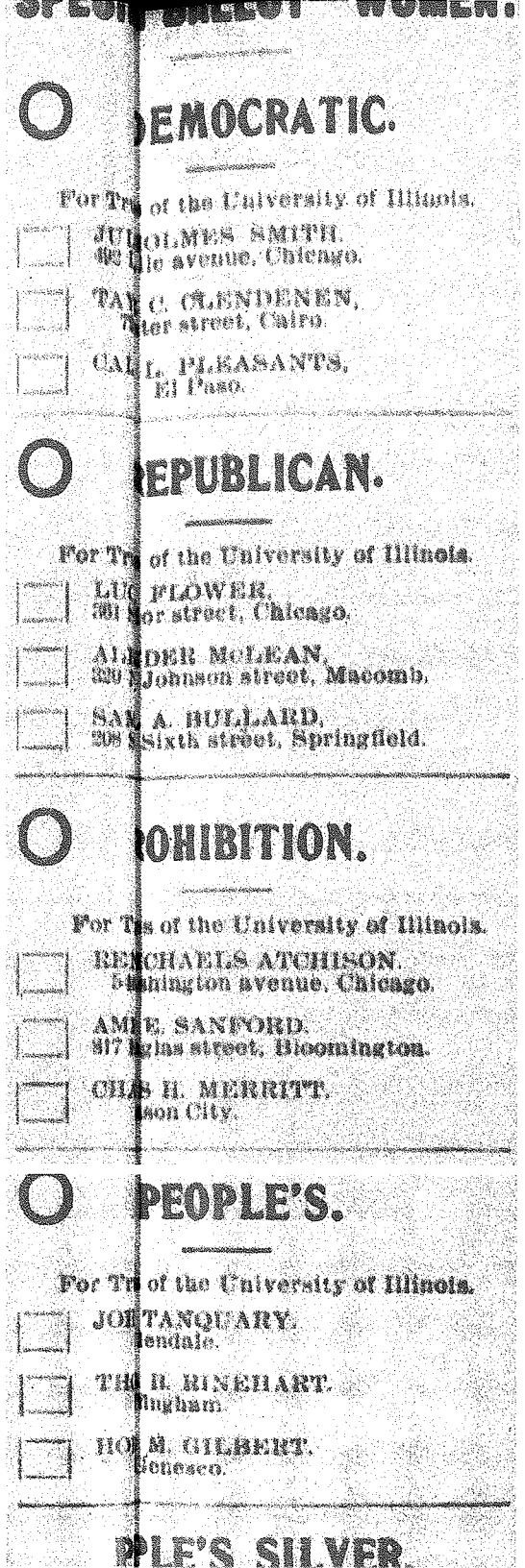

For the Freedom *of* Her Race

Black Women and Electoral Politics in Illinois, 1877–1932

LISA G. MATERSON

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For Phil and Joshua
And for Rosa, Richard, and Larry

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[1]

Tomorrow You Will Go to the Polls

Women's Voting in Chicago in 1894

The crisp clear autumn air of November 6, 1894, was punctuated with excitement and eagerness as thousands of women in Illinois traveled to the polls. Many dressed in their best attire, assembled at prearranged open houses or meeting places, and then took carriages or walked in groups to their precinct polling sites. The majority adhered to calls to submit their specially printed woman's ballot only between 10 A.M. and 2 P.M., so as not to interfere with men's voting before and after work and during lunch break. Working women, however, arrived early at the polls. Enthusiasm led others to enter polling booths before 9 A.M., in some precincts casting the day's first ballot.[1] Women were permitted to vote only for the University of Illinois's board of trustees, but their large turnout and the extensive news coverage made it seem as if women were voting for all the offices that were up for election in 1894. Those women who headed to the polls understood the historic significance of their errand. Not only were most casting their first ballot, but also four women—on the Republican, Democratic, and Prohibition tickets—were candidates for the board of trustees.

In 1891, following the narrow defeat of a state constitutional amendment that would have fully enfranchised the women of Illinois, the state legislature passed the less controversial Woman's Suffrage Bill, which legalized women's voting for school-related offices and matters in rural areas and unincorporated cities.[2] Three years later, women affiliated with the Republican, Democratic, and Prohibition parties ensured that four women were among the field of thirteen candidates who were running for the three open positions on the university's board of trustees. In the months leading up to November 6, women of the state's diverse ethnic population—immigrant and native-born Scandinavian, German, Jewish, Italian, Anglo-, and African American—participated, in varying degrees, in the university trustee campaign.

