

Women's Political Agency and Public Education in the 19th Century

Kathryn Ann Nicholas

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Reading Committee:

Nancy E. Beadie, Chair
Margaret Pugh O'Mara
Joy A. Williamson-Lott

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University of Washington

Abstract

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Kathryn Ann Nicholas

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Dr. Nancy Beadie
College of Education

This study examines the relationship between women's political agency and educational office holding in the mid- to-late 19th century. In the process, it expands the intersection between two domains of scholarship. Research related to the history of public schooling includes a large body of literature on the feminization of teaching in the U.S. beginning in the mid-19th century with a much smaller body of literature examining the rise in women's school and district-level leadership in the early 20th century. Meanwhile, the field of American political development has begun to suggest a relationship between the rise of women's formal political agency in the 20th century and their longer history of involvement in education politics. The few scholars examining women's advancement as school administrators and their entry into electoral politics

in both domains have suggested that the growth of school suffrage nationwide increased women's political opportunities in the early decades of the twentieth century.

New research tools, specifically the digitization of historic records, allowing for a systematic analysis of nineteenth century school suffrage provisions finds that these provisions had less to do with women's broader voting rights than previously thought. It also reinforces the fact that suffrage rights and office holding were two separate facets of political citizenship. Expanding the discussion beyond school suffrage, this dissertation provides a comprehensive analysis of school suffrage, women's educational office holding, and related provisions for all states and territories in the U.S. during the 19th century.

In the process it reveals that women held elective and appointed educational offices more broadly and for a longer period of time than has been thought. This was particularly true in the West although such opportunities varied greatly. Focusing specifically on Montana and Washington, this study documents both similarities and differences in patterns related to school suffrage and women's educational office holding in both states. Through a detailed examination of the circumstances which allowed women's election (or appointment) as county school superintendents, their demographic backgrounds, and the job duties related to the position; this dissertation explores factors that promoted women's political agency and education leadership from 1870-1900.

Acknowledgements

It is said that a person dies three times: once when their heart stops beating, once when their body is committed to the grave, and once when the last memory of them fades. To me, historic research will always have an element of breathing life into long-forgotten moments while rescuing individuals from their final death. The women in this study have been my muses. There have been times that it has felt that they joined me on this journey, whispering in my ear assisting me in telling their stories. May their memory not fade from our historic understanding as we begin to comprehend their critical role in expanding women's political agency in the nineteenth century while they quietly, without fanfare, shaped the nation's public education systems.

I began this project trying to understand how and why women were being elected to state level offices in states where they had just received the right to vote. What I discovered was that women had been elected (often only by men) to educational offices during the last decades of the nineteenth century. I had no clue how widespread women's educational office holding had actually been. In Montana and Washington alone, I found at least 354 women who were formally appointed to, nominated for and elected as county school superintendents prior to the twentieth century. These women, long forgotten, are actually among the progenitors of women's political involvement as elected governmental officials. Long before most women had the right to vote and long before the first women were elected to state legislatures and to federal office, these women were elected (and paid) to be the voice of their constituents. Maybe there is something

we can learn as we continue to wonder why nearly 150 years later women still are not being elected at levels proportional to their numbers in the general population.

Outside of their support as I worked through the process of researching, synthesizing and writing about a topic near to my heart, my dissertation committee has helped shape my perspective of what it means to be a scholar. Although I had intended to focus on something else when I first began graduate studies, it was Nancy's History of Education class that allowed me to discover where my scholarly home truly was. At the time, there was no way of knowing that we would share a common interest in the last half of the nineteenth century and the clues yet to be found regarding the development of our modern education systems. Joy provided an ear and a strong shoulder as I tried to find balance between trying to be a scholar, a wife, a mother, and a daughter in what sometimes felt like insurmountable circumstances. Her willingness to talk about all aspects of the academic life deepened my appreciation for both the art and the science of good scholarship. Margaret's recognition that academic work alone was not enough and that it was important to be ready and willing to bring historic understanding to modern day events for the broader public helped shape my understanding of what should be a scholar's place in the world. Marge, in her own life story, modelled what is meant to be on a quest to improve public education not just from the ivory tower but from the lived experiences of those in the classroom. To each of them, I am thankful.

I owe a debt of deep gratitude to the archivists and librarians who have patiently listened to my research questions and helped me track down esoteric sources. Of particular help have been the staff of the University of Washington Special Collections, the Washington State Archives (both the main and regional branches), and the Montana Historical Society Research Center. A special thank you goes to the staff of the University of Washington's Interlibrary Loan

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Our informal History of Education writing group that has morphed over the years as members have successfully completed their dissertations provided a place to not only improve our craft while offering kind ears as we each tried to find our way through the academic maze called grad school. Although many have come and gone from our little group, Michael Bowman, Rebecca Wellington and Katja Koehnlein consistently showed gentle kindness, indispensable humor, and, on occasion, an all-important kick in the pants. Everyone would be lucky to have such professional colleagues.

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even forties); to my children, Jessica and Jason, for being my cheerleaders as I tried to breathe life into the stories of just a few more “dead people”; and to my husband, Kim, who may have not have fully understood the reasons behind my harebrained desire for further education, but recognized its importance to me. His love and support has been invaluable. Thank you, Kim, for allowing me to build my own airplane.

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Introduction

Antoinette Huntington's love for teaching and desire for adventure found her joining ten other women in a several month voyage to the outpost of Seattle on the other side of the continent in 1864 to serve as one of Washington Territory's early public school teachers. She had already taught for eight years, the last three in the graded schools of Lowell, Massachusetts. Twelve years later, married and the mother of four, she was hired as Castle Rock's first schoolteacher. In 1878, nominated by Cowlitz County (WA)'s Republican Party, she was elected as the county's superintendent of schools, an office she would hold for two terms. As the elected, paid Cowlitz (WA) County Superintendent of Schools, Huntington supervised the county's other twenty plus teachers, examined potential teachers, coordinated the county's teachers' institutes, distributed school funds, and recommended improvements in the system to the territorial superintendent of public instruction as part of her annual reports --all the while continuing to teach school in her home because the community had no school building. By the end of her second term, nearly half of Washington Territory's elected county school superintendents were women. Meanwhile, in Huntington's home state of Massachusetts, women were only allowed to serve as unpaid members of school committees and had not yet been given the right to vote for those same positions.

The field of public education provided women with political opportunities that were not available through other venues. This included the opportunity to vote on school matters, but more importantly the opportunity to serve as elective governmental school officers beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century decades before the adoption of full woman suffrage. This

was particularly true in states and territories west of the Mississippi. Even in the west these opportunities were not distributed equally between states. Not only are there questions as to why such differences existed, larger questions surround why women's involvement as elected educational leaders have been ignored in the historical narrative.

This dissertation examines the relationship between women's political agency and educational office holding in the mid- to-late 19th century. In the process, it expands the intersection between two domains of scholarship. Research related to the history of public schooling includes a large body of literature on the feminization of teaching in the U.S. beginning in the mid-19th century. A much smaller body of literature examines the rise in women's school and district-level leadership in the early 20th century. For the most part, however, these phenomena are analyzed as independent of formal political structure. Meanwhile, the field of United States political history has begun to suggest a relationship between the rise of women's formal political agency in the 20th century and their longer history of involvement in education politics. The few scholars in both domains who have examined women's advancement as school administrators and their entry into electoral politics have explained these events as a result of the creation of women's spaces within the education profession where women teachers, through their access to school suffrage and involvement in women's clubs, were able to support women's election to political positions. To a large degree, however, this analysis rests on summary and sometimes faulty surveys of state-level legislation something which will be elaborated in Chapter 1. Detailed documentation and analysis of individual women's actual involvement in education politics during the nineteenth century is missing. This study begins to address that gap.

Within the history of education as a field, the feminization of teaching during the nineteenth century has been well explored.¹ Significantly less attention has been paid to the role that women played in education politics and policy-making outside of the classroom. David Tyack, in his seminal work *One Best System*, examined shifts from rural and village schools to urban school systems. Tyack demonstrated how the efforts to standardize and systematize the nation's education system were led by university trained educational reformers who believed that educational policy should be based on science and professional expertise rather than local preferences. Focused mainly on the progressive era, his work describes the development of urban systems under the oversight of male administrators. Tyack recognized that opportunities for women to serve as school administrators depended on where they lived. Women in the West had broader opportunities that arose from their early right to vote on school matters and opportunity to hold school offices. Beyond mentioning that women teachers in San Francisco gained the right to equal pay in 1870, however, Tyack left the reader to determine where and when women gained administrative power.²

Tyack and co-author Myra Strober published "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage?" six years after the publication of *One Best System*. As it was a conceptualization of work they planned to pursue, many of their ideas relative to the causes behind the feminization of teaching as well as urban school boards' preferences for hiring male school administrators were more based on supposition than backed by fact. They claimed that sex-role stereotypes

¹ For example see Herbert M. Kliebard, "The Feminization of Teaching on the American Frontier: Keeping School in Otsego, Wisconsin, 1867-1880" *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 27, no. 5 (1995): 545-561; Myra H. Strober and Audri Gordon Lanford, "The Feminization of Public School Teaching: Cross-Sectional Analysis," *Signs* 11, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 212-235; Janet Guldford, "'Separate Spheres': The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880," *Acadiensis* 22, no. 1 (Autumn 1991), 44-64; Victoria Bissell Brown, "The Fear of Feminization: Los Angeles High Schools in the Progressive Era," *Feminist Studies* 16, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 493-518; and David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

² David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 65.

“about women’s responsiveness to rules and male authority, and men’s presumed ability to manage women” explained why urban school boards selected men for administrative positions, but they failed to consider why at the same time women were both appointed and elected as school superintendents in relatively high numbers, particularly in the upper West.³ Strober’s later analysis found that women’s employment as school teachers during the latter portion of the nineteenth century was higher in those states and counties where public education was more formalized and where men and women’s salaries were closer to equal.⁴ Could the election and appointment of women as educational leaders have been influenced by the same factors?

A few scholars have since taken up the challenge of chronicling the history of female leadership in education politics and policy-making. Recognizing that the histories of school administration overwhelmingly focused on the role of select men and their powerful allies while minimizing the role of women in the education profession, Jackie Blount conducted a systematic study using available records to determine when and where women served as school administrators through the first part of the twentieth century. She showed that, contrary to the claims of scholars like David Tyack, significant numbers of women served as administrators during the first part of the twentieth century, despite their frequent exclusion from the inner circle of professional organizations like the National Education Association.⁵ Instead, women drew on their own professional circles where they were able to utilize increasing woman suffrage opportunities and their connections in women’s clubs to advocate the election of women to educational offices.

³ Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, “Why Do Women Teacher and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools,” *Signs* 5, no.3 (Spring 1980): 500.

⁴ Strober and Lanford, “The Feminization of Public School Teaching.”

⁵ Jackie M. Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools: Women and the Superintendency, 1873 – 1995* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).

Women's connections to networks both within and outside of the education community also played roles in their ability to gain access to opportunities that included career advancement or other educational leadership opportunities. Victoria-Maria MacDonald, in her study of the schools in Providence, Rhode Island, found that the push for centralization and bureaucratization of the schools as well as demands for increased teacher professionalization actually increased opportunities for women as teachers and administrators. Using employment data and census records, MacDonald proved that the efforts by educational reformers during the progressive era which resulted in women having less opportunity to move into the upper echelons of education administration actually created women-dominated spaces both within and outside of the school environment. Already drawn to urban schools because of the improved school conditions and higher salaries offered by urban settings, women found possibilities for career advancement not available in rural schools. They also discovered a social network of other supportive women. Rather than being dissuaded from teaching as a profession, women's access to these networks significantly increased the length of time they chose to remain in the profession.⁶

While MacDonald's work specifically examined the situation in urban environments during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Kathleen Weiler, after providing historic context related to women's educational leadership in the nineteenth century, focused on teachers and school leaders in rural California during the first half of the twentieth century. She found that the appointment and election of women to state and county educational offices fostered an educational environment in which a network of women served as mentors for their fellow teachers. According to Weiler, the data regarding the number of women elected as county school

⁶ Victoria-Maria MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teachers and the Development of a Woman's Profession," *History of Education Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 427-53.

superintendents “clearly represent a challenge to the ideology of male dominance in education.”⁷ Her examination of the rural school situation in California during the Progressive Era provided clear evidence that women served in a variety of appointed and elected educational leadership positions. This evidence made for a much more complex story than the traditional top-down narrative regarding state educational system development. Weiler showed how women teachers negotiated shifting social norms along with changing expectations relative to their professional lives. She presented the women charged with school supervision and those who taught in the classrooms in two rural school districts in California as human with human foibles. At the same time, their dedication to their profession led them to make choices, sometimes surreptitiously, allowing them to teach their students in ways they believed best. These choices were often informed through their contact with a network of other professional women.

Although Blount, MacDonald and Weiler highlighted the significance of female educators as leaders, little of their work examined women’s involvement as school administrators prior to the start of the 20th century, leaving women’s role as educational leaders in the late 19th century unexamined.⁸ This is particularly true for those women who served as elected officers in the various states and territories. In part this oversight exists because, until recently, it has been difficult to access 19th century data relative to women’s educational office holding. This has led scholars in the history of education to overlook the role of women in the shaping of early public education policy. Similar gaps have also affected the historical accounts of women’s political involvement during the same period. Within the field of United States political history, the majority of the scholarship regarding women’s political agency has focused

⁷Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850-1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 55.

⁸Systematic collection of data regarding the names of school administrators, including women’s, did not begin until 1904. Blount. *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 178.

on women's extra-governmental work through voluntary organizations and campaigns for women's rights, particularly woman suffrage. Paula Baker in her pioneering work "The Domestication of Politics" argued that women used their exclusion from the world of formal politics to create a political culture shaped by their roles in the domestic sphere.⁹ Scholars including Karen Blair, Elisabeth Clemens and Theda Skocpol have examined how women's voluntary organizations became a political force during the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries with particular focus on issues that concerned moral, home-centered activities such as mothers' pensions, women and children's labor laws and temperance.¹⁰ More significantly, these woman-driven organizations were directly responsible for redefining the broader political culture and reshaping the very basis of the governmental role to one that, according to Baker, "carried moral authority and the obligations it implied."¹¹ Women's political involvement through their use of voluntary activities, lobbying, protest movements and other means of indirectly influencing governmental actions ultimately changed the role of government. Scholars have not examined how the women elected and appointed to governmental offices during this period may have influenced governmental policy.

According to Gretchen Ritter, the ability of women to influence the "formation, mission, and practices;" of state institutions makes their efforts appropriate lenses through which to consider United States political history.¹² Although not as prominent in scholarly research as

⁹ Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 632.

¹⁰ Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," 646. For more information on women's ability to influence political decision making see Karen J. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980); Elisabeth S. Clemens, "Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women's Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920," *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 4 (1993): 755-798; and Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992).

¹¹ Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," 646-47.

¹² Gretchen Ritter, "Gender as a Category of Analysis in American Political Development," in *Political Women and American Democracy* ed. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith and Lisa Baldez (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 12-20.

abolition, suffrage and temperance, women's involvement in education not only provided women entrance into the American political landscape, it provided them an avenue to shape public policy from within governmental institutions.¹³ With the provision of public education representing the largest portion of state and local governmental budgets and the feminization of the field of education occurring at the same time, it is appropriate to consider women's involvement in the creation of these institutions.¹⁴ Beyond the work of Michael Pisapia, however, there has been little scholarly focus on women's role in the political development of public education.

Michael Pisapia demonstrated in "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education" that public education was the original policy field through which women, particularly white women, became politically empowered prior to the adoption of the 19th Amendment on Woman Suffrage in 1920. According to Pisapia, it was women's involvement in education that provided them entrance into the American political landscape. He also demonstrated that political and geographical circumstances shaped women's ability to obtain elective (and appointive) educational offices earlier and more broadly in the western United States than in other regions.¹⁵ This occurrence, in his assessment, was in large part related to the

¹³ Michael McGerr argues that women, because of their lack of suffrage, developed their own distinctive political forms when compared to men's involvement in political parties and campaigns. Most of these involved some form of "pressure group voluntarism" through lobbying and "education" campaigns. Michael McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830-1930," *Journal of American History* 77, no. 3 (December 1990): 864-885.

¹⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1970, Part 2* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), 1127-28. By 1870, women made up 59% of the nation's teacher corps with only two northern states, Missouri and Indiana, without a majority female teaching corps. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1873* [John Eaton, Commissioner] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), CXXXIV.

¹⁵ Michael Callaghan Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education, 1860-1930," *Studies of American Political Development* 24 (April 2010): 8. Much of what was known about nineteenth century voting behavior derived mainly from studies of eastern and Midwestern states. Paul Kleppner found that the generalizations about nineteenth century voting behavior did not fit the West. Factors such as the level of urbanization, cultural heterogeneity, and election barriers were not found to be statistically different between the north and the west; yet during the last half of the nineteenth century, western voters were less likely to

states' adoption of school suffrage. However, his use of data related to school suffrage adoptions comes from the multi-volume *The History of Woman Suffrage* published under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association between 1881 and 1902. Much of the information included in these volumes came not from official records, but from informants living in the various states and territories. Given that many states did not have active suffrage organizations during this period; informants may not have always had access to the most complete information regarding state adoptions--leading to missing, inaccurate and incomplete information.¹⁶ This was particularly a problem for states and territories outside of New England and the Mid-Atlantic Region. It also led Pisapia to overlook the fact that a number of states and territories across the nation gave women the right to hold school offices *without* granting them the right to vote.¹⁷

Beyond providing evidence that women, through organized lobbying, were able to effect changes in school policy particularly compulsory education, Pisapia argues that it was women's ability to gain lower level educational offices which led to their increased authority in state teacher's organizations. This increased visibility contributed directly to women's ability to obtain state or city superintendencies and further political offices.¹⁸ Despite the fact that women were being elected to county school superintendencies as early as the 1870s, Pisapia relies on evidence from the Progressive Era to support his claims. By doing so, he implies that women's role in

vote, to cast straight party tickets, and to vote along religious lines than their eastern peers. For studies examining the strength of political parties in various geographic regions, see Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Paul Kleppner, "Voters and Parties in the Western States, 1876-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (Jan 1983): 53; and David R. Berman, "Male Support for Woman Suffrage: An Analysis of Voting Patterns in the Mountain West," *Social Science History* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1987): 281-94.

¹⁶See in particular Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds. *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 4: 1883-1900* (Rochester, NY, Privately Published, 1902).

¹⁷Michael Callaghan Pisapia. *Public Education and The Role of Women in American Political Development, 1852-1979*, (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2010); and Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education." For a discussion as to how voluntary women's organizations influenced the adoption of mother's pensions and other social welfare legislation, see Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*.

¹⁸Pisapia, *Public Education and the Role of Women in American Political Development*, 176.

United States political history as elected governmental officers closely parallels the final push for woman suffrage. Pisapia's account also parallels Blount's claim that women continued to increasingly gain educational administrative positions during the first three decades of the twentieth century. By contrast, data examined in this study shows that women's educational office holding predated women's suffrage by over a generation.

Difficulty in locating data relative to women's roles as appointed and elected educational office holders in the nineteenth century has made it challenging for scholars to ascertain the breadth of women's involvement. New research tools including expanded digitization of historical records and improved optical character recognition (OCR) allow increasingly accurate searching of those records making it possible to begin to resolve this gap in the history of women serving as elected educational leaders. Prior to the creation and improvement of these tools local and state election records for 19th century offices, particularly "minor" offices, were difficult to locate in printed materials. Newspapers around the nation might have mentioned the election of women in other states but there was little consistency as to when and what was considered newsworthy by local editors, thereby limiting the ability to conduct systematic searches. Legislative records were not always indexed. Being able to locate information relative to dates and places of women's election as educational leaders helps narrow the search in archival records for further information. Instead of hoping to find the needle in a haystack, searches in these sources can be more systematically accomplished.

Preliminary research based on these recently available sources both builds upon and complicates existing understanding of the dynamics of women's involvement in politics. Both Geraldine Clifford and Pisapia suggest that it was the adoption of school suffrage provisions which allowed women to be elected to school offices including county school superintendencies.

However, their focus on school suffrage led them to overlook some important countervailing information. Thorough analysis of available digital sources shows that in fact a number of states and territories across the nation gave women the right to hold school offices *without* granting them the right to vote.¹⁹ Examining only those places where women had gained the right to vote on school matters overstates the number of women involved in school elections in some places, while understating it in others. This research also demonstrates that women were involved politically as both voters and, more importantly, elected educational office holders at much higher numbers (and often at much earlier dates) than has been previously thought. Data shows in 1900 alone at least two hundred seventy-six women served as paid county school superintendents with the majority serving in states west of the Mississippi. In more sparsely settled states like Montana and Wyoming, such positions were held almost exclusively by women.²⁰

The Trans-Mississippi West provided women with opportunities for career advancement that were not available in the more established regions of the United States. Beginning with Catharine Beecher's call for female teachers to go to the west to spread literacy and morality in 1848 and extending through the first half of the 20th century, the west was held out as a place where women had opportunities not available in the established communities of the East. Michelle Morgan in "A Field of Great Promise" provided evidence that teachers sought employment in western urban centers including those in Hawaii, in part, because those positions offered opportunities for professional growth not available elsewhere.²¹ Outside of the

¹⁹ Geraldine J. Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes: A Social History of Women Teachers in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 307-311; Pisapia, *Public Education and the Role of Women in American Political Development*; and Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education.

²⁰ Edith Lathrop, "Teaching as a Vocation," *Arrow* 38, no. 3 (March 1922): 419.

²¹ Michelle M. K. Morgan, "A Field of Great Promise: Teachers' Migration to the Urban Far West, 1890-1930," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (Feb 2014): 70-97; and Michelle Mahealani Klein Morgan, "A Model of

availability of teaching positions throughout the west along with the advantages offered for long-term employment in western urban centers, the reasons the West provided prospects for young women not available elsewhere has not been explored.

Women were elected as the state educational officers in four western states (Colorado, Idaho, North Dakota, and Wyoming) prior to 1900. A study by Lynn Burlbaw, et. al. determined that nationally women had played a major role in the management of public schools at the state level, but their work did little more than highlight which states had had women elected or appointed to the state office without examining what their election meant relative to education policy.²² The West continued to be held out as a place providing women opportunities as educational leaders when, in 1922, a specialist from the U.S. Bureau of Education recommended women to “Go West” if they were seeking such positions including the possibility of election as school officers.²³ What has not been established is the extent to which women actually held intermediate positions such as county school superintendents prior to 1900; nor has there been research regarding their backgrounds or their possible influence on education policy. Part of the research to be conducted for this study will begin to demonstrate how prevalent women’s educational office holding was prior to the twentieth century.

A few scholars have highlighted women’s leadership in the development of public education in the West. Some, like Polly Welts Kaufman and Sandra Myres, pointed to women’s efforts to establish schools and shape educational institutions as part of the creation of new western communities.²⁴ While Myres broadly gave women credit for such development,

Womanhood or Manhood”: City Teachers in the Far West, 1890-1930 (PhD diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007).

²² Lynn M. Burlbaw, Heather K. Caldwell, Jennifer Maldonado-Castillo, and Michelle F. Merricks, “Female Chief State School Officers: The Field in 2005,” *American Educational History Journal* 33, no. 2 (2006): 155-163.

²³ Lathrop, “Teaching as a Vocation,” 419.

²⁴ Polly Welts Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); and Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915* (Albuquerque, University of New

Kaufman, through the use of diaries and letters, provided explicit examples of the frustrations related to teaching in frontier communities. Others, like Elizabeth Jamison, lament that men took credit for women's efforts.²⁵ Jurgen Herbst examined how this involvement worked at the local level in his exploration of school development in *Women Pioneers of Public Education: How Culture Came to the Wild West*.²⁶ While Herbst identifies women as playing a key role in the development of Silverton, Colorado's schools during the 1870s his analysis is limited and he fails to contextualize their activities relative to the growth of education in other places in the West. Historian Karen Blair noted that women in the Northwest had made a major impact on education in the region, although most of the education topics she mentioned relate to classroom teaching and women's education; she did not examine women's achievements as school administrators.²⁷

This dissertation provides evidence that women had a far greater role in the development of public education policies during the late nineteenth century than has been previously thought. Public education has been the single largest governmental expenditure since the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The traditional narrative regarding its development has been that men were responsible for developing education policy and managing education personnel while women implemented those policies as teachers. Focused on the last part of the nineteenth century, this dissertation begins to establish the centrality of women in the development of state education systems particularly in the upper West. Using recently available digitized nineteenth

Mexico Press, 1982), 181-185. Blair specifically indicates that "studies of club activity provide a foundation for the argument that women attempted to civilize the wild West by building communities." Karen Blair, "The State of Research on Pacific Northwest Women," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 3 (2001): 50.

²⁵ Elizabeth Jameson, "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West," in *The Women's West* ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 154-155. See also Dee Brown, *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

²⁶ Jurgen Herbst, *Women Pioneers of Public Education: How Culture Came to the Wild West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

²⁷ Blair, "The State of Research on Pacific Northwest Women," 56n4.

century newspapers and legislative records as a starting place, this dissertation provides evidence that despite the fact women did not have universal voting rights, they had the right to be appointed or elected to political offices relative to public education on the same terms as their male peers in the vast majority of the states and territories.²⁸ While serving in those positions, they had opportunities to not only shape local educational policy; they participated in shaping both regional and state education systems. This analysis complicates the assumptions that public educational institutions were established solely by men. It also disrupts accounts of the history of public education that assume educational development proceeded from the east to the west, with western territories and states mimicking older state systems and/or being driven by urban school policies.

Beyond broadening the understanding of the history of public education at the state level, this dissertation also complicates the history of woman suffrage in three significant ways. First, it provides evidence that the origins of school suffrage, a form of partial suffrage often claimed as evidence of support for woman suffrage, actually developed as a way of providing tax payer suffrage regardless of gender, only later intersecting with women's suffrage campaigns. Second, the dissertation expands the scholarly discussion of women's political citizenship in the 19th century to include women's political office holding. Finally, this study demonstrates that women's acceptance as elected officers during the nineteenth century was neither limited to

²⁸ Newspapers during the period of this study had shifted from almost exclusively partisan papers owned or controlled by the political parties to commercial enterprises that reflected the political preferences held by the publisher and/or editor. The partisan perspective could change when a new publisher purchased the paper. Others like Montana's *Rocky Mountain Husbandman* focused on agricultural pursuits and rarely publishing any political news. It is difficult to determine how much influence the papers actually had relative to creating social and political change. For information on the role of newspapers in the late nineteenth century see Oliver Knight, "The Owyhee Avalanche: The Frontier Newspaper as a Catalyst in Social Change," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (April 1967): 74-81; David M. Ryfe, "News, Culture and Public Life: A Study of 19th-century American Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 1 (August 2006): 60-77; and Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Newspaper Trends in the 1870s: Proliferation, Popularization, and Political Independence," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, 2 (Summer 1995): 361-375.

minor political parties nor to places where women had suffrage. Together, these findings show that consideration of women's political citizenship during the latter half of the nineteenth century should not be limited to questions related to woman suffrage or lobbying. Using the lens of woman suffrage limits the understanding of the extent of women's nineteenth century political advocacy. Just as Baker and scholars that followed her have clearly revealed the role of women's political activity in shaping governmental policies through lobbying activities, considering the possibility of women being elected in places without woman suffrage and how those elections may have shaped governmental policies further broadens our understanding of women's political agency in the nineteenth century.

Because there has been little previous scholarship on school suffrage and women's educational office holding in the 19th century, the first part of the study is national in scope. As far as possible, chapters 1 and 2 lay out the development of women's school suffrage and office holding throughout the country, from the 1830s to 1900.²⁹ Much of the evidence for this first section is drawn from legislative records and court cases. Data gathered from these resources are used to create tables and maps that provide a much more nuanced overview of patterns and trends than scholars have previously considered. The study then turns to a more in-depth case study of Montana and Washington during the late nineteenth century (1870-1900). The goal of these case studies is to provide a better understanding of which women were being elected/appointed to educational leadership positions through the examination of their life stories

²⁹ Alexander Keyssar has indicated that there has been little research into partial suffrage provisions. He wrote "no history of any form of partial suffrage has yet been written; the existing secondary compilations of laws are inconsistent, and legal histories in many states are difficult to pin down, because court decisions, legislatures, and city councils frequently changed the laws." Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 414n28. School suffrage been mentioned in passing in works related to the adoption of full woman suffrage and limited studies have focused on the school suffrage movement in Boston during the 1870s. For example, see Keyssar. *The Right to Vote*; and Edmund B. Thomas Jr., "School Suffrage and the Campaign for Women's Suffrage in Massachusetts, 1879-1920" *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 25, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 1-17.

as well as their personal and professional networks. It also considers the political and social environment that made their elections possible. Their service as elected educational officers at the county and state level will be compared to the contemporary national dialogue about public school systems and school supervision. More qualitative in nature, evidence comes from newspapers, county histories, teacher association records (local, state and national), election results and other related materials.

The research conducted for this study indicates that proportionately high numbers of such offices were held by women in the United States' northwestern territories prior to statehood and that this office holding continued at similar levels after statehood. That research in turn led to several interrelated questions. Where were women being elected to lower level educational offices including county school superintendencies? Who were they and what were their backgrounds? What factors existed to allow them to be elected at a time when women did not have full suffrage rights? Beyond gaining recognition within the educational community, how did these women influence educational policy-making outside of their local communities? This study begins to answer these questions.

Chapter One: Reassessing School Suffrage

*“The mere casting of a ballot is a trifle; it is the influences which lead up to it and surround it that are chiefly to be considered.”*¹ Frank Leslie’s *Illustrated Newspaper*, April 1880.

The editors of *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* in April 1880 sought to remind their readers that it was not necessary to have the ballot to influence politics. Yet the act of voting continues to be the focus of most attempts to understand and explain how different groups sought to gain or maintain political rights. Anne Firor Scott demonstrated that women in the United States were already actively campaigning for “women’s rights,” including the right to vote for and hold office, as early as the 1830s.² Scholarship examining these efforts has focused primarily on women’s extra-governmental work and campaigns for general woman suffrage.³ Despite clear evidence of women’s broader involvement in the political process during the nineteenth century, discussions regarding women’s political rights focus on their right to vote in general elections. Partial suffrage reforms like school suffrage have generally only been footnotes in the historical record. By focusing more squarely on school suffrage, this chapter brings new perspective to the issue of women’s political agency in the 19th century.

To the extent that they have considered the subject, scholars have generally drawn the dates of female school suffrage provisions from the multi-volume *The History of Woman Suffrage*, published under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association between 1881 and 1902. Much of the information in these volumes came not from official records, but

¹ “Sex and the Ballot,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, April 3, 1880, 66.

² Anne Firor Scott. “On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility,” *Journal American History* 71 no. 1 (June 1984): 11-12.

³For examples see: Baker, “The Domestication of Politics”; Scott. “On Seeing and Not Seeing”; Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*; Blair, *The Clubwomen as Feminist*; and Christine Woynshner, “Race, Gender, and the Early PTA: Civic Engagement and Public Education, 1897-1924,” *Teachers College Record* 105, no. 3 (April 2003): 520-544.

from informants living in the various states and territories. Given that many states did not have active suffrage organizations during this period; informants may not have always had access to the most complete information regarding state adoptions--leading to missing, inaccurate, and incomplete information.⁴ Reliance on this work perpetuates the idea that school suffrage was a stepping-stone toward full suffrage, despite the fact that, on average, it took over thirty-four years between adopting school suffrage and implementing full woman's suffrage. Moreover, despite the fact the woman suffrage movement's most ardent supporters and most active organizations resided in New England, the extension of school voting rights for women occurred exclusively *outside* of the region. Implementation of such provisions often predated the establishment of state or local woman suffrage efforts.⁵ According to scholar Gaylynn Welch, school suffrage campaigns "often originated outside of state suffrage associations and in states where women had little hope of winning full enfranchisement."⁶ Together, these facts challenge the reigning assumption of a close relationship between school suffrage and full woman suffrage. Furthermore, they pose the question of what other factors or forces may have motivated the extension of school suffrage rights.

Woman suffrage organizations, such as the National Woman Suffrage Association mentioned above, provided the most common interpretations regarding school suffrage adoptions. Viewed through the lens of general woman suffrage, this approach overlooks the fact that many western states and territories adopted school suffrage provisions prior to the establishment of formal woman suffrage organizations. Frequently this has resulted in little or no exploration of the advocacy for suffrage expansion as it related to schools where woman suffrage

⁴ See in particular Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 4: 1883–1900.

⁵ Holly J. McCammon, "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment: The Formation of the State Woman Suffrage Organizations, 1866–1914," *Social Forces* 80, no. 2 (December 2001): 456.

⁶ Gaylynn Welch, *Local and National Forces Shaping the American Woman Suffrage Movement, 1870–1890* (PhD diss., Binghamton University, State University of New York, 2009), 8.

organizations were not active. Corrine McConnaughy in *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America* makes the case that the history of woman suffrage has come almost exclusively from the perspective of the woman suffragists and that by broadening the discussion to include the perspective of the political parties and legislative decision makers it becomes possible to understand why woman suffrage found favor in some places and times but not others.⁷

Like most scholars of woman suffrage, McConnaughy sees school suffrage as either leading to woman suffrage adoption or as a consolation in place of full woman suffrage. Because she looks at all suffrage extensions through the lens of woman suffrage, she fails to consider that there might have been reasons completely unrelated to woman suffrage that led to school suffrage advocacy. McConnaughy in her efforts to understand the nuances of woman suffrage adoptions expanded the examination of woman suffrage debates and adoptions to those that occurred outside the direct efforts of woman suffragists. It would be valuable to explore school suffrage using similar techniques. Understanding what political decisions were behind the adoption of school suffrage in the various states provides insight regarding how political leaders saw the states' roles in developing state educational systems. Despite a growing national interest in the development of a system of public education, each state had autonomous control in developing its education system. This meant that each state dealt individually with both educational and electoral policymaking.

Some scholars have credited school suffrage with both shaping and increasing women's entry into civic leadership. Political scientist Michael Pisapia provides clear evidence that it was women's involvement in education that not only provided them entrance into the American political landscape, it provided them an avenue to shape public policy within the governmental

⁷ Corrine M. McConnaughy. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in American: A Reassessment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

structure rather than just acting as lobbyists from the outside.⁸ He also demonstrates that political and geographical circumstances shaped their ability to obtain elective (and appointive) educational offices and was in large part related to states' adoption of school suffrage. Historians of education Jackie Blount and Kathleen Weiler directly attribute the increasing number of women serving in educational leadership positions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the adoption of school suffrage.⁹ William Reese in *Power and Promise of School Reform* attributed the lack of school suffrage, or weak school suffrage legislation that limited its effectiveness, as one of the "various means women were locked out of the political process of school decision making in the early 1890s" forcing them to find other ways of influencing educational reform efforts.¹⁰

Despite its potential link to both full woman suffrage and women's educational leadership, school suffrage has received little scholarly analysis. In considering partial suffrage, including school suffrage, historian Alexander Keyssar, in his seminal work *The Right to Vote*, acknowledged that "no history of any form of partial suffrage has yet been written; the existing secondary compilations of laws are inconsistent, and legal histories in many states are difficult to pin down, because court decisions, legislatures, and city councils frequently changed the laws."¹¹ This chapter addresses this oversight.

The dramatic increase in the digitization of historic records including state session laws, court records, state departments of education reports, newspapers and other media along with

⁸ Pisapia, *Public Education and the Role of Women in American Political Development*; and Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education."

⁹ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 81; and Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*, 22.

¹⁰ William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements During the Progressive Era* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002), 36, 44.

¹¹ Keyssar. *The Right to Vote*, 414n28. For current scholarly works that have more than a passing mention of school suffrage see McConaughy, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America*; Pisapia, *Public Education and the Role of Women in American Political Development*; Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education"; Thomas, "School Suffrage and the Campaign for Women's Suffrage in Massachusetts"; and Welch, *Local and National Forces Shaping the American Woman Suffrage Movement*.

improved OCR helped make what was once an onerous task a possibility. The majority of the information regarding “school suffrage” adoptions analyzed in this chapter was garnered by searching session laws of United States’ states and territories using a wide variety of terms including women, woman, female, gender, sex, school, schools, election, voting, and vote. Data from these records has been incorporated into Table 1 (below) comparing the dates found for each state or territory with those previously used by scholars relative to the adoption of school suffrage provisions.¹² Not only did school suffrage adoptions occur earlier and more widely than what has been reported in the literature, examination of these laws found that women received the right to hold educational offices related to public schools even without the right to vote. While it is likely that additional, earlier adoptions will be located in the future, this examination of legislative provisions regarding the electoral processes related to public education reveals a much more complicated story about school suffrage than one solely related to woman suffrage and the broadening of women’s rights. After briefly defining school suffrage this chapter will consider the adoption of school suffrage provisions over the course of the nineteenth century with particular attention to how school suffrage was extended over time. It then concludes with an examination of existing evidence regarding the results of school suffrage. Examination of women’s educational office holding will be considered in Chapter Two.

Defining “School Suffrage” in Law and Practice

While certain classes of women gained the right to vote for local school officers or local school matters beginning in 1838, the term “school suffrage” did not enter the lexicon until the

¹² For a full list of the state legislative records that were consulted see Appendix A – State Legislative Records.

1879 Massachusetts campaign to allow taxpaying women to vote for school officers.¹³ The phrase has often incorrectly conflated to include the right to vote on school matters and the right to hold school offices. For the purposes of this discussion the phrase “school suffrage” refers solely to the right to vote on school matters.¹⁴ Depending on where they lived, qualified voters could vote on three different school-related subjects: (1) individuals for state, county, and/or local school offices; (2) taxes and fees related to school buildings and other school expenses; and (3) school-related topics such as textbooks, compulsory education, school discipline, school calendar, etc. The right to vote for one of these did not necessarily mean the right to vote for any of the others. Where, when and how qualified voters voted on school matters also varied between and within states. Law makers understood school elections as they related to school districts to be different from general elections. The courts, as discussed later in this chapter, did as well. Scholars have also recognized this division. In considering the growth of school suffrage adoptions during the late nineteenth century, Keyssar acknowledged that “although activists generally viewed school suffrage as a stepping-stone, an entering wedge for broader electoral participation, legislators tended to view the matter differently: as a gesture to placate pro-suffrage forces and an assertion that school matters were distinct from ‘politics.’”¹⁵

School suffrage provisions varied widely. These variations included who received suffrage extensions as well as the issues to which those suffrage extensions applied. Most frequently, school suffrage provisions focused on the right of certain classes of persons to vote for individuals running for local school offices. The how and when of educational officer selections varied not only between but within states, with different rules for city school districts

¹³ Eva Channing, *Brief History of the Massachusetts School Suffrage Association* (Boston: Massachusetts School Suffrage Association, 1893?).

¹⁴ According to the Webster’s Dictionary, suffrage is only “the right of voting.” *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1975), 1164.

¹⁵ Keyssar, *The Right to Vote*, 150.

and those in rural areas in many areas.¹⁶ Due to the dramatic growth of public education after the Civil War, by the end of the nineteenth century local school trustees in the United States made up the largest class of public officials in the world, at times even outnumbering the number of public school teachers in a state.¹⁷ These local trustees—not the courts, legislatures, or state officials—were responsible for making key decisions regarding the operation of local schools.¹⁸ Frequently, they were the only elected representatives in a community who had daily contact with their constituents and who, by the nature of their position, were responsible for overseeing the largest domain of public taxation and expenditure in their state and locality, as well as a matter of intense immediate concern to most households—the education of the community’s children.

For the vast majority of school districts during the latter part of the nineteenth century school elections occurred at annual school meetings. With requirements outlined in a state’s school laws, school meeting attendees conducted school elections. An editorial writer from Minnesota complained in 1876 that despite the fact that school district’s officers were responsible for managing more tax monies than the village council, school elections could be conducted in a “happy-go-lucky style” while village elections had to follow strict guidelines relative to time, place, voter registration, and balloting procedures.¹⁹ While Minnesota state law required school elections be held the first Saturday of October, several cities received exceptions

¹⁶ See Appendix B - *Variations of Public School Provisions, 1875*, which provides a brief snapshot of this diversity by comparing the different states’ education policies related to school officers.

¹⁷ David Tyack, “Forgotten Players: How Local School Districts Shaped American Education,” in *School Districts and Instructional Renewal*, ed. Amy M. Hightower, Michael S. Knapp, Julie A. Marsh, and Milbrey W. McLaughlin, (New York, Teachers College Press, 2002), 9; and David Tyack, “Democracy in Education—Who Needs It?” *Education Week*, November 17, 1999, 42–45.

¹⁸ David Tyack, *Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 23.

¹⁹ “School Elections Again,” *Worthington (MN) Advance*, October 26, 1876, 3.

allowing them to hold school elections in the spring along with their municipal elections.²⁰ Florida amended its school laws in 1869 to clarify that school officers, including school trustees, members of any board of public instruction, and teachers, were not officers within the meaning and intent of the state's constitution.²¹ California's state superintendent of public instruction reported that requiring school elections to abide by the state's election laws meant that the state would have no school elections. In fact, he declared that "school meetings, though called under the general name of 'elections,' are not held to be 'elections' in a constitutional sense."²² In decisions related to school voting, the courts differentiated between school officer elections held during school meetings and those school officers elections held concurrent with town or municipal elections. Because school meeting election procedures were defined by legislation rather than the constitution, the legislature had the right to modify such provisions to include women's right to participate. When election procedures were enumerated in state constitutions as was often done for town or municipal elections it was necessary for states to adopt constitutional revisions in order to allow women the right to vote in those elections.

Efforts by various partisan reformers to control voter participation through voter registration occurred throughout the nineteenth century.²³ Voter registration requirements increased dramatically during the final decades of the century as political parties tried to limit voting by those likely to support opposing candidates particularly if those voters were immigrants and African Americans. These requirements did not necessarily apply to school

²⁰ Sarah B. Stearns, "Woman and Education," (*MN*) *Grange Advocate*, August 16, 1876, 6.

²¹ *The Acts and Resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Florida, at its Extra Session beginning on June 8th, 1869* (Tallahassee, FL: Edw. M. Cheney, State Printer, 1869), 44.

²² *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of California, for the School Years 1866 and 1867* [John Swett, Superintendent], in Appendix to *Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Seventeenth Session of the Legislature of the State of California* (Sacramento, CA: D. W. Selwicks, State Printer, 1868), 18.

²³ Voter registration efforts date from the early nineteenth century with Massachusetts adopting voter registration in 1801. Beginning in the 1830s and more states considered forms of voter registration particularly in cities during the following decades. See Keyssar, *The Right to Vote*, 52-54.

elections. When Idaho passed a voter registration law in 1882, it specifically excluded any elections held under the provisions related to school matters.²⁴ Nebraska's school laws related to the establishment of city school districts in 1887 required men, but not women, to be registered voters.²⁵ It was not until the late 1890s that the California Supreme Court ruled that general election laws requiring voter registration prior to an election applied to school elections as well.²⁶ Even after the passage of full woman suffrage in 1910, Washington exempted voters at school elections in second and third class school districts from registration laws.²⁷

In response to a highly qualified woman's failure to gain election as a member of Denver's Board of Education in 1900, Alice Stone Blackwell, in her editorial about the defeat, provided a clear description of how school elections were being conducted in Denver during the last decade of the nineteenth century. She described them as being:

An anachronism, a survival from the time before women were enfranchised. The school officers are chosen on a separate day, and while at State and municipal elections the Australian ballot is now used, and all voters must be registered, at the school election there is no Australian ballot, and, more remarkable still, no registration is required; every adult can vote. This gives great facilities for fraudulent voting; but hitherto, as a rule, the corrupt element has not thought a school election important enough to make any great amount of fraud worth while.²⁸

While state public school systems became increasingly more bureaucratized and professional during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the adoption of systemic rules for election of school officers did not necessarily progress as quickly as changes in school management. Two factors contributed to this. The first remained the continuing belief by law

²⁴ *General Laws of the Territory of Idaho Passed at the Twelfth Session of the Territorial Legislature* (Boise City, ID: Milton Kelly, Territorial Printer, 1883), 44.

²⁵ *Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska* (Lincoln, NE: Journal Company, State Printer, 1887), 602.

²⁶ "The School Election," *Los Angeles Times*, June 1, 1899, 11.

²⁷ Frank Pierce, *Pierce's Code: A Compilation of all the Laws in Force in the State of Washington* (Seattle: National Law Book Company, 1912), 1737-1739.

²⁸ Alice Stone Blackwell, "The Denver School Election," *Woman's Column*, June 2, 1900, 2.

makers that school elections were different from general elections. The second reason was resistance by law makers and local residents to leaders of the new field of educational administration in the early 20th century who campaigned for the elimination of elected educational officers in favor of appointed professionals.²⁹ The following examination of female school suffrage adoptions provides insight into how legislative action allowed both factors to play a role. It also provides evidence that throughout the nineteenth century school suffrage was more intimately tied to schools than to broader suffrage laws.

Exploring the Chronology and Geography of Initial School Suffrage Provisions - Expanding Women's Right to Vote on School Matters

Advocates for female school suffrage centered their arguments around two ideas: (1) that because women took more interest in the schools, giving them the right to vote for school officers would lead to school improvements and (2) letting women vote on school matters would help remove the schools from politics. Woman suffragists had an additional goal - to provide limited voting opportunities for women to prove that it would not be detrimental to extend full suffrage rights to women. School suffrage legislation changed over the nineteenth century depending on the focus of those advocating for such provisions. Beginning with Kentucky, which extended the right to vote on school taxes to widows and single women in 1838, most early school suffrage extensions applied to individuals, including women, who had direct

²⁹ For information on these efforts by university-based education reformers see: Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public School Administration: A Statement of the Fundamental Principles Underlying the Organization and Administration of Public Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), 447; National Council on Education, *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1897); A. C. Monahan et al., *The Supervision of Rural Schools* ed. S. Chester Parker (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1913); George Herbert Betts and Otis Earle Hall, *Better Rural Schools* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1914); Cook and Monahan, *Rural School Supervision*; and Julius Boraas and George A. Selke, *Rural School Administration and Supervision* (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1926). David Reynolds discusses resistance against these efforts relative to school consolidation. David R. Reynolds, *There Goes the Neighborhood: Rural School Consolidation at the Grass Roots in Early Twentieth-Century Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002).

interests in the schools either as tax payers or parents. This emphasis in school suffrage provisions continued through the end of Reconstruction in 1875. During the next twelve years, from 1875 to 1886, almost double the number of states and territories adopted or revised school suffrage provisions than had done so over the previous forty years. Nearly half of those states did not limit such extensions to just female taxpayers or parents, but extended school suffrage to women in general. The rest continued to extend school voting to those with direct interest, usually tax payers, in the schools. Finally, during the Progressive Era, school suffrage intersected more directly with woman suffrage campaigns. Each of these periods is discussed in greater detail below.

Mapping initial adoptions chronologically provided evidence that school suffrage adoptions occurred throughout the nation during each time period although geographic clusters become apparent. Prior to the end of Reconstruction, the most obvious geographic cluster included Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Utah and Wyoming. Although states in the upper Midwest and New England also added school suffrage provisions between 1876 and 1885, four additional western territories did so as well further increasing the western expansion of voting rights for limited classes of women. Finally, during the early Progressive era, the southern states began to extending voting rights to women who were taxpayers. Table 1 (below) summarizes the geography and chronology of these adoptions. It also compares the dates that scholars have used to explain the adoption of school suffrage with the earliest implementations found to date in the session laws. The table does not include the numerous modifications occurring in states after the initial legislation. It is likely that even earlier dates will be found with the increased digitization of historic records.

Table 1: Comparison of school suffrage and women's educational office holding adoption dates from a variety of sources prior to adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment

State	Female school suffrage adoption per literature ^a	Adoption of school suffrage from legislative records ^b	Adoption of school suffrage for taxpayers and/or parents/guardians ^b	Adoption of school suffrage provisions naming women without taxpayer or parent limitations ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding with explicit gender reference ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding without explicit gender reference ^b
Alabama					See Chapter 2	1868
Alaska		1913 ^c			1913 ^c	
Arizona	1887	1883		1883	1883	
Arkansas						
California	1911 ^c	1911 ^c			1874	
Colorado	1876	1870	1870	1876	1893	1870
Connecticut	1893	1893		1893 ^f		1841
Delaware	1898	1889, 1898	1889, 1898		1889	
Florida		1889	1848		1893 ^d	
Georgia						
Hawaii					1892 ^e	
Idaho	1889, 1896 ^c	1879	1879		1883	
Illinois	1891	1891		1891	1873	
Indiana		1861	1861		1881	
Iowa	1894, 1895	1894	1894		1876	
Kansas	1859, 1861, 1887	1861		1861 ^f	1861	
Kentucky	1838, 1888, 1893, 1894, 1912	1838, 1870–1902, 1912	1838, 1870 ^f	1912 ^f		1887
Louisiana		1898	1898		1879	
Maine					1881	1869
Maryland						1868
Massachusetts	1879	1879	1879		1874	
Michigan	1855, 1875, 1885	1855	1855			1867
Minnesota	1875, 1878, 1885	1875		1875 ^f	1875	
Mississippi	1878, 1880	1878	1878			1878
Missouri						1889
Montana	1887, 1889	1883	1883		1883	
Nebraska	1869, 1875, 1881, 1883	1867	1867			1867
Nevada	1914 ^a	1914 ^a			1889	
New Hampshire	1878	1878		1878	1872	1870
New Jersey	1887–1894	1887		1887	1874	
New Mexico	1910	1910		1910 ^f	1910	
New York	1880	1880		1880	1880	
North Carolina		1901	1901			

State	Female school suffrage adoption per literature ^a	Adoption of school suffrage from legislative records ^b	Adoption of school suffrage for taxpayers and/or parents/guardians ^b	Adoption of school suffrage provisions naming women without taxpayer or parent limitations ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding with explicit gender reference ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding without explicit gender reference ^b
North Dakota	1883, 1887, 1889	1879	1879		1883	1875
Ohio	1894	1894		1894	1894	
Oklahoma	1890	1890		1890		1890
Oregon	1878, 1882	1862	1862		1882	
Pennsylvania					1873	
Rhode Island						1842
South Carolina		1889	1889			
South Dakota	1883, 1887, 1889	1879	1879		1883	1875
Tennessee					1889	1873
Texas						1870
Utah	1870 ^c	1863, 1870–1887 ^c , 1896 ^c	1863		1896 ^c	
Vermont	1880	1880		1880	1880	
Virginia						
Washington	1890	1858-1860, 1871, 1877, 1883-1887 ^c , 1888 ^c , 1890	1873		1877	1855
West Virginia						1877
Wisconsin	1885, 1886, 1900	1886		1886	1875	
Wyoming	1869 ^c	1869 ^c	1869		1869 ^c	

Note: This table compares the data found in scholarly literature with the earliest legislative dates for both women's educational office holding and female school suffrage. These are differentiated as to whether adoptions exclusively mention women without further qualification or use terms such as *taxpayer*, *parent*, *person(s)*, *resident*, *inhabitant(s)*, or *parent* to define qualifications. Even when legislative or constitutional provision explicitly granted women the right to vote on school matters or hold educational offices, conflicting provisions and court challenges may have limited their actual effect.

^a Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 365; and Michael Callahan Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of America," *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (April 2012): 24–56.

^b These are the earliest dates found by the author. Multiple dates reflect major changes in a state's school suffrage provisions. Earlier dates may exist. Women were likely elected to local school offices before they were legislatively granted the right to hold such offices, even in states where no such privilege ever legally existed.

^c Adopted full woman suffrage.

^d Report by the commissioner of education indicated widows or female guardians of children have the right to serve as school trustees. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894–95*, vol. 1 [William T. Harris, Commissioner] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 960. No such provision located in Florida legislative or court records to verify.

^e Provisions adopted in 1892 were preserved when Hawaii officially became a US territory in 1900.

^f Legislation included restrictions related to citizenship, race, literacy, time, and/or place of election.

School suffrage adoptions prior to 1875

Initially the extension of voting rights to women on school matters originated during the antebellum period and continued through Reconstruction. During this period, the legislature in eleven states modified state school laws to allow certain classes of women to vote on school matters while generally limiting such votes to school taxes. All of the school suffrage extensions were done by statute and only one did not appear in state or territorial school laws. Although these provisions appeared across states and regions, woman suffrage advocates at the time and recent scholars have generally pointed to adoption of such laws in only two states, Kentucky and Kansas.³⁰ Despite the appearance of clusters of states adopting school suffrage provisions across the nation, in only one case does there appear to be a direct link between adoptions in one state and those in a neighboring state. In only one case, Kansas, was there evidence that woman rights supporters' active campaign likely influenced the adoption of school suffrage rights.

Kentucky's adoption of tax suffrage for widows and single women in 1838 was the earliest school law change that extended suffrage to specific classes of women. The school voting provisions adopted by Kentucky actually granted individuals who controlled taxable property (including widows, single women, and guardians responsible for property-owning minors) the right to vote on school tax issues, thus extending school voting rights to all individuals responsible for school taxes.³¹ These provisions were part of the 1838 law establishing a system of common schools in the state of Kentucky.³² Preceding the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls by over ten years, Kentucky's 1838 extension ended up being

³⁰ "Seventy-Two Years of Woman Suffrage all the World Over," *Tacoma (WA) Times*, February 15, 1919, 8.

³¹ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Frankfort, KY: A. G. Hodges, State Printer, 1838), 274-282.

³² William Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky* (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 23.

co-opted by the woman suffrage movement as proof of gains toward woman suffrage.³³ A search of state session laws revealed eight additional territories and states with similar provisions explicitly giving taxpayers, most specifically naming widows, the right to vote on school matters before the end of Reconstruction (see Figure 1).³⁴ A ninth state, Indiana, chose to extend such rights to women who were heads of household with children. In each case, the voting extensions were specific to women with a stake in their local schools because they paid taxes or had children attending the schools. At the same time, women receiving those extensions did not receive them in addition to a male partner. They received them because they had no man in the household to act for them.

European nations began extending tax suffrage to women earlier than many US states. The popular press in the United States used these as examples to support adopting these rights in their own localities.³⁵ During the 1850s, the German Duchy of Brunswick, Transvaal, Prussia, Westphalia, and Bohemia adopted voting rights for certain classes of women (usually only taxpayers and often by proxy).³⁶ Sweden adopted municipal suffrage in 1862 for taxpaying woman while giving them the right to serve on school and parochial boards (except in

³³ Even woman suffrage activists disagreed as to when and where the active campaign for women's rights originated. See Lisa Tetrault, *The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1898* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014), in particular 1-18.

³⁴ Efforts related to taxpayer suffrage adoptions are beyond the scope of this study. As with school suffrage, scholarship related to partial suffrage provisions including taxpayer suffrage has been generally aligned with full woman suffrage. During the period of this study Montana passed tax suffrage for women in 1889 and Louisiana did so in 1898. Iowa passed bond suffrage (a form of tax suffrage) in 1894. For example, see Carolyn C. Jones, "Dollars and Selves: Women's Tax Criticism and Resistance in the 1870s," *University of Illinois Law Review* 1994, no. 2 (Spring 1994), 265-309; and Juliana Tutt, "'No Taxation Without Representation' in the American Woman Suffrage Movement," *Stanford Law Review* 62, no. 5 (May 2010): 1473-1512.

³⁵ "Women on School Boards," *Daily (Little Rock) Arkansas Gazette*, February 16, 1877, 2; A. Williamson, "Women as School Trustees," (*Washington, DC*) *Evening Star*, November 17, 1879, 1; "Women as School Directors," (*New Orleans*) *Times-Democrat*, June 10, 1892, 4.

³⁶ P. Orman Ray, "The World-Wide Woman Suffrage Movement," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* 1, no. 1 (January 1919): 220-22.



