
sures, disasters, rescues, etc.

Railroads. Railway Passes. Two Items, 1906-1923, 2
Two railway passes: (1) Morgantown & Kingwood
Railroad Company, J.S. Brown, 1906. (2) The
Monongahela Railway Co., A. Waldbauer, 1923.

West Virginia University. Beta Theta Pi Fraternity.
Records of Beta Theta Pi fraternity, including Charter
Petitions (1989, 1994), convention publications
(1994), photographic membership composites (1985-
1994), scrapbook (1939-1954; includes photos, clipp­
ings, invitations, announcements, etc.), and miscel­
laneous photos (1950s-60s).
Listing of WVU honorary doctorate recipients with biographies, 1867-2003. Includes working papers and final copy.

West Virginia University. ROTC Cadet Band. One Cirkut Photograph, ca. 1920, 8 in. x 36 in. Gift, 2003.
One sepia-toned cirkut photograph (8" x 36") of the WVU ROTC Cadet Band at Washington, D.C., posing in their uniforms with their instruments.

Two ledgers of records of the West Warren Baptist Church of Wadestown, Monongalia County, West Virginia. One is a transcription for the years ca. 1854-1886; the second is an original for years 1885-1918. They include lists of pastors and members, minutes, statistics, contribution lists, etc.

Papers of Lenna Lowe Yost documenting her work in facilitating ratification of the equal suffrage amendment in the state of West Virginia during the period June 1919 - March 1920. In addition to leading the suffrage movement in West Virginia, Yost was the first woman to chair a major political party national convention. She was born in Basnetville, Marion County in 1878, the daughter of Jonathan S. and Columbia Basnett Lowe. She died in Washington, D.C., in 1972, at the age of 94.
The 1928 Mountaineer football team finished the season with an 8-2 record, including victories over Pitt and Oklahoma State.