One group, however, was particularly well organized and committed to ensuring a large female Republican vote: those of Illinois's expanding African American community. Black women's widespread canvassing enabled white Republican candidate Lucy Flower to become Illinois's first woman elected to statewide office.[3] The success of these women's efforts on behalf of the Republican ticket was evident in the predominantly black precincts of Chicago's lower wards on election day. For instance, in the First Ward, the *Chicago Tribune* reported black women voting "in nearly every case," and Republican activist Fannie Brown counted 325 black women casting ballots for the Republican ticket.[4] African American women of the Fourth Ward made a showing equally as impressive as those of the First. The *Chicago Times* characterized black women voters as "[o]ne of the great features in the Fourth," having "far exceeded their white sisters in activity and eagerness."[5]

Examining this seemingly minor contest offers a window into the goals and canvassing strategies of black women who were active in Republican politics during the 1890s. One of the most striking features of these women's organizing was their rhetoric. Black Republican women sought to place individuals on the board who would address the educational needs of Illinois's growing black communities. Yet, in their speeches, leading black Republican women repeatedly embedded this contest within the Republican Party's historic connection with abolitionism, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. In other words, they nationalized a small local contest. They pointed to the power and authority of the Reconstruction Amendments. They urged women to vote Republican as an endorsement of the compromised emancipatory principles that the party had championed during Reconstruction and, on a much smaller scale, had briefly resuscitated during the early 1890s. By linking women's entrance into formal party politics to the ongoing struggle against white supremacy, these women maintained the historical and activist links between the struggle for black and women's rights. They also used the electoral leverage and public platforms available to them to reinsert into the party system a discourse about black rights and freedom that was deeply marginalized by the 1890s.

Migrant women drew upon their experiences in the South to shape politics in the Midwest. Though the heaviest years of migration were still more than two decades away, the arrival of southern blacks in Chicago and other

began to craft themselves as professional politicians in the 1880s and who delivered black votes to white politicians in exchange for patronage and favors.[17]

Along with the maturation of machine politics, Chicago's political scene during the 1880s included some of the most radical and reactionary voices in the country. The various incarnations of radicalism that were quite literally exploding in Chicago in the late nineteenth century witnessed minimal black involvement. For the most part, the various groups that challenged the growing power of wealthy industrialists and capitalists did little to include black workers or address the racial components of class-based injustice. The struggle for the eight-hour workday, for instance, did not address the working conditions of the large number of African Americans who, because of limited job opportunities, found employment as domestic and personal servants. Lucy Parsons was one notable exception to the absence of black participation in Chicago's radical politics. Best known as the widow of Albert Parsons, who had been executed with three others for inciting the infamous 1886 Haymarket Riot, Lucy Parsons was an important voice in American radicalism in her own right.[18] A woman of color in a movement dominated by European immigrants, Parsons believed that trade unionism and, when necessary, armed conflict would emancipate the working class, including black workers, not the ballot box.[19] Another notable exception was the Knights of Labor (formed in 1869), which conducted the most concerted effort to attract black members that had ever taken place within the ranks of labor unionism.[20] For the most part, however, unions were hostile environments for black laborers. With the Knights' demise in the 1890s, black access to unions and the jobs they protected were eclipsed for at least three decades. Barred from the white-dominated railway brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor, black men and women participated in the wave of strikes that swept late nineteenth-century America primarily as strikebreakers rather than strikers.[21]

Largely excluded from the labor movement, many African Americans attempted to overcome racialized class injustices through hard work and education. An education not only was a symbol of emancipation but also held the promise of individual and group advancement. Denied even the most rudimentary education under the slave regime, former slaves across the South crammed into Freedmen's Bureau schools and established their own makeshift schools where none were available.[22] Women from Chicago's growing black community were among the hundreds of northern women teachers who traveled south to fill these schools. For instance, before resettling in Chicago from other parts of the North, Fannie Barrier Williams and Elizabeth Lindsay Davis made detours south to teach freed peoples during the 1870s and 1880s.[23] During the nineteenth century, because discriminatory practices also denied thousands of black students in Illinois access to a public education, black Chicagoans not only traveled south to help freed peoples but simultaneously fought and won several battles to open up educational opportunities for black students in Illinois. The new state constitution in 1870 promised free primary and secondary education for all children in the state regardless of race. In 1874 Chicago's municipal code was rewritten to prohibit segregation in public schools, and in 1889 the Illinois General Assembly passed legislation that held school boards across the state liable if they denied education to students on account of race.[24]