Figure 1: Specific classes of women granted the right to vote on school matters between 1838 and 1874

Stockholm).³⁷ By 1869, widows and women living separately from their husbands could vote if they owed taxes.³⁸ In England and Wales, widows and single women who were taxpayers were granted municipal suffrage beginning in 1869, and then received the right to vote on and hold school offices in 1870.³⁹ Closer to home, Upper Canada extended suffrage rights to taxpaying women in 1851.⁴⁰

By the late nineteenth century, most tax revenues generated in the United States came from property taxes, with almost 72 percent of state revenues and 92 percent of local government revenues, including school taxes, generated through such taxes.⁴¹ Legislatures' dealt with raising school taxes in a variety of ways. Frequently it meant that those individuals responsible for

³⁷ Ray, "The World-Wide Woman Suffrage Movement."

³⁸ "Female Suffrage, *Albany (OR) Register*, July 31, 1869, 2.

³⁹ Ray, "The World-Wide Woman Suffrage Movement," 223.

⁴⁰ "Progress of the Age," (*New Orleans*) *Daily Crescent*, February 6, 1851, 2; (*Baltimore, MD*) *Daily Exchange*, February 24, 1860, 2; and Hugh Owen, Jr., *The Elementary Act, 1870* (London: Knight and Company, 1870), 42n1, 43.

⁴¹ Dietrich Vollrath, "Inequality and School Funding in the Rural United States, 1890," *Explorations in Economic History* 50, no. 2 (April 2013): 267.

paying property taxes had the opportunity to vote on tax-related issues even if they were not eligible to vote on other matters. This was the case in Kentucky in 1838. Other states recognized that tax payers had a vested interest in additional school matters. Overlooked by suffragists, Oregon's 1862 law allowed widows with children and taxable property to vote not just on taxes but on any issue that came before the annual school meeting.⁴²

Geographically, these extensions occurred across the nation although six of the ten states and territories extending voting rights to women responsible for paying taxes were west of the Mississippi. In only one case did it appear that a state adopted voting rights extensions based on earlier extensions adopted by a neighboring state when Colorado adopted provisions in 1870 with the exact wording used in Wyoming in 1869. In most cases the differences in the provisions suggest the possibility of common concerns but little or no cross-pollination until after the Civil War. In all except one case, Utah, the provisions were part of the state's common school laws instead of those related to suffrage and elections. Some states, such as Michigan, initially allowed taxpayers to vote just on school taxes, but later expanded that right to include voting on other school matters such as school trustees.⁴³ While Indiana extended school voting to widows with children regardless of whether they owned taxable property, Oregon only did so for widows with children and taxable property.⁴⁴ Adopted after the end of the Civil War, Nebraska's school suffrage law extended school voting to inhabitants meeting age and residency requirements who were liable for school district taxes.⁴⁵ This legislation opened voting on school matters at the

⁴² *The Code of Civil Procedure, and Other General Statutes of Oregon* (Oregon: Asahel Bush, State Printer, 1863), 42.

⁴³ *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan Passed at the Regular Session of 1855* (Lansing, MI: Geo. W. Peck, Printer to the State, 1855) 44-45.

⁴⁴ *Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the Forty-First Regular Session of the General Assembly* (Indianapolis: Berry R. Sulgrove, State Printer, 1861), 72; and *The Code of Civil Procedure and Other General Statutes of Oregon* (Oregon: Asahel Bush, State Printer, 1863), 42.

⁴⁵ *Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed at the First, Second and Third Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska* (Omaha: St. A. D. Balcombe, Public Printer, 1867), 104.

school district level not only to women but also to recent immigrants who had not yet gained citizenship yet were responsible for paying school taxes. Appearing in a statute related to voting rights for taxpayers, Utah's law extending voting rights for taxpayers specifically addressed school taxes raised to pay teachers' salaries and purchase suitable school books.⁴⁶

Four of the eleven jurisdictions extending school suffrage to certain classes of women prior to 1875 did so as territories. Laws passed by their legislative bodies were subject to veto both by appointed territorial governors and the U.S. Congress, but no evidence of such interventions related to female school suffrage has been found. Suffragists and scholars have incorrectly assumed that the adoption of full woman suffrage in Wyoming Territory in 1869 meant that women had the right to vote at all elections. In reality, while women had full political rights relative to general elections, school legislation passed during the same 1869 legislative session limited voting at school meetings to taxpayers who were citizens over twenty-one, met residency requirements, and were liable for school taxes. Individuals meeting this combined set of requirements, "and none others, shall be deemed qualified electors at school meetings held within such [school] district."⁴⁷ Clearly, the Wyoming legislature differentiated between general elections and school voting. The following year, in 1870, Colorado Territory adopted the exact same wording in legislation amending the territory's school laws defining the qualified voters for the territory's school elections.⁴⁸ This action provides explicit evidence that legislatures sometimes "borrowed" from other states and territories in writing laws related to school voting.

In 1871 the Washington Territorial legislature explicitly denied women the right to vote declaring that "hereafter no female shall have the right of ballot or vote at any poll or election

⁴⁶ *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, Public Printer, 1864), 46.

⁴⁷ *General Laws, Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Wyoming Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Cheyenne: S. Allan Bristol, Public Printer, 1870), 223, 371.

⁴⁸ *General Laws, Joint Resolutions, Memorials and Private Acts, Passed at the Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Colorado* (Central City, CO: Register Book and Job Print, 1870), 100-101.

precinct in this Territory, until the Congress of the United States of America shall, by direct legislation upon the same, declare the same to be the supreme law of the land.”⁴⁹ That same year, the territorial legislature defined those qualified to vote at school meetings as “legal voters.”⁵⁰ At the next legislative session, in 1873, qualified voters for school meetings became defined as every inhabitant over the age of twenty-one, who met residency requirements, and “who shall have paid or be liable to pay any tax except road tax in said district, “and no other person shall be allowed to vote.”⁵¹ In 1877, to clarify the meaning of inhabitants and taxpayers, the legislature changed the definition of qualified voters at school meetings to “every inhabitant male or female” liable for any taxes paid within the district except poll and road taxes.⁵² Thus, over the course of the 1870s, Washington went from explicitly denying women the right to vote to explicitly allowing taxpaying women to vote on school matters.

Surprisingly, early voting rights extensions for limited classes of women also occurred in the South. Florida’s act to establish a common school system in 1848 included the provision “that every person who is liable to taxation upon his property, shall have the right to vote at such meeting.”⁵³ Although the law did not specifically mention women as eligible voters at school district meetings, they were not expressly forbidden either. Due to the common-law tradition of coverture, in which a married woman’s legal rights and obligations were subsumed by her husband, generally only widows and single women paid taxes. Southern states, meanwhile,

⁴⁹ *Statutes of the Territory of Washington* (Olympia: Prosch & McElroy, Printers, 1871), 175-176.

⁵⁰ *Statutes of the Territory of Washington* (1871), 12.

⁵¹ *Laws of the Territory of Washington Enacted by the Legislative Assembly in the Year A.D.1873* (Olympia: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1873), 435.

⁵² *Laws of the Territory of Washington Enacted by the Legislative Assembly in the Year 1877* (Olympia: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1877), 268.

⁵³ *The Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee: Office of the Florida Sentinel, Printed by Joseph Clisby, 1849), 29.

beginning in 1839, were the first to adopt laws granting married women property rights separate from their husbands.⁵⁴

Of the eleven states extending school suffrage to certain classes of women, only Kansas did so in response to active campaigning by women seeking the expansion of women's rights. None of the other states adopting such provisions during the antebellum and war period appear to have had such involvement. Clarina Nichols, a leading woman's right proponent, played a central role in making sure that women's rights were addressed at the 1859 constitutional convention.⁵⁵ Along with several other women's rights proposals, she advocated for a constitutional provision guaranteeing women's equality in school affairs. During convention debates that focused on the need to create a strong education system, W. R. Griffith, a participant in the 1859 Kansas Constitutional Convention held at Wyandotte, Kansas, conceded:

That our sisters and wives take more interest in the cause of education than ourselves. Let woman have an equal voice in the schools—in determining how many months they shall be kept, who shall be officers, and what shall be the amount of tax for the support of schools, and we shall inaugurate a more efficient school system than has ever yet bless this most favored land. I consider that the matter of conferring upon females the elective franchise is of minor importance compared with this.⁵⁶

Despite the efforts of Nichols and her supporters, the convention delegates only included that the "Legislature, in providing for the formation and regulation of schools, shall make no

⁵⁴ This remained true in most states during the nineteenth century until the passage of married women's property rights laws. The southern states were the earliest states to adopt such rights, with Mississippi doing so in 1839. See Nancy F. Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830–1934," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 5 (December 1998): 1440–74; and James W. Ely Jr. and David J. Bodenhamer, "Regionalism and American Legal History: The Southern Experience," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 39 (1986): 539–67.

⁵⁵ For information on Clarina Howard Nichols's efforts obtaining women's rights in both Vermont and Kansas, see Marilyn Schultz Blackwell, "Meddling in Politics: Clarina Howard Nichols and Antebellum Political Culture," *Journal of the Early Republic* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 27–63.

⁵⁶ *Kansas Constitutional Convention* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, Imri Zumwalt, State Printer, 1920), 137. For more information on the efforts of Clarina Howard Nichols in advocating the inclusion of women's school voting rights in the Kansas territorial constitution, see Blackwell, "Meddling in Politics"; and Blackwell "The Politics of Motherhood."

distinction between males and females.”⁵⁷ The state’s first legislative session in 1861, as part of the state’s common school laws, further clarified that women with the right to vote on school matters were white women, over twenty-one who were residents of the school district and not otherwise disqualified.⁵⁸ References during Kansas’s 1859 constitutional convention to women’s superior abilities as they related to the education of children foreshadowed similar arguments that women’s rights advocates would use in lobbying for female school suffrage after the end of Reconstruction.

A Shifting Focus? - School Suffrage from 1875 - 1886

The years from 1875 and 1886 proved to be the interval with the largest number of states adopting or modifying school suffrage provisions. The twelve states adopting initial school suffrage provisions during the period are shown in **Error! Reference source not found.** An analysis of the provisions adopted during the period further suggests a shift in the factors shaping such extensions. While just under half of the states and territories adopting school suffrage provisions during the period continued to extend voting rights only to limited classes of women (taxpayers), nearly an equal number of states and territories extended at least partial suffrage to women *as women* more broadly. Additionally, a number of states that had adopted school suffrage prior to 1875 modified their school suffrage legislation to open suffrage to more classes of voters. State courts also began to be involved in both defining and limiting women’s involvement in school voting. Geographically, a significant concentration of school suffrage activity occurred in the Upper West. As will be shown below, however, the process was neither lineal nor universal. The following discussion considers the range and variety of school suffrage

⁵⁷ *Constitution of the State of Kansas*, Adopted at Wyandotte, July 29, 1859, Article 2, Section 23.
<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/90272>

⁵⁸ *General Laws of the State of Kansas, Passed at the First Session of the Legislature* (Lawrence: Kansas State Journal Steam Power Press Print, 1861), 260-261.

provisions adopted between 1875 and 1886. It then turns to the role the courts played during the period in shaping women's voting rights relative to school matters.



Figure 2: Specific classes of women granted the right to vote on school matters between 1875 and 1886

Although attention to issues of education and suffrage in this period occurred nationwide, territories of the Upper West became a particular locus of school suffrage activity. Three territories (Idaho, Montana, and Dakota Territory) added to the already existing cluster of territories that had extended school voting rights only to taxpaying women the previous fifteen years. All three adopted school suffrage provisions between 1879 and 1883 that were similar to provisions adopted in Wyoming in 1869 and Washington in 1873. In each case the extension of voting on school matters was limited to taxpaying women and appeared in the territories' school laws.⁵⁹ Outside of the Upper West, three additional states extended school voting to certain

⁵⁹ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1877*, 268-269; *General Laws, and Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Dakota* (Yankton, DT: J. C. Trask, 1879), 42; and *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of*

classes of women who could be best defined as having a non-monetary interest in the schools. The Mississippi legislature adopted a unique provision regarding who could vote for school district officers in 1878. Based on the idea that those individuals who had the most interest in the public schools were actually the patrons of those schools, Mississippi limited voting for school district officers exclusively to school patrons.⁶⁰ In 1881, both Michigan and Nebraska extended the right to vote at school meetings to include not just taxpayers, as in previous legislation, but to parents as well--to parents of school children in Michigan, and to women with children in Nebraska.⁶¹

Frequently cited by women suffrage advocates and subsequent scholars as creating inroads for the expansion of full woman suffrage, the Massachusetts school suffrage campaign in 1879 actually only opened voting exclusively for school directors to women who had either paid a poll tax or who had direct interest in taxable property. Additionally, only women, but not their male colleagues, annually had to provide evidence in person of tax payments to maintain the registration status necessary to vote for school officers.⁶²

School suffrage and general women's suffrage intersected during the period in two states that had previously extended school voting to female taxpayers, but Colorado and Washington followed somewhat different trajectories. In Washington Territory, school suffrage provisions developed first as part of broader efforts to reform school laws during the 1870s. In 1873, the territorial legislature opened school voting to all inhabitants liable for pay taxes except road

Montana, Passed at the Thirteenth Regular Session (Helena, MT: Geo. E. Boos, Public Printer and Binder, 1883), 53-57.

⁶⁰ *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature* (Jackson, MS: Power & Barksdale, State Printers, 1878), 102.

⁶¹ *Public Acts and joint and Concurrent Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular Session of 1881* (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1881), 168; and *Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska at the Sixteenth Session* (Omaha: Henry Gibson, State Printer, 1881), 338-339.

⁶² *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1879* (Boston: Rand, Aberg, Printers to the Commonwealth, 1879), 559-60.

taxes.⁶³ Ten years later, in 1883, after several years of lobbying, the Washington Territorial legislature adopted full woman suffrage.⁶⁴ This opened additional school offices (county and state superintendent) for which women could vote. Full woman suffrage was legally contested at the outset, however, and had a short life when the territorial Supreme Court declared the full suffrage provision unconstitutional in 1887.⁶⁵ During the years of full suffrage, women continued to be excluded from voting on local school matters unless they were liable for paying taxes beyond poll and road taxes. At the same session in 1883 the Washington legislature passed full woman suffrage, legislators reinforced the 1873 provision limiting voting at school elections to “every inhabitant, male or female, over the age of twenty-one years, ... who shall have paid, or be liable to pay any tax, except poll or road tax in said district.”⁶⁶

Colorado expanded school suffrage rights in 1876 from tax paying citizens to citizens regardless of gender.⁶⁷ The 1876 adoption was historically noteworthy in at least two ways. First, it represented one of the first times that suffrage campaigns had a direct influence in the adoption of school suffrage in a state. Second, it was one of the first times that school suffrage provisions were incorporated into laws focused on subjects related to elections and suffrage rather than as part of a state or territory’s school laws. Advocates for woman suffrage spoke before Colorado’s Constitutional Convention in 1876 only to have their efforts essentially ignored by most of the convention delegates as they repeatedly delayed discussions on the topic.⁶⁸ Henry P. H.

⁶³ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1873*, 435.

⁶⁴ *Laws of the Territory of Washington, Enacted by the Legislative Assembly* (Olympia, WA: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1883), 39-40.

⁶⁵ *Session Laws of Washington Enacted by the First State Legislature, Session of 1889-90* (Olympia: O. C. White, State Printer, 1890), 377.

⁶⁶ *Laws of the Territory of Washington* (1883), 12.

⁶⁷ *General Laws, Joint Resolutions, Memorials and Private Acts Passed at the Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Colorado* (Central City, CO: Register Book and Job Printer, 1870), 100; and *General Laws of the State of Colorado* (Denver: Tribune Steam Printing House, 1877), 52.

⁶⁸ Rebecca Mead, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 54-56.

Bromwell and Agipeta Vigil (the only delegate of Mexican descent) presented a minority report supporting the idea of woman suffrage but proposed allowing women to vote at school elections as an alternative. In so doing they acknowledged that their proposal for woman suffrage was more symbolic than practical. In their minority report they wrote that the effort was “not a magnanimous movement; for it appears to recognize a right without the determination to establish it.”⁶⁹ Concerned that granting voting rights to all persons regardless of gender might prevent the approval of the proposed constitution, convention delegates opted to require Colorado’s first legislative session to submit the question of woman suffrage to the voters.⁷⁰ Instead, following the recommendation of the minority report to the Committee of Elections and Suffrage, Colorado’s 1876 constitution provided “that no person shall be denied the right to vote at any school district election, nor to hold any school district office, on account of sex.”⁷¹ Limiting women’s voting rights to local school matters, Colorado became an early adopter in extending school suffrage rights to women as a matter of constitutional principle when the constitution was adopted in July 1876.

Meanwhile, Minnesota undertook a multi-step process to expand and institutionalize school suffrage for women in its constitution becoming the first state to do so. Minnesota’s legislative decision in 1875 to extend school voting rights to women in general was an early example of efforts to expand school voting beyond just taxpayers and/or parents. According to Sarah Burger Stearns, the Minnesota legislature wanted to grant Minnesota’s women rights similar to those received in other states. Instead of incorporating female school suffrage into the state’s school laws, however, the lawmakers opted to pass a resolution, which if affirmed by the

⁶⁹ *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention Held in Denver, December 20, 1875 to Frame a Constitution for the State of Colorado* (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Press, State Printer, 1907), 271.

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention Held in Denver*, 730.

⁷¹ “Constitution of the State of Colorado,” Article VII, Section I in *General Laws of the State of Colorado* (1877), 51-52.

state's voters, would amend the state's constitution and allow women to both vote on school matters and hold school offices.⁷² The constitutional change passed at the November 1875 election with 24,340 male voters supporting it and 19,468 opposing it. The legislature passed the legislation needed to finalize the constitutional change on March 1, 1876.⁷³

The majority of the school suffrage extensions between 1875 and 1886 occurred without direct campaigns by woman suffrage organizations. There were exceptions and all of these states adopted provisions that granted women school suffrage without limitations related to taxpaying or parental status. New Hampshire, home of the first organized woman suffrage organization, passed unambiguous legislation in August of 1878 declaring "any person, whether male or female, but in all respects except sex qualified to vote in town affairs, may vote at school-district meetings" if they met specific residency requirements.⁷⁴ In Wisconsin a clear link existed between woman suffragists and advocacy for female school suffrage. Woman suffrage supporters hoped to use school suffrage provisions as a test of the acceptability of full woman suffrage to the state's voters. Instead of passing legislation to be signed into the law by the governor, Wisconsin's legislature opted to use a ballot measure asking the state's voters to approve the law. The campaign supporting the measure centered on linking women's voting on school questions to school reform.⁷⁵ Regardless of the supposed educational benefits, not all educators supported the proposal. Wisconsin's state teacher association made no

⁷² Sarah Burger Stearns, "Minnesota," *History of Woman Suffrage vol. 3* ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1886), 652—653; and *General Laws of the State of Minnesota, Passed During the Seventeenth Session of the State Legislature* (St. Paul: The Pioneer-Press Company, 1875), 17-19.

⁷³ *General Laws of the State of Minnesota, Passed During the Eighteenth Session of the State Legislature* (St. Paul, John Jay Lemon, State Printer, 1876), 29-30.

⁷⁴ *Laws of the State of New Hampshire* (Manchester, NH: John B. Clarke, State Printer, 1878), 176. For information on the New Hampshire woman suffrage organization see: *A Brief History of the New Hampshire Woman Suffrage Association* (Concord, NH: Rumford Printing Company, 1907).

⁷⁵ For a brief overview of the history of woman suffrage in Wisconsin, see Theodora W. Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 5, no. 1 (September 1921): 3-32.

recommendation on the measure after some members voiced their opposition to the proposal.⁷⁶

The ballot measure passed with nearly 53 percent of the male voters voting in favor of the school suffrage provision.

Beyond those states with active woman suffrage supporters, two additional states also adopted female school suffrage specific to women without additional qualifiers (such as tax paying) outside of residency. In 1883, the territorial legislature of Arizona declared that “no person shall be denied the right to vote at any school district election ... on account of sex,” thereby essentially following the precedent and language of Colorado’s earlier provision.⁷⁷ In New Jersey school voting was granted to every citizen over the age twenty-one meeting specific residency requirements the right to vote at any school district meeting.⁷⁸

Legislative action was not only way that school suffrage extensions were defined from 1875 to 1886. State courts began to interrupt legislative intent as well. This was the case in 1875 when the Kansas Supreme Court addressed the question of the constitutionality of extending women the right to vote at school district elections. This was the first time adjudication of the question went as far as a state’s top court. In an election for school district treasurer, two men received the same number of votes. The incumbent continued in the position because of the tie vote. One of the candidates challenged the voting’s outcome because more women had voted for one candidate than his opponent, arguing that since women were constitutionally not legal voters the challenger had actually won. The Kansas Supreme Court sided with John Brady, the incumbent, acknowledging that the state’s Constitution did not provide for either school district elections nor selection of school district officers indicating “it would seem that the Legislature

⁷⁶ “Annual Meeting of the Wisconsin Teachers’ Association,” *Wisconsin Journal of Education* 16, no. 8 (August 1886): 345-346.

⁷⁷ *Laws of the Territory of Arizona Twelfth Legislative Assembly; Memorials and Resolutions* (Prescott, AZ, Daily and Weekly Arizona Miner, Steam-Printing Office, 1883), 43-44.

⁷⁸ *Acts of the One Hundred and Eleventh Legislature of the State of New Jersey* (Camden, NJ: Courier Publishing Association, 1887), 149.

would have complete power over the matter; that the Legislature might provide for the election or appointment of school-district officers, as it should choose.”⁷⁹ Later court cases in other states regarding women’s right to vote on school matters hinged on the same concept. If the state’s constitution did not address questions related to school elections, the state’s legislature had the right to determine all matters related to those elections. For example, in 1886 the Nebraska Supreme Court ruled in *State v. Cones* that women had the right to both vote for and to hold the office of school trustee given that the office was not enumerated in the state constitution. In their ruling, the court recognized women’s role as educators to further justify their decision writing that “the continued existence of free government depends to a great extent upon the intelligence, love of right, and good morals of the people. That women are successful educators is fully shown by experience, and the common law permitted them to fill any office of an administrative character the duties of which they were competent to discharge.”⁸⁰

Not all courts found in the favor of expanding women’s voting rights on school matters. In 1886, Michigan’s court narrowed those school offices on which women could vote when in *Mudge v. Jones* the court agreed that the legislature failed to define voter qualifications at the time they created city boards of education. Given that elections for those officers were held at the same time as other city officers it was therefore necessary to assume that the voters for members of the boards of education were the same those for other city offices.⁸¹ Additional court decisions during the following two decades further narrowed the application of school suffrage legislation.

The fact that half of the states adopting school suffrage legislation between 1875 and 1886 extended school voting rights to women generally, without additional qualifications, appeared to have represented a shift in how school suffrage was perceived. There was a growing

⁷⁹ *Wheeler v. Brady*, 15 Kan. 26 (1875) at 32.

⁸⁰ *State v. Cones*, 15 Neb. 444 (1884).

⁸¹ *Mudge v. Jones*, 59 Mich. 165 (1886).

belief that concerns about public education went beyond just financial matters and therefore required the close attention of those who had direct interest in the welfare of school children. In his presentation to the American Social Science Association in 1879, Harvard professor Andrew Peabody argued that while politics were intrinsically unfeminine and outside of a woman's appropriate sphere, the schooling of children fell within women's sphere of influence. By providing women the "full influence, authority and power in the management of schools and the choice of the functionaries," they would have an avenue to use their skills while limiting their involvement in concerns outside of their proper sphere.⁸² At the same time, because of women's direct interest in children and the schools, the conditions related to public schools would improve. Arguments regarding women's ability to initiate and follow through on school reforms foreshadowed school suffrage campaigns during the Progressive Era, particularly in those states with active suffrage organizations although fewer states were added to the list of school suffrage adopters.

School Suffrage in the Progressive Era – 1887-1920

It was during the Progressive Era that campaigns for and against full women's suffrage began to shape school suffrage debates more consistently. Further divisions over political strategy developed within the woman suffrage movement regarding the advisability of campaigning for partial suffrage provisions in the hope that adoptions of partial suffrage would lead to full suffrage. In the context of the 1890s this difference widened and became even more contested. Some thought that school suffrage provided valuable proof that women could handle voting without detriment to themselves or their homes. Other suffrage supporters questioned

⁸² A[ndrew] P. Peabody, "The Voting of Women in School Elections," *Journal of Social Science* 10 (December 1879): 44.

whether they should seek any form of partial suffrage, believing it weakened the claim to “the whole loaf.”⁸³ After the failed 1893 campaign in Kansas, even Susan B Anthony, an early advocate for seeking partial suffrage, began to see partial suffrage as hampering efforts to secure full suffrage.⁸⁴

During this period, those opposed to woman suffrage also began to organize. Formal anti-suffrage protests occurred in New York in 1894, followed by the creation of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women in 1895, and the Illinois Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women in 1897.⁸⁵ Although these organizations formally opposed woman suffrage, they frequently supported the idea of school suffrage. A pamphlet outlining arguments against suffrage, included the fact they had never opposed local school suffrage because “the subject of schools is one of deep and legitimate interest to women; and, while we do not believe that the wisest and most efficacious way for this interest to be manifested is through the ballot, still, from its purely local nature, they might vote upon it with little detriment to their other duties.”⁸⁶ It is within these conflicting ideas about woman suffrage that states adopted female school suffrage legislation during this period.

At the same time, education reformers, particularly those attached to city schools, normal schools, and universities, shifted the discussions regarding public school supervision particularly relative to the growth of city schools.⁸⁷ Mirroring the growing “social efficiency model”

⁸³ "Missouri Woman Suffrage Association," *Woman's Journal*, November 30, 1880, 1.

⁸⁴ Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1898). 798.

⁸⁵ For more on these efforts see: Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013); Thomas Jablonsky, “Female Opposition: The Anti-Suffrage Campaign,” in *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* ed. Jean H. Baker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 118-129.

⁸⁶ “Anti-Suffrage Movement,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, January 26, 1898, 6.

⁸⁷ For an example of early discussions see: Andrew S. Draper, “School Administration in Large Cities,” *Addresses Delivered Before the New York State Teachers’ Association ... 1889* (Albany, NY: James B. Lyon, Printer, 1889), 5-37.

advocated for business and other social services, certain (mostly male) administrators and education reformers called for school centralization, standardization, and professionalization of the education profession.⁸⁸ Additionally, they demanded changes in how city school trustees and city superintendents were selected. Similar changes focused on school centralization, bureaucratization and appropriate supervision also influenced reforms in more rural schools outside of city districts. For these reasons, understanding and interpreting female school suffrage provisions adopted during the period between 1890 and 1920 involves an additional level of complexity. Unlike previous periods, these adoptions occurred more in the Midwest and southern parts of the country (see Figure 3). This is likely because most other states supporting such adoptions had already done so. State laws continued to represent two different mindsets relative to women's right to vote on school matters. The first, represented by the majority of those states with such provisions, granted voting rights to those individuals deemed to have a vested interest in the schools. Most often these were taxpayers although states increasingly added provisions including parents of school children. The second group of states extended school voting rights to women in general. Each of these states had a strong history of activists advocating for women's rights particularly suffrage.

Woman suffrage advocates netted varied results in their campaigns during this period. Organizations with woman suffrage ties had actively lobbied their state legislatures for full woman suffrage in over half of those states ultimately adopting some form of female school suffrage during the 1890s. In many of these states, it was not state woman suffrage organizations

⁸⁸ For an introduction to this movement, see: Tyack, *The One Best System*, 126-147.



Figure 3: Specific classes of women granted the right to vote on school matters between 1886 and 1920

that directly lobbied for school suffrage but state temperance organizations particularly those affiliated with the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Frances Willard, president of the national WCTU had called for, in 1889, a concerted campaign by state affiliates to organize efforts to lobby for at least school suffrage.⁸⁹ The Illinois WCTU drafted the Democrat-sponsored female school suffrage granting women the right to vote on elective school offices in 1891.⁹⁰ The Illinois Women's Suffrage Association's attempt to gain full woman suffrage during that same legislative session had failed earlier. Almost immediately after passage anti-suffragists challenged the constitutionality of the law.⁹¹ The following year, the Illinois Supreme Court

⁸⁹ Francis Myron Whitaker, *A History of the Ohio Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1920* (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1971), 360.

⁹⁰ Steven M. Buechler, *The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 149.

⁹¹ Jennifer M. Ross-Nazzari, *Winning the West for Women: The Life of Suffragist Emma Smith Devoe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 65.

ruled that women were only eligible to vote for those school offices not specified in the constitution.⁹² This included the right to vote for the position of county superintendents, an educational office that had been opened to women beginning in 1873. Attempts to reverse the act in 1893 failed. At the same time, the Illinois Supreme Court in *Plummer v. Yost* declared that the legislature had the right to define who could vote on school matters including officers except for those defined by the state's constitution.⁹³

Much like Illinois, women in Iowa had long been elected as educational officers including county superintendent without any form of woman suffrage. Woman suffrage supporters had lobbied unsuccessfully for suffrage extensions on numerous occasions including 1890 when four different bills related to woman suffrage were introduced during the legislative session, including one on school suffrage that failed twenty-nine to fifty-three. In 1894, Iowa's Woman Suffrage Association made a concerted effort to gain passage of municipal and school suffrage provisions through organizing local associations, letter writing campaigns and petition drives.⁹⁴ Despite all of their efforts, the only legislation that passed as a bill granting women the right to vote only at elections regarding the issuing of municipal or school bonds, borrowing money, or on increasing tax levies.⁹⁵ Iowa passed one of the narrowest school suffrage provisions adopted since Reconstruction.

Unlike Iowa and Illinois where women could be elected as school officers but could not vote, Ohio had no such provision for women's election despite efforts to include one in the

⁹² *Ahrens v. English*, 139 Ill. 622 (1892); also known as *People v. English*.

⁹³ *Plummer v. Yost*, 144 Ill. 68 (1893).

⁹⁴ Ruth A. Gallaher, *Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa* (PhD diss, University of Iowa, 1918), 200-202.

⁹⁵ *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Regular Session of the Twenty-fifth General Assembly of the State of Iowa* (Des Moines, IA: Geo. H. Ragsdale, State Printer, 1894), 47.

constitutional changes proposed in 1874.⁹⁶ Like both states, the state's Woman Suffrage Association played a role in the passage of school suffrage provisions in the early 1890s. Sarah Shrader, in her report on legislative work, told the association's 1893 convention, "I know there is a general feeling throughout the ranks of suffragist that we are wasting time with school suffrage. The experience of two years before the legislature has taught me different."⁹⁷ Shrader recognized that success in gaining at least partial suffrage, like school suffrage, would result in increasing both organizational strength and financial resources necessary for a more concerted campaign for full woman suffrage.

The Ohio House initially rejected a female school suffrage bill during the 1894 session but, according to the *Belmont Chronicle* "the statesmen seem to have discovered that they were on the unpopular side of the question and to get right, were willing to reverse their former action."⁹⁸ It was suggested that the proposal was a compromise for the house's failure to pass the local option temperance.⁹⁹ The law "to secure a voice in school affairs to the women of Ohio on equal terms with men" addressed concerns that had arisen in other states, particularly Wisconsin, by requiring women register to vote just like their male colleagues and that women's ballots were to be deposited into separate ballot boxes specifically for the school officers.¹⁰⁰ Soon after the passage of the law, Ohio's commissioner of education hoped "the women of Ohio ... will take advantage of the power granted them under the new law, and aid in removing from the management of the public schools that narrow partisanship which, in some localities, is their

⁹⁶ *The Proposed Constitution of 1874*, 206

<https://www.law.csuohio.edu/sites/default/files/lawlibrary/ohioconlaw/PropConst1874.pdf>; and "The New Constitution," *The (McArthur, OH) Vinton Record*, August 20, 1874, 2.

⁹⁷ Sarah E. Shrader, "Report of Legislative Work," *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association ... 1893* ed. Caroline McCullough Everhard and Katharine B. Claypole ([Ohio]:Ohio Woman Suffrage Association,1893), 51.

⁹⁸ (*St. Clairsville, OH) Belmont Chronicle*, May 3, 1894, 2.

⁹⁹ "Our Columbus Letter," (*Napoleon, OH) Democratic Northwest and Henry County News*, May 3, 1894, 5.

¹⁰⁰ *The State of Ohio General and Local Acts Passed and Joint Resolutions Adopted by the Seventy-first General Assembly vol. 91* (Norwalk, OH: Laning Printing Company, State Printers, 1894), 182.

greatest curse.”¹⁰¹ While the woman suffrage supporters worked for partial suffrage as a step toward full suffrage, professional educators hoped that women’s involvement as voters, and educational office holders, would reform the schools.

Several southern and mid-Atlantic states continued the practice of extending voting rights on school matters to women who were tax payers. In 1888, South Carolina made it possible for all taxpayers to not only petition for a school meeting, but to elect officers at the school meeting as well as set and vote on school taxes.¹⁰² Delaware’s legislature opted to address just the school matters of the state’s largest city, Wilmington, when in 1889 they opened school voting to women who were freeholders (property owners) meeting certain residency requirements. The legislature extended this provision to the rest of the state in 1898.¹⁰³ Louisiana, in 1898, provided for taxpayers to petition municipal and parish authorities to levy a special tax to support not only public schools but also for the erection and construction of other permanent public works. All taxpayers could vote on the proposed taxes although women taxpayers were not required to be registered voters.¹⁰⁴ While North Carolina allowed all freeholders to petition for municipal authorities to raise taxes for the schools, women freeholders because they were not qualified voters could not vote if an election was approved.¹⁰⁵

Territorial adoptions of female school suffrage highlighted geographic differences during the period. While the territories of the upper West had chosen to extend voting rights to women who were taxpayers, Oklahoma and New Mexico followed Arizona’s lead by extending

¹⁰¹ “Woman Suffrage,” (*Wellington, OH*) *Enterprise*, March 13, 1895, 8.

¹⁰² *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Passed at the Regular Session of 1888* (Columbia, SC: James H. Woodrow, State Printer, 1889), 49-50, 160-162.

¹⁰³ *Laws of the State of Delaware, Passed at a Session of the General Assembly* vol. 13, part 2 (Dover, DE: Printed at Delawarean Office, 1889), 894; and *Laws of the State of Delaware, Passed at an Adjourned Session of the General Assembly* vol. 21, part 1 (Milford, DE: Printed at the Herald Office, 1898), 179-180 .

¹⁰⁴ *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the Regular Session* (Baton Rouge: The Advocate, Official Journal of the State of Louisiana, 1898), 200-202.

¹⁰⁵ *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1901* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughts, and E. M. Uzzell, State Printers and Binding, 1901), 64-65.

women's voting rights to all school matters.¹⁰⁶ Oklahoma embedded the provisions within the territory's school laws in 1890 and New Mexico chose to include them within the laws related to elections in 1910. While the majority of New England states had adopted school suffrage provisions by the early 1880s, Connecticut, by adopting school suffrage in 1893, was late in joining them. It was one of the few provisions that limited women's right to vote to those that met certain literacy standards.¹⁰⁷

Kentucky, the first state to implement voting rights on school taxes for limited classes of women in 1838, was also one of the last states to pass school suffrage provisions for all women. By 1851, the only women allowed to vote at school meetings were widows with children between the ages of six and eighteen.¹⁰⁸ Over the years, the legislature approved school suffrage provisions for rural schools and specifically named school districts but never extended that right to include all schools across the state.¹⁰⁹ These varied between districts even within the same legislative session. Not all districts formalized by the legislature included these provisions and some only included women who were taxpayers or widowed guardians of children. During the 1880s, noncitizens also received school suffrage rights in specifically defined city school districts. In 1894, female school suffrage rights were extended to women in 2nd class cities

¹⁰⁶ *The Statutes of Oklahoma 1890* (Guthrie, OK: The State Capital Printing Co., 1891), 1129; and *Laws of the State of New Mexico Passed at the Second Regular Session of the First Legislature of the State of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1913), 77.

¹⁰⁷ *Public Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, CT: Press of the Fowler & Miller Company, 1893), 411-412.

¹⁰⁸ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky Passed at November Session of 1851* (Frankfort: A. G. Hodges & Company, State Printer, 1852), 166.

¹⁰⁹ For examples of legislative efforts establishing school districts, see: Mt. Sterling in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Frankfort, KY: S. I. M. Major, Public Printer, 1884), 1392; District No. 2 – Pike County in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* vol. 1. (Frankfort, KY: John D. Woods, Public Printer and Binder, 1886), 1340; John's Creek District – Pike County in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* vol. 2 (Frankfort, KY: John D. Woods, Public Printer and Binder, 1886), 1378; Pinesville City Schools in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* vol. 2 (Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson, Public Printer and Binder, 1890), 1187; and Graded City School System for Lancaster (KY) – Union County in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* vol. 1 (Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson, Public Printer and Binder, 1890), 1094.

(Covington, Newport and Lexington) as long as they met the same qualifications required of men.¹¹⁰ During the 1901 Lexington school board elections, more voters were registered as Democrats but the Republican candidates won election. William Klair, Democratic representative from Lexington, claimed that the Republicans had won because more African American women had voted than white women. To prevent this from happening again, he introduced legislation repealing the right of women to vote on school matters in 2nd class cities which the legislature passed overwhelmingly.¹¹¹ At the time, the women involved in the women's rights movement proposed amending the law to include literacy tests only to have the recommendation ignored.¹¹² Ten years later, in 1912, women's voting on school matters in 2nd class cities was restored.¹¹³ Its passage was the culmination of almost a decade of school reform efforts spearheaded by members of the State Federation of Women's Clubs of Kentucky. According to Nancy Forderhase, by 1907, they "were becoming increasingly aware that one of the surest ways to achieve educational reform was by enlisting the political strength of women who were concerned about the quality of school their children might attend."¹¹⁴ Their lobbying efforts focused on the poor condition of public education, arguing for women's ability to work for school reform if given the tools to do so. They drew a direct link between school reform and women's voting rights by showing that states with the highest rates of illiteracy did not have

¹¹⁰ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Frankfort, KY: Capital Printing Company, 1894), 313.

¹¹¹ For more information on the claims regarding voter registration and women's votes see: Paul E. Fuller, *Laura Clay and the Woman's Rights Movement* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 89-93.

¹¹² "Will Urge Measure," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, January 31, 1902, 4.

¹¹³ Penny M. Miller, "The Silenced Majority: Glacial Movement of Women into Kentucky Politics," *Southeastern Political Review* 28, no. 3 (September 2000): 502; *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Louisville, KY: Geo. G. Fetter Printing Co., 1902), 85-86; and *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Frankfort, KY: The Kentucky State Journal Pub. Co, 1912), 193-194.

¹¹⁴ Nancy K. Forderhase, "'The Clear Call of Thoroughbred Women': The Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs and the Crusade for Educational Reform, 1903-1909," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 28.

female school suffrage.¹¹⁵ Although not included in the final provision, the women's clubs recommended the inclusion of a literacy test as a guarantee that the "right" kind of women voted on school matters. After passage of Kentucky's school suffrage provision in 1912, the state's women's clubs continued an active campaign to "influence the women of Kentucky to show their interest in public schools by expressing their legal opinion on the subject."¹¹⁶

The courts continued to clarify which school matters could be voted on by women. Overall, however, the effect of court decisions in the Progressive Era was to *restrict* rather than *expand* women's school voting rights. In striking down provisions for women to vote for school officers, particularly where electors for those offices were defined in a state's constitution, such as county and state superintendents, the courts often left in place women's right to vote at school meetings and to hold school offices not specifically addressed in the constitution. In Wisconsin, suffrage activists opted to interpret the wording of the school suffrage amendment to mean that they had the right to vote at any election as all pertained in some way to school matters. At the next general election in 1887, when election officials rejected some of the women's ballots, they turned to the courts for a resolution. Agreeing that the legislature had the right to extend suffrage to any potential voters, even women, the supreme court relied on legislative session records to determine what the legislature had actually intended relative to women's voting on school matters. Given that the legislature had defeated a woman suffrage bill during the same session that they passed the school suffrage proposal, the court ended up limiting women's voting to only school officers or school employees.¹¹⁷ Two years later, the Wisconsin Supreme Court further narrowed the application of Wisconsin's school suffrage law to only allow women to vote at school meetings, arguing that the provision provided no accommodation for handling the

¹¹⁵ "Illiteracy and School Suffrage for Women," *Mt. Sterling (KY) Advocate*, March 9, 1910, 8.

¹¹⁶ "School Suffrage," (*Mayville, KY) Daily Public Ledger*, June 22, 1912, 2.

¹¹⁷ *Brown v. Phillips*, 71 Wis. 239 (1888).

ballots of those with limited suffrage.¹¹⁸ In just a few years, then, woman suffrage proponents in Wisconsin had seen their vision of being able to vote on all offices the dealt with education restricted to only having the right to vote at school meetings.¹¹⁹

The Michigan Supreme Court further limited women's school suffrage in 1889 three years after their *Mudge v. Jones* decision. The court noted that "it is one of the misfortunes of legislation that many very well-intentioned and otherwise enlightened persons do not appreciate the fact that there cannot be any close uniformity of laws among states that have not the same history and constitutions, and that it is never safe to borrow a foreign law without adapting it to the rest of our legal system."¹²⁰ Inconsistencies in the law regarding women taxpayers' right to vote on school matters along with the constitutional definition of "electors" meant that women were not qualified to vote for school officers.¹²¹

The 1893 New York legislature extended women's right to vote on school matters to include the right to vote for school commissioners during general elections. Governor Roswell Flower allowed the bill to become law without his signature, declaring that he was "not entirely convinced that the measure is constitutional, but the weight of legal authority seems to sustain its constitutionality, and I have therefore allowed the bill to become a law."¹²² The following year, the New York Court of Appeals agreed with Flower's original assessment and declared the act extending women's rights to include voting for school commissioners unconstitutional. The court

¹¹⁸ *Gilkey v. McKinley*, 75 Wis. 543 (1890).

¹¹⁹ "Women's Votes in School Elections," *New York Times*, November 11, 1886, 4.

¹²⁰ *Belles v. Burr*, 76 Mich. 1, (1889) at 23.

¹²¹ *Belles v. Burr*, 76 Mich. 1 (1889)

¹²² Charles Z. Lincoln, ed. *Messages from the Governors* vol. 9 (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1909), 94.

declared it “needless to prolong the discussion. A constitutional convention may take away the barrier ... but until that is done we must enforce the law as it stands.”¹²³

The constitutionality of women voting on school officers was also the question before the New Jersey Supreme Court during the 1897 session. The court ruled on two different cases related to New Jersey’s school suffrage law. The original bill only granted women the right to vote at school meetings. As in other states, school meetings occurred only in rural, village and small-town settings. The first court ruling found only male citizens were entitled to vote for elective officers.¹²⁴ Later in the same court session, in *Kimball v. Hendee*, the court found that under the state’s constitution school trustees were elective officers and therefore only electors as defined by the constitution could vote for them. However, in the court’s decision, the justices agreed that the “decision [did] not render the act of 1887 inoperative. That statute confers upon women the right to vote in school meetings upon all questions except the election of officers.”¹²⁵ A constitutional amendment designed to address the question raised by the court that would have reinstated the 1887 school suffrage provisions failed in September 1897.

Even though women’s organizations were more intimately involved in campaigns for school suffrage provisions during the Progressive Era, the constitutionality of such provisions continued to be challenged in court. In many states court decisions narrowed women’s involvement in school elections often limiting their voting to just school meetings. In addition, close examination of those states adopting full woman suffrage during the period finds that granting women the right to vote at general elections did not mean they had the right to vote on school matters. Of the fifteen states passing general woman suffrage laws prior to the passage of

¹²³ *Re Gage*, 141 N.Y. 112 (1894). See also *The Northeastern Reporter* vol. 35 (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1894), 1094–1996.

¹²⁴ *Allison v. Blake*, 57 N. J. Law 6 (1897).

¹²⁵ *Kimball v. Hendee*, 57 N. J. Law 307 (1897) at 309.

the 19th amendment in August of 1920, at least five restricted voting on school measures to specific classes of voters.¹²⁶ In all five, this was limited to those with direct interests in the schools particularly taxpayers with three of the five also extending school voting to parents and guardians of school-aged children as well. New York State did not drop the requirement that to vote at certain school election one had to either own real, taxable property within the district or be a parent of a child attending school in the district until 1969. This is when the US Supreme Court found that such provisions violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹²⁷

Evaluating the Expansion of Female School Suffrage

Examining the adoption of female school suffrage adoptions over the course of much of the nineteenth century reveals that these provisions fell into two broad categories. The first was the extension of voting on school matters to specific classes of women particularly taxpayers. These originated prior to the Civil War, but continued to increase during the years after the war. A number of factors contributed to this including women's increased role as property owners and economic participants. With the adoption of the Homestead Act in 1862 and, to a lesser extent, the adoption of the Southern Homestead Act in 1866, women's proportion of the taxpaying public, particularly in the West, increased as more women took out homestead land. Studies have found that in many places unmarried women (single or widowed) "proving up" homestead land

¹²⁶ These states are Arizona, Michigan, New York, Oregon and Utah. Wyoming had previously limited school voting to taxpayers in 1869 despite having woman suffrage. *The Revised Statutes of Arizona: Civil Code 1913* (Phoenix: The McNeil Company, 1913), 919-920; *Public Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan* (Fort Wayne, IN: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1919), 530-532; *State of Oregon. General Laws and Joint Resolutions and Memorials Adopted by the Twenty-ninth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Salem, OR: State Printing Department, 1917), 130; and *Laws of the State of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, [1896]), 480-481.

¹²⁷ The state of New York did not change its restrictions on school election voting until after 1969, when the US Supreme Court, in a five to three decision, found restricting voting in school elections to property owners and parents of school-aged children to be unconstitutional. *Kramer v. Union Free School District No. 15*, 395 US 621 (1969).

accounted for over 10 percent of the homesteads, with the number rising to nearly 20 percent in some regions prior to 1900.¹²⁸ Furthermore, as part of broader women's rights legislation passed by state or territorial legislatures, married women did not give up their rights to their own property and could therefore be taxed on that property separate from their husbands.¹²⁹ Additionally southwestern states and territories frequently continued married women's property rights tradition established prior to the Treaty of Hidalgo in 1848 allowing women to maintain and control their own separate property regardless of marital status. California encoded these rights into the state's constitution in 1849.¹³⁰ How many of these women took advantage of their right to vote on school matters is not clear.

The second category of school suffrage provisions included those states that expressly opened school voting to women in general. Frequently these were states and territories where women's groups had actively campaigned for at least partial suffrage rights before legislative adoption of school suffrage. Although female school suffrage extending voting rights to limited classes of women (particularly taxpayers) continued into the twentieth century, states that had initially adopted partial suffrage provisions began modifying their earlier laws to broaden women's voting rights. Most of these changes occurred between 1875 and 1895 during a period where woman suffragists increased their state-by-state efforts for woman suffrage.

¹²⁸ For additional information of women's homesteading see: H. Elaine Lindgren, "Ethnic Women Homesteading on the Plains of North Dakota," *Great Plains Quarterly* 9 (Summer 1989): 157–73; Anne B. Webb, "Forgotten Persephones: Women Farmers on the Frontier," *Minnesota History* 50, no. 4 (December 1986): 134–148; Dee Garceau, "Single Women Homesteaders and the Meanings of Independents: Places on the Map, Places in the Mind," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 15, no. 3 (1995): 1–26; and Tonia M. Compton, *Proper Women/Propertied Women: Federal Land Laws and Gender Order(s) in the Nineteenth-Century Imperial American West* (PhD diss., University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2009). For information on the Southern Homestead Act, see Warren Hoffnagle, "The Southern Homestead Act: Its Origins and Operation," *Historian* 32, no. 4 (August 1970): 612–29; and Neil Canaday, Charles Reback, and Kristin Stowe, "Race and Local Knowledge: New Evidence from the Southern Homestead Act," *Review of Black Political Economy* 42, no. 4 (December 2015): 399–413.

¹²⁹ "About Our Sisters," (*Bellefonte, PA*) *Centre Democrat*, March 27, 1884, 7.

¹³⁰ Constitution of California, 1849, Article XI, Section 14, in *Constitution of the State of California and Summary of Amendments* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1915), 234.

In spite of the impression that female school suffrage as an extension of political rights resulted from woman suffragist supporters' advocacy, the evidence suggests that cases like those of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Ohio where suffragists were intimately involved in developing such provisions were actually rare. Some school suffrage adoptions resulted from legislative compromises like those which occurred in Kansas and Colorado after extensive woman suffrage campaigns had failed. In other states, adoption of school suffrage provisions occurred without any concerted lobbying campaigns. In still others, like Illinois and California, the Women's Christian Temperance Union was responsible for drafting school suffrage legislation hoping that granting school suffrage would increase the adoption of temperance legislation as well.¹³¹ And in states like Massachusetts and Kentucky where women's clubs such as the New England Women's Club and Kentucky's Federation of Women's Clubs were behind lobbying efforts.¹³²

The adoption of school suffrage was not without contention with those supporting full suffrage often opposing school suffrage and those opposing full suffrage supporting school suffrage. Historian Paula Baker described school suffrage as "an unhappy compromise between pro- and anti-suffrage views.... If a compromise had to be made, school suffrage was a sensible one for anti-suffragists" given the role that women already played in the oversight of schools.¹³³ Those who opposed full woman suffrage often focused on women's role in school reform as a reason to support school suffrage. William Warren, first president of Boston University, pointed to the fact that the petitions requesting the granting of women in Massachusetts the right to vote on school issues originated not with suffragists but with women interested in improving their

¹³¹ Buechler. *The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement*, 149; and Susan Scheiber Edelman. "'A Red Hot Suffrage Campaign': The Woman Suffrage Cause in California, 1896," *The California Supreme Court Historical Society Yearbook* 2(1995), 53.

¹³² Harriet H. Robinson, "Massachusetts," in *History of Woman Suffrage* vol. 3, 287.

¹³³ Paula Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life: Gender, Politics, and the State in Rural New York, 1870-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 79.

local schools.¹³⁴ Harvard professor Andrew Peabody went as far as to say, “The question of women’s suffrage in the elections and measures appertaining to public schools ought not to be confounded with the general question of female suffrage.”¹³⁵ Mary West, the three-term Knox County (Illinois) superintendent of schools, in her letter to *The Boston Advertiser* in support of Massachusetts’s school suffrage efforts, extended her arguments beyond those related to the schools being within women’s natural sphere. According to her, because of women’s higher moral standards they would

not be so likely to vote for wicked men for school offices.... Being in large measure free from political and business entanglements, [they] are not tempted... to sell their children’s birthright.... I have never been in favor of woman’s voting upon other questions except temperance, but I am fully convinced that the ballot in [woman’s] hand, cast as in God’s sight, is necessary to the salvation of our public schools.¹³⁶

Whether a link between the adoption of partial suffrage such as school suffrage and the adoption of woman suffrage exists requires further research. The legislative and court records regarding female school suffrage indicate that provisions were not as broadly granted as woman suffrage literature would suggest. Even among suffrage supporters, the opinion that school suffrage was a valuable tool toward gaining full woman suffrage varied. While leading suffragist Susan B. Anthony, originally saw school suffrage as one of the “great many points of considerable importance”¹³⁷ that would eventually lead to women gaining full suffrage; by the 1890s she had changed her opinion seeing it as a “hindrance rather than a help toward securing full enfranchisement.”¹³⁸ In 1881, at the height of state by state campaigns for woman suffrage, Harriet Robinson, an active suffragist from Massachusetts, admitted that just receiving the right

¹³⁴ “Women on the School Committee,” *Woman’s Journal*, March 1, 1879, 15.

¹³⁵ Peabody, “The Voting of Women in School Elections, 42.

¹³⁶ Mary West, “Women and the Ballot,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 6, 1879, 2.

¹³⁷ *Sedalia (MO) Weekly Bazaar*, December 23, 1879, n.p.

¹³⁸ Jennifer M. Ross-Nazzari. *Winning the West for Women: The Life of Suffragist Emma Smith Devoe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 82.

to vote for school committee members would not be enough to entice her to cast a ballot, saying “If the law were really a ‘School Suffrage Law’ and included the question of school appropriations, school supervisors, or management, the building of enormous and costly school houses . . . women might become enough interested to pay the hard earned two dollar poll-tax for the new privilege.”¹³⁹ Did women who would have otherwise voted if they had full suffrage pass on voting for school matters because they did not find value in the process?

What is known about women’s voting patterns related to the election of school officers is limited. Even less is known about how they voted relative to raising school taxes or other school matters. Several specific issues need further study. Among these are whether women’s low voter turnout still influenced election outcomes, whether women voted as a bloc or failed to do so, and whether women were more likely to vote for women running as educational officers than not.

In many places, the granting of school suffrage did not find significant numbers of women taking advantage of the right. In Minneapolis, a city of over 150,000 residents, during the 1880s only two hundred to three hundred women consistently took advantage of voting at school elections.¹⁴⁰ After active campaigning by women in the Dakotas for school suffrage, less than 10 percent of the registered women voters actually voted in the school elections in Sanborn County, South Dakota; even lower percentages turned out in other counties in both North and South Dakota.¹⁴¹ Only half the towns in Connecticut reported that any women voted for school officers in 1893, the first year they were eligible to do so.¹⁴² The first year women could vote in Wilmington, Delaware, two thousand women were qualified to vote, but only twenty of the one

¹³⁹ Harriet H. Robinson, *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881), 108.

¹⁴⁰ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Company, 1889), 429.

¹⁴¹ “A Low View of the Suffrage,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1890, 2.

¹⁴² “Connecticut Women Voters,” *Los Angeles Herald*, November 13, 1893, 10.

thousand votes cast were by women.¹⁴³ Newspapers of the era suggested that women's low voter turnout was due to their general indifference to voting, although election results suggest that men may have been equally indifferent when it came to school elections. Others hinted that women of lesser means were unable to go to the polls or were unable to easily leave their homes.¹⁴⁴ None of these factors address whether women influenced election outcomes despite low voter numbers. Work by Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht examining the impact of women's voters on election outcomes after the successful passage of the 19th amendment found that women did turn out in lower numbers than their male counterparts, but that did not necessarily lessen their role in election outcomes.¹⁴⁵

Limited information regarding women's voting patterns exists as election officials only separated women's ballots in a few places. Because of low turnout in most places, one of the ways women could have affected election outcomes was by voting as a bloc.¹⁴⁶ News reports regarding the Minneapolis school elections in 1876 indicated that all but eleven of the 270 women who voted cast their ballots for women.¹⁴⁷ Baker, in her examination of voting records in rural New York in 1893, found that even in districts where women did not win the election, a higher percentage of women voted for a woman candidate than did for her male opponents.¹⁴⁸ Martha Van Rensselaer, the successful Republican candidate from Cattaraugus County, received

¹⁴³ "Women Vote in Wilmington," *Washington Post*, May 6, 1889, 7.

¹⁴⁴ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 429.

¹⁴⁵ J. Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht, *County Women's Ballots: Female Voters from Suffrage through the New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

¹⁴⁶ Evidence related to school voting in the south after the passage of the 19th Amendment supports this hypothesis. Celeste K. Carruthers and Marianne H. Wanamaker, "Municipal Housekeeping: The Impact of Women's Suffrage on the Provision of Public Education," *Journal of Human Resources* 50, no. 4 (Fall 2015): 837–872.

¹⁴⁷ (*Washington, DC*) *Evening Star*, April 13, 1876, 1. It is interesting to note how different newspapers handled the same news wire information. Neither the *Cincinnati Daily Star* nor the *Bismarck (DT) Weekly Tribune* make mention of how the votes were cast, while the *Evening Star* makes no mention that the women had to walk "through rain, rum and mud" to cast their ballots. See: *The Cincinnati Daily Star*, April 12, 1876, 2; *Bismarck (DT) Weekly Tribune*, April 19, 1876, 4; and (*Washington, DC*) *Evening Star*, April 13, 1876, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*, 56–89.

68 percent of the overall vote, but 90 percent of the women's votes. In another Cattaraugus County district, Phoebe Wood, running on the Prohibition ticket for school commissioner, received two-thirds of the women's ballots, the other third equally split between her two male opponents.¹⁴⁹ Similar differences were at the center of the court case in Illinois, where two men challenged the outcome of the election for school trustee because the successful candidates, two women, had won because women had "illegally" cast ballots in the district election. All the women's votes had gone to the women candidates resulting in them receiving the majority of the votes.¹⁵⁰

Whether women's voting increased the chances of women winning election in those places they could run for office is another unresolved question. Baker found that few women, even those who had registered, took the opportunity to vote, even when women were candidates.¹⁵¹ When New Hampshire allowed women to vote at school meetings, many districts found women to be in the majority, often leading them to elect women as moderators, school clerks, and school committee members. Yet in other communities where women were in the majority, offices were divided between men and women, as was the case in Warner, New Hampshire, where a man was elected moderator but women were elected to the other school offices.¹⁵² North Dakota granted women the right to vote on all school offices in its 1889 constitution, and in 1892 the voters elected the first woman in the nation to a statewide office. Laura Eisenhuth, running on the Fusion ticket, received just over 52 percent of the vote in her campaign for state superintendent of public instruction. In addition, nine women, about 20

¹⁴⁹ Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*, 77.

¹⁵⁰ *Plummer v. Yost* 144 Ill. 68 (1893).

¹⁵¹ Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*, 76.

¹⁵² "Women as Voters," (*Wilmington, DE*) *Daily Gazette*, May 5, 1879, 3.

percent of the total, were elected as county school superintendents.¹⁵³ In neighboring Montana, women could not vote for any school officers outside of their local school districts, but in 1892, 77 percent of the county school superintendents were women, elected only by men.¹⁵⁴ For a single election cycle in 1894, Oregon laws allowed women to run for county superintendent. During that election, 22 percent of those elected to serve as county superintendent were women although women could not vote for the office. Ten years earlier, in neighboring Washington, when women could vote for the office nearly 40 percent of those elected were women, but in 1894 when women could no longer vote for the office only 9 percent of those elected were women. Teasing out the differences as to why women were elected in some places and not others regardless of whether or not women could vote for the office will take further research. Using Montana and Washington as case studies, it is possible to start to discern differences between the states relative to the political environment, the women nominated for county superintendent, and the expectations for the position despite similar legislative mandates. These questions are the subject of chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 of this study.

Another factor related to shifting female school suffrage provisions over the nineteenth century was the increasing rural/urban divide relative to public school management. Beginning in the late 1870s, as state school systems became more formalized, selection of school trustees often became the responsibility of other governmental officials particularly in city school districts. By 1885 in New York City the mayor appointed them, in Philadelphia it was the judges of the superior court who appointed them, and in Chicago they were selected by the city

¹⁵³ *Bismarck (DT) Weekly Tribune*, December 16, 1892, 5; and “Northwest News,” *Bismarck (DT) Weekly Tribune*, January 26, 1894, 1.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapters 3 and 4 for additional information.

council.¹⁵⁵ Wisconsin's male voters passed a referendum in 1886 that gave women the right to vote on school matters, including school officers, *except* for city schools, as city school officers were appointed by the city aldermen.¹⁵⁶ This was also the case in Idaho. Nearly ten years before granting women full suffrage rights in 1896, Idaho amended its school laws to recognize the right of citizens, regardless of sex, to vote for county school superintendent, but this right was not extended to residents of city school districts—at the time the Independent School Districts of Boise and or Lewiston.¹⁵⁷

Most school suffrage provisions extended the right to vote on school matters within the local school district. When legislatures extended the right to include other school officers, the courts often struck down those measures as being unconstitutional because the positions in question, often county school superintendents, were defined in the state's constitution thus restricting their election to those voters defined by the constitution. Methods of selecting school officers changed as states began increasingly to create and define city school districts in ways that were separate from those districts controlled directly by the state. The courts in several states ruled women's right to vote on school matters were limited to school meetings and since school officers were not elected at school meetings in city districts women could not vote for those officers.

Long the focus of the history of education, city school systems could either run in parallel with the state system or they could provide school services through the municipal system. Both options meant that school elections often were held under different provisions than for those

¹⁵⁵John D. Philbrick, *City School Systems in the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1885), 15.

¹⁵⁶“Women's Votes in School Elections,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1886, 4. The Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled in 1890 that further legislation was needed before women could vote for those school officers elected at general elections. *Gilkey v. McKinley*, 75 Wis. 543 (1890).

¹⁵⁷*General Laws of the Territory of Idaho, Passed at the Thirteenth Session of the Territorial Legislature* (Boise: Jas. A. Pinney, Territorial Printer, 1885), 194.

districts under direct state control. At the same time, during the nineteenth century, city districts did not make up the majority of the nation's school districts nor did they educate the majority of the nation's youth. Single teacher schools still made up over 80 percent of the nation's schools as late as 1910.¹⁵⁸

Despite the rural nature of schools during the nineteenth and a good part of the early twentieth century the history of the nation's schools during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has focused on what David Tyack described as being "the origins of urban schools, the processes of bureaucratization, professionalization, the enlarging role of the state in education matters and the relationship between the social relations of production and schooling."¹⁵⁹ Admitting that schooling during the period was overwhelmingly rural in nature, Tyack went on to describe the men who served as educational promoters to explain why public school looked so similar across the nation despite broad decentralization. Examination of the legislation extending even limited voting rights to women on school matters, provides evidence that school officers including county superintendents and school trustees served not only the schools but as officers of the state. One of the questions this research hopes to answer is whether it is possible to determine a link between women voting on school officers with the election of women as school officers. Moreover, if women were elected as school officers, what additional factors contributed to their election? These questions frame the analysis of the next chapter.

¹⁵⁸ Educational Policy Institute, "The Landscape of Public Education: A Statistical Portrait Through the Years," *Epicenter* (April 2011), 2.

¹⁵⁹ David B. Tyack, "The Spread of Public School in Victorian America: In Search of a Reinterpretation," *History of Education* 7, no. 3 (October 1978): 173-182.

Chapter Two: Women's Educational Office Holding in the Nineteenth Century

Women's educational office holding has received insufficient attention in the literature on women's political involvement in the nineteenth-century. Comparable to discussions about school suffrage, women's office holding is most frequently discussed in terms of woman suffrage gains.¹ The lack of partisanship in school elections may have also contributed to the lack of scholarly interest in the election of school officers. The few scholars who have focused on women's educational office holding such as Jackie Blount, Michael Pisapia and Kathleen Weiler center their work in the early decades of the twentieth century.²

Just as school suffrage did not necessarily lead to full woman suffrage, gaining school suffrage did not automatically mean that women also had the right to run for and be elected to school offices.³ The two forms of political engagement were regarded at the time as distinct. Supporters of the effort to elect women to the Boston School Board, for example, differentiated between women's educational office holding and woman suffrage during the 1874 campaign to elect women to school offices in Massachusetts. Before introducing the evening's speakers at a meeting in Dorchester advocating the cause, Henry J. Nazro, a leading proponent, announced

¹ See for example: Kristi Andersen, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics before the New Deal* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996), in particular 111-140.

² Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*; Pisapia, *Public Education and The Role of Women in American Political Development*; Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education"; and Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*.

³ Alfred Avins, "The Right to Hold Public Office and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments: The Original Understanding," *University of Kansas Law Review* 15, no. 3 (1967): 287-306; Nicole A. Gordon, "The Constitutional Right to Candidacy," *University of Kansas Law Review* 25 (1977): 545-71; and Paul R. Wassenaar, "The Emerging Right to Candidacy in State and Local Elections: Constitutional Protection of the Voter, the Candidate, and the Political Group," *Wayne Law Review* 17 (1971): 1543-79.

that the subject of women's educational office holding was completely disconnected from the question of woman suffrage.⁴ And in a Maine Supreme Court decision saying that women could not serve as justices of the peace, dissenting justices C. W. Walton and William G. Barrows conceded that the right to vote was limited to men, "but the right to vote and the right to hold office are distinct matters. Either may exist without the other."⁵ At the turn of the twentieth century, some commentators chose to differentiate between the two ideas by referring to the right to vote as "active suffrage" and the right to hold elective office as "passive suffrage."⁶ As this chapter shows, however, office holding was in many ways the more significant form of political agency exercised by women in the nineteenth century.

Consideration of the right to hold public office outside of the right of suffrage yields surprising results. Before suffrage and with limited note or celebration, women were elected and appointed to educational offices including paid positions across the nation. During the nineteenth century, this often occurred before laws explicitly permitting women to hold such office existed. While local, regional and state-level educational positions did become available as part of some school suffrage provisions, more states and territories granted women only the right to *hold* educational offices than allowed them to *vote* for them. Prior to the twentieth century, only twelve states and territorial legislatures gave women the right to hold local school offices along with the right to vote on local school matters. Seventeen other states extended the right for women to hold office without allowing them to vote for those offices until, (often decades), later.

⁴ "Ladies on the School Committee," *Boston Post*, November 20, 1874, 3.

⁵ "Opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court"; *Acts and Resolves of the Fifty-Fourth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta: Sprague, Owen and Nash, Printers to the State, 1875), 85.

⁶ Horace A. Hollister, *The Woman Citizen: A Problem in Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918), 25. The use of the term "passive suffrage" appears to be European in origin. For example, see: Kaethe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement: A Historical Survey* trans. Carl Conrad Eckhardt (New York: Macmillan Company, 1912).

These provisions were geographically widespread. Only in the South did most states lack legislation allowing women to hold school offices.

Women's right to hold educational offices was most frequently adopted through legislative action, but at times it was incorporated into state or territorial constitutions. Both Pennsylvania (1873) and Nevada (1889) revised their state constitutions to allow women to hold (but not vote on) school offices, including, in the case of Nevada, the office of state superintendent of public instruction.⁷ The right of women to hold school offices was even incorporated into the southern state of Louisiana's 1879 post-Reconstruction constitution allowing women to hold any office of control or management under school laws—offices that were generally appointive rather than elective.⁸

Educational office holding, whether elective or appointive, should not be confused with educational administrative positions. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, city and district school superintendents attempted to distance themselves from partisan politics and the business aspects of schools. Presenting themselves as teacher-scholars, they defined their job duties primarily around mentoring teachers and advocating for school reforms.⁹ Those elected or appointed as school trustees or county superintendents, by contrast, had responsibility for broader oversight and management of the schools. More importantly they functioned as governmental agents, serving as intermediaries between the state, county, or local governments,

⁷ *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 21; and “Amendment to the Constitution of Nevada—Section 3, Article 15,” *Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Fourteenth Session of the Legislature* (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1889), 151.

⁸ Article 232, *Constitution of the State of Louisiana: Adopted in Convention, at the City of New Orleans the Twenty-Third day of July, A.D. 1879* (New Orleans: Jas. Cosgrove, Convention Printer, 1879), 56. This provision was removed when a revised constitution was adopted in 1898.

⁹ Theodore J. Kowalski and C. Cryss Brunner, “The School Superintendent: Roles, Challenges, and Issues,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Educational Leadership: Advances in Theory, Research, and Practice* ed. Fenwick W. English (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2011), 145. For an example of the duties of city superintendents see Larry Cuban, *The Managerial Imperative and the Practice of Leadership in Schools* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 111-149.

on the one hand, and local communities, teachers, and school patron on the other. Local school district trustees' duties during the nineteenth century varied but often included raising and managing school funds; hiring school teachers and overseeing teacher and student behavior; overseeing construction and maintenance of school buildings; prescribing courses of study and textbooks; resolving disputes between teachers and school patrons; and implementing state and local school laws.¹⁰ County school superintendents had additional duties, including apportioning school funds, evaluating teachers and school facilities, overseeing teacher qualifications and certification, maintaining county school records, and providing reports on their work to county and/or state authorities. In many states, county superintendents were also responsible for creating new school districts, appointing school trustees as necessary, granting teaching permits and certificates, and mediating disputes between school districts, school patrons, school trustees, and school teachers. Historic narratives related to school administration perpetuated by university-based education reformers which defined these governmental positions as being purely partisan and administrative in nature resulted in scholars overlooking the similarities between the duties of nineteenth-century school boards and county school superintendents and their city school superintendent colleagues, particularly in the western part of the nation.¹¹

Legislative and court records, newspapers, and governmental reports from the nineteenth century provide evidence that women received the right to hold educational offices throughout the nation. At the same time, they demonstrate that this right occurred earlier and with greater frequency in northern and western states. Even newspapers in the South, where women's

¹⁰ For an example of the duties of county and school district school officers, see *Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education*, no. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880), 96–103.

¹¹ For examples of the arguments related to the county superintendency see: Cubberley, *Public School Administration*; National Council on Education, *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*; Monahan et al., *The Supervision of Rural Schools*; Betts and Hall, *Better Rural Schools*; Cook and Monahan, *Rural School Supervision*; and Boraas and Selke, *Rural School Administration and Supervision*.

opportunities to hold educational offices were limited, noted this.¹² The use of a variety of sources reveals that women were not only being elected to serve as local school district officers, they were being elected or appointed as county or township superintendents at increasing rates by the end of the nineteenth century. This occurred particularly in much of the upper West, as well as in California and Colorado in the Southwest. These findings run counter to the common assumption that the educational change occurred in the East to later be adopted in the West.

Much of what is known about women's educational office holding during the nineteenth century appears as brief references in works on women's history, particularly work on woman suffrage, or as a brief descriptions within biographical works about prominent women in the field of education such as Estelle Reel or Mary C. C. Bradford, both early state superintendents of public instruction.¹³ Some scholars have proposed that the expansion of women's suffrage rights during the nineteenth century increased women's opportunity to hold educational offices. For the most part, however, they have lacked sufficient and systematic data from the nineteenth century to develop such claims more fully.¹⁴ The increase in the number of women serving as city, county and state superintendents in the early 20th century, for example, is well documented in Jackie Blount's *Destined to Rule the Schools*.¹⁵ She argues that despite their frequent exclusion from the inner circle of professional organizations like the National Education Association, women gained recognition of their educational expertise and earned increasingly numbers of

¹² "Women to the Front," (*Winnsboro, SC*) *Fairfield Herald*, November 26, 1873, 1; (*Jackson, MS*) *Daily Clarion*, January 14, 1875, 2; "Woman Suffrage in Minnesota," *New Orleans Republican*, April 14, 1876, 3; (*Point Pleasant, WV*) *Weekly Register*, November 29, 1877, 3; and (*Jackson, MS*) *Weekly Clarion*, April 21, 1880, 1.

¹³ For examples of these biographical monographs see: K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 5-31; Heather Kleinpeter Cladwell, *Mary Carroll Craig Bradford: Providing Opportunities to Colorado's Women and Children Through Suffrage and Education* (PhD diss., *Texas A & M University*, 2009); Gail M. Beaton, *Colorado Women: A History* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012); Doris Weatherford, *Women in American Politics: History and Milestones* vol. 1 and 2 (Los Angeles, SAGE, 2012); and Maxine Seller, *Women Educators in the United States, 1820-1993* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

¹⁴ See for example: Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes*, 307-309; Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 81; and Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*, 22.

¹⁵ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*.

administrative positions, a trend that continued until World War II, after which it began to reverse. However incomplete data from the 19th century made it difficult for Blount to determine the actual level of women's involvement as school administrators prior to the start of the 20th century. Michael Pisapia, situated women's educational office holding as the opening wedge leading to women's entrance into political office.¹⁶ Like Blount, he used data from the early twentieth century to support his argument. Similarly, Kathleen Weiler highlighted the importance of women county superintendents during the first decades of the twentieth century in several rural counties of California. She was not able to establish when or how this pattern developed, however, or whether it was distinctive to that state¹⁷

Previous treatments of women's educational office holding have been limited by availability of materials for the nineteenth century. New research tools help resolve this shortfall. The increasing digitalization of nineteenth century governmental records along with OCR has meant that archival material held by geographically diverse institutions with small local collections are becoming available to researchers. Most of the primary source materials for this chapter have been drawn from legislative and court records, governmental documents and reports, educational publications, and contemporary newspapers.

The purpose of this chapter is to lay a foundation for the claim that women's involvement as elected school officers during the late 19th century significantly influenced the development of American public education. The chapter will begin its examination of women's educational office holding in the late nineteenth century with a discussion of the arguments of supporters (and some opponents) of such rights. It then turns to the chronology and geography of such provisions, showing how the conversation about women's political rights shifted over time and

¹⁶ Pisapia. *Public Education and The Role of Women in American Political Development*; and Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education."

¹⁷ Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*.

space. Finally, it concludes with a brief examination of the role that political parties and elections may have played in the process of increasing the number of women holding educational offices, a topic elaborated more fully in the remainder of the dissertation.

Arguments for (and against) Extending Educational Office Holding to Women

Just as many of the female school suffrage extensions were adopted without much fanfare and with limited advocacy, legislation extending the right to hold school offices to women often occurred with little pressure or lobbying by interested parties.¹⁸ As with female school suffrage campaigns, arguments supporting women's educational office holding centered on the provision of direct benefit to schools. As represented by newspaper accounts and educational journals, four central arguments received the greatest focus. These were: (1) the election or appointment of women would help remove the public schools from politics, (2) women would treat the work seriously, while men often failed to seek the positions and, when in the positions, failed to give schools the attention they needed, (3) the education of children fell within women's natural sphere of influence and (4) women's experience in the classroom as teachers provided them with a relevant expertise regarding the needs of the schools.

A major reason given by both educational professionals and newspaper editors for supporting women as educational officers was the desire to remove schools from politics. Politicians did not necessarily look favorably upon the idea of women serving as school directors because women—who were frequently not voters and, if they were, voted only on local school matters—could not serve the politicians' interests as well as men who held an entire range of political rights.¹⁹ Lizzie Hull, in a letter to the editor in 1874, linked women's concern with the

¹⁸ "A Notable Recruit," *New-York Daily Tribune*, January 23, 1881, 6.

¹⁹ "Educational Reform," (*New Orleans Times-Picayune*, January 20, 1896, 4.

welfare of children with conduct that would “do aught to swell the long, sad list, with which each days paper is filled, of breaches of trust or malfeasance in office.”²⁰ Noting that women acceptable to serve as school officials could not actively seek the position for political ends or personal gain, a writer in 1883 felt that “they would put to shame the mousing, ignorant politicians who crawl into our school boards to give themselves political prominence.”²¹ A writer in the *Times* of Philadelphia put it succinctly: “The machine is not likely to nominate any women, because women can be of no service to the machine.”²² Nine years later, in 1891, after the Republican central committee failed to bring forward women’s names for election as school directors, the same paper claimed that “the politicians want to make the schools apart of the political machine and women would be in their way.”²³ While some believed depoliticization would be achieved through women’s superior moral character, many felt that the very fact that women were restricted from seeking other political offices meant they could only do their public duty. Women, as nonvoters, would be more likely to take into consideration the interests of the schools rather than their own political interests.²⁴

Evidence suggests that another reason for promoting women for educational offices was the lack of serious male candidates willing to fill such roles. Claims that the best, most qualified men refused to run for school offices, along with the opinion that too many sat on school boards for business or other reasons rather than to improve education thus spending minimal time on their school board responsibilities contributed to the idea that women might better serve in these

²⁰ Lizzie C. Hull, “Women as School Officers,” *Troy (MO) Herald*, February 11, 1874, 4.

²¹ (*Pittston, PA*) *Evening Gazette*, February 12, 1883, 2. For a further example see “Women for School Trustees,” (*Washington, DC*) *Evening Star*, December 15, 1886, 1.

²² “Women as School Directors,” (*Philadelphia*) *Times*, January 22, 1882, 4.

²³ “Partisan School Control,” (*Philadelphia*) *Times*, January 16, 1891, 4.

²⁴ “Women as School Trustees,” *Denton (MD) Journal*, May 15, 1897, 2.

positions.²⁵ Political scientist Donna Schuele has attributed the passage of California's 1874 law allowing women to hold office to pragmatic rather than ideological reasons. Although men placed a high value on local governance of public schools and were willing to vote on school matters, fewer and fewer men were willing to run for school offices. Allowing women to hold those offices, Schuele argued, broadened the potential candidate pool.²⁶ And because women could not seek higher offices, it potentially allowed for greater stability in school oversight, as school officers were less likely to change with each election cycle.

Likely the most common argument by individuals supporting women holding school offices, particularly as school directors or trustees, focused on their roles as mothers and teachers. The Rhode Island Board of Education Report in 1874 articulated a notion common among not only educational professionals but members of the public at large when they wrote: "it may well be urged that from the first no one can take a deeper interest in all that concerns the welfare and training of the child than the mother, and that whether at home or at school, his physical, intellectual and moral well-being are under her especial guardianship."²⁷ Women's experiences in raising children allowed them to have a better understanding of teaching and school supervision than even men who were trained professional educators, whose knowledge came from theory, tradition, and authority but not from experience.²⁸ In New York City in 1886, petitions requesting that the mayor appoint a woman as an education commissioner advanced the idea, common among leading pedagogues, normal school faculty, women's club members, and female social reformers at the time, that children would benefit from a curriculum focused more

²⁵ "Constitutional Convention," (*Denver*) *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, January 23, 1876, 4; Peabody, "The Voting of Women in School Elections," 46; and "Women for School Directors," (*Greenville, PA*) *Record-Argus*, January 27, 1881, 1.

²⁶ Donna C. Schuele, "None Could Deny the Eloquence of the This Lady': Women, Law, and Government in California, 1850–1890" in *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California* ed. John F. Burns and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 194.

²⁷ "Women as School Directors," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 22, no. 11 (May 1874): 365.

²⁸ Peabody, "The Voting of Women in School Elections," 47.

on activity-based learning, industrial arts and manual training. The petitioners believed that because women worked with children both inside and outside of school, they understood their educational needs better than men.²⁹

Advocates of women's educational office holding argued further that women's interest in their children's education outside of the home meant that they were significantly more likely than men to attend school events or to approach school board members with concerns about what happened at school. One longtime school board member reported that he only saw fathers if they were widowed or their wives were invalids.³⁰ Drawing on her experience as one of the first women elected as county superintendent in Illinois, Mary A. West discovered that women "'take naturally' to the charge of their school interests ... With fewer things to distract their attention, they attend more carefully to these interests than do the men."³¹ Recognizing that girls attended school in at least the same numbers as boys while hinting at their "delicate nature," newspapers around the nation reported that women would be more comfortable dealing with delicate matters that arose during school (particularly those relating to the health of schoolgirls) as well as with questions related to school governance.³² With the majority of teachers being women and half of the students being girls, the *Potter Journal and News* found "it difficult to imagine any good reason why they should not be eligible [sic] to the office of school director."³³ A writer for the

²⁹ "A Woman Commissioner," *New York Times*, November 6, 1886, 8.

³⁰ Peabody, "The Voting of Women in School Elections," 47.

³¹ "Why Should Women Vote at School Elections?" *Burlington (VT) Free Press*, January 18, 1881, 3.

³² For examples of these types of arguments see: *Somerset (PA) Herald*, March 18, 1874, 4; "Women as Directors in School Districts," (*Portland) Morning Oregonian*, March 26, 1877, 1; "City Views," *Hillsdale (MI) Standard*, April 1, 1879, 3; "Women as School Directors," (*New Orleans) Times-Picayune*, July 2, 1888, 3; and Duane Mowry, "Women as School Officers," *Arena* 24, no. 2 (August 1900): 198–206.

³³ (*Coudersport, PA) Potter Journal and News Item*, March 7, 1873, 2.

Reading (PA) Times went further, stating, “It is an absurdity to deny [women the right to hold school offices] and at the same time to entrust them with the important work of teaching.”³⁴

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century men serving as city and state superintendents from places as geographically diverse as Baltimore, Maryland and San Francisco, California and Missouri supported the practice of allowing women to serve as educational officers.³⁵ In 1871, Rhode Island Superintendent of Public Instruction Thomas Bicknell used reports from Tiverton to support his suggestion that women fill a portion of all school board positions. Tiverton’s voters had elected only women for the town’s school board the previous year and were reporting that there never had been “so much time and labor ... devoted to the advancement of the interests of the schools.”³⁶ Three years later Wisconsin’s superintendent of public instruction Edward Searing professed a “profound sense of woman’s fitness for such relations to our school system.”³⁷ In urging the Wisconsin legislature to pass legislation allowing women to be elected to school offices (passed the following year), state superintendent Searing argued:

Women, as a class, are more immediately interested in schools than men are. The majority of our teachers are women. Largely in the schools, and still more generally in families, are children under the influence and guidance of women. Who are better fitted than they to know what should be the character of the schools which share with them so largely in the culture of the young? Indeed, who are so well qualified for, as also so deeply interested in, determining the fitness of teachers, and the convenience, healthfulness and attractiveness of school buildings and grounds?³⁸

³⁴ “Women as School Directors,” *Reading (PA) Times*, December 15, 1886, 2. Similar sentiments appeared in “Women in School Boards,” *Lebanon (PA) Daily News*, December 17, 1892, 2.

³⁵ For examples of this support see: “Women as School Directors,” *Allentown (PA) Leader*, March 22, 1895, 4.

³⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1872* [John Eaton, Commissioner] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1873), 306.

³⁷ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin* [Edward Searing, Superintendent] (Madison, WI: Atwood and Culver, Printers and Stereotypers, 1874), xcvi – c.

³⁸ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin*, xcvi.

That same year, 1874, the Kansas superintendent of public instruction reported that the women elected as county superintendents had “done their work faithfully and well, as well as the best and far better than many of the men” elected to the same position.³⁹

In responding to a request for information from a fellow state superintendent, the Louisiana superintendent of public instruction reported in 1895 that he found women to be “scrupulous and careful public servants,” citing among the possible reasons “being unused to administrative positions, they fear the results of mismanagement, or that unused to having the control of large sums of money, they attach a greater value to it than men, or that moral impulses impel them to watchfulness.” He went on to say, “It is certain that they perform all duties conscientiously and zealously. As members of the school boards, they are always good economists, and see that each expenditure is fully warranted by the needs of the schools.”⁴⁰ Although Louisiana’s experience with women serving as educational officers was positive, neighboring southern states were less likely to extend women’s right to hold school offices during the nineteenth century than states in other regions of the nation.

Surprisingly, among those women supporting women’s election to educational offices were anti-suffragists. Although women in the active suffrage movement did not necessarily support seeking school suffrage, many in the anti-suffrage movement saw women’s educational office holding as appropriate for women. Kate Gannett Wells, an ardent antifeminist, felt that serving on school boards was “a natural and logical office for women.” While she was concerned about women being sullied by politics, Wells concluded that women’s sense of public service would generally prevail. “Fortunately, most women serving on School Boards are single-hearted in their labors, and enjoy the privilege of working for their State, city or town without

³⁹ Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1874 [John Eaton, Commissioner] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), 124–25.

⁴⁰ “Woman Suffrage,” (*Wellington, OH*) *Enterprise*, March 13, 1895, 8.

compensation, as their contribution to the service of their country.”⁴¹ Not only did women anti-suffragists support local school suffrage, they also served on local school boards. Elizabeth Cabot, president of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, found her candidacy supported by the Brookline Equal Suffrage Association and she served on the Board of Education in Brookline, Massachusetts, for twelve years.⁴² Lafayette Bush, Pacific County (WA)’s school superintendent in Washington Territory, was known for her strong anti-suffrage stance prior to her election to office in 1880. Tina Johnson, the 1882 Democratic candidate in Walla Walla County, Washington, had previously expressed the opinion that it was impossible to separate the contamination of politics from political office holding.⁴³ According to newspapers across the country, anti-suffrage women were behind the successful election of Mrs. Amelia Allen to the school board in Salina, Kansas. Allen, an African American, had been nominated for the position at a mass meeting held by African Americans living in Salina’s First Ward.⁴⁴

Most extant sources addressing the issue of women’s educational office holding either supported such measures or were neutral on the matter. A few sources did articulate arguments against women’s office holding, however. A leading reason given for excluding women from professional positions reflected the concern that women were unable to balance service to anything outside of their own homes.⁴⁵ The *Lafayette Gazette* quoting a Captain McGrath argued “women would no doubt make excellent members of school boards, but they will achieve better results by looking after their own families then by giving their time to the community at large. ...

⁴¹ Kate Gannett Wells, "Women on School Boards," *North American Review*, 181 (September 1905): 428–29.

⁴² "Women on the Brookline School Board," *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 15, 1900, 6; and Alice Stone Blackwell, "Suffrage for Women," *Indianapolis Journal*, February 17, 1902, 6.

⁴³ "Two Women Who Oppose," (*Portland, OR*) *New Northwest*, October 12, 1882, 4.

⁴⁴ "Colored People Meet," *Salina (KS) Daily Republican*, March 25, 1890, 4; *Helena (MT) Independent*, April 2, 1890, 1; and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, April 2, 1890, 1.

⁴⁵ Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 16.

They will do more good for the human race than could be accomplished by years of services devoted to voting schools to favorite teachers.”⁴⁶ An editorial in the *Omaha Bee*, after supporting the idea that education of children fell within the woman’s sphere admitted they were “not, however, convinced that women are better qualified to manage our public schools, in their present stage of rapid evolution, than men . . . Useful membership does not depend on mere educational attainments or familiarity with methods of teaching. The board has to wrestle with financial and mechanical problems which require executive ability and practical business experience rarely possessed by women.”⁴⁷

Not everyone saw women serving in school offices as part of women’s sphere. Some were uncomfortable with women serving on school boards or in other school offices, despite the fact women were already volunteering for church offices and serving on the boards of charities and other benevolent organizations. In reporting on a survey conducted by the superintendent of Baltimore’s city schools, the *Allentown (PA) Leader* noted that the Nashville superintendent of schools reported that “as yet women in this part of the world occupy that sphere intended by the Almighty they should occupy, and, therefore, have not acted on boards of education.”⁴⁸ The article’s writer went on to note that “the sphere of Nashville women as prescribed by the Almighty may be different from the sphere located in Boston.”⁴⁹

Not all educators supported the idea of women serving as educational officers, either. Opposition was not just generated based on the action of individual women, but on the belief that “not a few of the women declared that they felt surer of justice at the hands of a Board of male members only. At least, they preferred to be ruled by men rather than women; and that is a

⁴⁶ “Women as Politicians and Reformers,” *Lafayette (LA) Gazette*, August 17, 1895, 2.

⁴⁷ “Women in the School Board,” *Omaha (NE) Daily Bee*, May 22, 1887, 4.

⁴⁸ “Women as School Directors,” *Allentown (PA) Leader*, March 22, 1895, 4.

⁴⁹ “Women as School Directors.”

feeling which seems to be very general in the sex.”⁵⁰ Similar opinions were expressed at a Louisiana schoolteachers’ meeting during discussions around the appointment of women to school boards. After many in the audience supported the idea that “women will always trust their interests to men rather than to their own sex,” one suffragist responded that “it will require time and patience to educate women up to the first principle of woman suffrage—confidence in the generosity of their sex, and the fact that their interests will not be less faithfully guarded because intrusted [*sic*] to a body of women, instead of men.”⁵¹

Seen by many as a valuable tool for educational reform, women’s educational office holding, particularly in larger school districts, nonetheless created dissatisfaction among women schoolteachers. Many of the women involved as reformers often had no understanding of education except through their own experience as schoolgirls. Their social position often led them to believe that they were better than the teachers and therefore knew better what reforms were necessary.⁵² This dissent was particularly obvious among New York City’s schoolteachers in 1889. According to a petition presented to the mayor opposing the reappointment of two women to the board of education, “These Commissioners, supposed to have been selected because of their peculiar interest in the female element in the common-school system ... were instrumental in enacting a system of examination against which more than two thousand female teachers openly protested in a petition giving reasons that should have appealed most directly to the sympathies of Commissioners of their own sex.”⁵³

The impropriety of men and women not married to each other working closely together on school matters also often arose as an issue related to women’s appointment or election to

⁵⁰ “Women and the Franchise,” (*New York*) *Sun*, December 30, 1886, 2.

⁵¹ “Women on the School Board,” (*New Orleans*) *Times-Picayune*, May 17, 1894, 3.

⁵² “Editorial,” *Education: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Science, Art, Philosophy and Literature of Education* 12 (December 1891): 238–239.

⁵³ “Women Against Women,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1889, 9.

school offices. Gossip by a high school principal in one Massachusetts community regarding the “after hours” meetings to transact business by two school board members, one man and one woman, led to his firing, rehiring and premature school closure after the affair was presented at a town meeting.⁵⁴ The Lexington, Kentucky, city council turned down Mayor Henry T. Duncan’s recommendations for the city’s school board because they included the name of one Ora Craven, who had worked both as Duncan’s bookkeeper and as a reporter for Duncan’s newspaper prior to becoming a schoolteacher. These business relations “having thrown them *together* a great deal ... caused much of the talk that [had] been indulged in,” and it was implied that Duncan had nominated Craven to defend her reputation.⁵⁵ The fact she was a woman was the reason the council gave for denying her appointment.

Although not everyone was comfortable with the idea of women serving as elected educational officers, voters were increasingly electing women to those offices across the nation during the final decades of the nineteenth century. These elections were frequently ignored by those advocating for woman suffrage because they occurred in states where women could not vote. By looking beyond the question of suffrage, it is possible to find hundreds of women who were nominated and elected as educational officers during the nineteenth century. In most places, this was because male voters believed these women would best serve as governmental agents focused on improving public schools.

⁵⁴ *Daily Cleveland Herald*, April 22, 1874, 1.

⁵⁵ “The Mayor ‘Turned Down,’” (*Louisville, KY*) *Courier-Journal*, December 9, 1893, 3.

Exploring the Chronology and Geography of Women's Educational Office Holding

The growth of women's educational office holding in the late nineteenth century paralleled an increasing focus on women's role in education at both state and national levels. Reports of the new federal Bureau of education provide evidence of this change. The only mention of women and education in the 1870 report of the Commissioner of Education suggested that illiterate women were more dangerous to the community than were illiterate men because illiterate women could not teach future generations the skills necessary to become fully functional adults.⁵⁶ By 1875, women's increased role in education was among those things enumerated as being responsible for the nation's improved educational status.⁵⁷ Table 2 (below) provides an overview of when and where women gained the right to hold educational offices during the nineteenth century. In many places a state's voters elected women to educational offices prior to legislative adoptions. A close examination of chronology and geography of women's educational office holding suggests two different periods of development. What follows are brief descriptions of the pattern of women's office holding in each of these periods.

Without Explicit (Dis)approval: Women Holding School Offices, 1840-1870s

While women's educational office holding was sometimes contentious, the suggestion that women be considered for such offices was not new to the late nineteenth century. As school systems became more formalized beginning in the 1810s, 20s and 30s, states and territories began creating school offices with the responsibility to oversee schools, teachers and students. Often local officials, these officers were known by a variety of names such as school visitors, school trustees, or school directors to

⁵⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1871*, 65.

⁵⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Education . . . for the year 1875*, xxiii.

Table 2: Comparison of school suffrage and women's educational office holding adoption dates from a variety of sources prior to adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment

State	Female school suffrage adoption per literature ^a	Adoption of school suffrage from legislative records ^b	Adoption of school suffrage for taxpayers and/or parents/guardians ^b	Adoption of school suffrage provisions naming women without taxpayer or parent limitations ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding with explicit gender reference ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding without explicit gender reference ^b
		See Chapter 1				
Alabama						1868
Alaska		1913 ^c			1913 ^c	
Arizona	1887	1883		1883	1883	
Arkansas						
California	1911 ^c	1911 ^c			1874	
Colorado	1876	1870	1870	1876	1893	1870
Connecticut	1893	1893		1893 ^f		1841
Delaware	1898	1889, 1898	1889, 1898		1889	
Florida		1889	1848		1893 ^d	
Georgia						
Hawaii					1892 ^e	
Idaho	1889, 1896 ^c	1879	1879		1883	
Illinois	1891	1891		1891	1873	
Indiana		1861	1861		1881	
Iowa	1894, 1895	1894	1894		1876	
Kansas	1859, 1861, 1887	1861		1861 ^f	1861	
Kentucky	1838, 1888, 1893, 1894, 1912	1838, 1870–1902, 1912	1838, 1870 ^f	1912 ^f		1887
Louisiana		1898	1898		1879	
Maine					1881	1869
Maryland						1868
Massachusetts	1879	1879	1879		1874	
Michigan	1855, 1875, 1885	1855	1855			1867
Minnesota	1875, 1878, 1885	1875		1875 ^f	1875	
Mississippi	1878, 1880	1878	1878			1878
Missouri						1889
Montana	1887, 1889	1883	1883		1883	
Nebraska	1869, 1875, 1881, 1883	1867	1867			1867
Nevada	1914 ^a	1914 ^a			1889	
New Hampshire	1878	1878		1878	1872	1870
New Jersey	1887–1894	1887		1887	1874	
New Mexico	1910	1910		1910 ^f	1910	
New York	1880	1880		1880	1880	
North Carolina		1901	1901			

State	Female school suffrage adoption per literature ^a	Adoption of school suffrage from legislative records ^b	Adoption of school suffrage for taxpayers and/or parents/guardians ^b	Adoption of school suffrage provisions naming women without taxpayer or parent limitations ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding with explicit gender reference ^b	Adoption of women's educational office holding without explicit gender reference ^b
		See Chapter 1				
North Dakota	1883, 1887, 1889	1879	1879		1883	1875
Ohio	1894	1894		1894	1894	
Oklahoma	1890	1890		1890		1890
Oregon	1878, 1882	1862	1862		1882	
Pennsylvania					1873	
Rhode Island						1842
South Carolina		1889	1889			
South Dakota	1883, 1887, 1889	1879	1879		1883	1875
Tennessee					1889	1873
Texas						1870
Utah	1870 ^c	1863, 1870–1887 ^c , 1896 ^c	1863		1896 ^c	
Vermont	1880	1880		1880	1880	
Virginia						
Washington	1890	1858-1860, 1871, 1877, 1883-1887 ^c , 1888 ^c , 1890	1873		1877	1855
West Virginia						1877
Wisconsin	1885, 1886, 1900	1886		1886	1875	
Wyoming	1869 ^c	1869 ^c	1869		1869 ^c	

Note: This table compares the data found in scholarly literature with the earliest legislative dates for both women's educational office holding and female school suffrage. These are differentiated as to whether adoptions exclusively mention women without further qualification or use terms such as *taxpayer*, *parent*, *person(s)*, *resident*, *inhabitant(s)*, or *parent* to define qualifications. Even when legislative or constitutional provision explicitly granted women the right to vote on school matters or hold educational offices, conflicting provisions and court challenges may have limited their actual effect.

^a Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 365; and Michael Callahan Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of America," *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (April 2012): 24–56.

^b These are the earliest dates found by the author. Multiple dates reflect major changes in a state's school suffrage provisions. Earlier dates may exist. Women were likely elected to local school offices before they were legislatively granted the right to hold such offices, even in states where no such privilege ever legally existed.

^c Adopted full woman suffrage.

^d Report by the commissioner of education indicated widows or female guardians of children have the right to serve as school trustees. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894–95*, vol. 1 [William T. Harris, Commissioner] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 960. No such provision located in Florida legislative or court records to verify.

^e Provisions adopted in 1892 were preserved when Hawaii officially became a US territory in 1900.

^f Legislation included restrictions related to citizenship, race, literacy, time, and/or place of election.

name just a few. In some cases, Legislatures did not specifically mention gender in defining the qualifications for the school offices, thereby potentially leaving opportunities open for women. Connecticut passed legislation in 1841 allowing the *inhabitants* of school districts to serve on school committees and as school visitors.⁵⁸ The 1842 Rhode Island Constitution exempted school committee members from the requirement that they be qualified voters.⁵⁹ Recognition of this right led the *Providence Journal* to recommend the appointment of women in 1874 because no law prohibited such action.⁶⁰ Similarly, both Washington Territory and Oregon during the 1850s defined qualified school voters and qualified local school office holders as *inhabitants* who were responsible for paying taxes in addition to road taxes.⁶¹ In defining terms used in Oregon's statutes, the Legislature defined "inhabitant" to mean a resident in any city or town.⁶² By practice, this definition was extended to include a resident of any school district. In an 1880 article considering whether women should have even limited access to the ballot, the editors of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* included Maine, Maryland, and Texas in the list of those states that allowed women to hold educational offices and whose education statutes failed to specify gender when defining qualified educational officeholders.⁶³ Examination of state statutes shows that these states did in fact have education statutes without any gendered qualification for local school officers, something long overlooked by scholars. In 1870, legislation in New

⁵⁸ *Public Acts of the State of Connecticut, Passed May Session, 1841* (Hartford: J. Holbrook, 1841), 44–47.

⁵⁹ Article IX, Section 1, *The Constitution of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations* (Providence: Knowles and Vose, 1842), 15.

⁶⁰ (*Bangor, ME*) *Daily Whig & Courier*, March 26, 1874, 2.

⁶¹ *General Laws Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oregon ... December 6, 1852* (Oregon: Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1853), 56; and *Statutes of the Territory of Washington: Being the Code Passed by the Legislative Assembly* (Olympia, WA: Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), 225–226.

⁶² *Laws of a General and Local Nature Passed by the Legislative Committee and Legislative Assembly Collected and Published Pursuant to an Act of the Legislative Assembly, Passed January 26, 1853* (Salem, OR: Asahel Bush, Territorial Printer, 1853), 198.

⁶³ "Sex and the Ballot." For the specific statutes see *Acts and Resolves of the Forty-Eighth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, ME: Sprague, Owen & Nash, Printers to the State, 1869), 58; *Laws of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis: William Thompson, of R., Printer, 1868), 745–746; and *General Laws of the Twelfth Legislature of the State of Texas* (Austin: Tracy, Siemering and Company, 1870), 114.

Hampshire defined membership in town boards of education as consisting of at least three persons.⁶⁴ It is obvious that the term “person” was understood to include both men and women. In a clarifying act two years later, legislation specifically opening school offices to women passed the New Hampshire legislature.⁶⁵ As shown in Figure 4 (below), states and territories continued to include non-gendered language in their education statutes throughout the century with Oklahoma doing so in 1890.⁶⁶

Non-gender-specific language allowed advocates of women’s educational office holding like Mary Peabody Mann to support women’s election to school offices without explicit statutory rights to do so. Beginning in the 1840s Mann, the long-time secretary and eventual wife of Horace Mann, recommended that women serve on school committees. She felt that because of their understanding of children, women would alter school expectations to better fit the physical and mental needs of young children.⁶⁷ She would join other prominent Boston women in forming the New England Women’s Club in 1868. Beyond self-improvement, the members of the club sought to improve conditions for those around them, particularly less-fortunate women, arguing that the only way to improve the general condition of women and prepare them for eventual full political rights was through reforming schools. With such reforms as a central goal, by 1872, the club’s education committee worked to elect women to the Boston Board of Education, achieving this goal in 1874 with the election of four women to the board.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *Laws of the State of New Hampshire* (Nashua: Orren C. Moore, State Printer, 1870), 410.

⁶⁵ *Laws of the State of New Hampshire* (Nashua: Orren C. Moore, State Printer, 1872), 18.

⁶⁶ *The Statutes of Oklahoma 1890* (Guthrie: The State Capital Printing Co., 1891), 1129.

⁶⁷ Mary Peabody Mann [Mrs. Horace Mann] and Elizabeth Peabody, *Moral Culture of Infancy, and Kindergarten Guide* (Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham, 1864), 107–08.

⁶⁸ Polly Welts Kaufman, *Boston Women and City School Politics, 1872-1905* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 3-38.

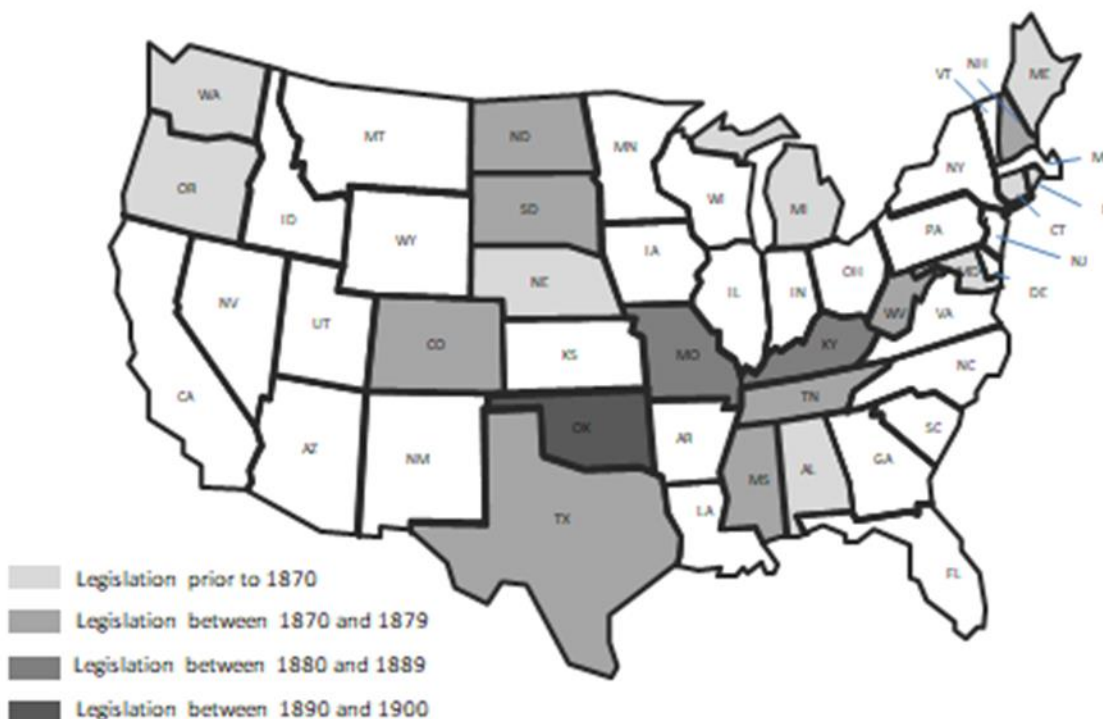


Figure 4: State legislation defined school officers as an inhabitant or person, without limiting the office to qualified (male) voters

In actuality, women were holding elective educational offices long before they were explicitly given legislative approval to do so. The earliest known election of a woman to an educational office with supervisory duties found to date occurred in 1840 when Emma Willard, the founder of the Troy Female Seminary and a leading educational reformer of the era, was chosen to superintend four communities' summer sessions at a town meeting in Kensington, Connecticut. Willard generally couched her advocacy for reforms relative to women's education and women's role in education in conservative terms and she made sure to establish how reforms fit within women's natural sphere as mothers.⁶⁹ Through her friendship with Henry Barnard, secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education, she was asked to prepare a paper for the spring 1840 meeting of the Kensington School Society. Impressed by what she had to say, the school society

⁶⁹ Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, 6.

invited her, subject to the approval and consent of the visiting committee, to take charge of the common schools for the ensuing (summer) session.⁷⁰ She informed the community she would accept if she had the unanimous support of both the men and the women of the community as she carried out her duties. Among her plans for the summer included appointing assistant teachers from among the most qualified students, implementing end-of-term examinations (something not previously done), and installing clocks in each school to allow for better regulation of the school day.⁷¹ In his examination of Willard's educational contributions in 1858, Henry Fowler, at the time professor of political economy at New York's Rochester University recognized the "extraordinary nature of [Willard's election] and wondered "whether it does not inaugurate a new and correct principle of public action."⁷² Much like later writers, he pondered why, if school committees could legally hire women to teach, voters could not elect women to superintend those same schools.⁷³

Women's election as educational officers, particularly as school directors, was not necessarily unusual. In 1855, two women were elected as school trustees in Ashfield, Massachusetts, with one, Lydia Hall, serving for four years.⁷⁴ Hall and her colleague could not have been the only women to serve in such positions prior to the Civil War because the *New York Tribune* noted in 1866 that Kansas would benefit from opening local school offices to women because "everywhere these laws work well, and many women are elected to important

⁷⁰ R[oyal] Robbins to H[enry] Barnard, May 3, 1842 in "Report of the Secretary," *Connecticut Common School Journal* 4, no. 15 (September 1, 1842): 193. There is some controversy as to whether Willard was actually elected to the position although in correspondence in 1846 she indicated that she had been elected superintendent in Kensington in 1840. See Robert E. Nelson, *American Antigone: Women, Education, Nation, 1800–1870* (PhD diss., Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, 2008), 185n59.

⁷¹ Henry Fowler, "Educational Services of Mrs. Emma Willard," in *American Journal of Education* vol. 6 ed. Henry Barnard (Hartford, CT: F. C. Brownell, 1859), 162–163.

⁷² Fowler, "Educational Services of Mrs. Emma Willard," 161.

⁷³ Fowler, "Educational Services of Mrs. Emma Willard," 162.

⁷⁴ *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, vol. 8, no. 4 (May 1855): 79; and Frederick G. Howes, *History of the Town of Ashfield Franklin County, Massachusetts from its Settlement in 1742 to 1910* (Ashfield, MA: Town of Ashfield, 1910), 183.

offices and fill them with ability.”⁷⁵ Women’s election to several school committees in Massachusetts in 1868 made newspapers across the nation,⁷⁶ and between 1868 and 1871, school committees gained women as members in most of New England.⁷⁷ The *Palmer (MA) Journal* sang the praises of Lottie Hill as she carried out her school trustee duties in the fall of 1869, five years before the Massachusetts legislature explicitly granted women the right to hold the office.⁷⁸ In 1871, without clear legislative policy specifically granting the right to hold such office, the entire school board of Tiverton, Rhode Island, was composed of women.⁷⁹ The information that this school board was made up exclusively of women appears to have been given only brief notice locally. When this occurred again in Tiverton in 1894, however, papers across the nation noted it.⁸⁰ Little fanfare attended the February 1872 election of Jennie Williams as school director for Hickory Township in Forest County, Pennsylvania.⁸¹ This was a year before Pennsylvania included a provision in the state’s constitution making women eligible “to any office of control or management under the school laws of this State.”⁸² These examples hint at the possibility of additional women serving in school districts across the nation during the period prior to Reconstruction. It is likely that women elected to school boards in small school districts received little notice outside of their home communities because it was not perceived to be politically significant.

⁷⁵ The Far West Teaching Liberality to the East,” as cited in the (*San Francisco*) *Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 27, 1866, 1.

⁷⁶ *New Orleans Republican*, March 21, 1868, 1; and *Nashville (TN) Union and American*, December 23, 1868, 1.

⁷⁷ See “All Sorts and Sizes,” *Bangor (ME) Daily Whig and Courier*, October 21, 1869, 1; “Multiple News Items,” (*Washington, DC*) *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 29, 1869; “All Sorts and Sizes,” *Bangor (ME) Daily Whig and Courier*, March 16, 1870, 1; “New England News,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 1, 1870, 2; and “Women on School Boards,” *Cleveland Morning Herald*, April 15, 1871, 2.

⁷⁸ “Miss Lottie Hill Member School Board Palmer, Mass,” *Woman’s Journal*, January 1870, 3.

⁷⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1872*, 306.

⁸⁰ For example, see (*Earlington, KY*) *Bee*, August 23, 1894, 4; (*Asheville (NC) Daily Citizen*, September 11, 1894, 3; (*San Francisco*) *Morning Call*, October 14, 1894, 15; and (*Phillipsburg (KS) Herald*, November 7, 1895, 1.

⁸¹ “Forest County Items,” *Petroleum Centre (PA) Daily Record*, February 22, 1872, 3.

⁸² *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Benjamin Singerly, State Printer, 1874), 21.

In 1874, four women were elected to Boston's 126-member School Committee.⁸³ When it came time for the women to join the board, the other members refused to seat them because they were women. Lucia Peabody, one of the four, challenged her exclusion in court. Although the court would find in favor of the Boston School Committee in the suit brought by Lucia Peabody, the court issued an opinion about the broader issues raised in the case that would become pivotal later not just in Massachusetts but nationwide. The court saw two separate issues in the Peabody case. The first had to do with the decentralized structure of political authority in the state. The court determined that under the revised city charter, the board of aldermen, the common council, and the school committee had the authority to decide all questions related to the qualifications and elections of their officers and, therefore, could exclude Peabody merely because she was a woman.⁸⁴ Yet in the *Opinion of the Justices*, issued separately from *Peabody v. Boston School Committee*, the Massachusetts Supreme Court decided, "The necessary conclusion is that there is nothing in the Constitution of the Commonwealth to prevent a woman from being a member of a school committee."⁸⁵ In fact, the court's examination of common law tradition found that women were permitted to fill any local office of an administrative character with duties they could perform competently. Just as court cases related to school suffrage limited women's voting to educational offices not defined by state constitutions, those cases related to women's educational office holding generally found them eligible for those educational offices not defined by a state's constitution. This was due in part to a common law tradition of women's office holding.⁸⁶

Although the court was unable to provide the women relief in the *Peabody* case, the Massachusetts Legislature passed legislation granting women the right to hold elective school

⁸³ "The Women's Work in Education," *School Journal* 73, no. 5 (August 18, 1906): 102.

⁸⁴ *Peabody v. Boston School Committee*, 115 Mass 383 (1874).

⁸⁵ *Opinion of the Justices*, 115 Mass 602 (1874).

⁸⁶ For example, see *Wright v. Noell*, 16 Kan. 601 (1876); *Huff v. Cook*, 44 Iowa 639 (1876); *State, Crosby v. Cones*, 15 Neb. 444 (1884); and *State, Hahn, v. Gorton*, 33 Minn. 345 (1885).

district offices at that year's legislative session and the women were successfully re-elected the following year.⁸⁷

Women not only held local school offices without explicit statutory approval, they were also elected as county school superintendents. Elected as county superintendent of common schools for Maury County, Tennessee in 1868, Mrs. E. F. Allison was denied the office by John Eaton, the state superintendent of public instruction at the time (later U.S. Commissioner of Education), who after being asked to consider Allison's right to hold office found her election unconstitutional.⁸⁸ In 1869, after she was elected as county school superintendent, Julia Addington wrote Iowa's state superintendent for clarification of her right to hold the office. In response, after checking with the state's attorney general, the superintendent wrote that he could find no reason for her not to serve, as "No better opportunity could be afforded [her] for elevating schools, and the vocation which [she had] chosen."⁸⁹ By 1875, ten women were serving as county superintendents in Iowa when their right to hold office was contested by an unsuccessful male candidate. The following year, Iowa's legislature passed legislation declaring, "No person shall be deemed ineligible by reason of sex, to any school office in the state of Iowa."⁹⁰ Kansas began electing women as county superintendents in 1872, with six serving in the position by 1875, when the losing male candidate from Coffey County contested the right of women to be elected to the office. In that case, *Wright v. Noell*, the Kansas Supreme Court found in Mary P. Wright's favor, she having received the highest number of votes, because nothing in

⁸⁷ *Nashville (TN) Union and American*, June 30, 1874, 1; and *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1874* (Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1874), 443.

⁸⁸ "Women and the Offices," (*Winchester, TN) Home Journal*, April 16, 1868, 2. The woman is identified as Mrs. E. T. Carter in the *Boston Investigator* (April 15, 1868, 397) and as Mrs. E. F. Allison in *Brownlow's Knoxville (TN) Whig* (April 15, 1868, 1).

⁸⁹ Cheryl Mullenbach, "The Election of Julia Addington: An Accidental Milestone in Iowa Politics," *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* (Fall 2007): 1–8.

⁹⁰ Ruth A. Gallaher, *Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa, an Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), 229–30.

the state's constitution, the language creating the office, or in the enumerated duties of the office implied exclusion based on sex.⁹¹

Prior to the mid-1870s, women were elected as educational officers without being explicitly being granted the legislative right to do so. In several states, like Iowa and Kansas, court intervention was required to clarify their right to hold office based on the idea that they were not explicitly denied such right by either constitutional or legislative mandate. These court decisions resulted in legislative intervention mirroring the voters' desire to elect women to office.

A Shift in Definitions: Women's Educational Office Holding 1870s to 1900

Beginning in the early 1870s, states began to specifying gender in the qualifications required to become a school officer. Ten states would do so before the end of the decade, with twenty-nine states and territories prior to 1900 making it legally explicit that women could be elected or appointed to educational offices (see Figure 5). The majority of these provisions were part of the legislation related to public (common) schools, with only six states or territories—such as Pennsylvania and Louisiana, which were early adopters—including them in their constitution.⁹² Significantly, several of the states and territories that specifically identified women as qualified educational officers did not have school or woman suffrage at the time of the legislative action.