Despite these victories, black access to the state's only public university, the University of Illinois, was practically nonexistent. Located in Champaign, the University of Illinois opened its doors to black men in 1887. African American women were not admitted until 1901. Although technically black men's exclusion from the university ended in 1887, the enrollment of only one black man in 1894 suggested that very little had changed in the seven intervening years since desegregation had begun. This record can be compared to the enrollment figures of another group of relative newcomers, white women. The University of Illinois began admitting white women in 1870. By the 1893–94 academic year, fully one-fifth of the university's students were white women.[25] The black middle and elite classes perceived college education as an essential component for the creation of a black leadership that would offer guidance among their own communities, while also serving as a liaison between black and white America. Even before W. E. B. Du Bois articulated this particular vision of a black leadership class most forcefully in his 1903 publication *The Souls of Black Folk*, college training often served as a conduit toward leadership positions for black women and men.

In 1894 African American women saw their new voting rights as a tool that they could use to lead the race toward higher education opportunities. Although women had the power only to vote for members of the University of Illinois's board of trustees, these board members had significant influence setting university policy on admissions, campus expansion, tuition, salaries, hiring, curriculum, and scholarships for Illinois's only public university.[26] Republican candidate Lucy Flower pledged to secure scholarships for African American students if black women would help her win. No such pledge was forthcoming from Flower's competitors in the Democratic, Prohibition-

been wrongly imprisoned because of a white neighbor who "swore a line on him, made like he knocked her down with a shot gun butt." In response to McCormick's inquiry, the Department of Public Welfare promised to bring the case to the attention of the parole board.[77] Not everyone was happy, though. Hattie J. Wells of Champaign wrote to complain that the women of Coles County "have received no recognition in appointments."[78]

How would black women's support for McCormick pay off in terms of policy now that McCormick was a U.S. representative? Black women supporters may very well have liked the candidate on a personal level, but they did not allow McCormick's campaign of personality to cloud their focus on matters of policy. Among the telegrams and letters that flooded McCormick's office in the days immediately after her victory was a letter from prominent clubwoman Elizabeth Lindsay Davis. In her congratulations, Davis emphasized ties of interracial womanhood: "Your victory is one more step upward for Illinois women, who are interested in better government." While Davis invoked ties of shared womanhood, she reminded McCormick that black womanhood had given her an opportunity to act upon campaign promises that would benefit black voters specifically. "I was very much pleased with your speech at the eighth armory Nov., 4th," Davis explained, referring to the mass black Republican rally that took place two days before the elections.[79] This was possibly the meeting where McCormick had made her pledge to work toward the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Ammendments.[80] Davis continued, "I wish more members of congress would have the courage to express themselves as you did and as all good Americans should."[81] Davis took McCormick's promise regarding the Reconstruction Amendments quite seriously. Whether McCormick would take it seriously within the halls of Congress was yet to be seen.

McCormick's Senate Race, 1929–1930

In September 1929 Ruth Hanna McCormick, the newly elected representative-at-large from Illinois, announced her intention of seeking a seat in the Senate.[82] If McCormick won, then she would become the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate.[83] In many ways, the McCormick Senate race, which ran from September 1929 to November 1930, was the high point of CWRCI activism. "[L]earn to play the game as it should be played and profit from the mistakes of the men," Mary Talbert had advised black Republican women at the 1921 inaugural celebration in Washington, D.C.[84] A decade later, the CWRCI was playing the game of politics quite well. In the previous campaign, the CWRCI had demonstrated its ability to mobilize African American voters throughout the state. Some CWRCI affiliates had even been able to barter their access to networks of Republican clubwomen for paid campaign positions. Whereas the allotment and tenure of paid campaign work had tended to be piecemeal, this time the organization won a spot for its president as head of McCormick's well-funded black women's division. The CWRCI also "played the game of politics" by strategically aligning with Oscar DePriest, the first black congressman in twenty-seven years, and his powerful Third Ward political machine. Paid campaign positions helped middle-class women stay afloat financially. Machine alliances helped build political careers. Both also required a degree of loyalty to candidate and party that shaped campaign rhetoric. CWRCI activists pointed to the ways in which McCormick had worked to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. By contrast, they characterized McCormick's opponents, Republican and Democratic alike, as disinterested in black rights, strategically eliding over counterevidence.