Several factors contributed to this shift. As indicated earlier, the present research reveals that women were already being elected to educational offices throughout the nation before 1870.

⁹¹ *Wright v. Noell* 16 Kansas 161 (1876).

⁹² *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania also Laws of the General Assembly of Said Commonwealth, Passed at the Session of 1874* (Harrisburg, PA: Benjamin Singerly, State Printer, 1874), 21; and *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the Regular Session* (New Orleans: E. A. Brandao, State Printer, 1880), 56.

As women increasingly won offices that held the potential for political prominence or included some form of monetary benefit, men began to challenge women's right to those offices. This in turn eventually led to more explicit legislative provisions recognizing existing practice. Two court opinions in the mid 1870s, one in Massachusetts and one in Iowa, made it clear that women could hold those offices not defined by a state or territory's constitution. It is possible that law makers in other states opted to codify the right before it could be adjudicated. Several states including Maine and New Hampshire originally adopted non-gendered language and later adopted gendered language to define the qualifications of educational office holders.

Additionally, issues raised during the Civil War and Reconstruction regarding both general citizenship rights and women's rights were important contextual factors. Women's involvement with the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War provided explicit evidence of women's ability to attend to administrative responsibilities related to areas considered to be within women's natural sphere of caring for home and family.⁹³ During the period of debate around the 14th and 15th amendments, there was also increasing agitation for women's political rights. While general woman suffrage may not have been politically acceptable, allowing women to hold office did not always find the same level of opposition.

In examining where the inclusion of explicitly gendered terminology in school office provisions occurred geographically, it becomes obvious that it was a northern and western phenomenon. As early as 1873, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, John Eaton, noted that if women were increasingly holding educational offices above the local level in New England "they may naturally be looked for also in the flexible and sometimes impulsive West."⁹⁴

⁹³ For more information on women's role in the U.S. Sanitary Commission see: Judith Ann Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000).

⁹⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1873*, cxxxiii.

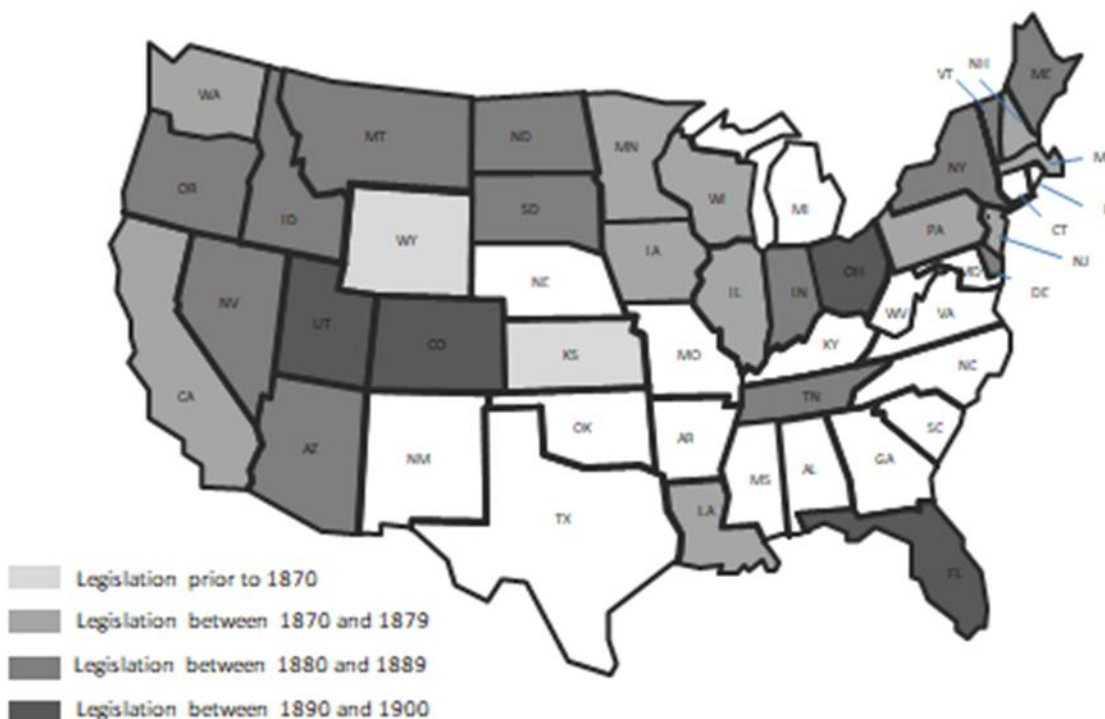


Figure 5: State legislation regarding school officer qualifications explicitly included women

Within a year, California made it possible for women to hold all educational offices not specifically mentioned in the constitution. This occurred well before the same state granted women school or general suffrage. This chronology of events has generally been overlooked by those who have assumed that female school suffrage came first and led to women's increasing political rights and role in educational leadership.⁹⁵

To date the historical record of women's educational office holding during the nineteenth century has focused on states in New England and the Midwest particularly Massachusetts, New York, Illinois and Wisconsin. It is difficult to ascertain how many women were elected as school district officers during the period due to the lack of any form of centralized record keeping. Better records are available for those women elected to superintendencies, although those

⁹⁵ *The Statutes of California, Passed at the Twentieth Session of the Legislature, 1873–74* (Sacramento: G. H. Springer, State Printer, 1874), 356.

records too have gaps. Records indicate that by 1876, nine states and two territories had at least one woman serving as a county superintendent (see Figure 6). Not all states provided complete information regarding the names of the state's educational officers. There may in fact have been more women serving as educational officers above local levels than this finding indicates.

The 1876 data indicates that the election of women as county superintendents, although nationwide, occurred more frequently in the Midwest. Using a method similar to one used by Jackie Blount in her examination of women superintendents during the twentieth century, data was collected for three dates between 1885 and 1915 in approximately fifteen year increments.⁹⁶ By considering women's election as county school superintendents over a forty-year span (between 1876 and 1915), it is possible to see that while the Midwest continued to elect women to the position throughout this period, women filled the positions at significantly higher rates in western states, particularly the upper West, than elsewhere in the country. This occurred despite the fact that women were not able to vote for the position in most states much of the study period (see Table 3 p. 103).

Most states and territories granting some form of female school suffrage did not extend women's school voting rights to offices beyond their local school district or school meetings. This meant that, except in a few states with full woman suffrage, men were nominating and electing women as county school superintendents throughout the period. Although on the surface the pattern of increasing numbers of women serving as county superintendents mirrors the early adoption of full woman suffrage, there were actually dramatic differences in the pattern of these two developments.⁹⁷ During the period of this study, several of the states did adopt full woman

⁹⁶ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*.

⁹⁷ The question of full woman suffrage is outside the purview of this study. For those interested in learning more about suffrage adoptions in the West see: Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*; Holly J. McCammon and Karen E. Campbell, "Winning the Vote in the West: The Political Successes of the Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866–



Figure 6: States and Territories with Women Serving as County Superintendents, 1876 (incomplete)

suffrage—at least temporarily in the case of Washington—but there appears to be limited correlation between women having the right to vote and the number of women elected to these paid positions. In some places and periods, women’s school and/or general suffrage did seem to correspond to increases in women’s school office holding, but in other cases comparable circumstances produced divergent results. Although the nomination of women for county school superintendent began in Washington Territory in 1874, the number of women elected to the office increased dramatically the year after full woman suffrage was adopted in 1883. This occurred despite the fact that women’s votes represented less than 19 percent of the total votes

1919,” *Gender & Society* 15, no. 1 (February 2001): 55–82; T. A. Larson, “Dolls, Vassals, and Drudges – Pioneer Women in the West,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (January 1972): 4–16; and Virginia Scharff, “Else Surely We Shall All Hang Separately: The Politics of Western Women’s History,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 61, no. 4 (November 1992): 535–555.

cast.⁹⁸ The Idaho Territory legislature agreed that women could hold the office of county superintendent in 1883; Colorado did not do so until 1893. Yet, despite both states adopting full woman suffrage during the 1890s, Colorado elected a much higher percentage of women as county superintendents than did Idaho. Wyoming, with full woman suffrage during the entire period, by the late 1880s elected women at a similar rate as Montana where women were restricted to voting for local school offices or on tax matters, without enjoying general woman suffrage.

While some territories--later states--elected women as county school superintendents, neighboring territories did not. Many of the western territories initially extended educational office holding opportunities as school board trustees to women who paid school taxes. Later legislation included specific gendered language opening such offices to all adult women, although sometimes those laws required potential officeholders to hold teaching credentials for offices outside of local school districts. Wyoming, with the adoption of full woman suffrage as a territory in 1869, allowed women to run for county superintendent. Washington with no such provision began nominating women in 1874. Montana and Idaho both passed laws allowing women to run for county superintendent in 1883 with women in Montana quickly becoming the majority of those elected, a pattern which did not occur in Idaho until full woman suffrage was adopted in 1896. Although Dakota Territory had allowed women to hold school offices through legislative action, only South Dakota incorporated such a right into the state's first constitution in 1889; North Dakota did not.⁹⁹ The territory of Hawaii maintained a policy, adopted while it was

⁹⁸ Robert E. Ficken, *Washington Territory* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 2002), 189.

⁹⁹ *General Laws and Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Dakota* (Yankton, DT: W. S. Bowen & Company, Press and Dakotaian Print, 1875), 173–74; *Laws Passed at the Thirteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota* (Yankton, DT: Bowen & Kingsbury, Public Printers, Press and Dakotaian Office, 1879), 42; *Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota* (Yankton, DT: Bowen & Kingsbury, Public Printers, Press and Dakotaian, 1883), 71; and *Laws Passed at the First*

an independent kingdom, that allowed women to be appointed as commissioners of education, but they could make up no more than a third of the board.¹⁰⁰ While most of the states passing legislation to allow women to hold educational offices during the late nineteenth century did so before 1890, New Mexico, which became a U.S. territory in 1850 before the territories of the upper West, would not allow women to hold educational offices until 1910.¹⁰¹

By 1900 the majority of states and territories explicitly allowed women to serve as school visitors, school trustees, and other local school district offices. It is difficult to determine how many women were appointed to or elected to local educational offices during the nineteenth century, however. Records for the hundreds of thousands of rural school districts, if they survive at all, are scattered in a wide variety of locations. Limited available data provides clues as to the extent of women's actual involvement as elected officials. Prior to 1900, women were explicitly granted the right to hold local school offices in thirty states. Another eleven states, including southern states like Alabama, Mississippi and Florida, did not restrict their election or appointment of women to local school offices. Evidence collected from newspapers and education-related publications indicate that women were elected to educational offices in forty-four states, including states like Virginia where the constitution explicitly limited office holding to male electors.¹⁰² The editor of the *Overland Monthly Magazine* reported that, in 1881, ninety-eight women served on school boards in seventy-two Massachusetts towns.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, about a thousand women were serving on rural school boards in California, filling about 25 percent of

Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota (Pierre, SD: State Bindery Co., Printers, 1890), xi, xx – xxi, xxvi.

¹⁰⁰ *Laws of Her Majesty Liliuokalani Queen of the Hawaiian Islands Passed by the Legislative Assembly at its Session 1892* (Honolulu: Robert Grieve, Steam Book and Job, 1892), 183.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Press of the Morning Journal, 1910), 132–34, 231.

¹⁰² "Woman Elected School Trustee," *Washington (DC) Post*, March 29, 1896, 11.

¹⁰³ M[ilicent] W[ashburn] Shinn, "Women on School Boards," *Overland Monthly* 12 (November 1888): 550–51.

the available positions.¹⁰⁴ Only Georgia was adamant that women could neither vote for nor hold any offices without direct legislative approval.¹⁰⁵

More significantly, records provide evidence that women were elected to regional school offices in at least thirty states prior to 1900 (see Figure 7). Unlike local school offices, these were paid governmental positions. In most of these states, women served as county or township superintendents, with women filling nearly all the positions available in states like Wyoming and Montana. Information regarding the number of women elected as county school superintendents is difficult to locate because state education department reports are often incomplete and fail to mention who held the position in the various counties or townships. Systematic collection of such data at a national level did not start until 1904, but the data that does exist shows that in 1900 at least 276 women served as county school superintendents.¹⁰⁶

The adoption of full woman suffrage during the last decade of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth centuries increased the likelihood of women being elected to regional or state educational offices. Except in a few limited examples, a clear relationship between general woman suffrage and the successful election of women to office has not been established. It is clear, however, that changes in laws governing women's office holding s increased women's opportunities for both nomination and election to political offices. Three of the four states that elected women as state superintendent of public instruction prior to 1900 had also adopted full woman suffrage. These states (Colorado, Idaho, and Wyoming) also had already begun to have a tradition of electing women as county school superintendents. However the first state to elect a woman to a state level office (superintendent of public instruction) did so

¹⁰⁴ Shinn, "Women on School Boards."

¹⁰⁵ *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta: Geo. W. Harrison, State Printer, 1897), 41–42.

¹⁰⁶ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 178; and Lathrop, "Teaching as a Vocation."

holders were paid for their service. While the adoption of school suffrage provisions as discussed in Chapter One likely increased the number of women serving on school boards, the increase in the number of regional school officers such as county superintendents occurred despite women's lack of ability to vote for the position to which they were elected to serve. The exact number of women elected to paid positions as educational officers has yet to be determined. Nineteenth century educational directories along with state and national education reports suggest that these female officers were elected in much greater numbers in the West even in those places without woman suffrage. Collecting more in-depth information about the women nominated and elected to these positions would help reveal not only how these women served as educational leaders, but how they were able to demonstrate political agency at a time when women's political rights were restricted. This is the focus of the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

Table 3: Women Holding County or Township Superintendencies
 (Values shown in **percent** of total officeholders)

		1885 ^a							1900 ^b							1915 ^c						
		<1	1-10	11-25	25-49	50-74	75-100	<1	1-10	11-25	25-49	50-74	75-100	<1	1-10	11-25	25-49	50-74	75-100			
New England	Connecticut																					
	Maine	X													4							
	Massachusetts	X													3							
	New Hampshire	X													3							
	Rhode Island	X													6							
	Vermont		1							7						3						
Mid Atlantic	Delaware																					
	Maryland																					
	New York (only 1893-94)									20						18						
	New Jersey																					
	Pennsylvania									1												
	Virginia																					
	West Virginia																					
South	Alabama																					
	Arkansas																					
	Florida																					
	Georgia																					
	Kentucky										13						20					
	Louisiana																					
	Mississippi																					

	North Carolina																			
	Oklahoma								33						23					
	South Carolina																			
	Tennessee		1					9							6					
	Texas														4					
Midwest	Illinois (only 1891-92)		6					8							8					
	Indiana														1					
	Iowa		10						13										55	
	Kansas 1912*			14						25									51	
	Michigan		1						10							12				
	Minnesota (1885)		5							17								33		
	Missouri								8							18				
	Nebraska			12						11									53	
	North Dakota (1889)		10							22								33		
	Ohio								2											
	South Dakota		10								32								60	
	Wisconsin (1885) 1918*				12						13					25				
	Upper West	Idaho (1885) 1896*										67							68	
		Montana 1914*					69						100							98
Oregon 1912*														6						
Washington 1883-87*, 1910*					39					22								49		
Wyoming 1869*						50							79						86	

Southwest	Arizona (1912)																14			
	California 1911*		10								30							43		
	Colorado 1893*											57							73	
	Nevada 1914*								8											
	New Mexico																19			
	Utah 1870-82*, 1896*									11										

Date in parenthesis is the year women were granted the right to vote for county superintendent. Dates with an asterisk (*) is the year women received full suffrage rights.

^a *Handbook of School Superintendents for 1886–1887* (New York: The Writers’ Publishing Company, 1886).

^b “Women in School Administration,” *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1899–1900* vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 2589–2595.

^c Katherine M. Cook and A. C. Monahan, *Rural School Supervision* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917), 38.

Chapter Three: Women as Political Beings

This chapter focuses on the nomination and election of women as county superintendents in Montana and Washington during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. A woman was first nominated in Washington Territory to serve as an elected county school superintendent in 1874 and the first woman was successfully elected in 1876. In Montana Territory, two women were successfully nominated and elected in 1882. Although women were being elected in other states across the nation during the same period (as examined in Chapter 2), the proportion of county superintendent who were women nominated, elected or appointed as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington quickly exceeded those elected in other states and territories. To understand how and why this occurred during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, an in-depth study of the election records of both Montana and Washington was conducted for the period. Through the use of official election records, state superintendents' reports, contemporary newspaper, census and vital records, 324 women have been identified as being appointed, nominated and/or elected during the period from 1874 to 1900; 150 in Washington and 174 in Montana. There were likely more women in both states that ran for the office than have been discovered to date. Lack of retention of early records by county officials, courthouse fires and floods, lost or missing community newspapers, along with no plan for long term storage or centralized retention of governmental records, all contributed to gaps in the data. Nonetheless, minimal election data was successfully collected for 610 individual races with complete election results, including the names of all official candidates, located for 574, just over

94 percent of those races, with somewhat more complete information for Montana's races than Washington's.¹

The evidence analyzed in this chapter shows that the political environment played a role in creating the acceptability of nominating and electing women to public office. This includes the relative weakness of the various political parties in dictating political outcomes. Examination of political party nominations and election results also demonstrates that no single political party played a dominant or decisive role in women's election to educational offices. Less clear is the role of woman suffrage campaigns in supporting women's election to office, given that women's nomination and election often occurred despite a lack of suffrage. The relative strength of women's political and professional networks played a role not only in preparing women for leadership opportunities but in bringing them to the attention of party operatives. An analysis of these factors reveals that there is no single answer to the question of why women were elected in Montana and Washington during the nineteenth century at numbers significantly higher than in other territories and states in the nation. Instead the evidence suggests that a combination of factors contributed to their election with the cases of Montana and Washington often providing conflicting information.

For the purposes of this study only those women who were formally nominated by a political convention or appointed to serve as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington have been included in the analysis. Additional women did have their names recommended during the nomination or appointment process without receiving the party's nomination or being appointed to vacant county superintendent positions. Examples include the 1884 King County (WA) Democratic convention that nominated Mary Condon on the second

¹ See Appendix C (Montana) and Appendix D (Washington) for the names of individuals identified as appointed to, nominated for and elected as county school superintendent along with county election results.

ballot with 40 votes to 20 for Viola Kenyon.² Mary Condon withdrew days after her nomination and her name did not appear on the official ballot and, despite individuals considering her qualified for the position, Viola Kenyon's name did not ever advance beyond discussions on the convention floor. In another case, the Jefferson County (MT) Democrats in 1888 opted to re-nominate William Dean as county superintendent although he had garnered strong opposition during his term. Those opposed to his candidacy supported Kate Hanley for nomination. A local newspaper, *The Age*, predicted that Dean would win anyway as "the sentiment of the people of the county generally being against womankind mixing in politics."³ The sentiment against women running for the office was obviously not too strong, however, given that at the convention Dean won re-nomination by a vote of 37 to Hanley's 30.⁴ After the convention's failure to nominate Hanley, there was a suggestion that she might enter the contest as an independent candidate, but that did not occur.⁵

During the nineteenth century, due to their lack of suffrage, it is likely that most women, even those nominated for elective offices, were nonpartisan. Historian Paul Baker, in her study of governance in rural New York, claimed that women were unlikely to be partisan except episodically because to suggest otherwise would imply that women were "either stupidly willing to waste their time or the dupes of men who extracted free political labor."⁶ Historian Mark Voss-Hubbard went even further suggesting the women during the nineteenth century were nonpartisan because their reform interests focused more on issues related to civic governance and issues which concentrated on the wellbeing of local communities including issues related to

² *Seattle Daily Post Intelligencer*, September 7, 1884, 3.

³ "Democratic Convention," (*Boulder, MT*) *Age*, September 5, 1888, 6.

⁴ (*Boulder, MT*) *Age*, September 12, 1888, 4.

⁵ (*Boulder, MT*) *Age*, October 17, 1888, 4.

⁶ Paula Baker, "The Midlife Crisis of the New Political History," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (June 1999): 164; and Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*.

schools, prohibition and related issues rather than partisan activities.⁷ Although there were women in both Montana and Washington who actively sought party nomination, the majority of women who ran on party tickets were not necessarily party supporters. As will be demonstrated below, many of the women nominated were approached by multiple parties to run as a candidate for county superintendent.

Nomination as a candidate for election was not the only way women were considered for the county school superintendency. In Carbon County (MT) in 1885, three women were considered for appointment to a vacant position. Among the candidates, all women, Lizzie McDonald would be appointed to the position and Martha Kearns would successfully win election to the position the following year. Mary Matteson would continue teaching and, despite her consideration for county superintendent by the county commissioners, her name would not be suggested again by any political party.⁸ It is not clear whether Washington's Emma Yule actively sought election as King County (WA)'s school superintendent, but a group of citizens circulated a petition containing the signatures of over 800 people favoring her candidacy prior to the party conventions in 1896.⁹ In the end, though, she did not receive nomination and by 1898 had moved on to become superintendent of the Everett city schools, in Snohomish County (WA). Although such cases are intriguing, the women involved in them are not included in the ensuing discussion due to the difficulties of systematically collecting such information across jurisdictions.

⁷ Mark Voss-Hubbard, "The Third Party Tradition" Reconsidered: Third Parties and American Public Life, 1830-1900," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (June 1999): 137-138.

⁸"Carbon's Officials Named," *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, January 5, 1895, 3.

⁹ *Seattle Evening Times*, August 29, 1896, 2.

The Role of Political Parties in Women's Election

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the office of the county school superintendent generally required nomination by a political party both Washington and Montana. Several political factors played a role in making the nomination and election of women as county superintendents acceptable to the general electorate in this context. These include the general weakness of local political parties in dictating party loyalty particularly for local elections and a strong “antiparty” tradition in the region. Additionally in this period local parties were willing to “fuse” with other parties in attempts to place the strongest candidate on the ballot even if it meant sacrificing their own party platforms. Scratch tickets and cross-party voting provide evidence that voters were willing to vote for those considered the best person regardless of party. Moreover, the strength of the Populist Party contributed to expanding the acceptability of women's partisan activity including election to office.¹⁰ While there were campaigns for woman suffrage in both states, with Washington adopting full woman suffrage between 1883 and 1888, the lack of women's right to vote did not significantly limit women's right to be elected as county school superintendents in either state. The following sections explore each of these factors in more detail.

Divergent Party Histories

Even though Montana (particularly Western Montana) and Washington were originally part of Washington territory, their political histories during the late territorial and early statehood periods were quite different. With the creation of Montana Territory in 1864, the Democratic Party quickly became the major political party in the region, drawing its strength from the

¹⁰ People's Party and Populist Party represent the same political party. Examination of the contemporary newspapers found the choice of name varied between election location and election cycle.

growing mining industry populated by Irish Catholic miners and other immigrants, along with individuals from the border states of the former Confederacy like Missouri.¹¹ During the 1890s, a major upheaval involving the mining industry also impacted Montana's political environment. A feud between Marcus Daly and William Clark, two mining moguls seeking both control of the copper industry and the state's government, led each man to buy newspapers and bribe political officials for their own political gains. This feud influenced county political organizations particularly in Silver Bow (MT), the state's most populous county, as well as the surrounding area.¹²

Unlike Montana, Washington leaned Republican after the end of the Civil War, although underlying discontent with the existing party system was also evidenced by People's Conventions and home-grown People's parties.¹³ Historian Carlos Schwantes, in his examination of Washington Territory's radical traditions, found that Washington's labor movement formed a coalition with middle-class reformers to create a local "People's Party" which advocated for liquor control, Chinese exclusion and control of city vice in Seattle during the 1880s. The party successfully elected their entire municipal ticket in 1884. Purely local in character, this People's Party should not be confused with the national People's Party/Populist Party established in 1891,

¹¹ Michael P. Malone and Dianne G. Dougherty, "Montana's Political Culture: A Century of Evolution," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31, no. 1 (Winter 1891): 46.

¹² For more information on this conflict see: Michael P. Malone, *Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); and David Emmons, "The Orange and the Green in Montana: A Reconsideration of the Clark-Daly Feud," *Arizona and the West* 28, no.3 (Autumn 1986): 225-45.

¹³ For information on the rise of utopian communities in Washington see: Charles Pierce LeWarne, *Utopias on Puget Sound, 1885-1915* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1995); and Justin Wadland, *Trying Home: The Rise and Fall of an Anarchist Utopia on Puget Sound* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014). For information on the growth of radical political elements in Washington, see: Carlos A. Schwantes, *Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979); and Jeffrey A. Johnson, *"They Are All Red Out Here": Socialist Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1895-1925* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

a distinction that will be discussed further below.¹⁴ Elections for the committee to frame Spokane (WA)'s city charter in 1890 included two separate tickets, the People's ticket composed of the city's leading businessmen and the Citizen's ticket representing the city's labor interests.¹⁵ According to Schwantes the Haymarket affair and subsequent trial in Chicago in 1886 led to a generalized stereotype that labor supporters were all "anarchists, thieves and dynamiters" which prevented their success in furthering their political aims at the time, although they continued to advocate for labor reforms within more mainstream parties.¹⁶ While radical labor elements found little support within mainstream parties, Washington's electorate had a strong proclivity against supporting governmental interference which helped shape their attitude toward political power brokers. In her book, *The People's Lobby*, Elisabeth Clemens found that in Washington "the popular antipathy toward state government tended to increase in direct proportion to the growth of state government. Instead, the desires for a minimalist state and extraparty politics found their voice in the movement toward ever more direct forms of democracy. To a much greater extent than any social-reform agenda, it was this concern for a more democratic political process that provided a unifying theme for Washington's reform politics."¹⁷

People's Conventions as an Alternative to Traditional Political Parties

Considering the role of political parties in local affairs, historian Ronald Formisano argued that when shifting attention "from presidential, congressional, and state elections to politics in cities, counties, and towns, the dominance of two-party competition and of partisan norms becomes problematic. Historians have long recognized implicitly or in passing the

¹⁴ Carlos A. Schwantes, "Protest in a Promised Land: Unemployment, Disinheritance, and the Origin of Labor Militancy in the Pacific Northwest," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (October 1982): 373-390.

¹⁵ "Spokane Charter Committee," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 2, 1890, 2.

¹⁶ Schwantes, *Radical Heritage*, 49.

¹⁷ Elisabeth S. Clemens, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 266.

tendency of Americans to eschew partisanship in local affairs.”¹⁸ One example of this impulse that Formisano cited was the creation of People’s or Citizen’s tickets, which removed party control over the selection of candidates. Washington, and to a lesser extent Montana, had a history of doing this.

Scholars focused on explaining national or regional precursors of the Populist or People’s Party have overlooked the use of “People’s Tickets” in the upper West, particularly in Washington, as a tool to shape local governments. A focus on state or national elections obscures these local phenomena, although such efforts are historically significant precisely because they expressed a general dissatisfaction with, or the local disorganization of, national political parties. The normative practice during the nineteenth century was for political parties to nominate slates of candidates and to print party tickets (until the adoption of the Australian ballot in the 1890s), thus enabling party faithful to vote for the party’s candidates (and allowing party leaders to observe party voting). In both Montana and Washington, local groups without affiliation to national political parties could also present a slate of candidates by printing their own ballots for potential voters. Organizers would call a “People’s Convention” open to all comers to nominate a slate of candidates. Examination of U.S. political history finds examples of these conventions occurring most frequently during times of political transition or turmoil as early as the 1830s.¹⁹ The practice seems to have been particularly common in the Upper West in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

¹⁸ Ronald Formisano, “The ‘Party Period’ Revisited,” *Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (June 1999): 100.

¹⁹ For example see: Max R. Williams, “The Foundations of the Whig Party in North Carolina: A Synthesis and a Modest Proposal,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 42, no. 2 (April 1970): 115-129; William Russell, “A. K. McClure and the People’s Party in the Campaign of 1860,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 4, no. 28 (October 1961): 335-345; Arthur Lewis Gelston, “Radical versus Straight-Out In Post-Reconstruction Beaufort County,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 75, no. 4 (October 1974): 225-237; and Douglas E. Booth, “Transportation, City Building, and Financial Crisis Milwaukee, 1852-1868,” *Journal of Urban History* 9, no. 3 (May 1983): 335-363.

People's Tickets allowed individuals unhappy with current political options and processes, often controlled by a single party, to come together and nominate those individuals thought to be the best persons for local (city and county) offices thereby creating an alternative slate of candidates to those presented by established political parties. The argument of the editor of the (*Tucson*) *Arizona Weekly Citizen* would have resonated with many who supported such tickets when they advocated voting for the People's ticket "and thereby condemn the purely demagogic demand to vote for a man because he is a partisan, in preference to one who is amply qualified for the office he seeks."²⁰ *Washington Standard's* brief descriptions of individuals nominated for Thurston County (WA)'s People's Ticket in 1872 demonstrated this desire. Some of the candidates, such as Cyril Ward, nominated for Joint Representative, had "left the Republican organization because he does not believe that any Christian can consistently support the machinations of the [party] Ring."²¹

People's conventions could draw almost exclusively from those originally supporting the Republican Party, as in Thurston County (WA) in 1872, or they may have originally considered themselves Democrats, as in the case of Jefferson County (WA)'s People's Ticket that same year.²² Such tickets could also represent established office-holders as well as upstarts. Filled with incumbents or previous office holders, the slate of candidates on Clarke County (WA)'s People's Ticket for county offices in 1878 was seen by the editors of the *Vancouver Independent* as representing an organization interested in fair elections "to put a stop to the political job work of the machine ring."²³ Not everyone saw the creation of "People's Tickets" as a positive political change. In 1878, a writer from Cowlitz County (WA) saw the growth of mixed slates of

²⁰ *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, November 5, 1870, 1.

²¹ "The People's County Ticket," (*Olympia*) *Washington Standard*, November 2, 1872, 2.

²² "Port Townsend," (*Olympia*) *Washington Standard*, October 12, 1872, 2.

²³ *Vancouver (WA) Independent*, October 19, 1882, 4.

candidates appearing as People's Tickets, Greenback Tickets, and Workingmen's Tickets as being encouraged by the Democrats to draw off potential competition, only to then vote a straight Democrat ticket at the election claiming "Democrats are magnanimous, and in favor of mixed tickets only when they are in the minority."²⁴ In this writer's opinion, the Republican Party should stay strong and not succumb to these mixed tickets if they wished to advance their political agenda. In Washington, People's Tickets appeared more often in urban settings during this period, but they were not necessarily just an urban phenomenon. In 1884 a mass meeting attended by at least seventy-five men representing nearly every locality in Spokane County (WA) came together to place a farmers' ticket in the field.²⁵ Although much more common in Washington's local elections during the period, independent county tickets did occur in Montana. In 1882, an "Independent County Ticket" ran in Dawson County (MT). A local paper described the ticket as one "composed of men who will stand up for the integrity of the county at all times; men who are competent to perform the duties of their respective offices in a manner that will bring down only credit upon themselves and the people who elect them."²⁶ According to the *Glendive Times*, the man running for county superintendent only agreed to do so when he learned there were no benefits connected to the office.²⁷ Even the growth of the People's Party (Populists) did not necessarily deter the creation of county "People's Tickets." This was the case in Island County (WA) in 1894 when a group of mainline Republicans felt that their county should "not be delivered over to the control of a few self-constituted bosses." They called a meeting in September, during the usual period of party conventions, in order to place a county

²⁴ "Letter from Cowlitz," *Vancouver (WA) Independent*, June 20, 1878, 4.

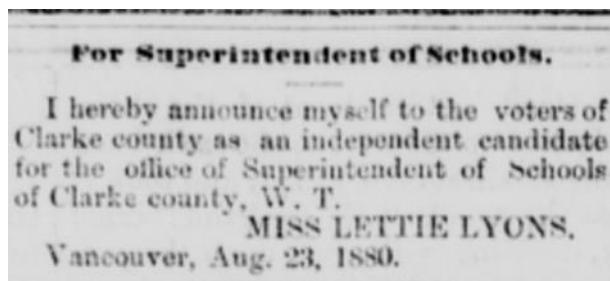
²⁵ *Spokane (WA) Falls Review*, October 25, 1884, 3.

²⁶ "The Independent County Ticket," *Glendive (MT) Times*, November 2, 1880, 1.

²⁷ "The Independent County Ticket."

ticket nominated “by the whole people regardless of political preference [sic] or affiliations.”²⁸ The only candidates running for county offices appeared either on the Republican or Citizen’s tickets despite the fact that there were individuals on the Democratic and People’s Party tickets for state offices. Although candidates on the Citizen’s ticket pledged to cut down governmental expenditures in the aftermath of the events of 1893, only one person running on the ticket was elected.²⁹

The political acceptability of people’s or citizen’s tickets that did not have clear parties, particularly in Washington, support political scientist Paul Kleppner’s arguments regarding the relative weakness of political parties in the West.³⁰ Without such political connections, these groups had greater freedom to nominate individuals they perceived as the most qualified for a particular position. Because consideration as a possible candidate for a People’s Convention slate did not require political party affiliation, the phenomenon offered potential opportunities for women. Lettie Lyons advertised her interest in running as an independent candidate for Clarke County (WA)’s school superintendent in August of 1880. The editor of the local paper



Vancouver Independent, August 26, 1880, 5.

endorsed her decision to run, commenting that her candidacy was “elicit[ing] much favorable comment; and she is gaining many friends who believe that woman’s proper sphere is capable of

²⁸ “For a Citizens’ Ticket,” (*Friday Harbor, WA*) *Islander*, September 13, 1894, 3.

²⁹ (*Friday Harbor, WA*) *Islander*, November 1, 1894, 3; and “The Official Returns,” (*Friday Harbor, WA*) *Islander*, November 15, 1894, 2.

³⁰ Kleppner, “Voters and Parties in the Western States.”

great enlargement.”³¹ The Clarke County People’s Convention nominated her by acclamation in October 1880.

“Fusion” of Local Political Parties

During the last decade of the nineteenth century an expanded number of political parties appeared in both Washington and Montana. This shift in political allegiances increased the political opportunities for those seeking nomination and election as county superintendent including women. New political party organizations could be limited to a single county or a specific geographic region. At times, these parties “fused” with two or more other parties agreeing to support a single slate of candidates. Usually temporary alliances, these were established in the hope of electoral success for the fusion ticket. Often as part of the fusion agreement, the fusing parties would agree to nominate individuals for specific offices with each party filling just part of the entire candidate slate. Generally party leaders made little or no effort to resolve conflicting political goals when agreeing to share a candidate slate. In this study two different forms of “fusion” were found. The first included a formal fusion with a single slate of candidates shared by multiple parties. The second was where the same candidates appeared on multiple party tickets for the same office without a formal agreement between the competing parties. This was the case when Mary Finnigan appeared on both Chouteau County (MT)’s, Populist and the Democratic Party tickets in 1894.³²

Fusion did not necessarily occur just between minor parties or between a main line party and minor parties. The most frequent fusion found in this study was between the People’s Party and the Democrats. Exceptions occurred. In 1896, Missoula County (MT) Republicans fused

³¹ *Vancouver (WA) Independent*, September 16, 1880, 4.

³² *(Fort Benton, MT) River Press*, November 21, 1894, 1.

with the county's People's Party.³³ In the same county, as soon as the Republican convention closed, the delegates of the Republican convention immediately resolved themselves into a Silver Republican Convention with the purpose of placing those candidates nominated by the Republican convention on the ballot as Silver Republicans.³⁴ At times, mainline political parties opted to "fuse" with other mainline parties. At the creation of Skagit County (WA) in 1883, party officials of both the Republicans and Democrats met together and selected certain offices for one or the other party, with the guarantee that no effort would be made by the opposing party to nominate an opponent.³⁵ Such arrangements may have favored the nomination and election of female candidates as the chances for male opponents were limited although in the case of Skagit County, both parties ran candidates for county school superintendent. Efforts to create fusion coalitions were not always successful. Martha Kerns received the Democratic nomination in Carbon County (MT) and was also considered by the Silver Republicans, although another candidate, Julia Davis, was ultimately nominated.³⁶ In Madison County (MT) in 1898, the Democrats, Silver Republicans and People's Party were unable to create a Fusion ticket and all three parties ended up nominating their own slate of candidates. Initially, the Silver Republicans nominated Janet Davis to be county superintendent and the Democrats nominated R. S. McIntrye, while the People's Party failed to nominate a candidate for the office.³⁷ By the time the official ballot was released, however, Janet Davis appeared as a candidate for all three

³³ "Republicans and Populists Fuse," *Daily Missoulian (MT)*, September 13, 1896, 1.

³⁴ "Republicans and Populists Fuse."

³⁵ Claudia A. Lowman, "Miss Josephine M. Bradley Skagit County's First Superintendent of Schools," <http://www.skagitriverjournal.com/SCounty/Schools/BradleyJosieBio.html#Photo>, retrieved September 1, 2014.

³⁶ *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, September 5, 1896, 3.

³⁷ "Three Tickets in the Field," (*Virginia City, MT) Madisonian*, September 9, 1898, 1.

parties. Washington State eventually banned candidates from appearing on multiple party tickets in 1895. It was not until 1907 that Montana took the same action.³⁸

Voters Did Not Always Support Party Nominees

While fusion allowed political parties to create what they hoped to be the strongest party ticket, examination of election returns for county offices provides evidence that voters were not necessarily tied to specific political parties but instead modified their ballots to reflect personal choices unrelated to any political party preference. The tradition of casting “scratch” tickets further supports the findings of Kleppner that the generalizations about nineteenth century voting behavior based on New England and Midwestern voting patterns do not fit the West. Kleppner found that Western voters during the last half of the nineteenth century were less likely to vote and when they did vote were less likely to vote straight party tickets than their eastern peers even after controlling for variables like urbanization and cultural heterogeneity. In attempting to explain why the political parties did not appear to be as strong in the West, Kleppner suggested that political party development had been retarded in the west because of a strong strain of antipartyism.³⁹

Newspaper editors and party leaders exhorted voters to vote a straight party ticket because, in the words of the *Washington Standard* “a scratched ticket is a diluted ticket and a diluted ticket is a weakened ticket.”⁴⁰ But casting a scratch ticket was a way for voters to show, in the words of the *Olympia Transcript*, “that the people are more than ever determined to vote in the coming election for good men rather than because the ticket belongs to a party.”⁴¹ The high

³⁸ For general information on the use of fusion tickets, see: Peter H. Argersinger, “‘A Place on the Ballot’: Fusion Politics and Antifusion Laws,” *American Historical Review* 85, no. 2 (April 1980): 287-306.

³⁹ Kleppner, “Voters and Parties in the Western States.”

⁴⁰ “Do Not Scratch Your Ticket,” (*Olympia*) *Washington Standard*, October 30, 1896, 1.

⁴¹ “Rings and Cliques,” *Vancouver (WA) Independent*, November 11, 1876, 1.

number of “scratched” party tickets significantly slowed the vote count in King County (WA) during the 1878 election.⁴² Results revealed that the problem was not so much cross-party voting, but votes for persons who were not official candidates. One write-in candidate surpassed the official party candidate for one office by nearly 300 votes.⁴³ In 1880, the Helena, Montana, election canvassing board counted the number of party ballots received along with the number of those ballots that were scratched. Of the 1,251 votes polled, 710 were Republican and 541 were Democratic. Yet the number of straight Republican ballots only numbered 246, while the number with at least one name substituted or “scratched” for the official candidate was 464. The Democratic ticket was similarly modified with only 167 with straight party votes and 374 scratched.⁴⁴

Using the counties of southeastern Washington as examples, it is possible to see that political parties did not necessarily dominate the political process. Enough voters switched party allegiances to affect election outcomes at nearly every election. In Lincoln County (WA), all but one of the first appointed county officers identified as Republican and were elected on the Republican ticket in 1884. Two years later, nearly all of the Democratic ticket was elected. In 1888, county officers were split between the two parties only to have the majority of the winning candidates in 1890 come from the Democratic Ticket. With the entry of the People’s Party in 1892, voters continued to switch party allegiances, results varying from cycle to cycle. Republicans won one election cycle and People’s Party won another, only to split the offices a third.⁴⁵ Walla Walla County (WA) had a history of electing Democrats for county offices until 1878. Beginning in 1880 the county became strongly Republican. With the entry of the People’s

⁴² *(Seattle) Daily Intelligencer*, November 8, 1878, 3.

⁴³ “The Lesson of the Day,” *(Seattle) Daily Intelligencer*, November 9, 1878, 2.

⁴⁴ “The Election Result in Town and County,” *Helena (MT) Weekly Herald*, November 11, 1880, 7.

⁴⁵ Richard F. Steele and Arthur P. Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country* (Spokane: Western Historical Publishing Company Publishers, 1904), 198-208.

Party in 1892, county offices were split between parties, but by 1898 the Republicans were back in control.⁴⁶ Neighboring Columbia County (WA) showed a similar shift solidifying the Republican hold on local political offices until 1888. During that election, when women no longer had suffrage in Washington, there was a dramatic shift with the Republicans only electing three of the eleven officers. The shift continued into the 1890 election when Republicans only elected two county officers.⁴⁷ Asotin County (WA) just to the north generally elected Republicans to the top of the ticket for state offices and Congress, but county offices were traditionally split between political parties.⁴⁸ Prior to the 1888 election In Douglas County (WA) the “party lines had been rather loosely drawn,” according to author Richard Steele.⁴⁹ At earlier elections, the number of citizens interested in serving as a county officer was limited and “most of those who served in an official capacity did so more from a sense of duty than from any glowing expectation of personal profit” or party affiliation.⁵⁰

Like other elements of weak party organization, scratch ticket voting seems to have helped make women’s office holding possible. Linna Bell was the only person on the Democratic ticket to be elected during Snohomish County (WA)’s 1882 election.⁵¹ In 1888, Madison County (MT), a strongly Republican County based upon state and national election returns, elected the entire Republican slate except for the Democratic candidate for school superintendent.⁵² Six years later, in 1894, nearly half of the county officers elected were not Republican including Della Herndon, the Democratic candidate for county school

⁴⁶ F. A. Shaver, R. F. Steele and A. P. Rose, *An Illustrated History of Southeastern Washington* (Spokane: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1906), 181-193.

⁴⁷ Shaver, Steele, and Rose, *An Illustrated History of Southeastern Washington*, 389-403.

⁴⁸ Shaver, Steele, and Rose, *An Illustrated History of Southeastern Washington*, 713-724.

⁴⁹ Steele and Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country*, 607.

⁵⁰ Steele and Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country*, 607.

⁵¹ “Snohomish,” (*Olympia*) *Washington Standard*, November 17, 1882, 2.

⁵² *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, November 23, 1888, 5.

superintendent.⁵³ In 1890, the successful candidate for county superintendent of schools in Columbia County (WA) won by just two votes, one of only two Republicans who won on election in the county that year.⁵⁴

Eventually, the practice of scratch voting became institutionalized with the adoption of the Australian ballot which made the government responsible for printing ballots containing a consolidated list of the different parties' candidates for each office. Because the ballots were uniform, they also increased the secrecy related to the voting process. Political parties could no longer print ballots that easily identified the party, and therefore the candidates, for whom a person may have voted. The Australian ballot also made it easier for voters to split their vote between parties. Montana included the use of the Australian ballot system in the state constitution adopted at statehood in 1889. Washington implemented the system in time for the 1890 election cycle. In Washington, a sticker campaign could be carried out with an independent candidate providing "stickers" that could be adhered to the official ballot in the place of another candidate's name.⁵⁵ Newspapers in both states printed directions relative to the changes, often explicitly explaining how voters could continue to vote for a "straight" party ticket.⁵⁶ Other papers called upon their readers to take advantage of the single ballot and vote for the person who represented their interests best rather than just for a party.⁵⁷ The Spokane County (WA) election returns of 1894 provide a prime example of the ease of cross-party voting with the Australian ballot. Statewide, Washington voters elected two Republicans as their state representatives to Congress, Samuel Hyde and William Doolittle. In Spokane (WA), the voters

⁵³ "Official Election Returns," (*Virginia City, MT*) *Madisonian*, November 17, 1894, 5.

⁵⁴ Shaver, Steele, and Rose, *An Illustrated History of Southeastern Washington*, 400.

⁵⁵ "The Australian System," *Yakima (WA) Herald*, July 24, 1890, 1.

⁵⁶ For example see: "How to Vote," *Great Falls (MT) Tribune*, September 17, 1889, 2; "How to Vote," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 3, 1890, 5.

⁵⁷ "The Ticket," *Aberdeen (WA) Herald*, September 22, 1892, 2; and *Aberdeen (WA) Herald*, November 3, 1892, 2.

selected one Republican representative and one People's Party representative with the People's Party candidate outpolling the Republican. An examination of down ballot voting reveals what the *Spokane Daily Chronicle* called "the scratchers' picnic day." Republican votes fluctuated from 3,430 to 2,723 between candidates, the People's Party vote went from 3,227 to 2,673 and the Democratic vote ranged from 1,542 to 631. Of the county wide offices on the ballot, the People's Party won five and the Republicans won six.⁵⁸ Voters were willing to choose among the candidates offered them to select the one that best represented their interests regardless of party. In certain cases, they were also willing to vote for individuals not on the ballot through writing in the name of their preferred candidate. Women's work as teachers and experience with schools regularly demonstrated to the local communities their commitment as educational leaders probably influenced voters more than the women's party affiliations.

Growth of the Populist Party

The political turmoil surrounding the deepening depression of the 1890s contributed to increased support for populism and other political ideologies leading to the rise of third-parties across the nation. Although economic issues were at the center these efforts, how they shaped political parties in Montana and Washington differed. Significantly, populism in Montana drew more on labor disgruntlement than the agricultural issues that drove the movement outside of the Mountain West.⁵⁹ A precursor to the Populist Party in Montana, the Independent Labor party was

⁵⁸ "Spokane's Official Vote," *Spokane (WA) Daily Chronicle*, November 17, 1894, 3. Although the official results as reported in the *Daily Chronicle* gave Vivian Hopson, winning by 17 votes over Zach Stewart, the Republican, the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1896 lists Zach Stewart as Spokane County's school superintendent. *Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington* [C. W. Bean, Superintendent] (Olympia, WA: O. C. White, State Printer, 1896), 132.

⁵⁹ For examples of this difference, see: Robert W. Larson, "Populism in the Mountain West: A Mainstream Movement," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (April 1982): 143-164; David R. Berman, *Radicalism in the Mountain West, 1890-1920: Socialists, Populists, Miners, and Wobblies* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2007); and John P. Enyeart, *The Quest for "Just and Pure Law": Rocky Mountain Workers and American Social Democracy, 1870-1924* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

formed in August of 1890 in response to the failure of the state's constitutional convention to adopt labor protections including the 8-hour day, abolition of child labor and elimination of Chinese labor. Delegates representing the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations met in Anaconda in January of 1892 to discuss forming a third state-wide party. While it was not definite that the labor organizations would endorse the People's Party it was understood that there would be a People's Party in Montana.⁶⁰ The party ran a complete slate of candidates for state offices in 1892. Although treatments of western Populism often emphasize issues of currency and free silver, historian Robert Larsen found that Populism in the Mountain West also included a strong focus on antimonopolism and working men's issues, including workers' safety and the 8-hour day.⁶¹ According to Michael Malone and Dianne Dougherty, the long term result of populism was that it "scrambled party lines in the state and left an enduring legacy of party irregularity and anticorporate, anti-Eastern radicalism on the left" with "Populist ideology and rhetoric [living] on in future farmer-labor attacks upon banks, railroads and corporate 'exploitation' in general."⁶² Beyond the rise of the People's Party (Populists), Montana also became home to a number of third parties many of which only had a limited number of county organizations.

As contrasted with the appeal to mining and industrial workers in Montana, the populist movement in Washington quickly gained followers in agricultural communities. Established as a new party in the state in 1891, the Populist Party soon overtook the Democratic Party as Republicans' chief opposition. By 1894 one out of every four voters voted for Populist Party candidates. In 1896 all of the state's officers, including the Governor, came from the Populist

⁶⁰ "To Join Hands To-Day," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, January 18, 1892, 5.

⁶¹ Robert W. Larsen, "Populism in the Mountain West: A Mainstream Movement," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (April 1982): 143-164.

⁶² Malone and Dougherty, "Montana's Political Culture, 46.

Party.⁶³ Not only did Washington's People's Party "fuse" with the Democrats in 1896, they had also developed a farm-labor coalition over shared concerns about corporate political influence and capitalist monopolies just as had occurred in other western states. Historian Thomas Riddle's examination of Washington's People's Party found that not only did the party's leadership shift nearly every election so did what the issues on which they focused.⁶⁴

The fluctuating focus on issues likely represented shifting alliances within the party. As a result scholars have often overlooked or discounted the movement in the Mountain and Far West as not clearly fitting the definition of a farmer alliance-centered movement.⁶⁵ According to Lawrence Goodwyn, populism in the upper west "primarily represented a movement of the urban working class, augmented by farmers."⁶⁶ Nonetheless, precisely because the party lacked a sustained and consistent focus, it became a political factor in both Montana and Washington during the 1890s. Later scholars such as Charles Postel, have suggested that the Populist movement "was less a typical political party than a coalition of reform organizations – what its founders envisioned as a 'Confederation of Industrial Organizations'."⁶⁷ This idea of coalitions instead of a monolithic, national political party is more representative of the party's efforts in states like Montana and Washington.

This Populist influence, however brief, likely increased the acceptability of nominating and electing women to political office. Perhaps because the national People's Party drew a major

⁶³ For more information on the Populist movement in Washington see: Thomas W. Riddle, *The Old Radicalism: John R. Rodgers and the Populist Movement in Washington State* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991); Marilyn P. Watkins, "Contesting the Terms of Prosperity and Patriotism: The Politics of Rural Development in Western Washington, 1900-1925," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 130-140; and K. D. Bicha, "Western Populists: Marginal Reformers of the 1890s," *Agricultural History* 50, no. 4 (October 1976): 626-635.

⁶⁴ Thomas W. Riddle, "Populism in the Palouse: Old Ideals and New Realities," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July 1974): 97-109.

⁶⁵ Bicha, "Western Populists."

⁶⁶ Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Movement: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 185.

⁶⁷ Charles Postel, *The Populist Vision* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12.

part of its coalition from the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange, both organizations that valued women's participation, party officials included women as active participants in party activities.⁶⁸ Historian Rebecca Edwards, in her examination of women's partisan activities claimed that the party was ridiculed for advocating women's rights "because its women held power as decision makers."⁶⁹ In Montana, the Populist Party nominated Ella Knowles, the state's first woman attorney, as their candidate for State Attorney General in 1892. Although Knowles placed third in the campaign, drawing over 11,000 votes despite women's inability to vote for the office, she won more votes than any other Populist candidate running for state office.⁷⁰ In both Idaho and Colorado, the Party played a key role in passing woman suffrage initiatives.⁷¹ The national People's Party never endorsed women's suffrage, but perhaps what was more important to most women was its focus on seeking solutions to the economic problems they and their families faced.

Despite the Populists' support for women's political activity, the Republican party historically has been given credit for supporting women's rights and women's political involvement in issues related to home and family. In 1876, the Republican National Platform recognized, "the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by the Republican Legislatures, in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers and widows, and by the *appointment and election of women to the superintendents of education.*"⁷² Feminist scholars including Paula Baker, Jo Freeman, and Rebecca Edwards provide evidence that the Republicans supported women's involvement in political activities more than did Democrats. According to

⁶⁸ Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 36; and Watkins, "Contesting the Terms of Prosperity and Patriotism," 133.

⁶⁹ Rebecca Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 114.

⁷⁰ Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 154.

⁷¹ Postel, *Populist Vision*, 71.

⁷² "Republican National Platform," *Helena (MT) Weekly Herald*, July 6, 1876, 4 (emphasis added).

Freeman, “as the nineteenth century drew to a close, the movement of women into politics was gaining steam. But it was a movement divided by partisanship, and one in which Republican women were one to three steps ahead of Democratic women.”⁷³ As these statements indicate, both Republican Party leaders in the late 19th century and recent scholars were confident that the Republican Party favored women’s political advancement and participation more than other parties. This assumption is not borne out by the evidence from Montana and Washington, however. Although at the national level the Republican Party certainly offered more explicit support for women’s suffrage, at the local level the Republican Party did not show any particular efficacy for placing women in office. Examination of women’s election as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington complicates the historical narrative regarding the role of political parties in the growth of women’s political rights during the nineteenth century by providing evidence that women’s election was not dependent of party affiliation.

Political Parties and the Election of Women

Two previous limited studies regarding women’s election as county superintendents provide evidence that there was no single political party supporting the nomination and election of women to political offices during the nineteenth century. Helen Sumner in her 1909 study of the impact of woman suffrage in Colorado found that the one hundred twenty different women who had served as county superintendents between 1893 and 1906 had been elected by Republicans, Democrats, and Populists, and in one case a popular woman was elected county superintendent successively by the Populists, Populist-Silver Republicans, Populist-Republicans, Straight Republicans, and Democrats. It was not uncommon, moreover, for a woman to be

⁷³ Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 42. For information on women’s role in political parties during the nineteenth and early twentieth century see: Freeman, *A Room at a Time*; Dinkin, *Before Equal Suffrage*; Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery*; and Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*.

nominated for this office by the Democratic Party and endorsed by the Republicans, or *vice-versa*.⁷⁴

As part of her examination of women's political involvement in Arizona during of the first half of the twentieth century, Heidi Osselaer considered women's election as county school superintendents in five Arizona counties. She found women "did best in counties where men conceded elections of certain positions to women, and where women usually challenged women in contests."⁷⁵ In the study counties, fifty-five women ran in the primaries for the office of county superintendent. 50 percent of the women ran as Democrats, 43 percent ran as Republicans while only 7 percent ran on third-party tickets. Just over 27 percent of the women were successful in winning their primary election.⁷⁶ The elections analyzed in the Arizona study included women who ran for party nomination through primary elections under 20th century election norms, they did not have to obtain political party support prior to the election. During the first part of the twentieth century, voter rolls in Arizona showed that Democrats outnumbered Republicans in the state by nearly two-to-one.⁷⁷ Osselaer did not provide an analysis of the political parties of those women who ultimately won election as county superintendent, but it seems reasonable to assume based on this party registration data that Democrats were well represented among the winners.

The women in Montana and Washington who are part of this study were nominated overwhelmingly by the county conventions of major political parties with over 70 percent nominated by the Democrats or Republicans in Montana and just over 68 percent so nominated in Washington. The number of women nominated by third parties increased during the 1890s

⁷⁴ Helen L. Sumner, *Equal Suffrage* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909), 138.

⁷⁵ Heidi J. Osselaer, *A Woman for a Woman's Job": Arizona Women in Politics, 1900-1950* (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2001), 326.

⁷⁶ Osselaer, *A Woman for a Woman's Job*, 312.

⁷⁷ Osselaer, *A Woman for a Woman's Job*, 320.

with the majority nominated by the Populists (People's Party) – over 13 percent in Montana and over 15 percent in Washington. (Table 4 (Montana) and Table 6 (Washington) provide information regarding women's party nominations during the study period.) The following section provides an analysis of election results in both states in an attempt to understand the relationship between women's electoral success and political party support.

Examination of election returns for county offices provides evidence that reliance on rhetoric and policy statements at the national level to interpret political proclivities at the local level overlooks whether voters were actually tied to specific party policies. In both Montana and Washington examples of both scratch ticket and cross-party voting provide evidence that even in counties where the majority of Republican candidates for county offices were successfully elected, the woman running on the Democratic ticket was often elected county superintendent. (See Table 5 (Montana) and Table 7 (Washington) for information on both political party and gender of winners.) In 1882, the only Democrats to be elected in Snohomish County, Washington were the school superintendent and one county commissioner.⁷⁸ During the 1888 election in Madison County, Montana, voters elected the entire Republican slate except for school superintendent which went to a Democrat.⁷⁹ The Republican party of Beaverhead County (MT) had to concede that the only office they did not win in 1894 was county school superintendent when Kate Poindexter, running as a Fusion candidate, outpolled Millie Coffin.⁸⁰ An examination of the Montana State Auditor's Report from 1894 finds that although most of the county office holders were from the majority party of that county, in four of the state's twenty-one counties county school superintendents had run on tickets where almost none of the

⁷⁸ William Whitfield, *History of Snohomish County, Washington* vol. 1 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1926), 104.

⁷⁹ *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, November 23, 1888, 5.

⁸⁰ *Dillon (MT) Examiner*, November 7, 1894, 3.

party candidates had been elected.⁸¹ Nora Johnson was one of the two exceptions when the Republican Party swept the Dawson County (MT) elections in 1896. Running on the People's Party ticket she won by a majority of 115 votes.⁸² Two years later, running as an incumbent but on the Republican ticket, Johnson won by just five votes.⁸³ Jennie Filcher was the only Republican elected in Jefferson County (MT) during the 1900 election.⁸⁴ In 1900 in Snohomish County, Washington, the entire Republican ticket won except for J. L. Campbell who ran for school superintendent. Raine Small, running as a Democrat, outpolled him by a narrow margin becoming the only Democrat to win office in the county that year.⁸⁵ The fact that Ada Julesburg was the only Democrat elected in Cowlitz County (WA) in 1900 was noted when her untimely death required the appointment of her successor.⁸⁶

Running as a Democrat did not always guarantee success for a woman running for county superintendent. Custer County, Montana, known to be strongly Republican, elected only two Democrats in 1896 including Laura Zook as county school superintendent. Two years later elections for Montana's county officers resulted in Democratic nominees winning 131 of the 215 offices statewide although Zook, a Democrat, lost in her bid for re-election.⁸⁷ In 1900, running against the incumbent, Zook once again was only one of two Democrats elected. According to the local newspaper, this was "due to the popularity of the candidates and other side issues."⁸⁸

⁸¹ The individuals who did not represent the majority party in the county had all run as either Populists or Democrats. In general, more Republicans had been elected as county superintendent that year. Also, more men had been elected to the office than had been in several years. *State of Montana Annual Report of the State Auditor for the Year 1894* (Helena: H. S. Thurber and Company, Printers, 1894), 73-93.

⁸² "Rah for Us!: Entire Republican Ticket Elected with But Two Exceptions – The Banner Republican Co. of Montana," *Glendive (MT) Independent*, November 7, 1896, 1.

⁸³ *Dawson County (MT) Review*, November 17, 1898, 8.

⁸⁴ "State Vote" (*Butte, MT) Daily Inter-Mountain*, November 17, 1900, 3.

⁸⁵ *Monroe (WA) Monitor*, November 8, 1900, 1.

⁸⁶ "Death of Miss Julesburg," *Seattle Times*, April 25, 1901, 3.

⁸⁷ "About the County Offices," (*Fort Benton, MT) River Press*, November 30, 1898, 4.

⁸⁸ "Right in Politics," (*Butte, MT) Daily Inter Mountain*, December 21, 1900, 29.

Of the 179 elections for county superintendent in Montana between 1882 and 1900, complete election returns were located for 96 percent. Political party affiliations were found for nearly 99 percent of those who ran for office. Candidates nominated for multiple parties where there was no specific reference to a “fusion” agreement were counted as being nominated individually by each party. Outside of those running as People’s Party/Populist candidates, the only woman to win on an exclusively third-party ticket was Alma Evans running as a Silver Republican in Park (MT) in 1898. In Montana, not only were more women nominated by the Democratic Party, more women successfully ran on the Democratic ticket. Slightly more women lost when they ran as Populists than won.

Table 4: Political Party of Women Nominated for County Superintendent – Montana (1882-1900) (in percent)

Political Party	Party of all Women Nominated	Party of Successful Women Candidates	Party of Unsuccessful Women Candidates
Democrat	37.7	41.9	32.1
Republican	31.8	31.7	32.1
Populist/People’s Party	13.4	12.0	15.0
Silver Republican	5.9	3.6	9.3
Independent Democrat	4.3	4.2	4.3
Fusion	1.6	1.8	1.6
Labor Party	1.6	1.8	1.4
Independent	1.3	0.6	2.1
Unknown	0.7	0.6	0.7
8 Hour Republican	0.3	0.6	0
Independent Republican	0.3	0	0.7
People’s Silver Party	0.3	0.6	0
People’s Ticket	0.3	0.6	0
Prohibition	0.3	0	0.7

*Nominations on multiple tickets counted individually

Prior to the 1890s, Montana had been considered a predominately Democratic stronghold. This was due, in part, to the strength of the Irish Catholic mining faction. If the support of the Republican Party for women’s rights and office holding flowed from national party objectives, election returns should reveal more women nominated on Republican tickets even if they were not ultimately elected. In Montana, this did not prove to be true. More successful candidates, both men and women, ran on Democratic Tickets. Over 40 percent of the women winning election ran as Democrats. They were also more likely to have run on the Populist ticket than their male colleagues. A portion of the women ran on informal “fusion” tickets representing both the Populists and Democrats. On the other hand, nearly half of the men winning election did so running on the Republican Ticket. Further research is necessary to determine why more men running as Republicans won election as school superintendent in a state recognized as being a Democratic stronghold during the period of this study.

Table 5: Political Party of Winner, County Superintendent - Montana (1882-1900) (in percent)

Political Party	% of winners	% of men	% of women
Democrat	40.9	37.7	41.9
Republican	35.9	49.1	31.7
Populist/People’s Party	10.0	3.6	12.0
Independent Democrat	3.2	0	4.2
Silver Republican	2.3	0	3.6
Fusion	2.3	3.6	1.8
Labor Party	1.4	0.0	1.8
People’s Ticket	1.8	5.5	0.6
8 Hour Republican	0.5	0	0.6
Independent	0.5	0	0.6
People’s Silver Party	0.5	0	0.6
Unknown	0.5	0.0	0.6
Taxpayers Party	0.5	1.8	0

*Nominations on multiple tickets counted individually

Nearly 20 percent of the candidates in Montana ran on more than one political party's ticket. This was not the case in Washington where this number was closer to 2 percent. Except for the People's Party (Populists) and the Prohibition Party, support for third parties appears to have been weaker overall in Washington as well although where Montana only had a single candidate run on the Prohibition Ticket, Washington had eight women do so.

Table 6: Political Party of Women Nominated for County Superintendent - Washington (1874-1900) (in percent)

Political Party	Party of all Women Nominated	Party of Successful Women Candidates	Party of Unsuccessful Women Candidates
Democrat	36.8	34.0	35.8
Republican	31.3	36.1	23.2
Populist/People's Party	15.4	14.4	14.7
Unknown	12.1	11.3	10.5
Prohibition	4.4	0	8.4
Fusion	2.2	1.0	3.2
People's Ticket	2.2	3.1	1.1
Independent	0.5	0	1.1
Labor	0.5	0	1.1
Reform	0.5	0	1.1

* Nominations on multiple tickets counted individually

Unlike Montana, Washington was considered to be a Republican stronghold prior to the growth of the Populists in the 1890s. The period of the study covered 431 elections for county superintendent. Complete election returns including political party, all candidate names and election results were located for nearly 90 percent of them. The lack of information on the political party of candidates during the territorial period (1874-1890) is responsible for the most significant gaps. Although the state was regarded as heavily Republican, county Democratic parties nominated more women than any other party. It is likely that no woman running on third

party tickets was successfully elected although gaps in the evidence prevent definitely knowing that to be the case.

Slightly more women were nominated on the Democratic ticket, but more who ran on the Republican ticket were successful in obtaining election. As these figures are actually close, it is possible that missing data would shift these outcomes, especially given that the dates with incomplete results are those likely to show higher numbers of Democratic candidates (due to their fusion with the Populist Party). Overall, for men and women combined, successful candidates in Washington were significantly more likely to run on the Republican ticket. Because of the disproportionately large number of men being elected, however, the combined figures obscure a significant gender difference in the pattern of party affiliation for winning candidates. Given the national rhetoric of the Republican Party in support of woman's suffrage and the dominance of the Republican Party overall in Washington State, this value could be misinterpreted to indicate party support for female candidates. In fact men running for county superintendent as Republicans won election over 57 percent of the time, where women running as Republicans won just over 36 percent of the time.

Table 7: Political Party of Winner, County Superintendent - Washington (1874-1900) (in percent)

Political Party	% of winners	% of men	% of women
Republican	53.0	57.4	36.1
Democrat	21.2	17.4	34.0
Unknown	12.2	12.4	11.3
Populist/People's Party	10.1	8.8	14.4
People's Ticket	2.3	2.1	3.1
Fusion	1.4	1.5	1.0
Independent	0.2	0.3	0
Young Men's Independent Political Club	0.2	0.3	0

* Nominations on multiple tickets counted individually

An exception to the continued male dominance of the role of county superintendent in Washington occurred with respect to re-election regardless of political party (Table 8). Although only one-third of all ballots included an incumbent, women were significantly more likely to be re-elected than men, winning an additional term over 60 percent of the time. Men were almost four times more likely to lose their bid for re-election than were women. Although women were originally less likely to be elected in Washington than in Montana, Washington's voters supported women who had been re-nominated at much higher rates than they did men. In Montana, Incumbents were significantly more likely to be re-nominated than in Washington appearing on the ballot 54 percent of the time. Unlike in Washington, all incumbents running for re-election in Montana, regardless of gender, were as likely to win re-election as they were not. This number does not include those individuals who were not re-nominated following their first term only to be nominated during a later election cycle.

Table 8: Likelihood of Incumbents' Successful Re-election (in percent)

	Male Incumbent Won	Male Incumbent Lost	Female Incumbent Won	Female Incumbent Lost
Montana	14.6	14.6	35.4	35.4
Washington	14.4	18.9	62.1	4.5

The election of women as county superintendents in Montana and Washington provides evidence that the failure to consider local elections gives an incomplete or even distorted picture of the role of political parties in supporting women's political agency. Historiography has suggested that it was the Republican Party that was more likely to support women's elections during the nineteenth century. In both Montana and Washington not only was Democratic Party conventions more likely to nominate women, voters were more likely to elect women who ran as

Democrats even if they had to cast “scratch” tickets. Both cases demonstrate that voters, regardless of national party rhetoric, were willing to consider the election of women as educational leaders if they were given the opportunity to do so by local party leadership

Women’s Networks

For women seeking election, social and political networks were a valuable asset. These included formal networks such as those provided through church affiliation, organizations like Eastern Star, the Rebekahs, Women’s Clubs and the Grange, as well as informal networks and leisure activities. According to David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot in their work *Managers of Virtue* it was men’s ability to connect the needs of the schools with the power structure of the larger community that allowed them to be successful school superintendents. Drawing on writings from progressive era writers, Tyack and Hansot claimed that “in a society that was deeply biased in its distribution of power, in which informal networks and voluntary organizations of the influential were often single-sex, being male was a strong asset.”⁸⁹ Women could not join the traditional all male organizations like the Masons or the Odd Fellows, but they had their own networks that they could draw on as candidates and for support of educational reform efforts. The majority of the women in this study were found to be involved in what could be considered as some form of community or society betterment with other community members. Their involvement in formal organizations ranging from local literary societies to national reform efforts gave them opportunities to hone leadership skills and become more widely known, thereby potentially contributing to their viability as nominees for public office.

Although surviving records of the formal memberships and informal activities of women who served as county superintendents are few, those that were found indicate that the women

⁸⁹ Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*, 191.

were not only active in education but in other community groups. Based on contemporaneous newspaper accounts along with a few organizational histories, the women nominated for county superintendent appear to have been most often involved in community organizations like literary societies, church-affiliated religious groups, or national membership groups like Eastern Star or the Rebekahs.⁹⁰ Many of the women were active in establishing community churches. Delia Newton helped establish Methodist services in Oakville (now in Grays Harbor County (WA)) sometime in 1872 or 1873 prior to her election as county superintendent in 1876.⁹¹ Alice Nichols, one of the first women elected as county superintendent in Montana, served as a moderator at the Conference of the Congregational Churches of Montana in 1889, was called to serve a Congregational Church in Cascade, Montana, and became an ordained Congregational minister in 1896.⁹² Clara Wilkins, twice appointed school superintendent in Franklin County (WA), filed as a trustee along with her husband for incorporation papers in 1890 for the First Congregation Church in Pasco, Washington, allowing them to build a church building and “engage in religious worship.”⁹³

Outside of teachers’ associations, the most common organizations women’s names were associated with were focuses on issues related to temperance including the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) or the International Order of Good Templars. According to historian Richard White “the WCTU became a school for women’s politics” broadening its focus

⁹⁰ For examples see “The Literary Society,” *The Dillon (MT) Tribune*, November 25, 1882, 6; “Reciprocity Programs in Montana,” *Minneapolis Journal*, May 16, 1901, 12; “Theater – ‘Devotion’,” *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, June 23, 1883, 4; “In Deer Lodge,” *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, September 22, 1895, 9; “Women’s Club Meeting,” *Butte (MT) Daily Post*, February 22, 1902, 9; and “Woman’s Club of Missoula Outlines Work of Season,” *Daily Missoulian (MT)*, May 27, 1909, 3.

⁹¹ (*Centralia, WA) Daily Chronicle*, November 21, 1975, 5; and (*Centralia, WA) Daily Chronicle*, July 2, 1976, D13

⁹² “Married after 50 Years of Waiting,” *Topeka (KS) Daily Capital*, July 9, 1906, 2; and National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, *The Congregational Year-Book, 1889* (Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1899), 255.

⁹³ “Name is on papers filed for new corporations,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 5, 1890, 9.

beyond just prohibition to include a wide variety of social issues including women's rights, worker rights and school reform."⁹⁴ Involvement in organizations like the WCTU provided women with opportunities to both learn and practice leadership skills. Several women in this study ran unsuccessfully as candidates on the Prohibition Party ticket, including women who had previously been elected while running on other party tickets. Eva M. Hunter, after successfully serving as Park County (MT)'s school superintendent, was nominated by the Prohibition Party to run for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1892.⁹⁵ She attempted to decline the nomination, but the party officials refused to accept her rejection.⁹⁶ Ultimately, she received nearly 10 percent of the total vote, almost ten times what other Prohibition candidates running for state office received that year. Sarah A. Wheeler may not have been elected on the Prohibition ticket in 1889, but she did serve as one of Montana's delegates to the national W.C.T.U. convention in 1895.⁹⁷ Addie (Mary) Pryor, a successful candidate in Lincoln County (WA) before failing to gain election in Douglas County (WA), served as the Eastern Washington superintendent for the WCTU's scientific temperance initiative in the early 1890s.⁹⁸ Alice Nichols served as an officer for Montana's state WCTU.⁹⁹

Many of the women nominated for county school superintendent belonged to women's clubs that were part of the National Federation of Women's Clubs. Among the founding members of the Woman's Club of Olympia were three of the five women nominated to serve as

⁹⁴ Richard Whit, *The Republic for Which it Stands: the United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (New York: Oxford University Press 2017), 391.

⁹⁵ "Montana Matters, *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, September 17, 1892, 1.

⁹⁶ "Montana Matters, *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 27, 1892, 3.

⁹⁷ For example see "Unity Lodge, No. 6 I.O.G.T.," *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, November 10, 1883, 4; "Organization of the W. C. T. U. at Dillon," *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, August 18, 1883, 4 and (*Deer Lodge, MT) New North-West*, December 14, 1894, 5.

⁹⁸ Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Department of Scientific Instruction, Mary Hannah Hunt, ed. *A History of the First Decade of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union* (Boston: "Washington" George E. Crosby and Company, Printers, 1892), 90.

⁹⁹ "Temperance Temple," *Los Angeles Herald*, January 2, 1899, 8; and "Helena Lady is Made President," *The Butte (MT) Inter Mountain*, September 25, 1902, 1.

Thurston County (WA)'s school superintendent at time running on opposing tickets. The club was the first women's club formed on the west coast affiliated with the National Federation and the first women's club to develop initiation and installation ceremonies.¹⁰⁰ Although only Pamela Hale ended up being elected, all three women continued to be involved in community betterment. Janet Moore served as an officer for State Federation of Women's Clubs and attended the biennial meeting of the National Federation of Women's Clubs as one of Washington's delegates.¹⁰¹ Through her efforts, the State Federation successfully campaigned for the elimination of the public drinking cups and towels from the state's public restrooms.¹⁰²

Although woman suffrage campaigns frequently garner the most attention in discussions of women's political agency in this period, few of these women appear to have been active with suffrage campaigns. Those whose names did appear in connection with such groups, however, took on leadership roles. Pamela Hale and Ella Stork ran against each other in the 1886 election for Thurston County (WA)'s county superintendent with Hale successfully winning re-election. Both women served in leadership capacities for local and state suffrage organizations. In 1892 Hale was nominated as Treasurer of the state organization and Stork was elected as a member of the Executive Committee for the National American Woman's Suffrage Association.¹⁰³ Adelaide Staves, the unsuccessful 1892 Democratic candidate in Beaverhead County (MT), was an active member of the Montana Woman Suffrage Association, overseeing the women suffrage bill submitted in Montana's legislature on the organization's behalf in 1901. Named to the

¹⁰⁰ Goldie Robertson Funk, "Clubbable Women' for 50 Years," *Seattle Sunday Times Roto-Magazine Section*, September 4, 1932, 5; and Sandra Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 356-57.

¹⁰¹ "Historical Events Recalled," (*Walla Walla, WA*) *Evening Statesman*, June 1, 1905, 3; "Women's State Federation Over," (*Walla Walla, WA*) *Evening Statesman*, June 5, 1905, 5; and "Women Take Stand Against Cigaret," *Tacoma (WA) Times*, June 25, 1909, 11.

¹⁰² Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood*, 357; and Angie Bert Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory* (Seattle, WA: Lowman and Hanford Company, 1935). 158.

¹⁰³ "The Women in Session," (*Olympia*) *Washington Standard*, December 16, 1892, 2.

Committee on the Organization of Legislative Work, she testified in support of woman suffrage in the State Senate in 1903.¹⁰⁴

The relative lack of explicit political connections should not be construed to mean that women were without political networks. Family political connections definitely played a role in the nomination for some of the women who ran for office in both states. It is likely that Lettie Lyons, who had already declared herself an independent candidate for Clark County (WA)'s school superintendent, had some familial assistance when she was nominated by acclaim at the People's Convention in October 1880. Her father, Joshua Lyons, served as on the committee charged with creating a permanent organization and established the order of business for the convention.¹⁰⁵ Annie McAnnelly and Martha Kearns, sisters who served as county superintendents in different Montana counties, had family members who were active in party politics. Their father served as a delegate at the Park County (MT)'s 1894 Republican convention where Annie McAnnelly was nominated for county school superintendent.¹⁰⁶ Their brother did not share their father's preference for the Republican Party. A lawyer, he served as a delegate at the Park County (MT) Democratic convention and actively assisted in developing the People's Party (Populists) in the county before becoming active in the Populist Party of Cascade County (MT).¹⁰⁷ He was serving as secretary and a delegate of his Populist Party precinct convention in 1898, the same year that his sister, Annie McAnnelly, was nominated on the Populist ticket for county school superintendent.¹⁰⁸ Christena Bennett's husband was serving as a

¹⁰⁴ Doris Buck Ward, "The Winning of Woman Suffrage in Montana" (Masters Thesis, Montana State University, 1974), 79-92.

¹⁰⁵ "Proceedings of People's Convention of Clarke County," *Vancouver (WA) Independent*, October 14, 1880, 4.

¹⁰⁶ *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, September 1, 1894, 3; and "The Republican Convention," *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, September 8, 1894, 3.

¹⁰⁷ "Democratic Primary," *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, June 4, 1892, 3; and "Fittingly Received," *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, September 3, 1892, 3.

¹⁰⁸ "Belt Primaries," September 15, 1898, 11.

county commissioner when she was appointed county superintendent in 1883.¹⁰⁹ She was successfully elected to two additional terms.

Women's own professional networks were equally or more important than their familial political connections. Newspapers reprinted Lizzie Haldman's endorsement by one of her professors from the Iowa State Normal School when she ran for Spokane County (WA)'s school superintendent in 1884.¹¹⁰ Martha Shoemaker, an 1894 nominee in Yellowstone County (MT) but teaching in Gallatin County (MT), was close enough to Edith Matheson, the daughter of the editor of one of Yellowstone County (MT)'s leading newspapers, the *Billings Times*, to host Matheson in her home.¹¹¹ Margery Jacoby, while teaching at Shonkin Creek, boarded with the Heydt family. The head of the household, a delegate to the county's Republican convention, secured Jacoby's nomination in 1894 without consulting her.¹¹² Jacoby, Chouteau County (MT)'s superintendent from 1894 to 1898, developed a friendship with Minnie Reifenrath, Lewis and Clarke (MT)'s county superintendent from 1892 to 1900, while they attended Wesleyan University together. Ina Craven, elected in 1896 in Cascade County (MT), shared a house with Jacoby's sister and aunt in Great Falls.¹¹³ While Florence Bean was campaigning on the Fusion ticket in 1896; Effie Hardin, the current superintendent, acted as her chaperone.¹¹⁴

Women's professional or personal networks assisted in their nomination and election as county school superintendents by allowing party convention delegates to be familiar with their qualifications. This did not mean the women were necessarily aware of party interests. In a Letter to the Editor in 1880, it was reported that Anna Bean did not seek the nomination of King

¹⁰⁹ Steele and Rose, *An Illustrated History of Big Bend Country*, 814-815.

¹¹⁰ "Republican Ticket," *Spokane (WA) Falls Review*, October 11, 1884, 1.

¹¹¹ *(Helena, MT) Independent Record*, December 21, 1894, 6.

¹¹² Alice Cowan Coleman, "Miss Jacoby: 19th century Education, 20th Century Guardian of Excellence," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 42.

¹¹³ Coleman, "Miss Jacoby," 44.

¹¹⁴ *(Choteau, MT) Montanian*, October 23, 1896, 3.

County (WA)'s Democratic Party nor did she want the office.¹¹⁵ Miss S. E. Curtis, Meagher County (MT)'s county superintendent returned home from visiting family in New York in 1896 to find herself the nominee of not one but three parties for the position.¹¹⁶ Less than a month prior to the election, Isabelle Rife, who was out of town, had not been apprised of her nomination by the Populists in 1900.¹¹⁷ Fanny Bynum was so incensed that her name had even been placed in nomination that she wrote to the *Montanian* in 1894 that she “look[ed] upon their action as an attempt to do [her] an injury.”¹¹⁸

Some of the women nominated requested that their names be withdrawn. When this occurred, parties rarely substituted another candidate. Anna Weller, considered to be a leading candidate for county superintendent in Pierce County (WA), had her name presented at both the Democratic and Republican conventions in 1880.¹¹⁹ The Democrats, unaware of the fact she had not yet reached her majority nominated her at their August convention. Weller had to decline their nomination.¹²⁰ When her name was mentioned at the Republican convention, a delegate informed the attendees that she was not yet of legal age and her name was subsequently removed from consideration.¹²¹ Even after withdrawing her name, she still received seven write-in votes at a time when parties provided party ballots so voters had to “scratch out” the party’s nominee and write in her name.¹²² Mary Condon demurred that owing to her current position it was impossible to become a candidate for county school superintendent when she discovered that she had been

¹¹⁵ “Women for School Superintendent,” (*Seattle*) *Daily Intelligencer*, October 16, 1880, 2.

¹¹⁶ *Neihart (MT) Herald*, September 19, 1896, 3.

¹¹⁷ “Populist Meeting,” *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, October 12, 1900, 4.

¹¹⁸ Fannie Bynum, “A Card,” (*Choteau, MT*) *Montanian*, September 14, 1894, 3.

¹¹⁹ (*Seattle*) *Daily Intelligencer*, August 8, 1880, 3.

¹²⁰ (*Seattle*) *Daily Intelligencer*, September 14, 1880, 2.

¹²¹ (*Tacoma, WA*) *Weekly Ledger*, September 3, 1880, 3.

¹²² Pierce County, Primary and General Election Returns, Secretary of State and Territory, Record Group AR3-4-0-3, Roll 6 – 1879-1884, Washington State Archives, Olympia, WA.

nominated by the Democratic county convention in 1884.¹²³ Emily Priestly was suggested at the Republican convention and ultimately nominated by the Populists in Choteau County (MT) in 1894 only to have her name withdrawn and replaced by Mary Finniegan.¹²⁴

Efforts by several nominating conventions in Montana at times reached outside of their own county. Residency in the county was not necessarily a requirement for nomination, or election, as county school superintendent. In 1892, the newly elected superintendent of Meagher County (MT) was teaching school in Niehart, Cascade County (MT).¹²⁵ Martha Shoemaker, principal of Bozeman High School in Gallatin County (MT), was nominated by the Republican Party in Yellowstone County (MT) for election as county school superintendent in 1894.¹²⁶ Jennie Filcher was teaching in Silver Bow County (MT) when she was nominated and elected during the 1900 elections as county superintendent in Jefferson County (MT).¹²⁷ Probably the most shocking example was the case of Alice Hill. The legislature appointed her as Flathead County (MT)'s school superintendent when they formed the county. Her appointment was challenged on the grounds that her father, not she, was a resident of the county—she had been living in Ohio and had never been to Montana prior to her appointment.¹²⁸ In the case of Hill, her nomination was more likely due to her father's connections; he was a former U.S. Congressman from Ohio, than the perception of her ability to serve as a county superintendent. As this case study looked explicitly at the nomination and election for the office of county superintendent, further research would be necessary to determine if political parties' nomination of individuals

¹²³ *Seattle Daily Post Intelligencer*, September 9, 1884, 2.

¹²⁴ (*Fort Benton, MT*) *River Press*, September 2, 1896, 4; and (*Fort Benton, MT*) *River Press*, November 21, 1894, 1.

¹²⁵ "New Teacher Employed," *Neihart Herald*, December 31, 1892, 3.

¹²⁶ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, October 28, 1894, 9.

¹²⁷ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, November 18, 1900, 6.

¹²⁸ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, April 24, 1893, 6.

without their knowledge was a position specific event or occurred for other elected positions as well.

Woman Suffrage and the Right of Women to Hold Office

Campaigns for women's right to vote have been a central focus of historical narratives of women's political agency during the nineteenth century. Although women's office holding was not a goal of most woman suffrage advocates, they celebrated the election of women to political offices in those states where women had at least partial suffrage as the ultimate outcome of successful suffrage extensions.¹²⁹ Scholars including Michael Pisapia, Jackie Blount and Geraldine Clifford have claimed that women's educational office holding was directly related to efforts to gain either school or full woman suffrage.¹³⁰ The nomination and election of women as county school superintendents during the last decades of the nineteenth century in Montana and Washington provide an excellent test of this proposition.

Often overlooked by scholars, the history of woman suffrage in Washington is complicated.¹³¹ Washington territory nearly became the first state or territory to have full woman suffrage when during the first legislative session in 1854 a woman suffrage bill was defeated by a single vote.¹³² The territorial legislature modified the definition of qualified voters nearly every legislative session, including in 1866 when they defined qualified electors as all white American

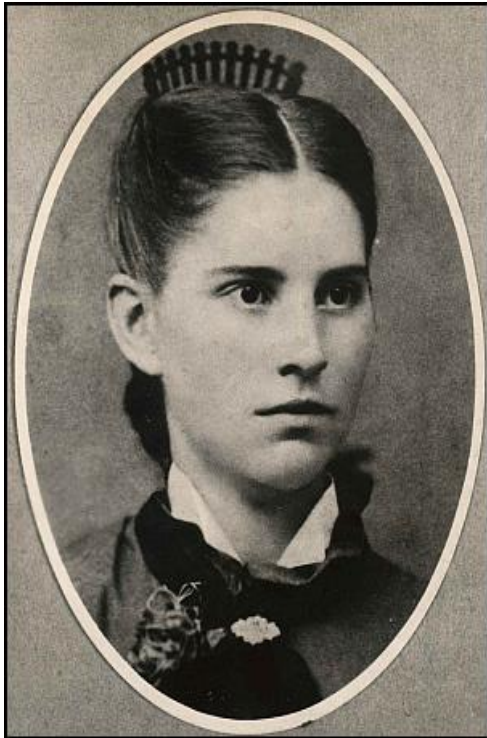
¹²⁹ Robert Darcy, Susan Welch, and Janet Clark, *Women, Elections, & Representation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 2.

¹³⁰ Pisapia, "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education"; Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*; and Clifford, *The Good Gertrudes*.

¹³¹ For more detailed information regarding the efforts related to woman suffrage in Washington, see T. A. Larson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Washington," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (April 1976): 49-62.

¹³² *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Washington... 1854* (Olympia: Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), 98; and Edmond S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1909), 163.

citizens.¹³³ To prevent women from claiming the right to vote under this provision, the 1871 legislature passed legislation declaring “no female shall have the right to ballot or vote at any poll or election precinct in this Territory.”¹³⁴ This strong stand did not last long, however. In 1873, the legislature opened voting at school district elections to “every inhabitant, who is a tax payer, over the age of twenty-one years.”¹³⁵



Josie Bradley c. 1884

“Miss Josephine M. Bradley – Skagit County’s First Superintendent of Schools,”
<http://www.skagitriverjournal.com/scounty/schools/bradleyjosiebio.html#Foot1>

Campaigns for woman suffrage were finally successful during the 1883 legislative session with the territorial governor signing the provision into law November 23, 1883.¹³⁶ The first election held under the new law was on December 18, 1883 when voters of the newly formed Skagit County (WA) elected county officers. It is not clear how many of the voters were women, but Josephine Bradley beat her opponent by just 42 votes to become Skagit County (WA)’s first school superintendent. During the 1884 general election the following November women cast just twenty-five percent of the votes in neighboring Snohomish County (WA).¹³⁷

Women voted in the territory until 1887 when the territorial Supreme Court voided the 1883 provision.¹³⁸ During the following legislative session in 1888, legislators again passed woman suffrage, only to have it challenged during the April 1888 municipal elections in Spokane (WA). The Territorial Supreme Court again voided the act

¹³³ *Statutes of the Territory of Washington* (Olympia, T. F. McElroy, Printer, 1867), 6.

¹³⁴ *Statutes of the Territory of Washington* (1871), 175.

¹³⁵ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1873*, 435.

¹³⁶ *Laws of the Territory of Washington* (1883), 39.

¹³⁷ *(Olympia) Washington Standard*, November 14, 1884, 2.

¹³⁸ *Jeff. J. Harland v. Territory of Washington*, 3 Wash. Terr. 131 (1887).

this time based on the rationale that Congress had not intended to give the territories the right to enfranchise women.¹³⁹ Women in Washington would not gain full suffrage until the successful passage of a state constitutional amendment in 1910.

Examination of women's nomination and election during the period suggests that woman suffrage may have increased the election of women as county superintendents (Table 9). Women began appearing on party tickets beginning in 1874 with Washington's legislature formally opening the office to women in 1877.¹⁴⁰ Even before the 1884 election when women could vote for the office, they had already begun winning election with proportionally, large increases

Table 9: Election of Women as County Superintendent - Washington (1874-1900)

Year	Total number of races	Number of races men won	Total number of races women won	Percent of races women won
1874	23	23	0	0.0%
1876	24	23	1	4.2%
1878	24	23	1	4.25
1879*	1	0	1	100.0%
1880	25	19	6	24.0%
1882	27	18	9	33.3%
1883*	1	0	1	100.0%
1884	33	19	14	42.4%
1886	33	17	16	48.5%
1888	34	29	5	14.7%
1889	34	29	5	14.7%
1892	34	31	3	8.8%
1894	34	31	3	8.8%
1896	34	24	10	29.5%
1898	34	25	9	36.5%
1900	36	24	12	33.3%

*Special elections for county officers occurred in Spokane County (1879) and Skagit County (1883) at the creation of both counties.

¹³⁹ *Nevada M. Bloomer v. John Todd, J. E. Gandy, and H. A. Clarke*, 3 Wash. Terr. 599 (1888)

¹⁴⁰ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1877*, 282-283.

between 1876 and 1884, when the implementation of woman suffrage occurred. Even with woman suffrage, party officials only considered women for the office of county school superintendent.

The court's decision in 1888 finding woman suffrage unconstitutional resulted in a dramatic decrease in the number of women being elected county superintendents, even though the court ruling had no direct bearing on whether women could hold school office. Nonetheless, incorrectly linking voting with office holding led some state officials to give conflicting information regarding women's eligibility to hold the office of county school superintendent. The state's attorney general declared in September 1890 that as no law expressly authorized a woman to be eligible to such a position any woman elected would be automatically ineligible to serve.¹⁴¹ That same year Lincoln County (WA)'s superior court declared Mary "Addie" Pryor ineligible to hold the office of county school superintendent under the constitution and statutes of the state. This ruling occurred despite the fact that she had already held the office under the territorial government, and despite the fact that the state's school law specified that any reference to school officers using male pronouns should also be considered as referring to women.¹⁴² During the 1890 elections, women ran for county superintendent in eight counties and won election in five. In two counties, Mason (WA) and Wahkiakum (WA), all candidates for the position were women.

The press during the 1892 election presented conflicting information regarding women's right to hold office. The Tacoma press reprinted the attorney general's 1890 state about women's eligibility the week before the 1892 election in Pierce County (WA) where the Populist Party had nominated Sarah Taylor as their county superintendent candidate. Outpolled by two men in a

¹⁴¹ "She is Ineligible," *Tacoma (WA) Daily News*, November 4, 1892, 7.

¹⁴² *Los Angeles Herald*, December 11, 1890, 1; and *Session Laws of the State of Washington* (Olympia, O. C. White, State Printer, 1890), 382.

four-way race, she still received over 3,000 votes.¹⁴³ In neighboring Thurston County (WA), the election of Amy Case, also nominated by the Populists, had a different outcome. There the local press published responses from two former justices of the territorial Supreme Court, including the former chief justice, which indicated they knew of no reason she could not serve in the office. Justice Benjamin Dennison declared that “the right to vote and hold office is not a granted privilege but an inherent right of citizenship. It follows, therefore, that all citizens not expressly denied such right by the constitution or laws of a state are entitled to vote and hold office.”¹⁴⁴ Case was the only person running on the Populist ticket in the county to win election, outpolling the other Populist candidates by over 400 votes.¹⁴⁵ She and three other women were elected that year despite the media’s mixed messages regarding their eligibility.

In 1894, Ella Guptill, a member of one of Puget Sound’s utopian communities and teacher in the Port Angeles schools, won election as Clallam County (WA)’s county school superintendent. The only candidate on the county’s People’s Party’s ticket to win office, she received a plurality of 265 votes over two male opponents. One opponent proposed challenging the outcome of the election based on her gender although his name does not appear in the court documents.¹⁴⁶ The county’s superior court found in his favor. Guptill challenged the ruling to the state’s Supreme Court. That court found that although the legislature had used male gendered language to describe the duties of the county school superintendent, other provisions of the same act, which had been imported from the 1877 school law at statehood in 1889, meant that women had the right to hold school offices.¹⁴⁷ While the case was wending its way through the courts,

¹⁴³ *Tacoma (WA) Daily News*, November 18, 1892, 7.

¹⁴⁴ “Women are Eligible,” *Morning (WA) Olympian*, November 5, 1892, 3.

¹⁴⁵ “Miss Amy Case,” *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, November 14, 1892, 2; and “Thurston County,” *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, November 14, 1892, 2.

¹⁴⁶ *(Olympia) Washington Standard*, November 16, 1894, 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Russell v. Guptill*, 13 Wash. 360 (1896); *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1877*, 282-283; and *Session Laws of the State of Washington ... 1889*, 382.

the state legislature passed legislation that explicitly opened certain school offices, including county superintendencies, to women.¹⁴⁸ During the last three general elections of the nineteenth century women won close to a third of the county superintendent positions despite not having the right to vote for the office.

Analysis of the total number of women nominated by party or people's conventions finds a similar trend. Women were both increasingly nominated and increasingly elected between 1874 and 1882 despite their inability to vote for the office. This trend continued during the two general election cycles when Washington territory had full woman suffrage. By contrast, there was a significant drop in both the number of women being nominated and elected once the court found woman suffrage to be unconstitutional. This drop occurred despite the fact the laws related to women's right to hold the office embedded in the state's education laws did not change. Women continued being nominated in numbers like those prior to the adoption of woman suffrage, but were less likely to be elected. This trend suggests that the fact women could vote for the office played a factor in the election of women to the office. Once the court ruled in 1896 that women *did* in fact have the right to hold the office, the number of women both nominated and elected once again increased occurring despite that fact that women still had no right to vote for the office. Altogether this complex history suggests that women's suffrage may have played a role in women's nomination and election to school office, but the relationship was neither simple nor always direct. Beyond the basic fact of suffrage or office holding eligibility, increased normativity of women's political agency as time went on may have had its own momentum effect. This can be seen by the increasing percentage of nominees for the office who were women.

¹⁴⁸ *Session Laws of the State of Washington*, (Olympia: O. C. White, State Printer, 1895), 66.

Table 10 (below) provides a hint at the trend of nominating women toward the end of the century but does not reflect the entire situation because records for later elections, particularly for 1900, are incomplete - potentially concealing an additional number of women who ran unsuccessfully. Prior to statehood, County Clerks submitted the vast majority of general elections records to the Territorial Secretary of State. No longer required after statehood, it appears that such records were requested on the whim of whichever Secretary of State was in office. Therefore, records for the majority of the jurisdictions remained in the

Table 10: Number of Women Running for County Superintendent - Washington (1874-1900)

Year	Total number of races	Total number of candidates	Total number of women candidates	Percent of candidates that were women	Total number of races women won	Percent of races women won
1874	23	42	1	2.4%	0	0.0%
1876	24	48	1	2.1%	1	4.2%
1878	24	46	1	2.2%	1	4.2%
1879	1	2	1	50.0%	1	100.0%
1880	25	48	13	27.1%	6	24.0%
1882	27	50	14	28.0%	9	33.3%
1883	1	2	1	50.0%	1	100.0%
1884	33	65	20	30.8%	14	42.4%
1886	33	68	29	42.6%	16	48.5%
1888	34	72	12	16.7%	5	14.7%
1890	34	75	13	17.3%	5	14.7%
1892	34	89	11	12.4%	3	8.8%
1894	34	89	14	15.7%	3	8.8%
1896	34	56	16	28.6%	10	29.4%
1898	34	49	20	40.8%	9	26.5%
1900	36	47	20	42.6%	12	33.3%

individual counties. Courthouse fires, floods, pests and other disasters limited the availability of records to fill in the gaps. Other sources including newspaper election results were sought to provide missing details whenever possible.

Once the Washington Supreme Court and State Legislature clarified women's right to be elected to the office of county superintendent, the nomination of women as candidates increased to levels similar to those when women had full suffrage. The number of women elected as county superintendents in 1900 when women had no right to vote for the office was nearly the same as in 1886 when woman had full suffrage, but the proportion of the offices filled by women had decreased due to the increase in the number of counties. The fact that the proportion of women had not returned to that which had been obtained during the period of full suffrage suggests that the right of women to vote may have contributed to women gaining political offices during the nineteenth century. Election results from Montana for the same office during a similar time period complicates this impression, however.

Montana experienced limited woman suffrage activism during the majority of the period of this study. Pockets of both suffragists and temperance workers advocated for such reforms, particularly as the state neared statehood, but legislative action around the question was minimal.¹⁴⁹ In 1883, Montana's territorial legislature amended the territorial school laws to allow women to hold school offices, both as school directors and as county school superintendents. At the same time, they made tax paying women eligible to vote exclusively on matters related to school taxes.¹⁵⁰ Extensive discussions regarding woman suffrage occurred during the 1889 constitutional convention as the territory prepared for statehood. However, the result was that only women responsible for paying taxes, in recognition of their property rights, were extended

¹⁴⁹ For information on woman suffrage activism in Montana, see: T. A. Larson, "Montana Women and the Battle for the Ballot," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 23, no. 1 (Winter 1973): 24-41; Judith K. Cole, "A Wide Field of Usefulness: Women's Civil Status and the Evolution of Women's Suffrage on the Montana Frontier, 1864-1914," *American Journal of Legal History* 34, no.3 (July 1990): 262-294; Leslie Wheeler, "Woman Suffrage's Gray-Bearded Champion Comes to Montana, 1889," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1981): 2-13; and Ward, "The Winning of Woman Suffrage in Montana."

¹⁵⁰ *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana*, (Helena: Geo. E. Boos, Public Printer and Binder, 1883), 53-54.

suffrage rights only on tax matters.¹⁵¹ In Montana, woman suffrage relative to political offices did not become a reality until 1914. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the period of this study, women had no right to vote for county school superintendent.

Nonetheless, despite the lack of full suffrage rights, women were elected as county superintendents. After the successful election of two women in 1882, it only took two election cycles before women began claiming most of the county superintendencies (Table 11). By the end of the nineteenth century, women outpaced their male colleagues for nomination and were significantly more likely to win election as county superintendent than their male opponents.

Table 11: Number of Women Running for County Superintendent - Montana (1882-1900)

Year	Total number of races	Total number of candidates	Total number of women candidates	Percent of candidates that were women	Total number of races women won	Percent of races women won
1882	12	25	2	8.0%	2	16.7%
1884	13	32	7	21.9%	4	30.8%
1886	14	39	18	46.2%	9	64.3%
1888	16	43	19	44.2%	12	75.0%
1889	16	42	21	50.0%	12	75.0%
1892	16	51	28	54.9%	12	75.0%
1894	21	67	36	53.7%	13	61.9%
1896	23	68	36	52.9%	19	82.6%
1898	24	73	43	58.9%	23	95.8%
1900	24	76	47	61.8%	24	100.0%

Not only did Montana elect more women than Washington during the period, but about 45 percent of the races for county superintendent were contested solely by women. In Washington, this occurred in just over 5 percent of the races. In mixed gendered races, with at least two candidates of opposite genders, Montana's male voters were three times more likely to

¹⁵¹ Ward, "The Winning of Woman Suffrage in Montana," 14-30; and *Constitution of the State of Montana* (Helena: Independent Publishing Company, 1889), Article 9, Section 12, 39.

vote for the woman than the man, with women winning seventy-five percent of these races. Washington's mixed gendered races, meanwhile, only won less than half of races where they had at least one male opponent. Where women in Washington were nominated by political parties at higher percentages than they were elected by the state's voters, Montana's voters were more likely to elect women once they were nominated than political parties were to nominate them.

The election of women as county school superintendents in both Montana and Washington during the nineteenth century complicates the understanding regarding the role of school suffrage and woman suffrage on women's electoral success. In both cases, the states' school suffrage provisions played little if any direct role. No evidence was located that the women elected as county school superintendents had served as local school trustees prior to their election to county office. Women had the right to hold local school district offices in both states, but only women responsible for paying taxes had the right to vote on local school matters. In Washington, they could vote on all local school matters and in Montana, tax paying women could only vote on school tax matters. School suffrage provisions may have increased the perceived acceptability of women as educational officers, but there is no way of verifying such a link. Except for a brief time in Washington, women had no right to vote for candidates for the office of county school superintendent in either state. Yet in both states women were both nominated and elected to the office. Further research is necessary to determine what factors may have contributed to women's election. Among the possibilities are population density, proportion of female teaching force, general population literacy, and types of economic production.

Conclusion

During the nineteenth century, women in Montana and Washington were elected as paid educational officers. This allowed them to move beyond the traditional political roles of

petitioning, political campaigning and volunteerism that scholars have suggested as being how women exercised political agency in the nineteenth century.¹⁵² Despite the fact that, for the majority of the study period, women did not have the right to vote for the office in Montana and Washington, women regularly ran for and won elections for the position of county superintendent. Men nominated them at political conventions and voted for them at the ballot box. The local voters obviously had a different opinion regarding women's role as educational leaders in their own communities than that held by many, mostly male, national party leaders and propagandists of the time.

The nomination and election of women as county superintendents in Montana and Washington during the last decades of the nineteenth century benefited from the anti-party proclivity of western voters. Multiple examples in both states provide evidence that voters did not cast straight party tickets, but instead were willing to vote for the individual running for office that they thought would best represent them. The creation of both People's Conventions and third parties along with the election of women on those party tickets, usually as fusion candidates, reflected dissatisfaction with mainline parties as they were configured locally. Research into the election of women in Montana and Washington suggests that the local nomination and election process was actually disconnected from national party efforts.

At the same time, despite having similar cultural and social conditions, Montana and Washington nominated and elected women at different rates. Notwithstanding strong women's networks, the rates at which women were nominated and elected were dramatically different between Montana and Washington. Without having full woman suffrage at any point, women

¹⁵² For scholarship focusing on how women's activity through lobbying and volunteerism changed the American political system even though most women could not vote see; Baker, "The Domestication of Politics"; Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*; Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*; and Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 3 (September 2000): 527-546.

were significantly more likely to be both nominated and elected as county superintendent in Montana than Washington during the last decades of the nineteenth century. This was despite women in Washington benefitting from full suffrage rights for part of the study period. This difference can easily be seen by comparing the election races during the last decades of the nineteenth century for years when at least one woman had been nominated for the position in the territory/state (Table 12). Although both Montana and Washington had a similar percentage of election campaigns that had men and women running against each other, the number of races where opponents were of a single gender were dramatically different. This difference was true even during the two election cycles in Washington where women had full suffrage. More research is necessary to understand why such differences occurred.

Table 12: Gender Composition of Election Campaigns for County Superintendent (All election years at least one woman nominated for position) (in percent)

Candidate Pool	Men Only	Women Only	Mixed Gendered	Unknown
Montana 1882-1900	20.1	53.1	26.3	.6
Washington 1874-1900	58.9	7.4	27.6	6

Women's election as county superintendents in Montana and Washington during the last decades of the nineteenth century complicates the understanding of women's growing political agency. Even though voters in both states had a strong anti-party attitude, neither state was without party organizations with links to national political parties. At the county level in both states, the mainstream parties, Democrats and Republican, nominated the vast majority of those women who ran for office. Few women ended up running as third party candidates and, although there were exceptions, few won election as third party candidates. In general, the only exceptions were those running as Populists (People's Party). More women running as Democrats won

election despite the national Republican Party's greater rhetorical support of women's rights including the apparent promotion of their election as school superintendents. What made those women nominated and elected acceptable candidates is explored in the following chapters.

Chapter Four: Women Who Would be Superintendent

“I sit alone in my little claim cabin, the only woman in miles around, the boundless prairie stretching out like a sea on every side; and, indeed, the comparison is not far-fetched. ... The distances in this country are truly startling to the newcomer. We are thirty miles from the railroad or any town. Our nearest town is Fort Benton, the highest point of navigation on the Missouri River; but the stage brings the precious mailbag three times a week, and we feel that we are favored.¹

Elizabeth R. Flagler did not include much romance in her description of living on a homestead in Chouteau County, Montana in 1893. Thirty-seven, single and a school teacher, she had just proved up her own homestead. Writing of weather extremes, distances to friends, racial disquiet, and unique local dialects, she described a place of challenges that most would be unwilling to endure. Yet she stayed. She taught school. She proved up additional homestead land and a timber culture stand. Her election as Chouteau County (MT)’s school superintendent in 1898 meant she joined twenty-two other Montana women and the one man elected to the office that year.

The women serving as county school superintendents in the upper West provide insight into an important, but unexplored, facet of women’s growing political agency during the nineteenth century. After the Civil War, women began serving as educational leaders beyond local school districts as voters across the nation elected women to serve as county superintendents. In most states, even with constitutional and legislative authorization, the numbers elected were small. In the West, however, particularly the upper West, the story was

¹ Elizabeth R. Flagler, “Rural Life in Montana,” *The Independent... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies* 45, no. 2320 (May 18, 1893): 34.

different.² By the 1880s, the proportion of women serving as county superintendent in territories like Montana, Washington and Wyoming, neared 50 percent. Who were these women? Were they somehow different from their peers in other places? How did conditions in the West shape opportunities for women that their sisters in more settled regions of the nation did not have?

Historian Jane Martin used similar biographical information as a tool to understand the personal and professional networks that supported the election of the first women to the London School Board.³ Using information gleaned from newspapers, personal correspondence, and published accounts regarding school board activities, she discovered that the women elected to serve as educational leaders espoused a wide range of political perspectives relative to the schools. Despite their political differences, however, the women shared similar socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Preliminary research using similar types of evidence has begun to reveal that the women elected in Montana and Washington also came from a wide variety of political backgrounds. Martin's work examines the election of women to an urban school board in a country with different political and educational histories. Despite this, her work suggests what similar research might reveal when applied to women elected to political educational positions in the United States during the same time period.

Using Montana and Washington as case studies, this chapter considers the women appointed, nominated and elected as county school superintendents during the final decades of the nineteenth century. This includes at least 321 women in these two states for the period from

² As Jackie Blount showed in her analysis of women holding superintendencies using 1910, 1930, 1950 and 1970 as snapshots, most women who served in such positions did so in the Western part of nation. Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 180-201.

³ Jane Martin, "Entering the Public Arena: The Female Members of the London School Board, 1870-1904," *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (1993): 225-240; and Jane Martin, "To 'Blaise the Trail for Women to Follow Along': Sex, Gender and the Politics of Education on the London School board, 1870-1904," *Gender and Education* 12, no. 2 (2000): 165-181.

1874 to 1900.⁴ Analyzing basic demographic data, this chapter situates the women in the broader context of both western women and women teachers. In the process, it shows how different local conditions in the two states shaped what appear to be similar social trends. Few of the women left private writing, so it is difficult to tell their full story. Newspapers, census records, vital records, official government reports and published histories reveal only small tidbits of their work and lives, yet they also show that these women have always been part of the public record.⁵

Additionally, the chapter will demonstrate that despite the fact these women lived at least some of their lives in the American West and served at least part of their lives as teachers, they represented diverse backgrounds and interests. For the most part, the women who became county superintendents were white, educated, and middle class. That said, their individual choices hint at diversity beneath that overarching categorization. These findings reinforce the contention of historian Glenda Riley that “Western women are not an entity – a category. Rather, they were and are individuals from different educational, racial, ethnic, and social class backgrounds.”⁶ Just as treating that all western women as a single entity overlooks their actual diversity, considering those who served as county superintendents as a single category would obscure who these women were and how they responded to western dynamics and personal circumstances in ways that led them to serve as governmental officers.

Though these women served as public officials their existence has been almost entirely omitted from existing narratives women’s political agency and of the development of public education. During the Progressive Era, leaders of the new field of school administration conducted a number of studies of the role of school superintendent. These studies essentially

⁴ Far flung election records will eventually reveal additional women’s names.

⁵ Elizabeth Jameson, “Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 1-8.

⁶ Glenda Riley, “Western Women’s History – A Look at Some of the Issues,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 66.

ignored the existence of women in the field. Edward Lawson's 1913 study was designed to provide information to university departments of education regarding who typically served as school superintendents in order to increase their ability to recruit the "right" type of school man for programs of school administration.⁷ Based on a selective survey of existing administrators, he reported that less than one third of one per cent of school superintendents were women and included no analysis of data from women's surveys.⁸ Lotus Coffman, Lawson's graduate advisor, used Lawson's work in his own reports on who served as school superintendents.⁹ The NEA's Department of Superintendence conducted its own survey on the status of the superintendent in 1920. Focused on city superintendents, the purpose of the study was "to determine wisely what measures should be taken to improve the professional status of the city superintendent of schools, it is of first importance that information regarding his present status be gathered."¹⁰ The survey itself asked no questions that were gendered, but the statement of desirable qualifications included with the final report describes the most qualified individual as being a man. Frederick Bair, in his 1934 study of school superintendents focused primarily on city superintendents also omitted women from his report.¹¹ In fact, unlike Lawson's survey instrument, Bair's survey instrument presumed only men would be answering the survey as it asked for information about the respondents' wives. By ignoring the fact that women served as city, county and state superintendents of public schools during the periods of their studies, these founders of school administration as an academic field of study purposefully shaped the narrative

⁷ Edward Lotan Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent* (Masters Thesis, University of Illinois, 1914), 3.

⁸ Lawson, *Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 9.

⁹ Lotus D. Coffman, "The American School Superintendent," in *Educational Administration and Supervision* vol. 1 ed. Charles Hughes Johnston, Lotus D. Coffman, David Snedden and James H. Van Sickle (Baltimore, MD: Warwick & York, Inc., 1915), 13-28.

¹⁰ Department of Superintendence, *First Year Book: The Status of the Superintendent* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association of the United States, 1923), 7

¹¹ Frederick Haigh Bair, *The Social Understandings of the Superintendent of Schools* (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1934).

as to who served as school superintendents. Their work contributed to the belief expressed by scholars like Thomas James that “the predominant characteristics of superintendents were well establish in the literature by 1939: male, white, married, upwardly mobile, Protestant, native-born, generally from farming areas and small towns.”¹²

Decades later, drawing on the work of Lawson, Bair, and others, historian of education David Tyack claimed that being a man was essential for appointment as a school superintendent although “a few women won low-status jobs as county superintendents, driving their Model T’s along dusty roads from one rural school to another.”¹³ To further support claims regarding who historically had served as school superintendents, Tyack used a data set compiled by his colleague Robert Cummins. He compiled data for his study drawn from biographies of 113 city superintendents published in a single edition of the *Journal of Education* in 1899.¹⁴ Of the 113 districts identified, only one was headed by a woman and only seven districts were west of the Mississippi. Tyack, in studying the social history of school superintendents, admitted that existing studies had significant deficits with “interpretations long on exhortation and short on analysis,” yet still claimed that they provided an “invaluable source of data on the historical development of the occupation.”¹⁵ His associate Robert Cummins, considering similar social data as Lawson and Bair, reflected that “we know very little about the social characteristics and career patterns of nineteenth-century school superintendents, and generalizations about the ‘typical’ school chief tend to be based on impressionistic evidence about a few eminent

¹² H. Thomas James, “Educational Administration and Organization: A 40-Year Perspective,” *Educational Researcher* 11, no. 2 (February 1982): 14.

¹³ David B. Tyack, “Pilgrim’s Progress: Toward a Social History of the School Superintendency, 1860-1960,” *History of Education Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1976): 265. This is one of the most thorough syntheses regarding the social demographics of school superintendents done to date. Tyack and Hanson, *Managers of Virtue*, 33.

¹⁴ Robert Cummings, “Appendix A: The American Urban School Superintendent in 1899: Some Statistical Data,” in Tyack, “Pilgrim’s Progress,” 295-297. Cummings drew on biographical information of individuals serving as city superintendents from 113 cities featured in *Journal of Education* 50, no. 22 (December 7, 1899, 374-377, 380).

¹⁵ Tyack, “Pilgrim’s Progress,” 263.

leaders.”¹⁶ Despite this, Tyack, and later he and his co-authors in a number of influential works, continued to perpetuate a narrative that men managed and women taught throughout the history of school supervision.¹⁷

The presumption that county superintendents were low-status and thus of little consequence has meant that little is known about the men and women who served in the position.¹⁸ A search of Tyack and Hansot’s major work on the history of school leadership, *Managers of Virtue*, found just ten references to county school superintendents with only one referencing any of the position’s job duties.¹⁹ Outside of the idea that the position was low status, no systemic scholarly inquiry into county school superintendents’ demographic profiles has been located. Jackie Blount in *Destined to the Rule the Schools* revealed the breadth of women’s participation in the field throughout the early twentieth century, but her work did not explore women’s involvement prior to 1900.²⁰ With few exceptions, her work also did not address the social demographics of the women serving in supervisory positions. This chapter aims to provide as full an account as possible of the social demographics of women who were nominated for county school superintendent during the nineteenth century in Montana and Washington. The results are compared with contemporary data regarding female school teachers and the general female population as well as with the findings of previous studies of men of who served as school superintendents.

¹⁶ Cummings, “The American Urban School Superintendent in 1899,” 295.

¹⁷ Strober and Tyack, “Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage?”; and Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*.