The CWRCI, with new president Irene McCoy Gaines at its helm, had several reasons for supporting McCormick again this time around. (Gaines succeeded Goins, who died in March 1929.)[85] During her brief time in the House, McCormick kept some of her campaign promises to represent her black supporters there. First, the newly elected McCormick had successfully maneuvered behind the scenes to squash southern congressmen's threats to block Oscar DePriest's seating in the House. This was no small gesture given the symbolism of DePriest's election. DePriest had been elected to represent the First Congressional District. African Americans from throughout the country, however, viewed him as their representative in Congress.[86] "Numerous telegrams and letters . . . reaching me daily," DePriest explained in a statement published in the *Defender* shortly after his victory, "impress me with the responsibility that is on me to represent twelve to fifteen million loyal American citizens who for the past 27 years have been without representation in the congress of the United States."[87] Many would have seen McCormick's actions as a defense of African Americans' right to representation by one of their own.

Even more important, during her brief time in Congress, McCormick had upheld her promise to work toward the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment. Since 1920, Massachusetts representative George Tinkham had introduced several unsuccessful bills that used the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment to cut down House representation in those states that disfranchised black voters.[88] Tinkham's efforts intertwined with con-

that took into account past and future alliances.[98] A critical factor here was the growing power of Oscar DePriest. Some CWRCI leaders had past ties to Deneen. Many more had worked with DePriest or sought to work with one of the most powerful black men in the city. With the blessing of Mayor William Thompson, DePriest had gained control of the Third Ward Republican Organization (TWRO) through his appointment as Third Ward committeeman in 1927. DePriest used the TWRO to propel himself into Congress in 1928.[99] The CWRCI also helped along the way. With his political star on the rise in 1929, DePriest came out strongly for McCormick and against his old rival Deneen. It was around this time that Harris Gaines split from Deneen for good and came into the DePriest camp.[100] This defection made it possible for Irene Gaines to fully harness CWRCI resources toward the McCormick campaign. And she had good reasons for wanting to do so: if the CWRCI sought to strengthen its alliance with DePriest and his TWRO, then campaigning on behalf of DePriest's candidate in the Senate contest was a good strategic move.

Within this context of past and future alliances, the CWRCI had, of course, already banked considerable political capital by helping McCormick and her late husband. CWRCI activists expected McCormick to fulfill her promises with regard to the Reconstruction Amendments once in office. They also expected McCormick to recognize their hard work in the way that politicians in Chicago rewarded loyalty, through jobs and political appointments. Such tangible rewards might enhance the political visibility and influence of the CWRCI. They might help individual women forward their political careers. They would certainly offer income to women who were especially vulnerable to the diminishing employment opportunities of Depression-era America.

Just how protective the women of the CWRCI were of the political capital they had so carefully cultivated was evident in the conflict over Mary Church Terrell's hiring. Describing her involvement in the campaign in her 1940 autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, Terrell recalled, "When Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick asked me to assist in her campaign for election to the United States Senate I jumped at the chance." Terrell's enthusiasm remained palpable a decade later: "In the wildest flight of a lurid imagination I had never dared to presume to dream that the opportunity of assisting the very first woman in the country who had courage enough to try to break into the United States Senate on her own merit would come to me."[101] By at least one account, however, it seems that Terrell not only dreamed about but also actually lobbied for such a chance by asking newly

elected congressman Oscar DePriest to help her obtain a position in the McCormick campaign—and with good reason.[102] No woman had ever been elected to the Senate.[103] There was a real possibility that McCormick might be the first. What opportunities might await those women who helped elect the first woman to the U.S. Senate? African American women faced very finite opportunities for political advancement within the upper echelons of government. Terrell actively sought them out. But she was not the only one.

The flood of discontent over Terrell's leadership emerged in the fall of 1929, shortly after Terrell distributed a thousand campaign letters to black Republican women throughout Illinois. Terrell signed her McCormick endorsement, "Chairman of the Executive Committee." A Gaines correspondence to Hallie Quinn Brown detailed how Illinois women essentially chastised Gaines for allowing Terrell to lead the campaign among African American women: "I was called down by many as President of the Colored Women's State Republican Organization for allowing myself to be used as her assistant."[104] White campaign leaders also received numerous calls and letters demanding a change in leadership. For instance, Hattie J. Wells, treasurer of the CWRCI, phoned fellow Champaign resident and white McCormick leader Eleanor Bainum over the matter. Bainum relayed to McCormick, "Wells says the colored women are all your friends, and want to work and organize for you, but they wish to do it under their own leadership."[105] While the CWRCI was certainly part of the national network of black Republican women—through its affiliation with both the National League of Republican Colored Women and the RNC's Colored Women's Department—there were also limits to this Republican sisterhood.

Local black women made sure that McCormick understood that their support was earned rather than assumed, regardless of past favors. At the forefront of the protest were Bertha Montgomery, president of the Second Ward Colored Women's Republican Club, and Susie Myers, who together convened an "indignation meeting" in early October. McCormick and Terrell may very well have been surprised by Myers's actions, especially since Myers's husband was the beneficiary of Medill McCormick's patronage.[106] They may also have been caught off guard because Myers and Terrell worked together three years prior. Myers had headed campaign work among black women for the 1926 McKinley campaign, a campaign for which Terrell briefly relocated to Chicago to help out.[107] There was, of course, a critical difference between the McKinley and McCormick campaigns: McKinley had hired a local woman to head the campaign, while

22 Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 31; Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 19; Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 3–4; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction*, 97–102.

23 Patton, "Williams, Fannie Barrier," 977; Harris, "Davis, Elizabeth Lindsay," 212; Hendricks, "Davis, Elizabeth Lindsay," 306–7.

24 Philip T. K. Daniel, "A History of Discrimination," 149; Philip T. K. Daniel, "A History of the Segregation-Discrimination Dilemma," 126–27.

25 "Is All for Illinois," *Inter Ocean*, November 11, 1894, 15; "University of Illinois Reference File" and "Negro Matriculation List, 1887–1937," Record Series 2/9/16, University Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; *1929 University of Illinois Directory*, Record Series 26/4/801, University Archives.

26 "Woman's Kingdom," *Inter Ocean*, November 2, 1894.

27 I. Marie Johnson, "Women in Chicago Politics," *Light and Heebie Jeebies* 3 (November 1927).

28 Clipping, "Illinois Women," *Woman's Journal*, box 2, scrapbook 4, Flower and Coues Family Scrapbooks, Chicago Historical Society.

29 Wheeler, *New Women of the New South*, xv, 113–18; Wheeler, "Short History," 13; Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*, 165. Kraditor notes that as early as 1867 Massachusetts abolitionist Henry Blackwell made a similar argument that the enfranchisement of women would ensure white supremacy in the South. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*, 168–69. It should be noted that even as the NAWSA made these racist assertions, it never totally abandoned natural rights arguments for the vote. Wheeler, "Short History," 12.

30 Editorial, *Woman's Era* 1, no. 9 (December 1894). In a 1915 article, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, one of the founders of the black women's club that put out the *Woman's Era*, reported that she had voted forty-one times in school board elections since the Massachusetts legislature granted women this right in 1879. Women's school suffrage in Massachusetts was not universal, however. It entailed several restrictions, including a poll tax, an age requirement, and an educational test, that were revised several times in subsequent years. Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote*, 138; Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:745–46.

31 "A Beautiful Valley Described as Seen by the Freeman Correspondent," *Indianapolis Freeman*, September 29, 1894; "The Ida B. Wells Club Pass Resolutions," *Indianapolis Freeman*, October 27, 1894, 2.

32 In the summer of 1894, Mrs. Olden joined thirteen black men as delegates to the (Arapahoe) County Republican Convention. All fourteen of the delegates, including Mrs. Olden, were part of the apparently mixed-gender black Republican club of Denver. Along with her delegate status, Olden served as third vice president of the Republican State League of Colorado. Olden was a southern migrant from Tennessee who had resettled in Colorado in 1893. Elizabeth Piper Ensley, "Colorado, Election Day," *Woman's Era* 1, no. 9 (December 1894): 17–18; "A Colored Lady," *Indianapolis Freeman*, November 3, 1894.