¹⁸ Blount used the term “intermediate” superintendent to describe the same positions defined in this study as being “county superintendents.” To prevent confusion, “county superintendents” has used instead.

¹⁹ Tyack and Hanson, *Managers of Virtue*, 33.

²⁰ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*.

Basic Demographics

Using census records and vital statistics such as birth, marriage and death records along with contemporaneous newspaper accounts, basic demographic information has been located for over 90 percent of the women identified as appointed or nominated for county superintendent between 1874 and 1900 in Washington and between 1882 and 1900 in Montana.²¹ From this data, it is possible to determine approximate age at first election or appointment, marital status, place of birth and that of a woman's parents, along with whether the women had children. Information about the women's educational background is more limited, but was located for about 30 percent of the women. The resulting data reveal that although the women shared some social characteristics, their demographic profiles reveal greater diversity relative to family matters and birth origin than expected. They also had demographic characteristics that were different from the average woman of the period. Additionally, differences existed between the women nominated and elected in Montana and those in Washington. Locality made a difference as to whom electors considered appropriate for the position.

Age

Although progressive era studies described those serving as superintendents²² during the nineteenth century as middle aged men with an average age in the mid-40s, the information from Montana and Washington reveals that the women were more likely to be in their twenties and

²¹ Basic demographic information for each woman included in this study is included in Appendix E (Montana) and Appendix F (Washington).

²² Although Progressive Era studies focused overwhelmingly on city superintendents, the authors of those studies as well as later scholars implied that the data referred to superintendents in general.

early thirties at the time of their first election or appointment (see Table 13).²³ Much like self-reported survey information, such as that used in earlier studies regarding men who served as school superintendents; census data is not always accurate. For this reason, women were tracked through multiple census records. Doing this revealed that some, like Bessie Ford, spent decades reporting their age as being significantly younger than they actually were. In Montana, the women's ages ranged from 18 to 59 while in Washington they ranged from 20 to 62. Overall, the women running for county superintendent in Montana were younger than those running for the same office in Washington with 56 percent of those in Montana under the age of thirty compared to just 43 percent in Washington. At the same time, 25 percent of the women in Washington were over forty while fewer than 10 percent of their peers in Montana were of a similar age.

Table 13: Women's Age at First Nomination/Appointment (in percent)

State	18-20	21-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	Above 55
Montana	6.3	20.9	29.1	18.4	13.9	7.0	1.9	.6	1.3
Washington	1.4	21.0	21.0	16.7	13.8	14.5	8.0	2.9	.7

The proportion of women at the upper range of the age data in Washington does not necessarily reflect a preference for older candidates, but may in fact reflect the fact that Washington had a higher percentage of women above 40 in the general population than did Montana during the period. Although in Montana the age spread for women elected as county superintendents skewed toward younger women than in Washington, the median age at first election in both states is within three years. In Montana, the median age of women elected was

²³ Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 10; and Bair, *Social Understandings of the Superintendents of Schools*, 26-27. For this study the 1880, 1900 and 1910 federal census as well as Washington Territorial Censuses for 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889 and 1892 were used to determine approximate ages.

27 and in Washington that age was 30. This corresponds to Lawson's finding of a median age of 30.5 years for a man to first begin work as a city superintendent, based on his data, with their ages ranging from 20 to 53 years of age.²⁴ On average, the women who lost in both states were slightly older than those who won. Prior studies did not compile comparative data for men not chosen to serve as superintendents, so it is unknown whether this reflected similar situations elsewhere or was unique to these two states.

As part of this study, similar demographic data were collected for the men elected county superintendent in Montana during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. During that period, the men's ages at first election were nearly a full ten years older than their female colleagues, with an average age of 36.²⁵ Lawson in his original 1913 study indicated that superintendents in the west were in fact younger than their eastern colleagues, but there were not enough data provided in his study to verify this fact.²⁶ Table 14 provides the average age of women nominated, elected and appointed as county superintendents in Montana and Washington. Table 15 provides their median age. By examining the median age it is possible to see that although older women served in the office, half of the women elected and appointed were thirty or younger.

Although by the end of the nineteenth century most city superintendents were appointed, for the county superintendents in Montana and Washington, this only occurred at the time that some (not all) counties were created and when a vacancy happened during a term due to

²⁴ Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 44. Frederick H. Bair conducted a more intensive study of school superintendents in the early 1930s. Even though Bair's data collection was twenty years later than Lawson's, he, too, found most superintendents were appointed to their first superintendency near the age of thirty. See F. H. Bair, "The Superintendent As a Social Agent," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 17, no. 3 (January 1935): 85; and Bair, *The Social Understandings of the Superintendent of Schools*.

²⁵ It was necessary to include the 1880 election results in order to generate enough names to suggest general demographic trends. Between 1880 and 1900, there were 49 successful male candidates for county superintendent. Basic demographic information was found on 47. The average age was just over 36 with a mean age of 35 at the first successful election to office during this period with their ages ranging from 21 to 54 years.

²⁶ Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 10.

resignation or removal from office. Otherwise, county superintendents were elected, not appointed. Interestingly, the average age of those women appointed as county superintendents did not follow the pattern for those women who had been candidates for elective office in either state. Because so few women were appointed to the position, it is difficult to definitively make a claim regarding the preference demonstrated by county commissioners in their appointments, but it appears that they appointed women with a different age profile than their elected peers although the direction of the skew differed for the two states. The data in this study show that in Montana, women appointed to the office were, on average, older than those elected, but in Washington, the women who were appointed were significantly younger. This is likely because several of the women in Washington were appointed to fill their husband's unfinished term after he had died in office.

Table 14: Average Age of Women at First Election/Appointment (Reported in Years)

State	Overall	Appointment	Elected	Defeated
Montana	29.75	33.91	28.78	31.36
Washington	32.76	31.86	32.62	33.08

Table 15: Median Age of Women at First Election/Appointment (Reported in Years)

State	Overall	Appointment	Elected	Defeated
Montana	29	28.5	27	30
Washington	30	25	30	31

No data has been located which specifically addresses county superintendents' professional background and the extant records make it nearly impossible to determine at what age, or even if, the women nominated as county superintendents began teaching. It was not until the middle of the 1890s that both Montana and Washington adopted legislation requiring individuals elected as county superintendent to hold teaching certificates. In an attempt to determine when they might have started teaching, the women were grouped into the same age

categories as those used by the 1890 and 1900 census. This information was then compared with the information provided for those women identified as teachers (or related professions) in each state (see Table 16 and Table 17).²⁷ Three things stood out. First, using the broad age categories of the census the percentage of women nominated and elected in each are remarkably similar when comparing the two states. Second, it becomes clear that a state's school teachers were proportionately younger than both the women nominated for school superintendent and the state's general population of women over fifteen years of age. It also suggests that those women nominated may have had at least a few years of teaching experience prior to their nomination as they are proportionately older, on average, than their teaching colleagues.²⁸ Lastly, the women nominated for county superintendent were likely to be in the prime of their working lives with nearly two-thirds of those elected in both states between 25 and 44 years of age. One of the issues with these broad age categories, however, is that they conceal occupational changes as women left and re-entered the work force due to marital and childrearing choices.²⁹

²⁷ Although the results of two fires, subsequent water damage, and general neglect later destroyed the majority of the individual 1890 census enumerations, the Census Bureau used then innovative technology – the punch card and the Hollerith tabulating machine – to tabulate census data. This allowed the recording and tabulation of census data significantly more quickly than had been previously possible so state and national data tabulations were completed prior to the first fire. The resulting compilations give a good overview of the nation's population at the time. For information on the adoption of the Hollerith technology, see:

https://www.census.gov/history/www/innovations/technology/the_hollerith_tabulator.html.

²⁸ Census data, while often seen as the gold standard regarding population statistics, has inherent flaws. During the period under study, enumerators were to visit each home where someone in the home provided information regarding ages, occupation, etc. An individual who worked as a teacher the previous summer, but was currently “at home” may not have reported their employment and therefore would not have been counted among those working. An individual's age, place of birth and other information was based on what someone reported and not necessarily the actual facts. Enumerators, after several attempts, were known to visit neighbors to obtain information for families who were not home asking the neighbors for the needed information. Given those issues, it is still the best snapshot we have of the general population.

²⁹ To determine an average age of the teachers for the period under study, U.S. Census data for the occupation of teacher from both the 1890 and 1900 census was averaged. (The 1880 census used different age categories.) To determine the average age of the general female population U.S. Census data for the years 1880, 1890 and 1900 were averaged. This was done to create a general population trend for the study period. Only minor differences were seen relative to the percent of women in the broad age categories between census periods despite significant population increases.

Table 16: Comparing Age for Women Candidates, Women Office Holders, Women Teachers and General Female Population - Montana (in percent)

	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Nominated for county superintendent	22.5	65.9	11.5	0
Elected county superintendent	22.8	67.1	10	0
Teachers	49.1	44.3	4.3	.14
General Population	31.5	52.7	12.8	2

Table 17: Comparing Age for Women Candidates, Women Office Holders, Women Teachers, and General Female Population - Washington (in percent)

	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Nominated for county superintendent	20.7	60.7	10.7	0
Elected county superintendent	22.9	67	10	0
Teachers	50.11	44.3	4	.2
General Population	32.5	47.8	16.5	3

Marital Status

Early survey studies of male superintendents indicated that school superintendents were generally married.³⁰ Demographic data for the men in Montana who won election as county superintendents during the period of this study supports this idea, but with only 56 percent of the men married at the time of their election it does not definitively suggest a voter preference for married men. Also, marital status at the time of election for men in Montana closely mirrors that of the women elected in Washington during the same period. In both states, a substantial number of nominees and successful candidates were single or widowed at the time of the election. There is evidence that some electors saw marriage as a positive, but not decisive, attribute. The fact that

³⁰ Tyack, "Pilgrims Progress," 264.

Elizabeth Peebles was a single woman became a campaign issue when her opponent, B. F. Gordon, indicated that he would not have considered running against a woman (likely because by 1898 women almost universally held the position in Montana) except for the fact that he had a helpmate, his wife, who could help him with the position's duties.³¹ Having a helpmate did not help Gordon win the election, however. His single, female opponent outpolled him almost two to one.³²

This study relied on a variety of sources to determine women's marital status. The use of the honorifics "Miss" and "Mrs." to identify women in the era's newspapers and government reports does give some clue as to a woman's marital status. Yet, just as now, some women chose not to use an honorific, employing instead their full name or just their initials much as did many of their male colleagues. "Mrs." presented certain difficulties in ascertaining marital status as it was used to identify a married woman, a widow or a divorcée. Some married women, either by community practice or personal preference, were identified as Mrs. husband's first name and husband's surname while others opted to go by Mrs. own first name and husband's surname. Widowed and divorced women often used this same pattern, while some divorced women, at the time of their divorce, asked to have their maiden names restored as their legal names. Census records during this period only provide a snapshot of the woman's marital status at the time of the census. Later census years did provide information regarding the number of marriages (1910) and age of first marriage (1930). Marriage records, when they were available, proved to be vital in tracing women both before and after marriage. (For a comparison of the marital status of the women nominated for county superintendent in Montana and Washington, see Table 18.)

³¹"What a Snap!" *Fergus County (MT) Argus*, September 28, 1898, 5.

³²*Fergus County (MT) Argus*, November 23, 1898, 2.

Table 18: Women's Marital Status at First Nomination/Appointment (in percent)

State	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Montana	76.9	16	6.5	.6
Washington*	46.5	46.5	5.6	1.4

*Two women in Washington were counted additional times because their marital status had changed when they ran for office at nonconsecutive elections.

Comparison with other states suggests that the percentage of women who were single at the time of appointment or nomination in Montana was an anomaly specific to that state. Just as a significantly higher percentage of the women nominated in Washington were married, women serving as county superintendents in two other states were more likely to have been married than not. In a 1909 study conducted by economist Helen Sumner [Woodbury] regarding the influence of woman suffrage “upon the political and social life,”³³ she received information on fifty-eight of the 120 women elected county superintendent since 1893 in Colorado. Of those women, 45 percent were married, 20 percent were widowed and 33 percent had never married.³⁴ It is not clear if this information was from the time of election or at the time the information was shared with Sumner. More recently, evidence collected by Heidi Sealer as part of her research on women’s political involvement in the early 20th century found that women nominated as county school superintendents in select counties of Arizona during the early twentieth century found that of the fifty-five women who ran for the office only 26 percent of the women were single. Fourteen percent were widowed with the remainder (60 percent) married, widowed or divorced, as they were identified with the honorific “Mrs.”³⁵

The year of first marriage was located for 109 of the 174 Montana women identified to date. Election records identified an additional eight with the honorific “Mrs.” but a date for their first marriage has not been located. Based on the federal census records, the median age of

³³ Sumner, *Equal Suffrage*, ix.

³⁴ Sumner, *Equal Suffrage*, 138.

³⁵ Heidi J. Sealer, “*A Woman for a Woman’s Job*”: *Arizona Women in Politics, 1900-1950* (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2001), 317.

marriage nationally for a woman in 1890 and 1900 was about 22 years of age.³⁶ In Montana, for those women successfully elected as county superintendent, the median age at first marriage was 31 and for all women identified as running for the office during the era the median age at first marriage was 30. In Washington, the date of first marriage was located for 94 of the 150 women identified. Election records identified an additional twelve with the honorific “Mrs.” but a date for their first marriage has not been located. In Washington, for those women successfully elected as county superintendent, the median age of first marriage was 27 and for all women identified as running for the office during the era the median age of first marriage was 26. (For a comparison of the marital status of successfully elected women in Montana and Washington, see Table 19.) These results suggest social and cultural differences in general marriage patterns in the two states that lie beyond the scope of this study.

Table 19: Women's Marital Status at First Successful Election (in percent)

State	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Montana	84.4	8.9	6.7	0
Washington*	48.6	41.9	8.1	1.4

*One woman in Washington was counted a total of three times because her marital status changed between each of three successful nonconsecutive elections.

Beginning in the last decades of the nineteenth century, school districts began to formally create marriage bars preventing married women from continuing to teach.³⁷ Restricting teaching to just single women occurred for a variety of reasons. Among these was the fear that women's marriage and potential children would take their attention away from the students in their classrooms. A social prejudice favoring men's employment over women's as a tool for providing

³⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, “Table MS-2. Estimated Median Age at First Marriage, by Sex: 1890 to Present,” <https://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/tabMS-2.pdf>. This value represents a national median. Data from both Washington and Montana suggest that the median age at first marriage in those two states was likely higher.

³⁷ For a discussion on marriage bars and their inconsistent enforcement, see: Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes*, 128-134.

family support also played a factor. This idea appeared to be particularly prevalent during periods of economic downturn such as during the mid-1890s. The same logic does not seem to have applied to the position of county superintendent, however. Historian Heidi Sealer suggested that the high number of married women who sought the position of county superintendent in Arizona in the early twentieth century was a direct result of the fact that school districts began barring married women from the classroom. The County Superintendency allowed them to continue in public education, as the elected position carried no similar ban.³⁸ As legislative or constitutional provisions established and regulated the position of county superintendent, creating a marriage bar for one class of potential candidates (women) and not another (men) would have been highly unlikely and to date no marriage bar has been found to have existed for the position in any state.

Sealer's analysis is suggestive, though it better matches the data for Washington than it does for Montana. Comparing nominees' marital status to that reported both for teachers and for the general female population over age fifteen in both states suggests that it is likely the women nominated in Montana came from the teacher pool. In Montana, the marital status of nominees for county superintendent reflected that for teachers, but was dramatically different than for the general female population. Both teachers and those in the candidate pool were significantly more likely to be single than the average woman in the same age grouping in Montana (See Table 20). In Washington, by contrast, the women nominated and elected as county superintendent were much more likely to be married than the average female teacher. Specifically, marriage rate for female county superintendents were nearly four times higher than that of average female teacher although county superintendents were also more likely to be single than the general population of women over 15 years of age (See Table 21). This data suggests that it is likely fewer women

³⁸ Osselaer, "A Woman for a Woman's Job," 317-18.

nominated or elected as county superintendents in Washington came directly from the state's teacher pool. Evidence from state sources supports this possibility. Fannie Curtis elected in Yakima County (WA) in 1886 admitted to having no experience with educational matters. At the same time, the Washington data may reflect other aspects of employment status. The fact that women in the Washington cohort, on average, were both three years older and married five years earlier than the women in the Montana cohort meant they, if they had spent time teaching, were more likely to have stepped aside from active teaching as they spent more time dealing with domestic matters.

Table 20: Comparing Marital Status, Women Candidates, Women Office Holders, Women Teachers, and General Female Population - Montana (in percent)

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown
Nominated for county superintendent	76	15	6.4	.6	1.8
Elected county superintendent	84.4	8.9	6.7	0	0
Women Teachers	78.5	11.3	6	1.3	NA
General Women's Population	24.8	66.9	7.3	.8	.1

Table 21: Comparing Marital Status, Women Candidates, Women Office Holders, Women Teachers and General Female Population - Washington (in percent)

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown
Nominated for county superintendent	44	46.5	5.3	1.3	8
Elected county superintendent	48.6	41.9	8.1	1.4	0
Women Teachers	85.8	9.7	3.6	.8	NA
General Women's Population	24.8	67.5	6.9	.7	.1

It is unclear whether Montana's voters had a preference for voting for single women, but newspaper editorialists implied or joked that it did. Newspapers at the time took note of this by proclaiming that "talented young ladies were put in nomination for county superintendent."³⁹ Another newspaper added innuendo to such information, saying "the two, fair candidates for the office of school superintendent are traversing the county, doing the sights, twinkling their eyelashes at voters, and – well, what is a poor old bachelor, who suffers from palpitation of the heart, to do."⁴⁰ A story shared by one successful candidate in Montana suggests that some women, who could not vote for the position, took issue with the role that youth and sex played in such elections. Mary Powers (née Johnstone) recalled being approached years after her election as Chouteau (MT)'s county superintendent by a woman who said, "Oh, you are the one who ran on the Republican ticket in a Democratic county, [and] wrote love letters to all the old bachelors. They tacked them up in their cabins [and] voted for you."⁴¹ Powers did not remember writing "love letters" to the bachelors of the county, but she had sent handwritten notes to every registered voter in the county.⁴²

Additional research would be necessary to tease out why the proportion of women who remained single from the Montana cohort of elected county superintendents was larger than among the Washington cohort. Nineteen percent of the single women elected to office in Montana married during their term as county school superintendent. Another 44 percent married sometime after they completed their terms. However, 37 percent never married. Nationally,

³⁹ "All After the Office," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, September 6, 1894, 6.

⁴⁰ *Dupuyer (MT) Acantha*, October 20, 1894, 1.

⁴¹ Dorothy McLeish, "First Woman County Superintendent of Schools," in *Trails, Trials and Tributes* (Chouteau County, MT: Egly Country Club: 1958), 3. The assertion of single women wooing bachelors during their campaign for offices appears to have been leveled against them by opponents. Nearly the exact allegation was made against Estelle Reel in her campaign for Wyoming's state superintendent of public instruction. See Sarah R., Bohl, "Wyoming's Estelle Reel: The First Woman Elected to a Statewide Office in America," *Annals of Wyoming* 75, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 33.

⁴² McLeish, "First Woman County Superintendent of Schools."

during the period of this study, between seven and eight percent of white women remained single their entire lives.⁴³ In states, like Montana and Washington, where men outnumbered women more than two to one during much of the period, the decision to remain single was not due to the lack of opportunity.⁴⁴

A certain percentage of the women nominated as county school superintendents chose to remain single throughout their lifetimes (see Table 22). Historian Jill Frahm, in her study of unmarried women during this period, found that while race, ethnic background, class and geographic location played a role in a woman's decision not to marry, the fact that a woman was a member of the work force, even those continuing to live with family members, was the strongest influence on whether women married. This was true regardless of the woman's level of education. Frahm claimed that employment "increased personal authority that led to the growth in the population of never married women in the United States. Particularly those women paid well enough to live separate from family, gained more control over their own lives and likely the selection of a spouse. With money and interests of their own, marriage became less crucial and women could consciously or unconsciously weigh their option more carefully to determine what might be gained or lost by taking a spouse."⁴⁵ Teaching and related occupations were positions that allowed many women to make such choices.

⁴³ Jill Frahm, *Unclaimed Flowers and Blossoms Protected by Thorns: Never-Married Women in the United States, 1880-1930* (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2010), 72.

⁴⁴ Brown, *The Gentle Tamers*, 227-237; and T. A. Larson, "Women's Role in the American West," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 24, no. 3 (Summer 1974): 6. The publication of the "Statistical Chart of Bachelors and Spinsters of the United States" by the U.S. Census Bureau debunked the idea of an overabundance of unmarried women in the east as early as 1898. Described in the popular press as a map to help unmarried women locate potential marriage partners, it demonstrated that nowhere in the U.S. were there places where unmarried women outnumbered unmarried men. For example, of these discussions see: "Bachelors and Spinsters in the United States," *Annual Year Book, Weather Forecast and Cyclopedia of Facts* (Detroit: Detroit Free Press, 1899), 305-306; "Wedlock Guide," *Wheeling (WV) Daily Intelligencer*, September 27, 1898, 7; and "Go West, Old Maid," (*Kansas City, KS) American Citizen*, October 14, 1898, 4.

⁴⁵ Frahm, *Unclaimed Flowers and Blossoms Protected by Thorns*, 210.

Table 22: Eventual Marital Status of Single Women Elected as County Superintendent (in percent)

	Single at Election	Married prior to/during Term in Office	Married after leaving office	Remained Single	Unknown
Montana	84.6	19	47	30	4
Washington	48.6	26	46	17	14

There is also evidence that some of the single women later lived in what Jackie Blount described as companionate relationships.⁴⁶ This was in a period where such relationships were not considered inappropriate and drew little attention. Ina Craven remained single all her life. After serving two terms as Cascade County (MT)'s superintendent, she worked as a school principal in Ogden, Utah. As enumerated in the 1910 census Craven lived there with eight other teachers in a boarding house, one of whom was Gertrude Fitzgerald. By 1920, the census lists Ina Craven as head of the household with Gertrude Fitzgerald as her partner. Ten years later, in 1930, Gertrude Fitzgerald is head of household and Ina Craven is her partner. The two traveled together by car over 1300 miles in 1923 to attend one of two summer programs specifically offered for grade school principals.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Kathryn Johnston, the former Lewis and Clarke County (MT) superintendent, and Nona Eddy were living in the same home in Kessler, Montana in 1920. Both women were school teachers with Johnston enumerated as single and Eddy enumerated as a widow. The two women attended summer school together in San Diego, California in 1925.⁴⁸ By 1930, Eddy was a principal in the schools of Helena and was boarding with Johnston according to the census. Eddy preceded Johnston in death by a year in 1941. Even

⁴⁶ Jackie M. Blount, "From Exemplar to Deviant: Same-Sex Relationships Among Women Superintendents, 1909-1976," *Educational Studies* 35, no. 2 (2004): 103-122.

⁴⁷ "Women Educators of Ogden Make Long Auto Trip," *Ogden (UT) Standard Examiner*, July 29, 1923, 10.

⁴⁸ (*Helena, MT*) *Independent Record*, June 21, 1925, 14.

though Eddy had married and helped raise three stepchildren, she is buried with Johnston. The two women share a headstone.

Despite a scholarly perception that divorce created a social stigma, it does not appear that was a decisive factor in a woman's nomination or election.⁴⁹ During the period of study, less than one percent of all marriages ended in divorce with rates of divorce being slightly higher in western states.⁵⁰ In both Montana and Washington, nearly three-fourths of all divorces were initiated by women often for causes such as abandonment and cruelty which may have lessened the stigma in the eyes of community members.⁵¹ Overall Montana had a slightly higher divorce rate than Washington, but the demographic data located for this study found more women included in this study were divorced or living separately from their husbands in Washington than in Montana. This may be the result of the fact that more women in the Washington cohort were married than their Montana peers. One woman, Virginia Hancock, was elected as a single woman in one county, married after leaving office, moved across the state, and then was elected as a married woman in another county. Sometime after serving a term in office (she had run unsuccessfully for a second term) she divorced her husband. She then ran successfully as a divorced woman winning an additional term. For some of the women, divorce did not occur until after their term in office. Such was the case of Delia Newton, who served in Chehalis (now Grays Harbor) County (WA) from 1877 to 1879. A widow for nearly eight years at the time of her election, she remarried in 1883 only to divorce and retake her first husband's surname less than three years later.

⁴⁹ Paul R. Amato and Shelley Irving, "Historical Trends in Divorce in the United States," in *Handbook of Divorce and Relationship Dissolution* ed. Mark A. Fine and John H. Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2006), 44.

⁵⁰ National Center for Health Statistics, *100 Years of Marriage and Divorce Statistics United States, 1867-1967* (Washington, DC: Government Printing office, 1973), 37.

⁵¹ Walter F. Willcox, *The Divorce Problem: A Study in Statistics* (New York: Columbia University, 1897).

In Washington, according to census records, several of the married nominees were living apart from their husbands. This was for some, like for Cornelia Greer, a temporary situation. Her husband left her and their teenage sons during her term as Pierce County (WA)'s school superintendent to attend divinity school back east returning to their home a year later.⁵² Greer continued to teach school, as she had for most of her marriage, while raising children while her husband farmed. Fannie Austin was living separately from her attorney husband when she ran for election in 1894. The reason for the separation is not clear, but her husband had registered to vote in California in 1892. Fannie divorced him at some point as she remarried in March of 1895. Living apart from her husband at the time of her election in Yellowstone County (MT), Marguerite Strang divorced in April 1901, during her term in office. These cases suggest that marital separation or divorce did not decisively determine a woman's electability for office and may, in fact, have been part of the context that led some women to seek office.

Being a widow, particularly one with small children, may have been an advantage when it came to successful election. This meant possible financial support for a woman in Montana, though not necessarily in Washington where remuneration was generally lower or in some cases virtually non-existent. Over half of the widowed women in both states with children in the home at the time of election were successful in their bid for office. Ada Hicklin was a young widow with a toddler when elected as Pacific County (WA)'s superintendent in 1884. A picture of the county's first teachers' institute in 1885 provides evidence that Hicklin's son John accompanied his mother in at least some of her duties. Kate Poindexter was elected in 1894 on the Democrat and Populist tickets to serve as Beaverhead County (MT)'s school superintendent. At the time she was a young widow with three small children to support. Her husband, John C. Poindexter,

⁵² "From Methodism to Unitarianism," *Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer*, August 10, 1884, 4.

died in August of 1892 leaving an estate owing more money than it was worth⁵³. Laura Zook's son was just over eighteen months old when his father died in August 1896.⁵⁴ His mother was nominated and successfully elected Custer County (MT)'s superintendent three months later. After failing to be re-elected in 1898, she was again successful in gaining office in 1900. Her son was five.⁵⁵ In supporting Fannie Chenoweth's election in 1898 in Teton County (MT), the local newspaper editors assured their readers of her qualifications to hold the position but also identified her need for the position. Among the reasons they gave for voting her were that she was "a widow with four small boys to support" and "a school teacher with several years' experience."⁵⁶ At the time of her successful election, Chenoweth's children ranged from six to fifteen years of age. Together these examples suggest the position of county superintendent was regarded as a legitimate means of support for a woman with family responsibilities.



Pacific County Teachers' Institute, 1885
 Back Row- Sarah Brand, May Lilly, Emma Bailey,
 Lincoln L. Bush, Mrs. Canouse, and Rebecca "Puss" Brown
 Center: Bessie Gillespie, Ola Gillespie, Mrs. Ada Brown
 Hicklin and son John, and Mollie Hutton
 Front: T.B. English, Ella Tanger and Willie Mathews
 (not all attendees identified in photo)

⁵³ Estate of John C. Poindexter, File No. 59, District Court, Fifth Judicial District, County of Beaverhead (MT) September 1892 to June 1893.

⁵⁴ *Progressive Men of the State of Montana* (Chicago: A. W. Bowen, [1901]), 978.

⁵⁵ Helen Carey Jones, ed., *Custer County Area History: As We Recall: A Centennial History of Custer County, Montana, 1889-1989* (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1990), 542.

⁵⁶ *Dupuyer (MT) Acantha*, October 27, 1898, 4.

Children

Beyond marital status, the family situation of men serving as school superintendents received little notice in the literature on school administration until the 1930s when Frederick Bair determined that superintendents had, on average, two children.⁵⁷ Yet women's status as a potential primary care giver of children received repeated attention from both those advocating women's involvement as educational leaders and those opposing such action. The most frequent arguments for supporting women holding school offices centered on their role as mothers. Their experience as mothers, according to some commentators, gave them a better understanding of children's needs than men who had professional training as educational leaders would ever obtain, thus making women better advocates for children in school settings.⁵⁸ At the same time, other observers saw teaching and related occupations as temporary stops for women that conferred a certain level of status as they moved to their ultimate goal of being wives and mothers. That logic at times argued against women's candidacy for supervisory positions, as it was assumed they would not continue their employment after marriage.⁵⁹

While motherhood, or at least the potential for motherhood, influenced whether others supported women's appointment or election as county superintendents, the women in this study were less likely to have children than the typical white woman in the United States. Nationally, less than 20 percent of the women born in the same birth cohorts as those in this study were still childless by the time they turned forty-five.⁶⁰ Nearly half of the women nominated in Montana or Washington for county superintendent during the last decades of the nineteenth century appear to

⁵⁷ See F. H. Bair, "The Superintendent As a Social Agent," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 17, no. 3 (January 1935): 85

⁵⁸ Peabody, "The Voting of Women in School Elections," 47.

⁵⁹ Strober and Tyack, "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage?"

⁶⁰ Donald T. Rowland, "Historical Trends in Childlessness," *Journal of Family Issues* 28, no. 10 (October 2007): 1318.

have never had children (see Table 23). Only 46 percent of the women nominated in Montana had children during their lifetimes. In Washington, just 52 percent were also mothers.

Table 23: Marital Status and Childbearing (in percent)

	Married/Widowed/ Divorced with Children	Married/Widowed/ Divorced without children	No Record of Marriage; without Children
Montana	45.57	27.22	27.22
Washington	51.72	28.97	19.31

The number of women who married at least once without children was surprising. Although outside of the scope of this research, there are at least three demographic factors that may explain this. The first is women's age at first marriage. For many of the women, particularly in Montana, their first marriages did not occur until after their mid-thirties. This alone would reduce the likelihood of bearing children with the natural decrease of fertility that occurs with age. Second, demographic research regarding women's decreasing fertility rates found differences in fertility rates between women living in urban, rural nonfarm and rural farm settings with an average of 2.7 children for women living in urban settings, 4 children for those in rural nonfarm spaces and 6 living on rural farms.⁶¹ In 1900, nearly 40 percent of the nation's residents lived in urban settings. While Montana was below the national average at just under 35 percent living in urban settings, Washington had already started to surpass the national average at almost 41 percent.⁶² Despite the image of Montana and Washington being widely rural, the proportion of the population living in urban areas by 1900 was higher than in the United States

⁶¹ From the work of Nathan Keyfitz and Wilhelm Flieger, *World Population: An Analysis of Vital Data* (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1968) as reported by Michael R. Haines, "American Fertility in Transition: New Estimates of Birth Rates in the United States, 1900-1910," *Demography* 23, no. 1 (February 1989): 142.

⁶² U. S. Census Bureau, "Urban Percentage of the Population for States, Historical Decennial Census, 1900-2010" compilation by the Iowa Community Indicators Programs at Iowa State University <http://www.icip.iastate.edu/tables/population/urban-pct-states>.

overall. By 1900, the population shift in Washington resulted in the identification of the state as urban with more than 50 percent of the population living in urban settings. And third, the women's social class may have influenced the number of children a woman ultimately had. Clyde Kiser's 1932 study found that not only was fertility rates linked to the size of community but to a household's social class. Focusing only on native-born white women in their first marriage, Kiser determined social class using the reported occupations of the women's husbands. Kiser found that, in general, women with husbands employed in a professional or business capacity had lower fertility rates regardless of where they lived when compared to those women whose husbands worked as skilled workers or unskilled laborers.⁶³ The employment status of husbands was not collected as part of this study. The general impression, however, is that husbands' employment tended to fall into the professional and business classes with husbands frequently working as attorneys, merchants, physicians, bankers and other related occupations even though some husbands were reported in the censuses as being miners and farmers.

The women, on average, in this study had fewer children than anticipated for women of the time. After dropping for most of the nineteenth century, the average fertility rate for white women born in the U.S. was 3.6 children per woman by 1900, while white women born outside of the U.S. averaged 4.5.⁶⁴ In Montana, the number of children born to the seventy-five women nominated for superintendent who had children ranged from 1 to 7 children per household. They averaged 2.47 children with a median of 2 children. Not surprisingly because of an earlier average age at first marriage, women candidates in Washington bore children at higher rates. The seventy-two Washington women candidates with children had between one and eleven children,

⁶³ Clyde V. Kiser, "Fertility of Social Classes in Various Types of Communities of the East North Central States in 1900," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 27, no. 180 (December 1932): 371-382.

⁶⁴ Michael R. Haines, "American Fertility in Transition: New Estimates of Birth Rates in the United States, 1900-1910," *Demography* 23, no. 1 (February 1989): 142.

with an average of 3.28 children and a median of 3. It should be noted that the numbers found in this study may not be truly reflective of the number of children born to a woman. Despite the 1900 and 1910 census asking how many children a woman had both living and dead, it is likely the number of children were undercounted given that still births, infant, and toddler deaths may not be reflected in the numbers.

Having children does not appear to have been a significant detriment relative to their mothers' elections as county superintendents. Most of the women who were married, widowed or divorced at the time of their nomination had children in the home (see Table 24). There is almost no difference between the percent of married and widowed women with children and those without when it came to the possibility of election or defeat. For example, Antoinette Huntington, one of the first women elected to office in Washington not only had children in the home at the time of her election in 1878, she continued to teach school. She was the first teacher in Castle Rock, Washington, holding classes in the front room of her home beginning in 1876 and continuing until 1883 when the community built the first school. Four of her students were her own children with the youngest still a toddler when the school started.⁶⁵ Elected in Okanogan County in 1900, Sarah Robinson was the mother of another woman, Virginia Hancock, also elected county superintendent not once, but three times in two different counties. The number of widowed women with small children was small, but it appears that being a widow with small children increased the likelihood of election. In Montana, in the twelve races where a widow ran for election, eight had children in the home. Six of those eight won election. In Washington in the ten elections with widows as candidates, eight had children in the home with seven winning election.

⁶⁵ Vicki Selander, *Castle Rock*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 29-30.

Table 24: Percent Married/Widowed/Divorced with Children at time of Nomination and Election (Including Percent Elected or Defeated)

	Children in home at time of nomination	Elected	Defeated
Montana	76.7	76.9	76.5
Washington	73.5	74.2	72.9

Not only did women have school age children in the home at the time of their nomination, some had infants or were pregnant at the time of election. Elizabeth Searles was pregnant at the time of her 1888 nomination in Cowlitz County (WA) and she had two children during her term of office, in March 1889 and October 1890. Minnie Ford Decker married between the time she won election in Mason County (WA) and taking office in January 1899. Her daughter was born in March of 1900. Both Lena Wilcox and her husband worked as teachers when she ran unsuccessfully for election in both 1892 and 1898. During the 1898 election her daughter was about six months old.

Sadly, this group of women was not immune to the hazards of childbirth or the loss of children. Lillian Carey, elected in Jefferson County (MT) in 1898 married late in her term in August 1900. She successfully ran for re-election while expecting her first child. She and her daughter died due to complications in childbirth in May 1901. By 1900, Annette Brooks elected in Mason County (WA) in 1886 had buried five of her ten children. At least fifteen other women outlived at least one child.

Having children in the home at the time of their nomination or election does not seem to have been a significant detriment for women. Although the data collected only provides a snapshot regarding a woman's childbearing, it provides no clue regarding the familial or community support that made it possible for them to balance a job as county superintendent with

the needs of their families. Stories of women teaching school while caring for their own underage children exist in some local histories and family stories as was the case for Cowlitz County (WA)'s Antoinette Huntington and Pacific County (WA)'s Ada Brown Hicklin. One of the arguments used to support marriage bars implemented during the late nineteenth well into the twentieth century was that women with families of their own would not provide their full attention to the children in their classrooms. Obviously electors had less issue with women having family commitments if the women were perceived to have the skills necessary to be a community's educational leader. This may have been a difference between the attitudes of electors and those of the (typically male) administrators responsible for hiring teachers in urban settings.

Place of Origin

In his influential 1974 and 1983 survey histories of urban education and school administration in the United States, David Tyack (and later, Elisabeth Hansot) relied heavily on progressive-era studies of the office of school superintendent conducted by early proponents of the new academic field of school administration. Drawing on this material, Tyack emphasized the New England and mid-Western origins of most school leaders historically. To some extent, however, early studies such as those by Lawson and Bair may have led Tyack and subsequent scholars astray. Lawson did not provide migration details in his survey study of school superintendents except to indicate that few were foreign born and a slim majority of the men reported being born in the same state where they were now working. Of those from different states, the highest percentages, totaling just over 20 percent of the entire study cohort, were from

New York and Pennsylvania.⁶⁶ Bair, in his 1934 study, found that 90 percent of the superintendents were Anglo-Saxon with 75 percent with British origins including 25 percent with New England roots.⁶⁷ As noted earlier, however, neither Lawson nor Bair made any effort to include women in their studies. Their survey respondents also provided little information regarding administrative positions in western states and territories, non-urban contexts, or the period before 1910.

Focusing on women who served as county superintendent in the Upper West during the last decades of the nineteenth century leads to a different picture than that painted by Tyack based on progressive-era studies. The present study finds that the women who were nominated for county superintendent in Montana and Washington were a much more diverse group than Tyack's descriptions suggested, although most could have ultimately traced their family heritage to British roots (including Ireland) if a multiple generational genealogical study were to be completed.

Superintendent migration patterns during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have not received the same level of interest by scholars as has that of female teachers during the era.⁶⁸ Existing studies of teacher migration suggest that a certain portion of the white female teaching force moved east to west, fewer moving north to south, the majority of teachers migrating to the Midwest from the Northeast between 1860 and 1880, and many western teachers moving from the Midwest during the last decades of the 19th century. Because both Montana and Washington required that candidates for county superintendent hold teaching certificates by the end of the nineteenth century, it would be reasonable to assume that there were

⁶⁶ Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 20.

⁶⁷ F. H. Bair, "The Superintendent as a Social Agent," *Phi Delta Kappan* 17, no. 3 (January 1935): 86.

⁶⁸ For examples of studies regarding teacher migration patterns, see: Joel Perlmann and Robert A. Margo, *Women's Work? American School teachers 1650-1920* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001); Kitae Sohn, "The Migration Patterns of US Female Teachers, 1860-80," *Social Science History* 39 no. 3 (Fall 2015): 339-360; and Michelle M. K. Morgan, "A Field of Great Promise."

similarities between teacher migration and county superintendent migration patterns. Historian Michelle Morgan found that women teachers in western cities during the progressive era often moved to increase the economic possibilities and improve professional opportunities by moving from ungraded to graded classrooms or advancing into various supervisory positions.⁶⁹

The nature of the records used to develop demographic information in the present study does not provide direct evidence of the reasons behind individual women's decisions to move from the location of their births. Nor have diaries or letters been located and analyzed that might reveal this information for more than a few individuals. The census information gathered in this study regarding a woman's place of birth and that of her parents only gives broad information about a few of the factors that could have shaped behavior. It does not tell us, for example, except in rare cases, exactly when a woman migrated to a location or under what circumstances. Was she a child? Did she travel with a family or neighborhood group as a young adult? Or did she leave her family behind when she moved west possibly with a husband or to seek employment opportunities?

Nonetheless, data on geographic origins can tell us something about the range of backgrounds and experiences women educators brought to their work. Somewhat surprisingly, given previous survey accounts of the field, the birthplaces and parental birthplaces of women nominated for county superintendent in Montana during the last two decades of the nineteenth century represented thirty-four states and eight foreign countries. (For information on birthplaces within the United States of the women nominated in Montana and their parents see Table 25.) Just over 10 percent of the women were born in Montana with their families among the first non-Natives to settle in the region. One, Helen P. Clarke, a member of the Blackfeet nation and the only known non-white woman nominated in either state during this period, was born to an

⁶⁹ Morgan, "A Field of Great Promise."

American fur trader and his Piegan wife before the creation of the Montana Territory. Another 60 percent came from just six states - Iowa, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and Wisconsin. This is not surprising given that much of the interstate migration to Montana during this period came from Missouri, New York, and Ohio followed closely by residents from Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania.⁷⁰ It is also possible to see, in a broad manner, that Montana had been one more stop in the generational migration from the East. While the majority of the

Table 25: Place of Origin - United States, Nominees and their Parents (Montana)
(Reported in Percent of Total Individuals)

	Nominee	Father	Mother
Northeast			
New England	5.7	13.92	8.23
Mid-Atlantic	13.93	20.25	25.32
Midwest			
East North Central	32.28	13.29	17.72
West North Central	28.49	8.86	9.49
South			
South Atlantic	2.53	8.84	5.69
East South Central	1.9	5.7	5.7
West South Central	.63	0	.63
West			
Mountain	10.76	0	63
Pacific	1.27	0	0

women had been born in the Midwest including southern border states like Missouri; the majority of their parents were born in the northeast. Scholars have suggested that the southern

⁷⁰ C. J. Galpin and T. B. Manny, *Interstate Migrations Among the Native White Population as Indicated by Differences Between State of Birth and State of Residence* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, October 1934), 35.

influence of settlers coming from Missouri and other border states was behind the territory's adoption of segregated schools during the 1870s.⁷¹

Beyond this diversity by state and region, the data shows greater diversity with respect to ethnicity and national background than might be expected. In 1900, Montana was one of the most ethnically diverse states in the nation. At the time, only 38 percent of the population was native-born white Americans.⁷² Nearly 57 percent of the population included white immigrants and their children. Census records do not indicate ethnicity within the "white" category although the majority appears to have been from Great Britain, English Canada and Scandinavia. The rest of the population included individuals of Chinese, Japanese and Filipino backgrounds, Native Americans, and African Americans. Four of the women nominated for county superintendent in Montana were foreign-born themselves. Three, all born in Canada, were successfully elected and all three were single at the time of the election. Thirty-six percent of the women had at least one parent born outside of the country with over 25 percent with both parents foreign-born, the majority of whom were from Ireland (Table 26). By 1900, Butte in Silver Bow County (MT) had a higher percentage of Irish residents than any other urban place in the United States at the time, including New York, Boston, Chicago, or San Francisco.⁷³ There were also fairly substantial proportions of Irish living in other counties as they were frequently drawn to the territory/state by the mining industry.

The fact that women nominated for county superintendent in Montana included a number of women who were of Irish Catholic background reflects a broader trend nationally for the field

⁷¹ J. W. Smurr, "Jim Crow Out West," in *Historical Essays on Montana and the Northwest* ed. J. W. Smurr and K. Ross Toole (Helena: Western Press, 1957), 149-203. Geographic regions are the same ones used by the U.S. Census Bureau. See U. S. Census Bureau, "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States," https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf

⁷² Robert R. Swartout, Jr., "A Symphony of Cultures," in *Montana: A Cultural Medley* ed. Robert R. Swartout, Jr. (Helena: Farcountry Press, 2015), 3.

⁷³ David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 13.

of education, as other scholars have documented in their studies of teachers. Teaching allowed women, particularly the daughters of Irish immigrants, entry into the middle class while providing economic benefits for their families. Victoria-Maria MacDonald noted the rapid increase of Irish American teachers in Providence, Rhode Island.⁷⁴ Historian Janet Nolan found that during the first decade of the twentieth century, Irish American women became one of the largest single ethnic groups among public elementary school teachers, making up fully a third of the teachers in New York and Chicago and nearly one half of San Francisco's primary and grammar school teachers.⁷⁵ These women, according to Nolan, "challenged the educational establishment by leading the uphill fight to gain higher pay, better working conditions, and

Table 26: Place of Origin - Outside of the United States, Nominees and their Parents (Montana)

(Reported in Percent of Total Individuals)

	Nominee	Father	Mother
Canada	1.9	5.06	2.53
Great Britain			
England	0	2.53	1.9
Ireland	0.63	17.72	17.09
Scotland	0	2.53	1.9
Wales	0	0.63	0.63
Germany	0	3.16	3.8
France	0	0.63	0
Norway	0	0.63	0.63

greater professional autonomy for all teachers."⁷⁶ The high proportion of women candidates in Montana who came from Irish households could also explain why the proportion of women who remained single throughout their lifetimes was so much higher in Montana than in Washington.

⁷⁴ MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization," 444.

⁷⁵ Janet Nolan, *Servants of the Poor: Teachers and Mobility in Ireland and Irish America* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 2.

⁷⁶ Nolan, *Servants of the Poor*, 4.

Historian Jill Frahm found that the daughters of Irish-born parents, coming from a heritage that accepted lifelong singleness among women and being able to capitalize on the availability of employment, had the highest rate of singleness among women living in the United States.⁷⁷

While Washington was nearly as diverse as Montana overall, the women nominated for county superintendent reflected greater diversity when considering birth location than their Montana counterparts (see Table 27). Nominees and their parents represented thirty-two states and ten foreign countries, but unlike Montana where a majority of the women were born in just a few states, the women in Washington came from a variety of places with only one, Illinois, being

Table 27: Place of Origin - United States, Nominees and their Parents (Washington)
(Reported in Percent of Total Individuals)

	Nominee	Father	Mother
Northeast			
New England	10.08	16.67	15.16
Mid-Atlantic	12.23	21.21	20.46
Midwest			
East North Central	30.21	19.70	23.48
West North Central	15.84	6.82	9.09
South			
South Atlantic	2.16	10.61	6.83
East South Central	2.88	3.04	3.79
West South Central	0	0	1.52
West			
Mountain	.72	0	0
Pacific	18.70	0	0

the birth place of more than seven or eight percent of the whole. Another difference is that nearly 20 percent of the women were born in the Pacific states of Washington, Oregon and California

⁷⁷ Frahm, *Unclaimed Flowers and Blossoms Protected by Thorns*, 214.

reflecting, a south to north migration pattern. Although just less than 45 percent of the general population had a least one foreign born parent, just under 31 percent of the women in this study did (see Table 28). If the women nominated for county superintendent reflected the Washington's general population relative to interstate migration patterns there should have been a higher percentage of women born in the West North Central states of Iowa Kansas, Minnesota and Missouri than is reflected in migration data.⁷⁸ This may be due to the relative small size (139) in the study for which such data is traceable as well as different political structures that appear to have selected for different attributes than occurred in Montana.

In Washington nine of the women nominated for county superintendent were born outside of the United States. Six of them were successfully elected.⁷⁹ Just as there were fewer foreign-born whites in Washington overall than in Montana, fewer of the women nominated for county superintendent had foreign-born parents than the population at large, under 19 percent. Unlike the women in Montana, who could have only obtained U.S. Citizenship through their fathers' naturalization when they were under eighteen, all but one of the foreign-born women who won election in Washington gained citizenship through marriage. Hilda Engdahl, elected in Yakima County in 1888, had arrived in the U.S. as a child. At some point her father became naturalized and if he did so when she was a child she would have become a U.S. citizen herself. Her husband was not a citizen at the time of her marriage during her first term in office. If the marriage had occurred a decade later, she would have lost her citizenship but this was not the

⁷⁸Galpin and Manny, *Interstate Migrations Among the Native White Population*, 101. Geographic regions are the same ones used by the U.S. Census Bureau. See U. S. Census Bureau, "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States," https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf.

⁷⁹ These women were born in Canada, England, Scotland, Sweden and Norway. One woman was born in Mexico to a mother who was a U.S. Citizen and a father who was German.

case in 1897.⁸⁰ Albertine Rodman, while born in Mexico, was the daughter of a German merchant and a mother born in the U.S.

Table 28: Place of Origin - Outside of the United States, Nominees and their Parents (Washington)

(Reported in Percent of Total Individuals)

	Nominee	Father	Mother
Canada	2.88	3.79	5.3
Great Britain			
England	.72	6.82	3.79
Ireland	0	5.03	6.06
Scotland	.72	3.03	3.03
Germany	0	3.03	3.03
Switzerland	0	.76	0
France	.72	.76	.76
Norway	.72	1.52	1.52
Sweden	.72	1.52	1.52
Mexico	.72	0	0

A woman's place of birth does not appear to have been a determining factor, once a woman was nominated, in whether she won election or not. Progressive era studies of school administration suggested that school boards preferred to hire U.S. citizens born to native-born parents over individuals with a least one foreign born parent when making hiring decisions for city superintendents. In Lawson's 1913 study of city superintendents he found that just two and half percent of his respondents were foreign born, and just over 16 percent had at least one parent born outside of the U.S.⁸¹ The proportion of women candidates with at least one foreign born parent was lower than the general population in both states but it was still significantly higher than that found in progressive era surveys. In Washington, the number of women nominated for county superintendent who had at least one foreign-born parent was over double the rate for city

⁸⁰ Meg Hacker, "When Saying 'I Do' Meant Giving Up Your U.S. Citizenship," *Prologue* 46, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 56-61.

⁸¹ Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 21.

superintendents, with 33 percent either being foreign born or having at least one foreign-born parent. In Montana, the rate was 37 percent. The relative young age of the population in these states, with fewer first generation or foreign-born women meeting the requisite age and experience requirements, may have limited the number of women with foreign-born parents nominated. Even with numbers of women candidates of foreign background lower than for the general population, electors do not appear to have considered place of birth a determining factor in their voting decision. Or possibly, it was that they were more likely to consider individuals more like themselves.

Educational Background

The lack of appropriate training and educational background was the central argument of administrative reformers in the progressive era who advocated for changing the position of county superintendent from an elective to appointed position.⁸² At the time, both Montana and Washington had already increased the educational qualifications for the position of county superintendent as a tool to guarantee that the office holders had the skills necessary to understand the needs of the states' classrooms. By 1900 in both states the county superintendent position required the highest teaching certificates possible along with a minimum amount of teaching experience, something not required by those seeking the position of *city* superintendencies. In other words, explicit qualifications for county superintendent in these states were actually *higher* than they were for city superintendent. In any case, little information has ever been compiled or analyzed regarding the educational and professional qualifications of the individuals holding the office of superintendent prior to the twentieth century.

⁸² For examples of these arguments see: National Educational Association, *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*; Cook and Monahan, *Rural School Supervision*, 15-16; and Julius Borraas and George A. Selke, *Rural School Administration and Supervision* (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1926), 20-22.

A man's occupation during the late nineteenth century does not necessarily indicate his education level, but it does give a clue as the professional requirements gradually increased over the last decades of the century. As part of this study, occupational information was collected for the men elected county superintendent in Montana during the same period as well as the educational background of the women nominated for the position in both Montana and Washington. Of the forty-seven men elected to the position of county superintendent in Montana during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, twelve had worked as teachers or principals, six were physicians, five were attorneys, four worked as merchants and one while a minister at the time of election went on to manufacture farm implements. Three identified themselves in the census as being miners or prospectors, but records show that one of those three was actually the publisher of one of the region's leading newspapers. Moreover, both he and another gentleman who claimed to be a miner also served as County Judges for a period. Although this is just a small example of who was being elected to the office, it provides evidence that the claim by university-based education reformers and their allies that the men (and women) being elected as county superintendents were uneducated and untrained may have been misguided.

Determining the educational background of the women in the study proved to be difficult. It was not until the 1940 Federal Census that any systematic attempt to obtain information regarding an individual's educational level was collected. Even then it was up to the informant to be honest about the level of education for each person in the household. Newspaper articles, particularly obituaries, often provided information about education but finding such references proved challenging. Educational backgrounds were found for about 30 percent of all the women nominated for office. At a time when between two and half and four percent of students finished

high school, just under 90 percent of those women were identified as having finished at least high school.⁸³ Only three had not completed any high school with only one not completing common school (through grade 8). Just one woman elected, Fannie Spurck, Flathead County (MT)'s superintendent in both 1898 and 1900, had not attended high school. Meanwhile, during a period when less than two percent of the general population attended at least some college,⁸⁴ 79 percent of the women were identified as doing so with 36 percent completing a college degree. Clara McCarty, elected as Pierce County (WA)'s superintendent in 1880 was the first graduate of the University of Washington in 1876.

Some of the women did not complete their educations until after their nomination or election to office. Adelaide Reeder (née Staves) had run unsuccessfully as Democrat in Beaverhead County (MT) in 1892. She returned to Iowa after losing the election for additional training, receiving a Bachelors' of Philosophy and Normal school diploma from Cornell College in 1896. Returning to Montana, she taught elocution and physical culture at Montana Wesleyan University in Helena. She went on to read the law with Ella Knowles Haskell, Montana's first woman lawyer.⁸⁵ Staves was active with the woman suffrage organizations in Helena, joining them in their lobbying efforts for full woman suffrage. She continued to teach in the public schools after her marriage in 1902 retiring sometime after 1920.⁸⁶ Similarly, after marrying and raising four children, Mary E. Jenne, elected in Island County (WA) in 1894, returned to school after completing her term, graduating from Washington State College just prior to her fifty-first

⁸³ Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1993), 55.

⁸⁴ Snyder, *120 Years of American Education*, 76.

⁸⁵ Ella Knowles Haskell ran on the Populist Ticket for Montana's State Attorney General in 1892. At the same election, Eva M. Hunter ran on the Prohibition Ticket for Montana's State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Neither woman was successful.

⁸⁶ F. Adelaide Staves Scrapbook, Adelaide Staves Reeder Papers, 1882-1902, Folder 18, Box 1, MC101; Montana Historical Society Research Center, Helena, MT; and Paula Petrik, *No Step Backward: Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana, 1865-1900* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1987).

birthday in 1908. Twelve years later she became the oldest student registered at the University of California's summer session.⁸⁷

At least three of the women nominated or elected as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington went on to serve as physicians after initially spending time teaching in the public schools. Ella Whipple finished her medical education at Willamette University the year before her election as Clark County (WA)'s school superintendent in 1884. She had taught for nearly ten years before returning to school to complete her medical education. Toward the end of her term, she was elected vice president for Washington territory's WCTU in 1886. After practicing medicine in her home community of Vancouver, Washington, she moved to Los Angeles in 1888 where she continued to practice medicine and work for prohibition. In 1890, she was nominee on the Los Angeles County prohibition ticket for county school superintendent.⁸⁸ Eva M. Hunter served four years as Park County (MT)'s school superintendent and continued to teach through the 1890s while raising three children. Widowed, she returned to school in 1901 to become a licensed physician. She was nearly fifty.⁸⁹ She returned to Montana after her training and would practice as a physician for at least twenty years. A graduate of the American Eclectic Medical College (Cincinnati) in 1880, Alice Benton, was licensed as a physician in Whitman County (WA) in 1890. She ran unsuccessfully for county superintendent in 1896.⁹⁰ Census records indicate that she continued to practice medicine at least until 1910 when she was nearly 70. Based on the limited information that was found for the women nominated or elected as county superintendents, it is likely that the majority of the women's own educational attainment

⁸⁷ "Woman Oldest Student in U. C. Summer Session," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 25, 1920, 2.

⁸⁸ "Miss M. Ella Whipple," in *A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life* ed. Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore (Chicago: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), 765-766.

⁸⁹ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, September 22, 1901, 6.

⁹⁰ Arthur Wayne Hafner ed., *Directory of Deceased American Physicians, 1804-1929* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1993).

were above average for their community. The women studied also appeared to have had a natural inclination toward what might be considered life-long learning.