33 In 1894 the Kentucky General Assembly granted women who were residents of Lexington, Covington, and Newport the right to vote for members of school boards. Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:674.

34 "It Is a Bad Experiment," *Lexington Press-Transcript*, October 2, 1895.

35 "The Women, God Bless Them, Victorious," *Lexington Press-Transcript*, November 6, 1895.

36 "Colored Women and Suffrage," *Woman's Era* 2, no. 7 (November 1895): 11.

37 "Women in the Campaign," *Inter Ocean*, August 17, 1894, 6.

38 "To March to Polls," *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1894, 2.

39 "Women Do Good Work," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1894, 3; Davis, *Story of Illinois Federation*, 26–27.

40 Unlike other committee members who each represented an electoral district, Dempsey and Wells occupied two of the only five delegates-at-large positions. "The Political Field," *Inter Ocean*, August 17, 1894, 12; "Republican Women," *Inter Ocean*, August 24, 1894, 3; "Women Do Good Work," *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1894, 3; "Women at the Polls," *Chicago Tribune*, October 7, 1894, 33.

41 Bureau of the Census, *United States Manuscript Census*, Cook County, Illinois, 1900, 1910, 1920.

42 Robb, *The Negro in Chicago*, 1:227; Knupfer, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity*, 44, 100, 147.

43 Bureau of the Census, *United States Manuscript Census*, Cook County, Illinois, 1910, 1920.

44 Decosta-Willis, *Memphis Diary of Ida B. Wells*, 110; Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, xvi, 7–8, 15–18, 22–24, 35–37, 401; Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, 41, 47–48.

45 Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 18–20 (quote from 20); Decosta-Willis, *Memphis Diary of Ida B. Wells*, 56; Rayford Logan, *Betrayal of the Negro*, 21, 56.

46 Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 9.

47 *Nashville Banner*, November 11, 1890, as cited in Cartwright, *Triumph of Jim Crow*, 244, n. 38.

48 Cartwright, *Triumph of Jim Crow*, 42, 201, 203, 227, 234–36, 238, 242, 247–48, 256–57; Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, 71.

49 Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 65–66; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 55–56.

50 Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 56; Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 86–113, 122.

51 Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice*, 47–52, 63.

52 "Colored Women's Votes Not for Sale," *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1894, 2. The postmaster position at Chicago's U.S. Post Office was part of the state's Republican machinery. Since 1883, Illinois Republican senators in Congress had seen to the appointment of a postmaster loyal to their party, even when Democrats controlled city hall. Republican postmasters served even during Democratic municipal administrations because the postmaster office was a federal appointment. A postmaster would be recommended by U.S. senators and then appointed by the president. Harold Gosnell points out that in the fifty years between 1883 and 1933, the constant

117 "To the Polls for Smith," *Negro World*, November 3, 1928, 4. See chapter 4 of Wolcott's study *Remaking Respectability* for a discussion of the ways that this rhetoric of masculine self-defense of the home played out in Detroit during the 1920s.

118 White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 124–28; Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 93–103, 110, 113, 130; "Prohibition," *Negro World*, July 7, 1928, 4.

119 White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 128–30.

120 Ida B. Wells-Barnett to Claude Barnett, October 21, 1928, box 333, folder 5, CABP.

121 Ibid.

122 Myrtle Foster Cook to Dear Friend, [1928], box 334, folder 1, CABP.

123 Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote*, 59, 68.

124 See also chapter 5 and the conclusion for such evidence.

125 Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 9–10; Julian D. Rainey to S. D. Brooks, October 3, 1928, box 24, NHBP.

126 "Summary of Report by (Miss) Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington, DC," box 309, NHBP.

127 Ibid.

Chapter 5

1 "Women Open War on Mrs. Ruth McCormick," *Chicago Defender*, October 19, 1929, box 102–9, folder 210, MCTP.

2 See chapter 4 for a discussion of this celebration and the formation of the NLRCW.

3 Significantly, Susie Myers directed canvassing work among black women for the McKinley campaign. *Light and Heebie Jeebies*, November 19, 1927; "Minutes of the National Association of Colored Women, Held at Oakland, California, August 1–5, 1926," *NACWP*, 77; Sherman, *Republican Party and Black America*, 214.

4 Gosnell, "Chicago 'Black Belt' as a Political Battleground," 330.

5 Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto*, 116, 127, 132–33, 168–69, 181, 189–92. According to Philpott, among African American residents of Chicago in 1930, two out of three lived in neighborhoods that were 90 percent or more black. Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto*, 127.

6 LeRoy Hardin to Ruth Hanna McCormick, November 6, 1929, box 68, HMFP. These included the following wards: Fifth (12,000); Fourteenth (6,000); Twenty-eighth (5,000); Twentieth (4,000); First (3,000); Sixth (2,000); Eighth (1,500); Sixteenth (2,000); Seventeenth (2,500); Nineteenth (2,500); Twenty-sixth (3,000); Thirty-second (1,500); and Forty-second (3,000). Hardin does not indicate the source of this information.

7 Ibid. The largest concentrations could be found in St. Clair (East St. Louis) and Madison Counties (Alton), numbering up to 7,000 and 5,000 respectively. According to Hardin, as many as 3,000 African American voters lived in the midstate counties of Sangamon (Springfield) and Vermillion (Danville), and between 1,000 and 2,500 had settled in at least thirteen other counties. These included Rock Island County; Cook's

neighboring counties of Lake (Waukegan), Kane (Aurora), and Will (Joliet); the midstate counties of Champaign (Champaign and Urbana), Macon (Decatur), Adams (Quincy), Peoria (Peoria), and McLean (Bloomington); and, finally, the downstate counties of Massac (Metropolis), Jackson (Carbondale and Murphysboro), Pulaski (Mound City), and Marion (Centralia and Colp). At least eight other counties each claimed between 400 and 800 African American voters.

8 "An Appeal to Colored Women to Vote and Do Their Duty in Politics," *National Notes* 28, no. 2 (November 1925): 1, 5.

9 Gosnell, "How Negroes Vote in Chicago," 238.

10 "Biographical Sketch of Irene McCoy Gaines," *Negro History Bulletin*, [n.d.], scrapbooks, IMGP; Obituary, box 1, folder 8, IMGP.

11 Johnson-Odium, "Gaines, Irene McCoy," 294; Davis, *Story of Illinois Federation*, 52; "Life Story of Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines," *Fisk News*, newspaper clipping, scrapbooks, IMGP.

12 "Our Brilliant Ladies Recognized," December 23, 1911, newspaper clipping, IMGP.

13 Miller, *Ruth Hanna McCormick*, 53–54.

14 McGerr, *Decline of Popular Politics*, 14, 140–45, 154, 163, 182, 207; Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 179. McGerr points out that neither Hanna nor McKinley was solely responsible for ushering in this new era. For fuller discussion of the multiple factors contributing to the rise of what historian McGerr characterizes as "advertised politics," see his study *The Decline of Popular Politics*, especially chap. 6.

15 Miller, *Ruth Hanna McCormick*, 2, 20–21, 28–39, 56–57, 97, 104, 110–12, 133, 136, 140–41, 151.

16 Ibid., 92–93.

17 Hendricks, *Gender, Race, and Politics*, 90–93; Schechter, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, 200.

18 Miller, *Ruth Hanna McCormick*, 74–75. Alice Paul still headed the NAWSA's congressional committee when this 1913 suffrage parade took place.

19 "Chicagoan Makes Record as Solon," March 4, 1933, newspaper clipping, scrapbooks, IMGP.

20 Flyer, box 1, folder 6, IMGP.

21 Gilmer, a well-known precinct worker in the Thirtieth Ward, would go on to become one of the founding members of the NLRCW two years later. L. W. Collins to Ruth Hanna McCormick, August 28, 1922, box 14, HMFP; William Huff to Ruth Hanna McCormick, August 24, 1922, box 14, HMFP; Irene M. Gaines to Ruth McCormick, July 25, 1922, box 13, HMFP; Ada McKinley to Ruth Hanna McCormick, July 12, 1922, box 13, HMFP; Elizabeth Lindsay Davis to Ruth Hanna McCormick, July 18, 1922, box 13, HMFP; Davis, *Story of Illinois Federation*, 52.

22 "Life Story of Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines," *Fisk News*, [n.d.], newspaper clipping, scrapbooks, IMGP.

23 Obituary, box 1, folder 8, IMGP; Bates, *Pullman Porters*, 79; "Chicago Women to Help Hughes Win," *New York Age*, November 12, 1916, 1; "To the Board of Directors of the Illinois League of Women Voters," [1923], folder 93, League of Women Voters of

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