Religion

Using Oregon as a case study, David Tyack in “The Kingdom of God and the Common School” examined the role Protestant ministers played in the growth of education during the middle of the nineteenth century. In his discussion he emphasized not only the centrality of Protestantism but the role of Protestant ministers in the development of public education.⁹¹ In work a decade later, Tyack argued that late nineteenth century superintendents mirrored antebellum school reformers position that the schools should serve as a tool in shaping a moral, Christian nation. Thus, school superintendents were overwhelmingly white, Protestant men.⁹² Tyack’s account echoed the findings of earlier, progressive-era studies on which he relied for much of his material. Frederick Bair, in his 1934 study of school superintendents, found that just six men out of 796 superintendents surveyed responded to a question regarding their religious preferences by stating they were Catholic.⁹³ More recently, in her study of women who served as superintendent in the early twentieth century, Jackie Blount echoed the claim that superintendents were overwhelmingly Protestant while presenting a basic logic for why this was so - school board members appointed superintendents that were demographically like themselves.⁹⁴

For this study, it was only possible to determine the religious preferences of the women nominated in Montana and Washington through a passing reference in a newspaper article,

⁹¹ David Tyack, “The Kingdom of God and the Common School: Protestant Ministers and the Educational Awakening in the West,” *Harvard Educational Review* 36, no. 4 (December 1966): 447-469.

⁹² Tyack, “Pilgrim’s Progress,” 260.

⁹³ Bair, *The Social Understandings of the Superintendent of Schools*, 161.

⁹⁴ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 68.

diaries or personal letters. Membership in organization like Eastern Star and the Rebekah's, both organizations with bible centered traditions suggest that a woman was likely to be Protestant. Women elected as county superintendents, at times, took on leadership roles in these types of organizations. Louisa Cooley served as Custer County (MT)'s superintendent for a total of eight years. She went on to be elected as president of the Rebekah assembly, I.O.O.F., of Montana.⁹⁵ Ina Craven served as an officer in the state organization of the Epworth League of Montana, a Methodist association for young people between the 18 and 35 years of age.⁹⁶

Just as school boards appointed individuals that were like them, electors nominated individuals that shared characteristics with themselves. In parts of Montana, this meant that some of the women nominated and elected as county superintendents were Catholic. Annie McAnnelly taught in the Red Lodge schools beginning in 1890, receiving renewed contracts each year. It appears that her religion, Catholic, may have stimulated some opposition to her election, but she won nonetheless. In an article supporting her election, *The Red Lodge Picket* noted, "The noble little woman has contended with sect difficulties during the campaign that were at times trying. The loyal citizens of the county have risen above such un-American nonsense and her election is conceded by all."⁹⁷ McAnnelly's sister, Martha Kearns, a member of Women's Catholic Order of Foresters, was successfully elected in Carbon County (MT) in 1896 and Cascade County (MT) in 1900. Nominated by Walla Walla County (WA)'s Democratic Party in 1882, Martina "Tina" Johnston, failed to win election. She went on to found and publish the *Catholic Northwest* and later went on to edit the *Catholic Northwest Progress*. The fact she was Catholic did not prevent her from being a member of Seattle's Commercial Women's Club.⁹⁸ In another case, John

⁹⁵ *Billings (MT) Gazette*, August 12, 1904, 4.

⁹⁶ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, July 20, 1900, 4.

⁹⁷ *Red Lodge (MT) Picket*, November 3, 1894, 2.

⁹⁸ "Club Woman Resigns as Editor," *Sunday Seattle Times*, April 19, 1914, 6.

O'Farrell futility tried to prevent his sister, Mary's, name from being placed in nomination at Silver Bow Montana's 1888 Democratic county convention only to have her nominated by acclamation.⁹⁹ He probably was aware of his sister's intentions regarding her life's calling. She entered the convent of St. Mary's in South Bend, Indiana as a novitiate less than two years later.¹⁰⁰ It is likely that additional Catholic women were both elected and nominated as county school superintendents, especially in those communities that had high Catholic populations who did not see Catholicism as a detriment to election.

Conclusion

Scholars have collected little or no actual demographic data regarding individuals who served as either city or county school superintendents prior to 1900. Outside of being white and better educated than the majority of those they served, the demographic data collected as part of this study provides evidence that the stereotypical idea of who school superintendents were has been based on skewed Progressive Era research perpetuated by later researchers. Demographic matters such as age, marital status, motherhood, place of birth and religion do not appear to have played decisive roles in preventing the nomination and election of women as county school superintendents during the last decades of the nineteenth century in Montana and Washington. What seems to have mattered most was whether the women were perceived as having the necessary skills and experience to do the job by the county's voters.

The demographic information collected for this study shows that the perception that school superintendents were predominately white, native born, married, middle aged men may

⁹⁹ "The Winning Ticket," (*Butte, MT*) *Semi-Weekly Miner*, September 12, 1888, 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, July 17, 1890, 5.

not be reflective of those individuals who held the position during the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ Studies like those conducted by Lawson and Bair provided a snapshot of those who held the office of school superintendent, especially that of city superintendent, during the Progressive Era. But they also served an additional purpose. They highlighted those social attributes believed by university-based education reformers to be necessary to qualify for the position of school superintendent and were therefore part of a deliberate campaign to shape who would be appointed in the future. Lawson and his advisor at the University of Illinois, Lotus Coffman, specifically saw Lawson's work as a tool to identify those men who would be appropriate to single out for specialized administrative training.¹⁰² During the first decades of the twentieth century, newly appointed professors and deans of education like Coffman, Ellwood P. Cubberley, and George Strayer sought to professionalize school administration and develop professional schools of education within growing universities. County superintendents, because they continued to be "hired" by voters not appointed by consolidated corporate-style school boards that progressive era education reform advocates preferred because of their own increased prominence, were ignored in such contexts despite the important roles they played as supervisors and educational leaders. Given the agenda of university-based reformers and their allies, it is possible that both the men and women who served as superintendents during the nineteenth century were more socially diverse than later occupants of those positions and that it was not social forces that contributed to the homogenization of the field, but deliberate efforts by the men like Coffman, Cubberley and Strayer who held preconceived notions as to who should be members of the club.

¹⁰¹ Tyack, "Pilgrim's Progress," 258.

¹⁰² Coffman, "The American School Superintendent."

Chapter Five: Between Classroom and State: Examining the Role of the County School Superintendent

State and county school administration predates the development of city school administration.¹ As states began to take an interest in providing public education in the 1820s and 30s, they recognized the necessity to gather information to validate state involvement in education often designating state and intermediary officials who could manage clerical and statistical duties related to the public schools while representing the state's interests. Over the course of the nineteenth century, as states formalized public education systems they further clarified the duties of those state and county educational officers. Frequently elected, these individuals had to balance the desires of local communities with the goals of state officials often influenced by developing professional organizations such as the National Education Association and university-based education reformers. Just as their legislatively enumerated duties varied from time and place so did their effectiveness in fulfilling those duties. According to Ellwood Cubberley, a leading advocate for education administration reform in the early twentieth century, their most important duty involved acting as an agent of the State "to stimulate a local interest in schools, and to help and inspire in the work of instruction."² By 1900 thirty-nine states elected or appointed county school superintendents overseeing nearly 150,000 school districts.³ Despite

¹ Larry Cuban, *The Urban School Superintendency: A Century and a Half of Change* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976).

² Cubberley, *Public School Administration*, 36-37.

³ Carma Hogue, *Government Organization Summary Report: 2012, Governments Division Briefs*, US Census Bureau, September 26, 2013, https://www2.census.gov/govs/cog/g12_org.pdf; and William E. Chancellor, "The Selection of County Superintendents," *Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1915), 423.

this, little is known about these nineteenth century educational officers outside of a few prominent men.⁴

In the 1890s, education reformers lead by university presidents, state school officers and university-based educators representing the National Educational Association began advocating reforming these positions, particularly at the intermediate level. By that time these officers were known in most states as county or township superintendents. Central to the arguments of these administrative reformers was the perceived inadequacy of the nation's rural schools - schools that the county superintendents had direct responsibility for overseeing. They saw the largest impediment contributing to the position's inability to meet these schools' needs resulted from the fact that the majority of the county superintendents were elected from among local residents who frequently lacked appropriate educational training. As education administration began to be defined as a separate, yet allied, profession to teaching, during the early twentieth century; its early proponents began insisting as Cubberley had "that the lessons learned from a study of city school-district administrative experience be applied to the organization and administration of rural and village education."⁵ At the same time, Cubberley considered the separation of state and county school administration from city school administration as one of the most important developments to occur during the progressive era.⁶ He recognized that while he and his colleagues focused on the development of school administration could influence who was being trained and therefore hired as city school superintendents, they had little influence over who voters considered to be appropriate to fill county school offices.

⁴ Tyack, "The Spread of Public Schooling in Victorian America."

⁵ Cubberley, *Public School Administration*, 447. Cubberley was not the only individual to suggest that the selection, training and support of county superintendents required modification. See also: National Educational Association, *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*; A. C. Monahan et al., *The Supervision of Rural Schools*; Betts and Hall, *Better Rural Schools*; Cook and Monahan, *Rural School Supervision*; and Boraas and Selke, *Rural School Administration and Supervision*.

⁶ Elwood P. Cubberley, "Public School Administration," in *Twenty-Five Years of American Education* ed. I. L. Kandel (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), 184-185.

Outside of the careers of a few prominent state-level officials from the common school era such as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, the role of appointed or elected governmental school officers has been, for the most part, ignored by those who study the history of education. Progressive era school reform leaders depicted elected county school superintendents as minor educational functionaries because their election was based on “availability” rather than qualifications.⁷ Outside of considering the necessity of having some form of educational supervision and administration at an intermediary level particularly for the nation’s rural schools, little attention was given to what county superintendents across the nation were achieving. By the time revisionists of the 1960s and 1970s began considering the history of school administration and supervision, the focus had turned exclusively to city or district supervision.⁸ Among the best known of these works are David Tyack’s *The One Best System* and David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot’s *Managers of Virtue*.⁹ Scholars of rural education have briefly considered the role of county school superintendents, yet even they disagree as to the role they played in providing educational leadership. Drawing on state superintendent reports from a few midwestern states and even fewer diaries and county superintendent reports, Wayne Fuller saw the county superintendents as representative of a cadre professional educators determined to increase the status of the profession while removing control of local schools from local citizens.¹⁰ Using similar sources Paul Theobald found that because county superintendents

⁷ For examples of these arguments see: Cubberley, *Public School Administration*, 38-39; “Opportunities and Responsibilities of Supervision,” *Journal of Education* 74, no. 23 (December 14, 1911): 621-644; “Opportunities and Responsibilities of Supervision (II),” *Journal of Education* 74, no. 24 (December 21, 1911): 660-663; and “The County Superintendent,” *Report of the Educational Commission in Twenty-Eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State Illinois* (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Journal Company, State Printer, 1911), 299-303.

⁸ Probably the best known of this genre is Cubberley, *Public School Administration*.

⁹ Tyack, *The One Best System*; and Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*.

¹⁰ Fuller, *The Old Country School*.

served as elected representatives subject to re-election, they actually played a more nuanced role in school management and organization.¹¹

Kathleen Weiler's *Country Schoolwomen* is one exception in considering the role of the county school superintendent in more than a cursory manner. Through her examination of women serving as county school superintendents in a limited number of rural California's counties during the first half of the twentieth century, Weiler provided evidence that the women elected to superintend the schools in that state did so in such a way as to create supportive professional communities for an overwhelmingly female teaching corps.¹² These relationships resulted in innovative education opportunities for the majority of their students living in rural communities. The county superintendents were able to balance representing state interests with both the professional needs of teachers along with the desires of local communities' for relevant education. Research generated as part of this study suggests that the county superintendents who proved to be educational leaders in Weiler's study were not anomalies. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, women began serving in the role of county school superintendent during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In states like Montana and Washington women did so in large numbers. What kind of work did they do? How did they influence school organization and experience? Is it possible that they, too, provided educational leadership in ways that created educational opportunities for teachers, students and broader communities? As intermediaries between the state and local schools, how did county superintendents contribute to the development of public education?

Based on a range of government records, press accounts, and manuscript sources, this chapter examines the actual role of the county school superintendent. The chapter begins by

¹¹ Paul Theobald, *Call School: Rural Education in the Midwest to 1918* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1995).

¹² Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*.

looking at a brief legislative history of the position with a focus on Montana and Washington. Using evidence drawn from the records of women elected as county superintendents in Montana and Washington during the late nineteenth century, the chapter then turns to examining their duties. This discussion of duties is organized around three central themes following the responsibilities identified by historian Larry Cuban in his examination of city school superintendents' work. Through this analysis it is possible to see that many of the job duties of county superintendent were similar to those of city superintendents, but that in addition, the women often faced issues that would have been outside the purview of their city peers because of the nature of their position as representatives of the state.

Brief Legislative History of the Position

Older, more established states began collecting school data during the first decades of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the 1830s that states began adding intermediate school officers. Duties varied from state to state although each of these officers was charged with reporting their activities to higher authorities. Western and southern states tended to make the county the main unit of intermediate administration. However, some states also used township boundaries or population centers to define unit of administration. In all cases, educational officers at the local or regional level served, as intermediate governmental officers responsible for representing state interests to students, teachers and school patrons and for reporting to state level officials the needs and conditions of local schools. Connecticut, being one of the earliest adopters of intermediate educational officers, required school visitors of the various school societies to provide school committees reports including information regarding the number of

students, teachers, teacher salaries, and textbook adoptions beginning in 1837.¹³ A year later the Connecticut legislature established a state Board of Commissioners of Common Schools whose responsibilities included collecting the school visitors' reports, synthesizing them, and reporting the information along with recommendations for improvement to the legislature. The board was responsible for reporting on the condition of every common school in the state and for providing recommendations on needed improvements.¹⁴ By 1843, New York's County and Township Superintendents were responsible for supporting local school districts and examining teachers.¹⁵ Virginia in 1845 charged county/corporate school superintendents with watching over and controlling the whole system of public schools of the county and administering them according to law. Among the explicit duties were twice yearly school visitations where the superintendent was to "vigilantly and rigorously inspect the system of instruction," examine all pupils, "stimulate the teachers to diligence," induce parents to visit the schools, and report to the board of school commissioners. Their reports were to include information regarding the general condition of education in the county along with any observations that "may tend to the improvement of the system."¹⁶ By 1849 Florida's county superintendent's duties focused on the apportionment of school funds and creation of new school districts.¹⁷

States and territories created later in the nineteenth century frequently borrowed from earlier legislation in older, more established states in structuring public education. How states conceived the position of a state intermediary officer for public education varied across states and territories reflecting state priorities, previous school legislation, and the political climate at

¹³ *Resolves and Private Acts of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, CT: John L. Boswell, 1837), 25.

¹⁴ *The Public Statute Laws of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, CT: John B. Eldredge, 1838), 45-46.

¹⁵ *Laws of the State of New York* (Albany, NY: C. Van Benthuysen and Company, 1843), 163-167.

¹⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Samuel Shepherd, Printer to Commonwealth, 1845), 29-33.

¹⁷ *Acts and Resolutions of the general Assembly of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee: Office of the Florida Sentinel, Printed by Joseph Clisby, 1849), 25-27.

the time. Drawing on examples from existing states, the Oregon territorial legislature in 1853 chose to define the duties of the county school superintendent as including apportionment and management of school funds, formation of school districts -- including maintaining an accurate map of those districts, and school visitations. Additionally, the county superintendent was to deal with trespassing on school lands and finding potential replacement land where designated school lands were already occupied by settlers.¹⁸ The following year, in 1854, the Washington legislature adopted nearly the exact same wording when they designated county school superintendents as the administrative and supervisory school officers for the territory's common schools.¹⁹ Ten years later, in 1864, the Montana territorial legislature adopted nearly the exact wording earlier used by Oregon and Washington except the Montana legislature included provisions for the county superintendent to hold specific office hours at the county seat.²⁰ Elected by the people, the county commissioners served as the legislative body for the county. Beyond issues related to salaries, they had no oversight over the county superintendent.

In both Montana and Washington, the legislatures tinkered with the school laws throughout the period of study. While state level officials are generally credited with doing this work, evidence from Washington provides confirmation that county superintendents and classroom educators were part of the process. Legislatures did not exclusively draw upon existing legislation adopted by other states to shape public school provisions. John Judson, Washington's territorial superintendent of public instruction, called for a teachers' convention with the specific purpose of discussing the reform of Territorial school laws in 1876. He purposely chose to hold the convention at a time when teachers could attend without risking their

¹⁸ *The Statutes of Oregon... 1853* (Oregon: Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1854), 424-426.

¹⁹ *Statutes of the Territory of Washington ... 1853* (Olympia: Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), 320-322. Inflation calculators find that the one-hundred-dollar annual salary in 1853 would have been equivalent to about three thousand dollars annually in 2017, <http://www.in2013dollars.com/>.

²⁰ *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, of the Territory of Montana ... 1864* (Virginia City, MT: D. W. Tilton & Company, 1866)

employment.²¹ The purpose of this convention was not to discuss their teaching practice; it was to discuss a thorough revision of the present school laws. Judson requested all county school superintendents attend and as many teachers as possible. Importantly, he wanted no county to be unrepresented.²² Among the proposed changes was that the new school law “should make ample provisions for the office of County Superintendent.”²³ At the following year’s teachers’ convention, attendees continued to discuss proposed changes in the school laws and the new committee on School Law was charged with preparing the completed law for publication before September 1877.²⁴ To increase legislative attention to the teachers’ proposals, a third teachers’ convention was held concurrent to the legislative session with the intention of guiding legislative discussions.²⁵ Fewer classroom teachers were able to attend this convention given that it was held during the traditional fall school term. Despite that fact, very few changes were made in the teachers’ proposed law (with its 95 sections) prior to its enactment in November 1877.²⁶ After nearly two years of active teacher lobbying and the recommendation of the territorial

²¹ Washington Territory’s Organic Act of 1853 did not provide for a single individual to oversee the growth and development of Washington Territory’s public schools. Except for one year, there was no provision for such a person until 1871 when the legislature amended the territory’s school laws to include a territorial superintendent elected by the joint houses of the legislature for a two-year term. John P. Judson, elected by the legislature in the fall of 1873, would serve for three terms becoming the longest serving superintendent of public instruction prior to statehood. A lawyer by training, Judson had emigrated from Prussia with his family when he was a boy, served as the territorial librarian and worked a school teacher while preparing for the bar. A Catholic, he was active in territorial Democratic Party politics running for several regional or territory wide offices while school superintendent losing the election as territorial delegate to Congress by only 73 votes to Republican Orange Jacobs in 1876. See G[eorgiana] Blankenship, ed., *Early History of Thurston County, Washington* (Olympia: n.p., 1914), 42; *Twentieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* [Henry B. Dewey, Superintendent] (Olympia, E. L. Boardman, Public Printer, 1910), 229; and “Attorney J. P. Judson Passes Away,” *The Colville (WA) Examiner* April 16, 1910, 6.

²² (*Olympia*) *Washington Standard*, March 18, 1876, 3.

²³ J. E. Clark, *Appeal for Washington Teachers’ Institute and Proceedings of the Washington Teachers’ Institute and Educational Association* (Olympia: Courier Book Printing Office, 1880), 27-29. The convention approved such broad ranging suggestions as proposals related to school financing including county and district school taxes; changes in teacher certification procedures to guarantee more qualified teachers; the creation of a Normal School; and the adoption of uniform textbooks as well as resolutions defining the expectations and job duties of the territorial superintendent.

²⁴ Clark, *Appeal for Washington Teachers’ Institutes*, 25, 29, 36-37.

²⁵ “Washington Legislature” *Vancouver (WA) Independent*, October 18, 1877, 1.

²⁶ Clark, *Appeal for Washington Teachers’ Institutes*, 39.

superintendent of public instruction, the Washington legislature adopted law nearly in full.²⁷ The laws adopted in 1877 remained mostly unchanged as Washington's education law for more than two decades. The fact that county superintendents and the territorial teachers' association played a leading role in its adoption suggests the potential significance of such intermediate organizations and officers in the making of public school systems particularly in the West. It also suggests a potential alternative history of teacher empowerment and influence that later progressive era reformers undervalued and sometimes deliberately obscured

Women's right to hold the elective office of county school superintendent was explicitly recognized by both Montana and Washington's legislatures by the 1880s, although each approached the prospect differently. In both territories, women had already been nominated and elected prior to any legislative action. Washington's legislature in 1877 included a provision that "whenever the word he or his occurs, in this act, referring to either superintendents, directors, or teachers, it shall be understood to mean also she or her."²⁸ The same language was included in the initial legislation regarding public schools passed at statehood in 1889.²⁹ Montana's law in 1883 declared that "all persons, otherwise qualified, shall be eligible to said office of county superintendent of common schools, without regard to sex."³⁰

A comparison of Montana's 1879 school law with Washington's 1877 school law shows that while Montana adopted most of the provisions related to the county school superintendent's responsibilities, Montana's territorial legislature allowed greater local prerogative in the administration of the schools. Washington had adopted centralizing administrative features creating a territorial board of education that was responsible for developing and enforcing

²⁷ "Proposed Change in the School Law" (*Seattle Daily Intelligencer*, August 7, 1876, 2.

²⁸ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1877*, 282-283.

²⁹ *Sessions Laws of the State of Washington ... 1889-90* (Olympia: O. C. White, State Printer, 1890), 382.

³⁰ *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana* (Helena: Geo. E. Boos, Public Printer and Binder, 1883), 53.

territorial school policies. These included territorial-wide rules and regulations for the government of schools and teachers as well as a territorial-wide course of study for schools outside of independent school districts.³¹ Such provisions were not included in Montana's 1879 law and would not be adopted until Montana's statehood in 1889.³² Where Washington adopted territory-wide (and later state) teacher examination procedures which included standardized written questions and county examining boards in 1877, Montana allowed county superintendents to continue to examine teachers relative to their qualifications based on questions specific to the county's (and individual school districts') preferences. Beginning in 1883, these questions were to be approved by the territorial superintendent, but no record of these questions has been located.³³ Not until 1895 did Montana adopt uniform teacher examination questions.

Job Duties

By the late 1890s, Montana and Washington's county superintendent's job duties and responsibilities looked similar including responsibilities for teachers' professional development along with the state's course of study. In both states the duties of the county school superintendent were further defined by legislation during the following decades, with the legislature or state board of education adding additional duties. Nonetheless, the basic duty of acting as an intermediary between the state and the individual schools, school patrons and teachers remained unchanged.

³¹ *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Washington* [John P. Judson, Superintendent] (Olympia: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1879), 13-23.

³² *Constitution of the State of Montana*, Article 9, Section 11, 42.

³³ *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana* (1883), 57-58.

The superintendent's role in school administration originated not from the needs of the classroom but from the needs of those who oversaw the school system both at the local and state level.³⁴ Examination of the county superintendent's duties supports the claim by Samuel Dutton and David Snedden in their 1908 textbook on school administration that "county superintendents of schools perform a variety of functions, administrative, supervisory, and judicial."³⁵

Washington's 1897 law clearly provides evidence that county superintendents were expected to perform both administrative and supervisory duties although the administrative duties were more specifically defined. Their judicial duties were less clearly defined although the law in both states provided for an appeal process for those who disagreed with the county superintendent's actions.³⁶ The job expectations of county superintendent were significantly more intensive than those required at the time as city or district superintendents in part because of their role as state intermediaries. (For an example of their legislated job duties see Table 29 below.)

An examination of the duties assigned county superintendents in Montana and Washington by the legislatures together with evidence from other sources about the duties actually performed in practice, parallel those identified by historian Larry Cuban in his study of school superintendents. In a study which drew from speeches given at annual Department of Superintendence meetings, records of the American Association of School Administrators, and articles published by superintendents in major educational journals, Cuban identified three dominant ideas that superintendents held regarding their roles.³⁷ These were defined as: 1) instructional supervisors; 2) administrative leaders; and 3) negotiator-statesmen. Although

³⁴ Cuban, *The Urban School Superintendency*, 111-112.

³⁵ Samuel Train Dutton and David Snedden, *The Administration of Public Education in the United States*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908), 82.

³⁶ For an example of these job duties see: Richard A. Ballinger, *Ballinger's Annotated Codes and Statutes of Washington*, vol. 1 (Seattle: Bancroft-Whitney Company, 1897), 598

³⁷ Cuban, *The Managerial Imperative*, 111-147.

Table 29: County School Superintendent Duties - Washington (1897)

Exercise careful supervision over the common schools of his county, and to see that all provisions of the common school laws are observed and followed by teachers and school officers.

Visit every school in the county at least once a year

Maintain official office days and office hours

Enforce Course of Study as Adopted by State Board of Education

Hold teacher's institutes according to law and to conduct such other meetings of teachers as may be in best interest of the schools

School Finances:

- Apportion all school moneys to school districts
- Certify to school district clerks and county treasurer amount apportioned to each

School Reports:

- Distribute, promptly, all reports, laws, forms, circulars and instructions received from the superintendent of public instruction for use of schools and teachers
- Keep on file and preserve the biennial report of the superintendent of public instruction
- Keep in a "good and well bound book" a record of all official acts
- Require all records of school district officers, teachers and others be kept in accordance with the law and that all reports by these individuals be made promptly as required by law
- Preserve all reports of school officers and teachers, including teacher's register and records of school district clerks as kept as required by law
- Report to the superintendent of public instruction and other interested parties, within the required time period, all appropriate school statistics and status reports

Teacher Examination and Certification:

- Enforce Rules and Regulations required for examination of teachers
- Appoint two persons holding highest grade certificates in the county to county board of examination
- Advertise and hold teacher examinations twice a year
- Grade, with the county board of examination, all teacher examination papers
- Grant teaching permits and special certificates to such persons who may desire to teach in the county who were unavoidably absent from the meeting of the county board of examination
- Remove teachers, revoke teacher certificates for cause

School Districts:

- Determine whether school district boundaries have been properly recorded with the county commissioners, correct any errors and discrepancies, and make a report of such actions to be ratified by the county commissioners
- Adjust school district boundaries as necessary
- Create new school districts following procedures as defined by law
- Maintain accurate maps of all school districts within the county

School Officers:

- Administer oaths and affirmations to school directors, tax collectors, teachers and other persons in all official matters connected with or relating to schools
- Appoint directors and district clerks when district fails to elect at the regular time such officers, a vacancy occurs, or at the creation of a new district

*Richard A. Ballinger, Ballinger's Annotated Codes and Statutes of Washington, vol. 1 (Seattle: Bancroft-Whitney Company, 1897), 594-598.

perceptions of their roles varied somewhat by time and place, evidence collected as part of this study shows that the women serving as county superintendents in Montana and Washington exemplified these ideas. It also provides evidence that county superintendents performed duties similar to those of their city colleagues. The following discussion regarding the women's duties as county superintendent is organized around the three main concepts identified by Cuban.

County Superintendents as Teachers of Teachers

The original role of the school superintendent serving at the city or district level was to serve as a teacher of teachers. These individuals were expected to guide teachers in improving their craft. Achieved through observation, modeling and professional development opportunities, one of the superintendent's main goals was to help teachers do a better job of educating the students in their care. Beyond supervisory duties, they were charged with shaping the course of study so that it reflected the current thinking regarding the purpose of school thus guaranteeing appropriate student progress in achieving those goals.³⁸ Historian Raymond Callahan reported that school superintendents from 1865 to 1900 saw themselves as scholar-educators serving as educational leaders and teachers of teachers.³⁹ Focusing just on the supervisory role, Saundra Tracy saw the earliest period of school supervision being a period of community accountability where community members responsible for supervising what occurred in the schools had the right to intervene if teachers failed to meet community expectations for the schools.⁴⁰ Tracy's idea of community accountability, while not necessarily appropriate for urban or district superintendents, describes well the supervisory role of elected county school superintendents.

³⁸ Cuban, *The Managerial Imperative*, 113-115.

³⁹ Raymond E. Callahan, *The Superintendent of Schools: An Historical Analysis* (Washington, DC: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966), 8.

⁴⁰ Saundra J. Tracy, "How Historical Concepts of Supervision Relate to Supervisory Practices Today," *Clearing House* 68, no. 5 (May-June 1995): 320-321.

Because of their status as elected educational officials, they continued to practice a form of community accountability in their supervision of the county's schools. Their failure to do so would impact their opportunity for re-election. While charged with assisting in the implementation of state education policies, as elected officials county superintendents were responsible to both the teachers in their charge and the community that elected them.

Studies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century found that women serving as county superintendents, as a class, devoted a larger percentage of their time visiting schools, visited schools more often, and spent more time with each teacher during those visits.⁴¹ Wilfred E. Harmon, president of Montana's teachers' association, described the role of the superintendent as being "teacher guide, counselor and friend."⁴² Using the following examples it is possible to see how the duties of the county superintendents during this period created opportunities for them not only to work with teachers individually but to serve as a teacher of teachers in broader venues as well. These were accomplished through school visitations, coordinating professional development opportunities including teacher institutes and teacher reading circles, and developing and enforcing a course of study.

One of the most taxing responsibilities of the county school superintendent in both states was completing school visitations. The law required them to visit each school a minimum of once a year in order to assess teacher competency, student behavior and the overall characteristics of the school. County superintendents were responsible for maintaining records of their activities. Existing county superintendent records provide minimum insight into what occurred during such visits. Cowlitz County (WA)'s superintendent, Antoinette Huntington, recorded the date of a visit, the school district number and name and the name of the teacher(s).

⁴¹ A. C. Monahan, "The Status and Need of Rural Supervision," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916), 1036.

⁴² "Teachers Talk Shop," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, December 28, 1895, 2.

On occasion, as she did on August 25, 1880, she indicated that the visit occurred “on request” although she provided no indication as to why and by whom such request had been made.⁴³

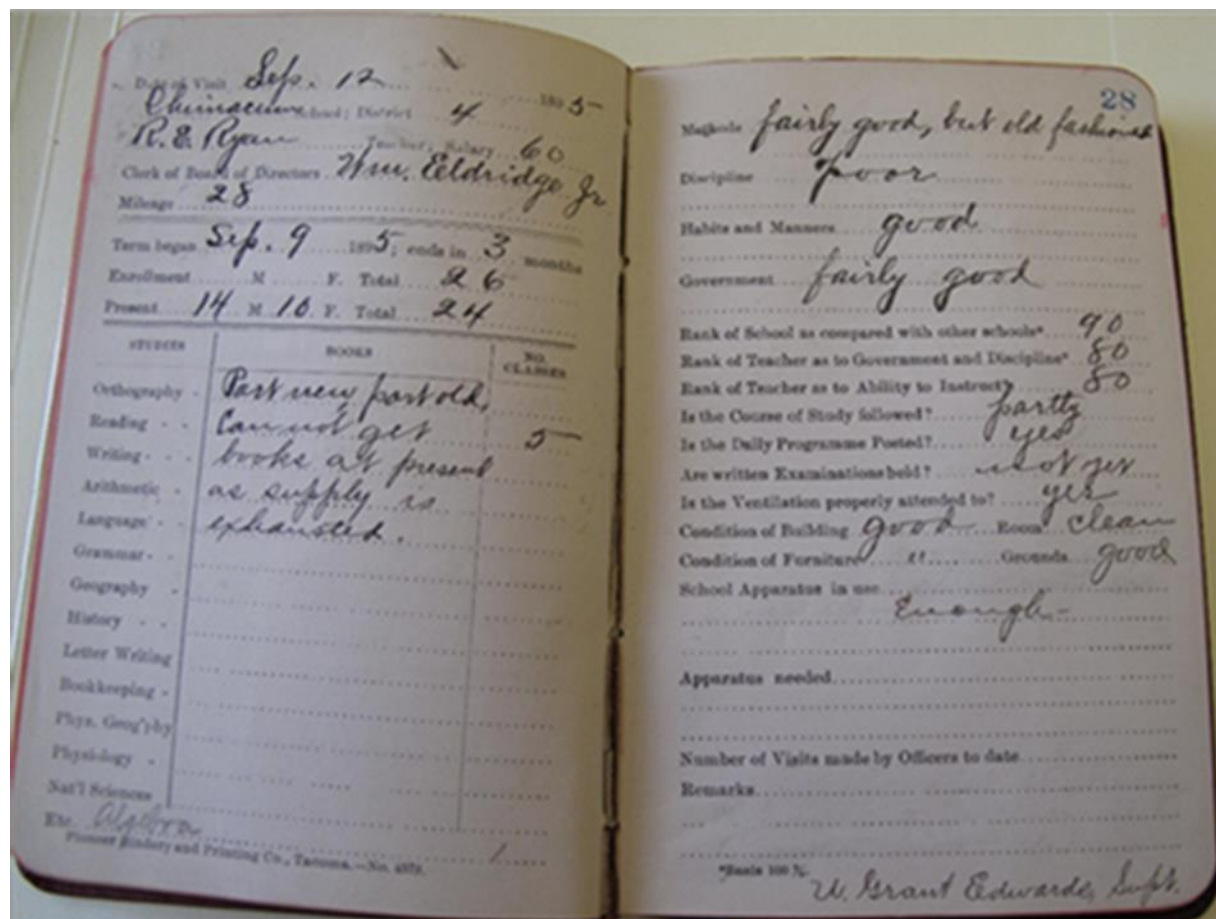
Cornelia Spencer Greer noted on July 3, 1883 she visited the Orting School (District 9) and “was much pleased with the school. A tidy school and a self-possessed teacher. Miss Broden is probably one of our best teachers.”⁴⁴ By 1895, Washington’s county superintendents were required to maintain “Visitation Books.” Each school or classroom was given separate entries with the majority of the information related to the teacher’s ability to teach and manage a classroom. Figure 8 (below) provides a glimpse as to both the type of information deemed important by the state and sought by the county superintendents as well as the type of information that might be included relative to their observation of a particular classroom.

These likely do not provide the entire picture of what was accomplished during a visitation. Given the time it took to get to schools, particularly those outside of established communities, it is likely the county superintendent made more than a brief visit to observe the teacher(s). Reports of the county superintendent teaching model lessons, meeting with the school board of directors, answering teacher questions regarding policies and procedures, as well as guiding teachers in ways to improve their craft, all exist. County superintendents, at times, also took part in examining students either through the active participation in recitations or in directly questioning of students relative to their preparedness to advance to the next level in school.

⁴³ Official Record 1873-1888, 2; Cowlitz County School District Records 1873-1890; Educational Service District 112, SW812-2-0-3, Washington State Archives, Olympia, WA

⁴⁴ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 262.

Although some superintendents failed to fulfill this obligation, other superintendents chose to visit schools multiple times because of the value obtained in dialogues between and among the superintendent, teacher and community.⁴⁵ Mattie Crampton, Yellowstone (MT)'s



*Superintendent's Records of Visits, Jefferson County [WA] Public Schools,
Educational Service District 114, NW 814-33-17,
Northwest Regional Branch, Washington State Archives, Bellingham, WA*

Figure 8: Page from Washington State County Superintendent Visitation Book, 1896

⁴⁵ See, for example, the statistical reports in the reports of Montana's Superintendent of Public Instruction. *Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction State of Montana, 1894* [E. A. Steere, Superintendent] (Helena: State Publishing Company, State Printers, 1895); *Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Montana, 1896* [E. A. Steere, Superintendent] (Helena: State Publishing Company, 1897); and *Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Montana* [E. A. Carlton, Superintendent] (Helena: Independent Publishing Company, State Printers and Binders, 1899).

County Superintendent, echoed the beliefs of many of her colleagues regarding the value of school visitations when she wrote “it is my duty and been my pleasure to cultivate a personal acquaintance with each teacher in the county, and I find them earnest, progressive teachers, full of enthusiasm in their work, and anxious to raise the standard of education in their schools.”⁴⁶

With counties significantly larger than counties (and even some states) in more established regions of the nation and covering often difficult geographic terrain visitations created a number of logistical and social hurdles that women had to surmount.

Given the terrain and the distances between communities, travel in itself could be daunting regardless of gender. The most frequent mode of transportation was either by horseback or horse and buggy. During a period of Native unrest in Spokane County (WA) in 1879, Maggie Windsor, the county superintendent, was set upon by two members of the local tribe one afternoon while she was returning from a school visit. One of the men grabbed for her horse’s bridle and reins. Startled, the horse reared and she was able to get way. At the time, she was unaware that the county’s surveyor had been attacked and left for dead in another part of the county earlier that day by members of the same tribe.⁴⁷ The terrain, particularly if it involved less well traveled pathways, presented particular challenges. Virginia Grainer Herrman recalled an occasion in 1893 when she chose to take the river route to Chelan (WA) rather than the usual route through Waterville. She ended up on a mountain a few miles north of Chelan where the road became a mere trail and one misstep would have meant a sheer fall of hundreds of feet.⁴⁸ In parts of western Washington county superintendents resorted to using boats to visit schools. Virginia Hancock recalled years later that her visits to Jefferson County (WA)’s schools during

⁴⁶ *Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction ... Montana*, 20.

⁴⁷ Jonathan Edwards, *An Illustrated History of Spokane County, State of Washington* ([Spokane]: W. H. Lever, 1900), 120.

⁴⁸ Bowden. *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 448.

her term in the early 1880s were generally accomplished by boat and were usually so pleasant she regarded them “in the light of a picnic.”⁴⁹ At the same time, travel in Kitsap County (WA) during Lizzie Ordway’s three plus terms of service was generally accomplished by canoe and a two-sail boat called a “plunger” unless she was traveling on Bainbridge Island where there was a fairly good road.⁵⁰ One woman in Chouteau County (MT) shocked her constituents by riding a bicycle in the late 1890s something considered risqué by some.⁵¹ By that time, the larger school districts in most of the Montana counties could be reached by train, but this was not the case for the smaller districts in either state, or in much of eastern Washington.

Women serving the larger counties often traveled great distances in order to visit the schools under their supervision. For example, the distance from Livingston, Park County (MT)’s seat, and Red Lodge, a city in the county’s panhandle, was 176 miles, an arduous journey even by train.⁵² Visitation of Red Lodge’s schools became easier in 1896, when the city became the county seat of the newly created Carbon County (MT). Traveling with a horse and light buggy, Mary Johnstone, Cascade County (MT)’s school superintendent, was often joined by her sister, and at least once by a former female student, as she visited the county’s thirteen schools. The farthest from the county seat were Dog Creek and Chouteau, a short two hundred miles. She reported that she “really enjoyed our trips, probably because of our lack of any fear and our confidence in the chivalry of Montana pioneers.”⁵³ The local press noted that these travels were accomplished without a proper escort when she and her sister traveled alone nearly one hundred miles between Fort Benton and Choteau, Montana.⁵⁴ When Laura Zook was elected Custer County (MT)’s school superintendent in 1896, she became responsible for the supervision of

⁴⁹ Bowden, *Early Schools in Washington Territory*, 174.

⁵⁰ Bowden. *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 320.

⁵¹ Coleman, “Miss Jacoby,” 42.

⁵² “From Red Lodge,” *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, February 25, 1895, 7.

⁵³ McLeish, “First Woman County Superintendent of Schools,” 3.

⁵⁴ *Choteau (MT) Calumet*, October 14, 1886, 3.

twenty-four school districts in a county covering over 25,000 square miles. In order to visit five of the districts, she drove overland four hundred miles, and in one forty-eight-hour drive she saw only one house.⁵⁵ Minnie Reifenrath, traveling with her teenaged brother as her companion, took three weeks on what was her seventh trip to the schools in the northern section of Lewis and Clarke County (MT). She visited twenty schools and covered nearly three hundred miles.⁵⁶

The required school visitations caused hardship at times and, for some, created the perception that women were not up to the job. A writer identified only as V. V. cited the physical conditions of King County (WA) as the central reason why a woman should not be considered for the county's school superintendent because she would be unable to visit the outlying schools, the very schools where the writer claimed teachers most needed assistance in 1880. Comparing conditions in other states where women were being elected and serving well, the author continued that those were "not in a country where the word road is seldom used, trails and blazed tree being the substitute. In King County there are three bridges, three ferries and five hundred fords. In fact, you can get across our rivers most anywhere if you and your horse are good swimmers."⁵⁷ King County (WA)'s, former county superintendent, Edward Ingraham, serving as Seattle's first school superintendent in 1884, acknowledged that women could legally be elected to the office, but the lack of adequate roads in the county would make it impossible for women to visit all the county's schools "because of the hard labor and great exposure" they would face.⁵⁸ In his opinion, it was "an act of gallantry by voting her to stay at home by her own comfortable

⁵⁵ Jones, *Custer County Area History*, 542.

⁵⁶ "Her Seventh Trip," *Helena (MT) Weekly Independent*, May 9, 1895, 3.

⁵⁷ "Women as School Superintendent" (Seattle) *Daily Intelligencer*, October 16, 1880, 2. Excerpts of this letter have been used as evidence of opposition by those writing about the election of Lizzie Ordway in Kitsap County failing to realize that the writer is addressing the nomination of Annie Bean in King County. See "Who Were the Original Mercer Girls?" Mercer Girls Chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution <http://www.seattlemercergirls.com/our-chapter-history.html>, accessed September 1, 2014.

⁵⁸ E. S. Ingraham, "The School Superintendent," *Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer*, November 4, 1884, 1.

fireside.”⁵⁹ According to the *Fergus County [MT] Argus* in 1886, the two women who served as Meagher County (MT)’s school superintendent “never visited this section except on a[n] electioneering tour and then when their escorts were most agreeable company. Drawing the salary seems to have been the chief occupation of the Superintendent so far as this end of Meagher is cognizant. ... Some claim a lady cannot or will not perform this duty as satisfactorily as a man, especially in the winter.”⁶⁰ It is likely misgivings based on prior experience that led the voters of the county to nominate men for the position when the county was formed.

During the period of this study, county superintendents became responsible for overseeing teachers’ professional development. Beyond conversations with individual teachers, they planned and oversaw county teachers’ institutes and, later in the period, teachers’ reading circles. Institutes were designed as tools to provide teachers, according to a mid-nineteenth century author, “a concise course of instruction in the theory and practice of teaching, adapted to common schools.”⁶¹ Originating in 1826 as a teachers’ lyceum in Hartford, Connecticut, teachers’ institutes were adopted as a way to provide teachers of common schools who were unable to attend normal schools or academies access to intensive short-term training on both subject matter and school management.⁶² The purpose of the teachers’ institutes, according to one supporter, was to “elevate the profession of Teaching up to a higher degree of efficiency and respectability.” By doing so “we will have no trouble in procuring the best of teachers to teach our schools, for without good teachers the whole public school system is a mere lifeless skeleton.”⁶³

⁵⁹ Ingraham, “The School Superintendent.”

⁶⁰ “Superintendent of Schools,” *Fergus County (MT) Argus*, August 12, 1886, 2.

⁶¹ William Russell, *Suggestions on Teachers’ Institutes* (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore & Mason, 1848), 9.

⁶² “Teachers’ Associations,” *Appletons’ Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1888* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1889), 760.

⁶³ Uriah Toot, “Letter from Blackfoot,” (*Helena, MT) Independent Record*, January 6, 1875, 3.

Teacher conventions, the earlier precursor to what became teachers' institutes in both Montana and Washington predate the legislative requirement to hold such learning opportunities. In Washington the first territorial teachers' convention was called by Thurston County (WA)'s school superintendent in 1868.⁶⁴ Deer Lodge (MT)'s county superintendent, at the request of Montana's territorial superintendent, called the first teachers' convention in Montana in December 1872.⁶⁵ Washington mandated teachers' institutes in counties with more than ten school districts beginning in 1877, declaring that it was the duty of teachers in the county to attend.⁶⁶ During the same year, Montana, rather than requiring that such institutes be held, chose to indicate that the county superintendent "may" hold an annual county teachers' institute "when he believes that the educational interests of his county would be promoted thereby." According to the legislation, if one was to be held it was the duty of all who held teaching certificates to attend.⁶⁷

For most of the period under study, it fell to the county superintendent to plan and chair the annual county teachers' institute. This included planning workshops on specific academic subjects as well as sessions on school administration and management; developing an agenda that included inspirational music and recitations; locating individuals both to present the subjects and act as discussion chairs; and selecting speakers who could talk on general education topics for evening sessions.⁶⁸ At times, a more experienced county superintendent would take on the responsibility of planning a joint teacher's institute for their own and a neighboring county's teachers.⁶⁹ Advertised to the broader community, teachers' institutes were open to all interested

⁶⁴ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 151.

⁶⁵ "Teacher Convention," (*Deer Lodge, MT*) *New North-west*, December 4, 1874, 3.

⁶⁶ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1877*, 279-280.

⁶⁷ *Laws, Memorials, and Resolutions of the Territory of Montana Passed at the Tenth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Helena: Robert E. Fisk, Public Printer, 1877), 396-397.

⁶⁸ Coleman, "Miss Jacoby," 42.

⁶⁹ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, July 25, 1895, 8.

participants. Evening activities drew community members with various musical entertainments presented by teachers attending the institute and lectures on broader topics of interest such as “Education and Educational Progress” and “The object of an education and the duty of those concerned.”⁷⁰ Geraldine Clifford noted that teachers’ institutes were an attempt to build the public’s interest in the schools and this was a primary reason why they were open to the public particularly their evening sessions. As they became more “didactic and self-consciously professional in tone and content,” public involvement lessened.⁷¹

The women serving as county superintendent recognized the value of the teachers’ institutes in developing increased teacher skills. Pamela Hale, in her report to the territorial superintendent in 1883, described the teachers’ institute as “an efficient means of elevating the qualifications of the teacher.”⁷² In 1888, Bessie Ford, Cascade County (MT)’s superintendent at county’s first teachers’ institute was explicit about this purpose when she said “we have come here to consult as to the best means of promoting education, to consider how we may lead the scholar to the highest plane.”⁷³ Ella Granger recognized the value of county teachers’ institutes in improving instruction and asked the county commissioners for \$60 to run a county-wide institute in the summer of 1884. The commissioners turned her down. Despite this, she carried out a three-day institute held in cooperation with the territorial university. Determined to be a great success by the county’s teachers, it ended up costing \$40, of which Granger paid \$10 out of her own pocket. Impressed by Granger’s willingness to shoulder costs related to the institute, the commissioners agreed to pay the remaining bills that fall.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ “Teachers’ Institute,” (*Butte, MT*) *Weekly Miner*, March 29, 1881, 5.

⁷¹ Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes*, 189.

⁷² *Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Washington*, 65.

⁷³ “Boys and Girls,” *Great Falls (MT) Tribune*, September 18, 1888, 1.

⁷⁴ David Cameron, Charles LeWarne, Allan May, Jack O’Donnell and Larry O’Donnell, eds., *Snohomish County: An Illustrated History* (Index, WA: Kelcema Books, 2005).

Early institutes often focused on methods of teaching content subjects such as orthography, denominate numbers, numeration, multiplication, English particularly grammar, and penmanship. Teachers were led in activities such as Swedish gymnastics. Demonstration classes made up of students from local schools were used to model methods of teaching such diverse subjects as beginners in reading, eighth grade class drills in history, or classroom calisthenics. At times these discussions concentrated on teaching a subject to a particular school population like primary level students and at others they were more broad ranging.⁷⁵ Later institutes focused not only on discussions around subject matter, but included lectures and discussions focused more on teacher professionalism and classroom management examining topics such as the value of recess, the need to submit to the state's education journal, methods for securing students' attention, discipline and self-government, necessary preparation and planning, and legal changes regarding teacher credentials.⁷⁶ Instead of continuing to use a model similar to that used in the women's clubs of the time with various members presenting papers or topics and the audience participating in a discussion of the paper, later teachers' institutes in Montana followed more closely a model similar to higher education courses, with conductors and lecturers who were certified by the state as professional educators. For the most part, these were professors from the normal school and state university as well as city school superintendents.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ For examples of the types of subjects covered at teachers' institutes during the last decades of the nineteenth century see: "Teachers' Institute," (*Butte, MT Weekly Miner*, March 29, 1881, 5; "The Teachers Institute," (*Fort Benton, MT River Press*, November 4, 1885, 2; "Teachers Institute," *Philipsburg (MT) Mail*, October 11, 1888, 1; "Teachers at Work," *Yakima (WA) Herald*, September, 1893, 1; "Teaching the Teachers," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, November 1, 1894, 3; "The Teachers' Institute," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, November 2, 1894, 3; and "Yakima's Pedagogues," *Yakima (WA) Herald*, June 24, 1897, 2.

⁷⁶ "Teachers' Institute," *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, November 16, 1894, 8; "Teachers' Institute," *Fergus County (MT) Argus*, October 25, 1894, 1; "Madison County Teachers in Convention," (*Virginia City, MT) Madisionian* October 6, 1894, 3; and "Had a Good Time," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, August 31, 1895, 8.

⁷⁷ "Gallatin Teachers," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, November 16, 1894, 8; "The Teachers' Institute," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, November 15, 1898, 5.

The state's interest in "professionalizing" the training teachers received at teacher's institutes placed county superintendents between the state efforts to standardize education and the sometimes contradictory desires of local teachers and school patrons.⁷⁸ This meant a county superintendent would, at times, plan teachers' institutes with the interest of their county's teachers in mind instead of following the state agenda, sometimes creating conflict between county superintendents and state authorities. In Montana prior to the 1895 changes in the law, decisions about when a teachers' institute would be held, the institute's agenda, and who would conduct the institute were made by the county superintendent. In 1899, Bridget Downey of Silver Bow (MT) called a county teachers' institute for April at a time when most institutes were held during the late summer or early fall. Her decision was made, in part, because of the availability of an outside instructor on art education. She informed the state superintendent Evans A. Carleton of this plan. Feeling that this action was inappropriate, that institutes should be held in September, he approached the state's attorney general to verify that Downey's actions were illegal and therefore teachers should not be expected to attend the institute in April. The attorney general responded that not only could the state superintendent dictate the time as to when a county's institute would be held, the county superintendent had limited rights relative to the selection as to who would conduct the institute.⁷⁹ Carleton's argument was that only he and the state board of education could make such decisions. Downey felt that such decisions should be made locally by those most directly involved. The Silver Bow Teachers Institute was held in April as Downey had planned. The president of the Normal School and Butte's city superintendent participated in the institute as instructors where they were joined by several others including Ruth Gould of Chicago. Gould's teaching specialty was art education and her

⁷⁸ Dina L. Stephens, *The Role of County Superintendents in Rural School Reform in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Wisconsin* (PhD diss. University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1996), 204.

⁷⁹ "Carleton's Side of It," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, March 23, 1899, 8.

expenses were paid for by the Prang Education Company. As teachers' institutes had very limited budgets, having an instructor come from a distance was unusual and generally required outside funding. The teachers attending thanked Downey for her management of the institute including her selection of instructors and her "excellent judgment shown in holding the county institute at this very opportune time."⁸⁰ During the following election cycle, Downey was not reelected, but the Butte Board of Education unanimously elected her to the district's regular teaching corps at the completion of her term.⁸¹ It is difficult to say whether Downey's defeat was due to her conflict with state authorities, but it is clear that local education leadership valued her abilities as an educational professional.

Teachers' associations often served similar goals as teachers' institutes, as is evidenced by the by-laws adopted when a teachers' association was formed in Lewis and Clarke County (MT) in 1874. The object of the organization was for "the mutual improvement of its members, and generally to promote the efficiency of the public school system."⁸² It was not uncommon for teachers' institutes to morph into more permanent teacher associations. Washington's second teachers' institute was held in King County (WA) in September 1872. As a result of this meeting, the Washington Territorial Educational Association was organized.⁸³ In both instances, it was a county superintendent who called the initial meeting. Accordingly, individuals who were either serving as county superintendents or would go on to become county superintendents were often in the leadership ranks of the territorial/state organizations. By the 1890s the education associations in both states had specific subunits (known as sections) for county superintendents

⁸⁰ "Was a Great Success," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, April 15, 1899, 7.

⁸¹ "Justice to the Teachers," (*Butte, MT) Daily Inter Mountain*, November 28, 1900, 5.

⁸² "Formation of a Teachers' Association," *Helena (MT) Weekly Herald*, December 31, 1874, 7. For examples of the programs presented at teachers' association meetings, see: "State Teachers' Association," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 25, 1891, 5; and "State Teachers," *Big Timber (MT) Pioneer*, December 13, 1894, 4.

⁸³ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 193-94.

with programs and discussions related to their specific responsibilities.⁸⁴ In 1887, the attendees of the Choteau County (MT) Teachers' Institute resolved to make the institute a permanent organization to be known as the Choteau County Teachers Association, with the president being the county school superintendent.⁸⁵ Annie McAnnelly, the Park County (MT) Superintendent, served as president when the Park County (MT) Teachers' Association was formed in 1896. All teachers in the county were automatically members of the association. McAnnelly urged that each school district in the county be represented at the first meeting and that "each teacher in the county consider herself invited to assist in the work of building up a higher professional standing among teachers."⁸⁶ It is clear that individuals serving as county superintendents were seen as educational leaders interested in strengthening the education profession. At the same time, they wanted all teachers to be part of the professional community, not just those who had received certain kinds of education or had been awarded specific credentials.

Teachers' institutes and teacher association meetings generally only occurred once or twice a year and state educational authorities sought to find ways to provide teachers with ongoing structured professional development. The idea of reading circles as a method for broadening an individual's educational opportunities was drawn, in part, from the Chautauqua Reading Course. The goal was to provide teachers opportunities to discuss readings of both a cultural and a professional nature with others and in the process broaden their own educational backgrounds.⁸⁷ The concept was to choose specific books to be read by all members of the circle. In some states, these materials were used to either develop teacher certification examination

⁸⁴ For an example of these meeting programs see: "Teachers to Convene," *Yakima (WA) Herald*, December 23, 1893, 1; "Montana's Text Books," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, December 30, 1893, 5; and "Completed Program," *Kalispell (MT) Bee*, August 19, 1901, 3.

⁸⁵ "Resolutions Passed by the Teachers Institute," (*Fort Benton, MT) River Press*, October 5, 1887, 1.

⁸⁶ *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, October 11, 1896, 13.

⁸⁷ Hubert M. Skinner, "Growth and Benefits of Reading Circles," *Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education No. 2 – 1886* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1886), 155.

questions or to excuse those seeking examination from certain parts of teacher examination tests. Statewide organization of such circles originated in Indiana in 1883.⁸⁸

Washington State Teachers' Association discussed the formation of a state teachers' reading circle during the 1891 convention. Because Washington's Board of Education was charged with the oversight of the state's public schools, a committee formed by the teachers' association approached the board requesting that the board not only support developing teachers' reading circles, but oversee the adoption of the books to be used and to guarantee that at least some of the following year's teacher examination be based on the readings. The Board agreed, two books were selected and specific portions of those books were identified explicitly for exam questions. The State Superintendent, Robert Bryan, in the circular released announcing the decision, hoped that "county superintendents and all leading educators in the state may take hold of the matter with the zeal which its good character merits, and assist in carrying it through to ultimate and unqualified success."⁸⁹ Initially not all of the leading educators supported the concept. King County (WA)'s superintendent, Virgil Pusey, admitted that he had disapproved of the idea of reading circles to supplement a formal education at first, but after seeing firsthand the books and reading materials that his wife was reading as a member of the Chautauqua reading course, he became convinced of the true merit of such courses.⁹⁰

It is not clear how involved the county superintendents in Washington were in coordinating reading circles within their counties. The Mason County (WA) superintendent joined the county's teachers as they met monthly to discuss the assigned books as part of the

⁸⁸ Skinner, "Growth and Benefits of Reading Circles," 156. There is some disagreement about where the first statewide teachers' reading circles were developed, but the Indiana program appears to have served as a template for later programs. See: William Carl Ruediger, *Agencies for the Improvement of Teachers in Service* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 92.

⁸⁹ R. B. Bryan, "State Teachers' Reading Circle," *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington* (Olympia, O. C. White, State Printer, 1892), 334.

⁹⁰ "Teachers at the Assembly," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 6, 1892, 5.

county's reading circle.⁹¹ It was hoped that most of the county's teachers would join the monthly sessions but within months high school students, including one who already had obtained a second-class teaching certificate, outnumbered practicing teachers. Disappointed, Superintendent Brumbaugh indicated that he hoped "a greater number of our teachers will give more attention to this very important professional (sic) work."⁹² No evidence was found that a county reading circle continued after the 1893 school year. Whatcom County (WA), home of the newly opened state Normal school, reported having the most teachers enrolled with seventy-five sets of books purchased and 106 teachers enrolled⁹³. Although this represented about two-thirds of the county's teachers, the county's teacher population was only 5 percent of the state's total. Disappointed in the lack of teacher response, the county superintendents during their biennial convention in 1897 recommended that the teachers' reading circles be modified to more closely mimic the Chautauqua plan. Instead of selecting two books, one professional and one with broad cultural interest, the new plan adopted three specific branches of study - a professional branch, a literature branch and a history branch, with specific books and guiding questions for each branch and a certificate awarded when the reading selection was completed. They expected that between 1500 to 2000 teachers would enroll in the reading courses.⁹⁴ Also, instead of questions based on the readings, teachers would be given credit on the part of the exam related to the books the individual had successfully read.⁹⁵

The decision in Montana to have the state's reading circles managed by the state's teachers' association and overseen by the county superintendents appears to have increased the likelihood of teachers' participation. As in Washington, the idea of establishing teachers' reading

⁹¹ "Teachers at Study," *Mason County (WA) Journal*, November 3, 1893, 3.

⁹² "Reading Circle," *Mason County (WA) Journal*, March 2, 1894, 3.

⁹³ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 19, 1894, 3.

⁹⁴ "School Teachers' Meet Today," *Seattle Daily Times*, May 11, 1897, 8.

⁹⁵ "The Public Schools," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 3, 1897, 6.

circles originated with the state's teacher association, but because Montana lacked a statewide board of education, it was only necessary to gain approval of the state's superintendent to move forward. County Superintendents were involved in the entire process in the reading circles development. The committee assigned to develop the program in 1891 were Eva Hunter and Margaret Wolfe, both county superintendents and R. G. Young, Superintendent of Helena Public Schools.⁹⁶ Among the organizational plans they developed was that the county superintendent was to be manager and thus responsible for the reading circle work within the county.⁹⁷ Not only did the county superintendents meet with the teachers at monthly reading circle meetings, they also assisted them in obtaining the reading circle books.⁹⁸ The distances teachers had to travel in many of Montana's larger counties created problems in completely implementing the envisioned program, which involved teachers meeting monthly to discuss their reading. Bessie Merrilees Moore, Sweet Grass (MT)'s County superintendent, noted this in her report to the state superintendent. Nonetheless, she claimed that despite the fact the county's teachers were unable to attend monthly meetings to discuss the reading circle books, most were following the lines of work charted by the State Reading Circle Committee.⁹⁹ County Superintendents like Moore sought to find ways for teachers to participate even when they were not able to meet monthly as originally intended by the state association. They recognized the objective of the program and worked to help teachers obtain that objective even if they were unable to explicitly follow the route to get there.

As part of this goal, county superintendents sought ways to assist teachers in seeing the benefit of participating in county reading circles. Elizabeth Thompson, Deer Lodge (MT) county

⁹⁶ "Teachers' Reading Circle," (*Helena, MT*) *Daily Independent*, October 13, 1891, 8.

⁹⁷ "Facts About the Montana State Teachers' Reading Circles," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, November 1, 1891, 3.

⁹⁸ "Of Interest to Teachers," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, September 24, 1895, 8.

⁹⁹ *Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Montana*, 29-30.

superintendent, notified individuals hoping to obtain first class teaching certificates after Montana changed certification requirements in 1895 that they “should make a special study of the lives and writings of Thoreau, O’Reilly and Lowell as given in ‘Masterpieces of American Literature’” one of the books selected for that year’s reading circle.¹⁰⁰ Within years of adoption of the state reading circles, the state superintendent reported that the circles appeared “to have accomplished much in the way of broadening the view and quickening the interest of teachers” giving yet another example of how county superintendents served as teachers of teachers just like their city superintendent colleagues.¹⁰¹

County Superintendent as Administrative Leader

The gradual professionalization of the school superintendency through specific university training related to school administration began during the 1890s. The superintendents’ role as business managers became the major focus of this professionalization effort during the first decades of the twentieth century.¹⁰² Yet, it was these very duties that were the legislative focus in defining the county superintendents’ roles throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. A study conducted during the progressive era found that county superintendents reported spending nearly 50 percent of their time on general office duties and conducting school board conferences.¹⁰³ Job duties assigned by law included apportionment of school funds and the collection and reporting of statistical information related to the public schools. In many states, county superintendents were also responsible for the examination of prospective teachers, the

¹⁰⁰ “Notice to Teachers,” (*Deer Lodge, MT*) *New North-West*, April 10, 1896, 5.

¹⁰¹ *Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Montana*, 247.

¹⁰² The role of the school superintendent as a business manager has been explored in a variety of texts central to the narrative of the history of public schools. See, in particular, Tyack, *The One Best System*; Tyack and Hansot, *The Managers of Virtue*; and Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964).

¹⁰³ F. P. O’Brien, “The County Superintendent of Schools as Supervisor of Instruction,” *Journal of Educational Research* 13, no. 5 (May 1926): 347.

creation of school districts, and the creation and/or enforcement of state or county mandated courses of study. In Washington, school districts with more than 300 scholars were made independent districts outside of the county superintendents' direct purview in 1883. Thereafter, with the exception of some administrative tasks like fund apportionment, county superintendents were directly responsible only for those schools not in larger urban districts.¹⁰⁴ During the period of this study, Montana's city schools continued to be fully under the county superintendent's oversight despite also having appointed district superintendents.¹⁰⁵

Many of the early promoters of women serving in the position of county superintendent emphasized women's perceived ability to supervise teachers and oversee the education of children. However, it was the administrative duties of the position that provided courts with the legal precedents to allow them to stay in the position.¹⁰⁶ The Massachusetts Supreme Court in 1874 was explicit in situating women's right to hold school offices within the common law tradition of women holding local offices as long as they were "of an administrative character." Such duties were defined as including "the employment of teachers, the selection of school-books, the regulation of the attendance of scholars and the preparation of school registers and returns."¹⁰⁷ Historian of education Larry Cuban defined the administrative role of school superintendents as directing the productivity of an organization through the efficient management of resources.¹⁰⁸ Among those management domains were the effective utilization of school funds, the management of school personnel, oversight of school facilities, and the development and application of uniform courses of study. County superintendents frequently placed notifications of school fund apportionments and teacher examinations in the local press,

¹⁰⁴ *Laws of the Territory of Washington ... 1877*, 277-278.

¹⁰⁵ For an example of this see "In the Public Schools," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, February 27, 1896, 10.

¹⁰⁶ For examples of these arguments, see: *Opinion of the Justices*, 115 Mass 602 (1874); and *Alma (MI) Record*, March 22, 1889, 2;

¹⁰⁷ *Opinion of the Justices*, 115 Mass 602 (1874).

¹⁰⁸ Cuban, *The Managerial Imperative*, 115-116.

but it was the disputes and disagreements that received the most coverage. That coverage also provides evidence that the women serving as county superintendents took their role as educational advocates seriously. The examples that follow provide evidence that county school superintendents served as administrative leaders before most of their city colleagues.

Providing reports of county school conditions to state and local authorities, including the number of school census children, the amount of state and local funding apportioned to each school district within the county, and other aspects of school organization were among the earliest duties assigned by state legislatures to county superintendents. In both Montana and Washington, late or missing reports continued to be a problem throughout the study period. While some county superintendents took this part of their job seriously others, like the first elected county superintendent for Spokane County (WA), Maggie Windsor, suggested that the lack of office reports was due to the amount of time required to visit the schools in the county. A history of the county suggested that “it [was] very evident that for the first decade the superintendents did not magnify their office work. They were kept on the wing visiting distant schools.”¹⁰⁹ Territorial/State Superintendents did what they could to cajole county superintendents to provide timely reports. Surprisingly, given the remoteness of many school districts and the physical distances within many of the counties in both Montana and Washington, the majority of county superintendents were successful in submitting their annual reports.

County school superintendents were responsible for making sure that the state and county school funds were fairly apportioned to the respective districts in the county. School district apportionment usually involved, for the most part, bookkeeping. Apportionment was made on the basis of the number of school census children living within the borders of the school district.

¹⁰⁹ Edwards, *An Illustrated History of Spokane County*, 120.

The greater the number of children listed in the school census, the larger the apportionment. If school districts padded their rolls by including children who were not actually residents of the district in order to receive more funds it meant that there were fewer funds available to the other districts in the county. Removal of children's names from the school census often caused controversy as school districts counted on receiving as much money as possible.

In 1897, when two of the largest districts in Teton County (MT) had a conflict regarding the inclusion of mixed-race Native children in the school census, the county superintendent, Florence Bean, was forced to intercede. The entire Blackfeet reservation fell within the boundaries of the Dupuyer school district. Subsequently all of the children with white fathers and Native mothers were included in the school census although they did not attend the county funded public school. The trustees of the Choteau (MT) school district disputed this practice, claiming that the Dupuyer school board was padding the rolls in order to obtain more school monies.¹¹⁰ Bean informed the clerk of the Dupuyer school district that twenty-six names should not have appeared on the school census roles. The reply she received, according to the local press, was that it “will perhaps teach her some of the business that she should have learned before she became a candidate for the responsible position she endeavors to fill. ... People may learn that ignorance in official capacity can not be tolerated.”¹¹¹ The Dupuyer district appealed to the state superintendent. While Superintendent E. A. Carlton agreed that Bean had taken the correct action, the state attorney general determined that the children in question were in fact citizens of the United States, lived within the borders of the school district, and had parents who paid county taxes, therefore the children should be enumerated on the district's census roles.¹¹² The entire situation caused the state superintendent to clarify that county superintendents had the

¹¹⁰ (*Choteau Montanian*, November 26, 1897, 4.

¹¹¹ *Dupuyer (MT) Acantha*, December 2, 1897, 1.

¹¹² “Carleton Replies,” *Teton (MT) Chronicle*, March 4, 1898.

right to investigate, even going as far as calling witnesses and putting them under oath to determine the accuracy of the report. Depending upon the results of the investigation a superintendent could either increase or decrease the number of census children.¹¹³

Disputes about school census rolls did not just involve Native children. When Elizabeth Flagler, Chouteau (MT)'s county superintendent, removed forty names from the Havre school district's school census the district responded by sending a "bushel basket of legal papers" along with their appeal. Flagler claimed that the youth were not legal residents of the district as they were temporarily employed along the railroad line, were not actual permanent residents and were therefore enumerated in their home district. In response to the district's complaint, she said that she had hoped school officials would appeal "to some authority, by all means, if you think I am unjust, only do so immediately."¹¹⁴ The state superintendent upheld her decision in the case of twenty-eight names, but required that she return twelve names to the census roles.¹¹⁵ When the same issue arose the following year, the school district sought help from the district courts where a judge issued an injunction stopping Flagler from removing any names.¹¹⁶

In rapidly growing states covering large geographic area like Montana and Washington, county superintendents had to draw and redraw school district boundaries. County histories provide clues about the level of impact these women had in their willingness to step up and take on extra duties in order to provide educational opportunities for the schoolchildren within their counties. Described as painstaking and tireless by a county commissioner, Christina Bennett was given credit for laying the foundation of the public-school system in Adams County (WA).¹¹⁷ When she began as county superintendent the only school in the county had been held in a

¹¹³ "May Go Behind Returns," (*Helena, MT*) *Daily Independent*, December 21, 1897, 5.

¹¹⁴ "Choteau School Census," (*Butte, MT*) *Daily Inter Mountain*, January 13, 1900, 8.

¹¹⁵ "Havre School Census," (*Fort Benton, MT*) *River Press*, January 24, 1900, 5.

¹¹⁶ "City and State," (*Fort Benton, MT*) *River Press*, December 19, 1900, 6.

¹¹⁷ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 435.

private home and taught by a single teacher. By the time she left office in 1889 there were 11 teachers and nearly 350 students enrolled in the county's schools.¹¹⁸ Eva Brown, the first county superintendent for Douglas county (WA), was appointed in September 1884 and created the first school districts the following May.¹¹⁹ Virginia Grainger, Okanogan (WA)'s county superintendent was willing to stretch the rules a bit in 1898 when she was asked to create a school for the Kahlows who were raising four orphaned siblings. State law required that there be five children before a new school could be created so Grainger registered her daughter, then too young for school, as a prospective scholar bringing the number of students to five thus qualifying the family for a school.¹²⁰ Because it was necessary to hold school a month before funds could be drawn to pay a regular teacher, Grainger usually started a new school and either taught the month herself or turned it over to a community member who could substitute until a regular teacher had been hired. She did this in at least three districts including one in Peshastin which was actually then in Kittitas County (WA). Because the district was difficult to access from the county seat of Ellensburg, Grainger looked after the school.¹²¹ As the need for a high school became apparent in 1899, Park County (MT) Superintendent, Alma Evans and a community member visited the various school districts to obtain agreements that they would send older students to a consolidated high school if one were built. When Park County (MT) High School opened she named all seven members of the board to the high school district all of whom were confirmed by the County Commissioners.¹²²

¹¹⁸ *Ninth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington Territory* [John H. Morgan, Superintendent] (Tacoma, WA: Puget Sound Printing Company, 1889), 34, 37.

¹¹⁹ Steele and Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country*, 615-616.

¹²⁰ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 446-447.

¹²¹ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 447-448. The Peshastin school is now in Chelan County.

¹²² Park County Historical Society, *History of Park County, Montana* (Dallas, TX: Taylor Publishing Company, 1984), 189.

Creation of new school districts generally meant that county superintendents had to appoint the school districts' initial officers. This was the case when Jeannette Walker, Chehalis (WA)'s county superintendent appointed Aberdeen's first official school board in 1884.¹²³ Sometimes this led to conflict with local community members. In a controversy that began around the placement of a new school building in Snohomish (WA) during the spring of 1885, it was discovered that the schoolboard had either forgotten or neglected to qualify for their positions as required by law. Ella Granger, the Snohomish (WA) county superintendent appointed a completely new board and a new school clerk. Members of the old board refused to give up their positions and appealed to the court which decided in their favor.¹²⁴ In Silver Bow County (MT), Mary Mullins needed to replace a school trustee who had resigned after being found embezzling funds from the Butte teachers. According to the account in the local press, she had promised to fill the then vacant position to an individual that even his friends felt was so unqualified that they offered another name in his place. When Mullins appointed the candidate proposed to her, four members of the school board announced that they would resign because of the appointment. The press assumed that the conflict resulted not from his disqualification but from a separate dispute between the current school board with the county superintendent.¹²⁵ However, the conflict was apparently eventually resolved.¹²⁶ By the time of the next school board meeting, the newly appointed individual was allowed to take his place among the four board members who ultimately opted to remain in the office to which they had been elected.¹²⁷

Women were not the only county superintendents having to explain to the courts why they choose to appoint school district trustees. Horace Moulton, Fergus County (MT)'s

¹²³ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 340.

¹²⁴ Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, 379.

¹²⁵ "An Unpleasant Incident," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, June 4, 1898, 4.

¹²⁶ "Still in a Muddle," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, June 6, 1898, 5.

¹²⁷ "A Harmonious Meeting," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, June 10, 1898, 6.

superintendent became the defendant in a court case after he added four additional members to the School District No. 1's board of education. The additional members were appointed to bring the total number of school trustees for the district to seven as allowed by Montana's political code. The court found against Moulton, however, indicating that county superintendents only had the right to appoint school trustees in the event of a vacancy arising from resignation, death, or removal from the district.¹²⁸

County superintendents were not just responsible for the minutiae of school funding and district oversight, they were also responsible for overseeing the implementation of a course of study. The goal of having a uniform course of study throughout the territory or state was to guarantee that all students would be exposed to and ultimately meet the same educational expectations regardless of where they attended school. In Washington, two women wrote the course of study for the territory's public schools, both were longtime teachers who had experience within the classroom and in assisting other teachers in improving their craft. Leoti West and Pamela Hale crafted what would remain the territory's (and later state's) course of study throughout the rest of the century when they served as members of the Territorial Board of Education in 1883. West had previously served as an appointed deputy county superintendent and Hale was serving as Thurston County (WA)'s superintendent at the time.¹²⁹

The role that county superintendents played in developing a territorial or state course of study for Montana's public schools was more complicated. Despite the fact the law required the county superintendent to enforce the course of study developed by the territorial superintendent, no uniform course of study was written until 1894. Under Superintendent Steere, two county

¹²⁸ "Decision in Full," *Fergus County (MT) Argus*, February 6, 1896, 1.

¹²⁹ Territorial Board of Education Records 1878-1890, Superintendent of Public Instruction Record Group AR8-A-1. Washington State Archives (Olympia, WA), Book 1, 56; and Leoti L. West. *The Wide Northwest: Historic Narrative of America's Wonder Land as Seen by a Pioneer Teacher* (Spokane, WA: Shaw & Borden Company, 1927), 106.

superintendents, Harriet Hord and Minnie Reifenrath, wrote a state course of study. However, Steere considered it appropriate to wait until the legislature acted upon questions related to text book adoptions before finalizing the course, so no further action was taken.¹³⁰ At the convention of County Superintendents in 1897 the question of a course of study was raised again and the convention selected a committee to develop a plan that would lead to the adoption of a statewide course of study. The members of this committee included three county superintendents, Lillian Carey, Ina Craven and Kathryn Johnston, who were joined by the president of the state university and the superintendent of Helena's city schools. The committee recommended that county superintendents along with ten additional members "chosen from the active school workers" act as a committee to approve a course of study developed by a subcommittee appointed by the state superintendent. Superintendent Carleton appointed five men working as city superintendents or serving as presidents of state institutions of higher education to this subcommittee.¹³¹ Each member was to submit a course of study for a one branch of study which would then be considered by the subcommittee at a future meeting. Once the committee adopted it, it was to be sent to the county superintendents.¹³² Despite their obvious active interest and previous support in developing a course of study, none of the county superintendents were included in the process. Under Superintendent Steere, county superintendents, most of whom were women, had been recognized as educational leaders with expertise that extended beyond their local duties. This was not the case under Superintendent Carleton, who was elected as state superintendent after Steere. It is not clear how exactly issues of gender, perceived professional status, and politics played into Carleton's disdain for the ability of the county superintendents to

¹³⁰ *Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Montana*, 246.

¹³¹ *Course of Study for the Common Schools of Montana* (Helena: Independent Publishing Company, 1899), 1-3.

¹³² "Will Draft Courses of Study for Country Schools," *Big Timber (MT) Pioneer*, September 2, 1897, 1.

act as educational leaders. What his choices did demonstrate was the growing separation between those who perceived themselves to be professionals through formal university training and those whose educational authority derived more from classroom experience and community support.

One of the duties of the county school superintendent was to examine prospective teachers for their fitness to serve in that capacity. Originally this entailed only a discussion between the superintendent and the prospective candidate. This changed in Washington beginning in 1877 when the Territorial Board of Education was charged with determining the questions that would be used for teacher examinations across the state. At the same time, county superintendents together with two teachers holding at least first-class teaching certificates were to serve as county examining boards to proctor and evaluate the written exam of any person seeking teacher certification. In May 1882, the Pierce County (WA) Board of Examiners was made up completely of women including the current county superintendent, the woman who would serve as the next county superintendent, and the woman who was her opponent.¹³³ It took until the next round of teacher examinations the following November before the press realized that the exams were being conducted wholly by women proclaiming that they discharged “that duty in the most thorough and competent manner imaginable.”¹³⁴ An examination of later membership of county examining boards provides evidence that women who had been nominated and/or served as county school superintendents continued to be active in shaping the teaching profession through their service as teacher examiners.¹³⁵

¹³³ *Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer*, May 14, 1882, 2.

¹³⁴ *Seattle Daily Post Intelligencer*, November 12, 1882, 4.

¹³⁵ *Ninth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington Territory*, 38-41. During the period of this study, women served on both Washington’s Territorial and State Board of Education. As members of the board they were directly responsible for writing and selecting the questions for territorial-wide teacher examinations. By the turn of the century women made up the entire board with the exception of the state superintendent of public instruction. See *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington* (Seattle: The Metropolitan Press, 1902), 67.

A similar disconnect between educational professionals that occurred relative to the adoption of a uniform course of study in Montana occurred around the methods to determine teacher qualification and teacher certification. Teacher examinations in Montana continued to be completely at the discretion of the county superintendent until 1883. Even then the county superintendents wrote up their own questions and sent them to the territorial superintendent for approval.¹³⁶ Louisa Cooley, the long-serving school superintendent of Custer County (MT), felt that the greatest hindrance to the schools' improvement was the continued practice of hiring teachers "through personal favor, kinship, or some reason entirely foreign to the requirements of the school, to the exclusion of teachers ... in every way better qualified to perform the duties of a teacher."¹³⁷ She also felt a further hindrance was the inconsistency in test expectations among counties even as the teaching certificates based on those test results were recognized as being equivalent across the state. Beginning in 1894, county superintendents were asked to write questions for all nine sections of the teacher examinations and submit them to the state superintendent. The state superintendent then selected the question sets that were to be used. Of the eight topics selected, women serving as county superintendents wrote questions for six; Theory and Practice, U. S. History, Reading, Physiology, Grammar and Geography.¹³⁸ Because Montana granted the state superintendent leeway in how the education laws were interpreted, county superintendents faced shifting regulations regarding teacher certification requirements as state superintendents changed. Superintendent Steere had allowed teachers seeking higher grades of certificates to sit for just those subjects for which they had not received passing scores. His successor, Carleton, determined that all teachers seeking higher grade certificates had to sit and

¹³⁶ *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana* (1883), 57-58.

¹³⁷ *Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Montana* [R. H. Howey, Superintendent] (Helena: Daily and Weekly Independent Steam Printing, 1882), 11.

¹³⁸ "Teachers' Examinations," (*Miles City, MT*) *Yellowstone Journal*, February 2, 1894, 3.

pass the entire examination.¹³⁹ The county superintendents were required to enforce this change despite the hardship it was expected to create for the teaching force.

Maintaining high standards for the teachers under their supervision did not end with the successful completion of examinations. It also involved assisting in placing qualified teachers in all county's schools. In the fall of 1896, a man claiming to be a master of several professions, including school teaching, applied to Annie McAnnelly, Park County (MT) school superintendent, for a position as a schoolteacher. He claimed to have teaching certificates from several states, but that he had drifted away from the profession and they had been misplaced. When McAnnelly asked him to produce at least one, he left and returned with a typewritten certificate that included a typewritten signature of someone identified as a professor at Valparaiso College in Indiana. She did not necessarily trust him, but he was issued a teaching permit allowing him to teach until the next teacher examination due to a shortage of teachers willing to teach in county's more rural schools. In the meantime, McAnnelly contacted Valparaiso and learned that they had never heard of the individual or the professor. She promptly rode out to the school where man was teaching to inform him that his services were no longer required.¹⁴⁰

The decision by Elizabeth Flagler, school superintendent in Chouteau County (MT), to revoke the teaching certificate of a teacher for "improper and unprofessional" behavior was upheld by the state superintendent of public instruction after the teacher appealed her decision. The teacher had gone to visit a neighbor during a break in the school day and, finding no one home, took a piece of gum lying on the table to chew and then went into the pantry and took a

¹³⁹ "He Makes a Change," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, January 29, 1897, 6.

¹⁴⁰ "Why He Lost His Job," *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, September 30, 1896, 9.

wedge of pie and a glass of milk. She then left her card and returned to the school building.¹⁴¹ At least one paper felt Flagler had overstepped by revoking the certificate, saying that at least the teacher was not teaching the children” to shoot and chew.”¹⁴²

On other occasions, county superintendents had to intercede in disputes between school directors and teachers. At times these intercessions ended up reinforcing the role of the county superintendent in interpreting and enforcing state law. Such was the case in Custer County (MT) in a dispute between members of the school board and the teacher in School District 14 in 1896. Two board members took it upon themselves to appeal to the state superintendent when Susie Light reinstated the teacher in their district after they had dismissed him. The trouble began when two of the board members decided that the teacher was not fulfilling his duties which, in their opinion, included serving as the school janitor. The board had set a date to discuss the issue, but before that date without due notice, the two board members met with and dismissed the teacher. He appealed his dismissal to the county school superintendent. Only after the dismissal did the school board file official charges against the teacher. Light reversed the dismissal, refusing to consider the charges filed after the teacher had appealed his dismissal. The school board then appealed to the state superintendent of public instruction, claiming that the county superintendent had no right to rule on the teacher’s employment. In responding to the appeal, the state superintendent and the state attorney general agreed that not only did the law allow the county superintendent to deal with “all cases of disputes in relation to school matters not properly belonging to courts of justice,” only the county superintendent, along with the state superintendent, had the right to provide teachers clarification of the law relative to their classroom duties. The state officials determined that Light’s action “is not, in our judgment, open

¹⁴¹ “State News,” *Kalispell (MT) Bee*, December 6, 1900, 1.

¹⁴² “A School Teacher’s Troubles,” *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, December 6, 1900, 3.

to the charge of partiality and is wholly free from bias or prejudice in this case and shows beyond a doubt that she is working in the best interests of the school, of the residents and pupils of that district.”¹⁴³ In acting in her capacity of school administrator, Light had been forced into a situation that resulted in confirming her right to administer the county schools in the same manner a city superintendent would have been expected to do.

County Superintendent as Negotiator-Statesman

Of the three dominant roles that historian Larry Cuban identified as characterizing superintendents’ professed job duties, the role of negotiator-statesman is likely the most important (and least discussed). To be successful, anyone holding such an office had to be skilled in the science of government and the art of politics, but without seeming to be political.¹⁴⁴ Knowing that the schools needed both financial and moral support from the majority of the community, the most successful superintendents worked to shape support of the community’s influential people, press and organizations. Cuban argued that this political dimension of the position became even more obvious where superintendents were elected rather than appointed to the superintendency. During the nineteenth century, this included not just the election of state and county superintendents but some city school superintendents such as those serving in San Francisco and Buffalo. According to Cuban, the continuing election of school officers despite the call by university-based education reformers and their supporters to discontinue the practice was recognition of the inherently political nature of the post.”¹⁴⁵ Due to their elective status county superintendents were in a position that required a certain level of local accountability as they had

¹⁴³ “Schools Laws,” (*Miles City, MT*) *Yellowstone Journal*, May 1, 1893, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Cuban, *The Managerial Imperative*, 116-120.

¹⁴⁵ Cuban, *The Managerial Imperative*, 119.

to assure their decisions did not alienate key constituencies to maintain their position as intermediaries between the state and local schools.¹⁴⁶

The women who served as county school superintendents were particularly well positioned to successfully negotiate this part of the job. Unlike many of the men elected to the position, the majority of the women in this study had experience as classroom teachers and many had additional formal training. As classroom teachers, particularly those women serving in rural schools, they had to advocate for themselves and their students in order to be successful in their duties. Historian Wayne Fuller aptly demonstrated in his article on rural school teaching that teachers' involvement in mandatory teachers' institutes improved not only women's teaching skills but also their ability to advocate for the educational needs of their school community.¹⁴⁷ As the historians Chris Ogren and Karen Blair have documented, the normal schools that many teachers in this period attended also fostered these skills by promoting participation in social clubs and literary societies. These activities increased the educational sophistication of students and allowed them to practice the arts of public speaking and debate. In her article, "Normal Schools of the Pacific Northwest," Blair argues that these extracurricular activities allowed graduates not only to model similar activities for their students but to advocate for their school's improvement and for broader education reforms.¹⁴⁸

Taught to be advocates for educational reform, western women did not just stop at advocating for school improvements at their local schools. Michael Pisapia in "The Authority of Women in Political Development of American Public Education" specifically states that women in the West were significantly more likely to be involved in the political shaping of educational

¹⁴⁶ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 43.

¹⁴⁷ Wayne Fuller. "Country Schoolteaching on the Sod-House Frontier". *Arizona and the West* 17, no. 2 (Summer, 1975): 121-140.

¹⁴⁸ Karen J. Blair. "Normal Schools of the Pacific Northwest". *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (Winter 2009/2010): 3-16. See also Christine Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

institutions.¹⁴⁹ Jurgen Herbst examined how this involvement worked at the local level in his exploration of school development in *Women Pioneers of Public Education: How Culture Came to the Wild West*.¹⁵⁰ Kathleen Weiler in both *Country Schoolwomen* and *Democracy and Schooling in California* describes how women, including Helen Heffernan and Corinne Seeds, worked within the educational establishments to shape California's public education.¹⁵¹

County superintendents frequently took it upon themselves to help shape the public's perceptions of public education. It was not uncommon for area newspapers to publish articles written by county school superintendents. In the holiday issue of the *Dillon Tribune*, Mary Carter's paper on "School Governance" delivered to Beaverhead County (MT)'s Teacher Institute was reprinted in full. In it, she reminded teachers of the shifting theories regarding school discipline while reinforcing the necessity of maintaining the support of school patrons. This support, according to Carter, "is not to be secured by asking any patron how the school should be taught or consulting him in any way; but by showing that you are working for his child's interest. At first, you may be condemned but, in time, the intelligent majority must be convinced that your aims are not selfish."¹⁵² She went on to prompt teachers to take responsibility for being an appropriate role model leaving ill tempers, trouble, and the blues behind when in the classroom.

Recognizing that Montana's schools were organized using a district system with school trustees holding the power to shape local school districts, county superintendent Harriet Hord created specific sessions for school district trustees as part of Missoula County (MT)'s Teachers' Institute in 1898. Included in the session were talks on the powers and duties of trustees; the

¹⁴⁹ Pisapia. "The Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education."

¹⁵⁰ Herbst, *Women Pioneers of Public Education*.

¹⁵¹ Kathleen Weiler. *Democracy and Schooling in California: The Legacy of Helen Heffernan and Corinne Seeds* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and Weiler. *Country Schoolwomen*.

¹⁵² Mary E. Carter, "School Governance," *Dillon (MT) Tribune*, January 1, 1886, Holiday Supplement, 18.

relationship of the trustee to the teacher and the school; maintenance of school grounds; the necessity of professional training for teachers; and what should be expected of the common schools. The majority of the sessions, like those for the teachers, were led by educational professionals including the state superintendent and the presidents of both the state Normal school and state university. The trustees found enough value in the session to request another one in connection with the following year's institute.¹⁵³

Women serving as county school superintendents took their responsibility seriously to seek improvement in education by publishing articles not only in their local newspapers but in national outlets as well. Often these were designed to remind teachers of their responsibility both within and outside of school. Ella Guptill's article published in *Primary Teacher* reinforced the importance of the relationship between a child and his first teacher with the reminder that "[w]e do not get our most inspiring lessons from the neat type and perfect arrangement that we find in a book, but from the soul of the writer as we catch glimpses of it even between the lines. ... Within [the teacher's] spirit is a far more magnetic power than mere speech and it works for good or ill to the child."¹⁵⁴

In reality, all actions of the women serving as county superintendents were perceived through a political lens no matter what they did. As Cuban pointed out, by the nature of their election to the office of county superintendent their work automatically had a political dimension. In this capacity, their most important role was to serve as an intermediary between the classroom and the state. By the end of the nineteenth century, university-based education reformers and their supporters active in educational organizations like the National Educational Association advocated increased state control and centralization of public schools while at the

¹⁵³ *Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Montana*, 28.

¹⁵⁴ Ella L. Guptill, "First Days at School," *Primary Education* 3, no. 7 (September 1895): 237.

same time local communities continued to demand local control of their schools, the county superintendents acted as mediators between these two dynamics.¹⁵⁵ Hubert Skinner, Indiana's deputy state superintendent, writing in 1886 about the county superintendents' role in stated that "the county superintendents are already equipped for the work. They are the medium of communication between the State Department of Public Education and the individual teacher."¹⁵⁶ Even one of their strongest critics, the administrative reformer Ellwood P. Cubberley saw the office as having large *potential* importance in the establishment and ongoing supervision of public education (emphasis added).¹⁵⁷ David Willey, a scholar studying the role of the county superintendent in California, described the role of county superintendents even well into the twentieth century as an essential arm of the state's educational system by providing services to local school districts that they could not provide themselves.¹⁵⁸

Conclusion

Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the role of the county superintendent continued to expand as state agencies increasingly granted the position additional authority, responsibilities, and power.¹⁵⁹ At the same time, their role as education leaders was denigrated and ignored by the administrative reformers who increasingly dominated university schools of education and national school reform networks in the progressive era. Responding to a question in 1921 about the opportunities available for county superintendents to assist in improving the state's public schools, Albert Burrows described the knowledge and

¹⁵⁵ Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*, 111.

¹⁵⁶ Skinner, *Growth and Benefits of Reading Circles*, 157.

¹⁵⁷ Cubberley, *Public School Administration*, 38-39.

¹⁵⁸ David A. Willey, *A Comparative Study of Perceptions of and Expectations for the Role of the County Superintendent in California* (EdD diss. Stanford University, 1963), 2-3.

¹⁵⁹ Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools*, 43.

responsibilities required of an individual seeking the position of county school superintendent as such:

The effective [county] superintendent must know school work through long experience in its every phase; he must have the school law of the state at perfect command, be expert on certification, know his teachers and directors, quickly and correctly judge teachers and their work; know the county and its every educational problem. He must understand school finance and taxation. He must be able to meet men, not primarily as a school man but as the representative of the most important branch of our public activities.¹⁶⁰

His understanding of the position's requirements had developed through his years serving as both King County (WA)'s appointed deputy county superintendent and elected county superintendent. It is not clear whether Burrows used the pronoun "he" to define county superintendents as male or he was following the then accepted use of "he" as gender-nonspecific pronoun. His description would have resonated with his city superintendent colleagues as well as educational reformers specializing in the new field of school administration.¹⁶¹ Nearly half of the county superintendents in Washington at the time were women. They, too, would have been fully understood and appreciated by the many women who assumed the position of county superintendent in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Evidence of women's activities as county superintendents in Montana and Washington during the nineteenth century demonstrates that their perception of their job duties reflect how city superintendents during the first decades of the twentieth century described their responsibilities. Rather than filling low-status positions as suggested by scholars like David Tyack, these women not only served as teachers of teachers, school administrators and educational leaders in the communities they served, they sought opportunities to shape public

¹⁶⁰ A. S. Burrows, "The County Superintendency in Washington," *Washington Education Journal*, 1 (September 1921): 14.

¹⁶¹ Stephens, *The Role of County Superintendents in Rural School Reform*, 11.

school systems in both Montana and Washington.¹⁶² It was not until university-based education reformers and their supporters began to use “science” to define both the role of school superintendent and who should be qualified to hold such positions, but also how education systems themselves should be organized that women like those elected as county superintendents began to be excluded from the discussions. Later scholars, situating educational development from the east while drawing on the work of these progressive-era reformers failed to recognize that the roots of public education systems were not just those perpetuated by the progressive era education reformers. Despite acting as intermediaries between the local schools and the state, these individuals have been overlooked as educational leaders and important links in the development of public education.

¹⁶² Tyack, “Pilgrim’s Progress,” 265.

Conclusion

Women served as elected and appointed educational officers in states across the nation generations before the passage of full woman suffrage in 1920. Acting as governmental agents, they were responsible for enforcing education laws while advocating for improved education conditions. While the nation's newspapers took note of some of their elections, for the most part the women served without notice and without fanfare. The study of women elected as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington prior to 1900 provides insight into the breadth of the role these women played in shaping American public education, a role deliberately excluded from the historical narrative first by the women who sought suffrage rights and second by the men who hoped to shape a place for themselves in the field of education.

Much of the prior literature on women's political agency in the nineteenth century focused on woman suffrage campaigns. Lisa Tetrault, in *The Myth of Seneca Falls*, demonstrated that leaders of the suffrage movement including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony along with their peers not only successfully created mythology around the centrality of the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, they managed to control the historic narrative regarding woman suffrage campaigns even resorting to systematic destruction of letters and news clippings.¹ The centrality of suffragists' efforts to obtain woman suffrage continues to shape the understanding of women's political involvement during the nineteenth century overshadowing other ways that women exercised political agency during the century. Any success by women relative to

¹ Tetrault, *The Myth of Seneca Falls*, 181-182. Anthony and her co-editor and biographer, Ida Husted Harper, systematically destroyed an unknown quantity of documents including letters and news clippings sometime after the publication of the fourth volume of *The History of Woman Suffrage* in 1902 thus reducing the ability of researchers to develop contradictory narratives.

obtaining elective office was attributed to woman suffrage efforts. Passage of partial suffrage provisions including those related to school elections have been explained as either a stepping stone to or compensation for the failure to pass full suffrage. By focusing solely on suffrage provisions, suffragists and scholars alike have ignored other ways women exercised political agency during the nineteenth century.

Seeking to address this problem, scholars from the academic fields of history, sociology and political science including Paula Baker and Theda Skocpol showed that despite a lack of direct voting power, women during the nineteenth century were able to use their political acumen to not only gain welfare reforms, particularly for women and children, but to shape and reshape the structure of government through their lobbying efforts. At the same time, scholars of women's political history have continued to see full or partial women's suffrage, or lack thereof, as a decisive indicator of women's agency and influence in political history and American political development. Because gaining political office was not a primary focus of woman suffragists,² prior references to women's election to office during the nineteenth century has been generally limited to those places where women had at least partial suffrage such as school suffrage. This has meant that women's election to political office prior to the adoption of state woman suffrage provisions has been ignored.

By considering anew the school suffrage provisions in each state or territory rather than accepting previously-cited dates of adoption, this study shows that states frequently adopted laws allowing women to be elected to educational offices *before* legislatures granted even limited classes of women the vote. Although such laws were adopted across the nation prior to 1900, states in the Midwest and West adopted laws allowing women to be elected to regional educational offices at higher rates than elsewhere in the nation. In states like Montana and

² Tetrault, *The Myth of Seneca Falls*; and Darcy, Welch and Clark, *Women, Elections, & Representation*, 2-12.

Washington, women's election to paid political offices prior to 1900 complicates the historic record regarding women's political agency during the period. It provides evidence that for at least educational offices, men considered women not only viable candidates but appropriate individuals to fill those offices.

Once nominated, women had as much chance at successful election as county school superintendents as their male opponents during the last decades of the nineteenth century.³ County Superintendent nomination and election results from Montana and Washington demonstrate that not only did party elites support the election of women; ordinary male voters did not necessarily oppose women's election. Additionally, their election provides further evidence that the involvement by political parties in local elections such as those for county officers should be evaluated differently than those for state or national offices.⁴ Their election also complicates the contention made by scholars like Jo Freeman and Rebecca Edwards that the Republican Party was significantly more likely to support women's political empowerment than other parties. Evidence from this study shows that in certain contexts, such as that in Montana and Washington, Democrats were more likely than Republicans to nominate women for county school superintendent. Although the women in this study were nominated by political parties, there little evidence that the women themselves were active in party politics during the study period. It is possible that many of the women were actually perceived as nonpartisan seeking to influence policy decisions without advocating for specific party objectives. In fact, the perception that women were nonpartisan, as suggested by scholars like Paula Baker and Mark

³ There has been little research related to women's elected office holding prior to the middle of the twentieth century. For example see: Robert Darcy, Susan Welch, and Janet Clark, *Women, Elections, & Representation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

⁴ Formisano, "The 'Party Period' Revisited."

Voss-Hubbard, likely contributed to their election as school officers.⁵ One of the primary reasons given for allowing women both the right to vote on school matters and to hold school offices was to remove schools from politics and partisan control.

Political scientist Michael Pisapia describes public education as the original policy field through which middle class white women became empowered as political agents both as voters and as political office holders. While the data collected as part of this study does not necessarily support his contention that school suffrage provisions directly led to other forms of political power, it does support the idea that women gained political agency as elected education officials in the field of public education. The limitations most school suffrage adoptions contained dramatically limited the actual breadth of women's involvement as electors. Nonetheless, Pisapia's investigation of the school reorganization initiatives generated by women serving as state school superintendents and carried out by women elected as county superintendents aptly locates women's growing political agency in the field of public education during the twentieth century.⁶

This study demonstrates that women's emergence as leaders and government agents in the field of public education did not first occur during the Progressive Era as argued by Blount, Pisapia and Weiler. It occurred at least a generation earlier, when women's educational expertise was recognized by policy makers, political party elites, and male voters. In Montana and Washington, women were intimately involved in shaping their state's education systems both as teachers and as elected county superintendents. Serving in positions of authority, they were responsible for shaping legislation, writing and implementing statewide curricula, and developing statewide assessments of both potential teachers and students. All three activities

⁵ Baker, "The Midlife Crisis of the New Political History"; and Voss-Hubbard, "The Third Party Tradition."

⁶ Michael Callaghan Pisapia, "Gendering County Government and the End of 100,000 American School Districts, 1920-1970," *Journal of Federalism* 44, no.1 (December 2013): 24.50.

provide evidence that the centralization of education systems in Montana and Washington occurred prior to the Progressive Era. Acting as government intermediaries women were responsible not only for fulfilling their legislatively-mandated duties, but also for interpreting and administering school laws at a time when they did not necessarily have the right to vote. Suffragists generally overlooked this exercise of power, as it did not necessarily serve efforts to obtain the vote. The fact that women were increasingly being elected to office *without* the right to vote, was virtually ignored in suffragists' historical records, particularly the multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage*, still frequently used as primary sources for evidence of women's political agency during the nineteenth century.

Suffragists' oversight was not the only way that women's election as educational officers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ended up being lost to history. Concerted efforts to solidify gender divisions in the field of public education led to the creation of a separate, yet allied, specialty of school administration and supervision that was dominated by men. Frequently identified as a Progressive Era phenomenon, this division was already being recognized during the decades following the Civil War. May Wright Sewall, in her talk to the National Educational Association in 1884 in an evening session dedicated to women's work in education, noted that speakers at the convention insisted on addressing the audience as "gentlemen;" yet, except for the "audience of superintendents convened [that day]" the majority of the audience was made up of women.⁷ In considering the developments in the profession, Sewall recognized that despite the fact women were already holding the office of superintendent "the thought remains that for the executive labor that falls to the superintendent, a man yet must be retained, and only very rarely are women called upon to fill those places, kept from them by

⁷ May Wright Sewall, "Woman's Work in Education," *The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association ... 1884* (Boston: J. E. Farwell and Company, 1885), 153.

the same limitations of thought, the same limitations of feeling, the same limitations of prejudice, even in this relatively enlightened hour, that they were at first kept entirely from the school-room.”⁸ It was at the same NEA meeting that Alice S. Nichols, one of the first women elected as a county superintendent in Montana, was appointed to the committee for the nomination of officers along with at least one other woman, Ella Sabin of Oregon.⁹

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, men intensified efforts to carve out male spaces within the field of education. As the field became increasingly feminized, schoolmasters’ clubs with membership restricted to men formed to provide a place to gain male companionship and support.¹⁰ Many of these clubs further restricted membership exclusively to men specifically invited to participate in the organizations who were employed in supervisory or university positions. Although some of these organizations date to the 1860s, the majority were formed during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The rise of exclusive schoolmaster clubs parallels the growth of departments of education at research universities. In order to differentiate education studies at universities from the feminized normal schools and to validate claims of elite professional status, university programs focused on training those seeking positions teaching high school or as school leaders and administrators—education fields that were already more likely to attract men. “Seeking to be just as scientific as their university peers,” according to historian Ellen Lagemann, “while also gaining the status and authoritativeness of established professionals...the pioneer scholars of education placed a great emphasis on quantification as

⁸ Sewall, “Woman’s Work in Education,” 155.

⁹ National Educational Association, *The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association ... 1884* (Boston: J. E. Farwell and Company, 1885), 10-11. In the official minutes of the meeting, Nicholas is identified using her first and middle initial as was the common naming pattern for men during the period.

¹⁰ Jackie M. Blount, “Manliness and the Gendered Construction of School Administration in the USA,” *International Journal of Leadership in Education: Theory and Practice* 2 no. 2 (June 1999): 55-68.

well as on identifying what were taken to be invariable certainties.”¹¹ This focus on quantifiable evidence in the field of school administration occurred as early as the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century.¹²

In 1909, university-based education reformer Elwood Cubberley advocated changes to the California constitution that would replace elected county school superintendents with appointed officials. In his opinion, this would change the position from a political office to a professional educational office. Opening the position to appointment would thus create professional positions that would attract men trained in education administration.¹³ Despite Cubberley’s efforts, California did not change the provision of the state constitution. Less than twenty years later, Cubberley stated that the separation of state and county school administration from city school administration was perhaps one of the most important developments that occurred in the development of the school administration field.¹⁴ He and his colleagues had been unsuccessful in convincing states that it was in the best interest of their school systems to change the selection method of their state and county school superintendents. Instead, university-based education reformers began to focus almost exclusively on city superintendencies, a position that gained prominence as urban school boards sought professional school managers who could oversee both supervisory and administrative duties specific to the schools. To support this model of school management, university-based reformers conducted selective surveys aimed at “scientifically” defining who was an appropriate candidate to fill such offices. In practice, however, these surveys focused almost exclusively on male city superintendents thereby

¹¹ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science, The Trouble History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 21. Also see Mary Ann Dzuback, “Gender and the Politics of Knowledge,” *History of Education Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 171-195.

¹² Cubberley, “Public School Administration,” 184-185.

¹³ Ellwood P. Cubberley, “Improving County School Supervision,” *Sierra Educational News* 5, no. 2 (February 1909): 27-32.

¹⁴ Cubberley, “Public School Administration,” 182-183.

effectively erasing an educational history that included both women as school superintendents and the role of county school superintendents in the shaping of educational systems.

Edward Lawson clearly framed his 1913 study of school superintendents as an exemplar of the field's growing use of empirical evidence to support educational policy. He specifically targeted university departments of education as consumers of his research, because he believed data on current school superintendents would help departments select who to recruit to school administration programs.¹⁵ Similar intentions were behind the 1923 survey of school superintendents conducted by the NEA's Department of Superintendence. In the forward to the survey's report, Charles Chadsey, Dean of the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign's College of Education, noted, "it is fundamental to successful school administration that one must know facts before he can determine procedure."¹⁶ Frederick Bair collected even more detailed survey data regarding school superintendents for his book *The Social Understandings of the Superintendent of Schools* in the early 1930s.¹⁷ Although his survey was supposedly sent to all individuals serving as city school superintendents, the survey itself assumed that all respondents would be male. Anyone using these surveys to create a demographic analysis of those serving as school superintendents would be left with the perception that the field was populated almost exclusively by men. And yet, at the very time Lawson completed his study, Ella Flagg Young was superintendent of the second largest school system in the nation, the Chicago Public Schools. The Department of Superintendence's study in 1920 did not ask for the gender of the respondents. At the time, Susan Dorsey, superintendent of Los Angeles Public Schools, was one of at least thirty-one women to hold city superintendencies that year. Nine additional women were serving as state superintendents of public instruction filling nearly 20 percent of the

¹⁵ Lawson, *The Expectancy of the American School Superintendent*, 2.

¹⁶ Charles Chadsey, "Forward," in *First Yearbook: The Status of the Superintendent*, 3.

¹⁷ Bair, *The Social Understandings of the Superintendent of Schools*.

available positions, and over 850 women were elected or appointed county superintendents--over 25 percent of the total.¹⁸

The case studies of Montana and Washington suggest several avenues of further research. One of the most obvious includes further research related to the election of women as educational officers prior to full woman suffrage. Similar studies focusing on other states electing women to county school offices during the nineteenth century should help clarify demographic details about those women nominated and elected as county school superintendents. While the vast majority of the women nominated in Montana and Washington were educated, white, and middle class, broadening the study period into the early twentieth century to include states that began electing women at a slightly later date like Arizona and Oklahoma might reveal a more diverse candidate pool. They would also provide further clues concerning the circumstances that allowed for the election of women during a period when women lacked full political citizenship rights. While Washington did have a brief period of woman suffrage during the study period, the election of women did not occur at the same rate as in Montana. Understanding why differences like these occurred would further reveal factors that influenced the ability of women to exert their political agency as citizens to effect governmental change both within and outside formal government structures. Such a study could also extend the understanding of nominated and elected women's demographic profiles, providing evidence of other ways that women nominated as county superintendents were similar or different from their male colleagues.

Second, delving more deeply into the impact of women on policy development would be an important step toward fully assessing the significance of their work as governmental agents. Some scholars have suggested that women's leadership styles and alliances differed from men's

¹⁸ Lathrop, "Teaching as a Vocation for College Women," 419.

and that they likely contributed to different policy outcomes. Studies by Jackie Blount and Rebecca Montgomery focusing on women’s educational leadership during the early twentieth century hint at such possibilities.¹⁹ Both Blount and Montgomery found that women in educational leadership roles built coalitions with other women—particularly teachers—under their supervision. Women in supervisory positions tended to be collaborative in their problem solving, seeking to build consensus between different factions. They also built coalitions with broader more diverse groups of citizenry than many of their male counterparts. Scholars such as Blount, MacDonald and Weiler have found that women, when given educational leadership opportunities, sought ways of empowering teachers that increased teachers’ professional status while improving student outcomes.²⁰ Evidence gathered as part of this study found similar patterns among the women elected as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington. Scholarship focused on women as policy makers hints at the possible influence women elected as educational officers may have had in shaping public education.²¹

Attempting to understand the role of women as educational leaders, particularly as county superintendents, revealed not only the lack of information about the women serving in such positions, but also the lack of information about the position itself. Using similar data collection methods to study the men nominated and elected as county school superintendents both in the West and nationally should contribute to further defining an educational office that has been long overlooked by historians of education. Outside the development of the field of school

¹⁹ Jackie Blount, "Freedom for the Teacher": Ella Flagg Young's Quest for Empowered Teachers" (presentation, Annual Conference of the History of Education Society, Little Rock, AR, November 3 – 5, 2017); and Rebecca Montgomery, "Gender as a Factor in Urban Reform: The 1918 Atlanta School Board Controversy" (presentation, Annual Conference of the History of Education Society, Little Rock, AR, November 3 – 5, 2017).

²⁰ Jackie M. Blount, "Individuality, Freedom, and Community: Ella Flagg Young’s Quest for Teacher Empowerment," *History of Education Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (May 2018): 175-198; MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization," and Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*.

²¹ Mirya R. Holman, "Women in Local Government: What We Know and Where We Go from Here," *State and Local Government Review* 49, no. 3 (September 2017): 4.

administration, which denigrated elected school officials and supported the use of city and district superintendents as the role model for all forms of school supervision and administration, there has been little exploration of the effect of county school superintendents on the development of public education. Well into the twentieth century, they continued to play significant roles. In 1900, sixty percent of the nation's population continued to live in rural communities.²² By 1915, more than half of all the teachers in the United States continued to have county superintendents as their chief local educational supervisor. Thirty-nine states employed these county school officers; the other nine states (six New England states, New York, Virginia and Nevada) divided supervisory responsibilities into units other than county units.²³ By 1930, after nearly four decades of campaigns by university-based education reformers and their allies to consolidate rural schools, more than 3,400 county superintendents continued to be responsible for overseeing the education of the over 11 million school children being educated in non-urban settings.²⁴ Examination of the duties, activities and expectations of women serving as county school superintendents in the late nineteenth century compared to those of city superintendents in the twentieth century provides evidence that, at least in some localities, these individuals played a significantly greater role as educational leaders than previously recognized.

Additionally, the cases studies of Montana and Washington provide specific evidence that women in the American West not only helped shape community services as suggested by historians like Julie Jeffreys and Sandra Myers,²⁵ they also developed their own professional networks despite significant distance between communities. The women found ways to support

²² The Federal Census Bureau defines a rural community as any community that has fewer than 2,500 residents. Meyer, et al., "Public Education as Nation-Building in America: Enrollments and bureaucratization in the American States, 1870-1930," 595.

²³ Chancellor, "The Selection of County School Superintendents," 446.

²⁴ Edwin J. Brown, "Editor's Introduction," in Altus, *A Study of the Status of County Superintendents in Kansas*, 3.

²⁵ Julie Roy Jeffry, *Frontier Women: Civilizing the West? 1840-1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); and Myers, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience*.

each other even though travel difficulties prevented them from being together in the same place. Dee Garceau in evaluating single women's homesteading efforts in Wyoming discovered that "female independence meant that a woman had decision-making power. It did not mean that she worked by herself or for herself only."²⁶ Education historians Victoria-Maria McDonald and Kathleen Weiler both uncovered women creating spaces whether in urban schools or rural environments that allowed them to encourage and assist each other.²⁷ Understanding how women (and their male colleagues) were able to create professional communities despite the challenges created by physical distance would go far in explaining how geographically divergent western communities adopted similar education policies.

The states of Montana and Washington represented one end of the spectrum of women's political office holding in education during the nineteenth and early twentieth century with men nominating and voting for women at rates above those in other states. However, those states and regions representing other variations of these patterns could be useful in understanding the larger significance of women's political office holding in American politics. If woman suffrage was the single factor in women gaining elective office, why did states like Wisconsin and Minnesota where women could vote for the county school superintendent, elect women to office at lower rates than states like California, Montana and Washington where women could not vote for the office? Even as the courts recognized that women could be elected to county offices if a state's constitution did not define those offices as open only to male voters, why were women almost exclusively elected to offices in education rather than in other domains? If education is the policy field where women first entered the American political landscape in any numbers, why has it been so difficult for them to gain entry to broader policy positions? Despite evidence that the

²⁶ Garceau, "Single Women Homesteaders and the Meanings of Independence, 17.

²⁷ MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization"; and Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*.

national Republican Party supported women's rights and women's election to school offices, what can an examination of women's nomination and election tell scholars about the role of political parties in local and regional elections? Is there a difference between support of national political parties by voters and their party support at the local level?

The majority of the women nominated as county superintendents in Montana and Washington were actively involved in improving their communities beyond their role as educators. This did not mean that they all supported the same causes and in fact, in the case of suffrage, some worked for opposing outcomes. Also, although most of the women were nominated on party tickets, most had no direct involvement in political party activities. Despite this, they were still engaged in politics. Elisabeth Israels Perry, in her presidential address to the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, argued that "women's agitation for reforms was 'Politics,' whether they called it that or not. ... To get changes accomplished, they had to get ordinances and laws passed, budgets drawn, appropriations made, experts and officials hired, and enforcement officers trained and supervised. ... All of that activity is 'politics.'"²⁸ The women nominated and elected as county school superintendents were already political activists prior to coming to the attention of party nominating conventions. Their nomination recognized their communities' willingness to see them as such. Even in the late nineteenth century, women's political agency, at least in many of the states west of the Mississippi, was not limited to the possibility of voting or lobbying efforts.

Although supporters of school suffrage claimed that "educational advance and school suffrage for women go hand in hand,"²⁹ in fact the significant restrictions included in school

²⁸ Elisabeth Israels Perry, "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, no. 1 (January 2002): 41.

²⁹ Melba Hay, *Madeline McDowell Breckinridge and the Battle for the New South* (Lexington: The University press of Kentucky, 2009), 129.

suffrage laws lessened the likelihood that the votes of those few women who could vote made much difference for education policy or reform. However, the discovery that the vast majority of school suffrage provisions occurred in state and territorial education provisions rather than election laws, revealed that those same provisions granted women the legal right to hold elective educational offices even without the right to vote. Acting as governmental agents, they were responsible for enforcing education laws while advocating for improved education conditions. The study of women elected as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington prior to 1900 hints at the role these women played in shaping American public education, a role deliberately excluded from the historical narrative despite the fact they have always been part of the public record.

Appendix A:
State Variations of Public School Officer Provisions, 1875

State Variations of Public School Officer Provisions, 1875

(Data from *Federal Commissioner of Education Report ...1875*)

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
Alabama	Article 7, adopted Dec 6, 1875	1871 – remains in force until new laws adopted fitting new constitution	State Superintendent, County Superintendents of education, two school directors for each county and three trustees of schools for each township	State - Elected by qualified voters for term of 4 years County – Elected for term of 2 years (each township forms a school district) County directors – two are chosen at same time as county superintendent Township boards of trustees – elected biennially	First Saturday of April	Special laws for cities of Mobile, Montgomery, Selma (and others) – board of trustees varies by law related to specific city
Arkansas	1874	Dec 7, 1875	Board of Commissioners of the school fund; state superintendent of public instruction, county examiners, district school directors	Board – governor, secretary of state, state superintendent of public instruction; State superintendent, elected by qualified electors for two year terms; County examiner – one per county replaces former county superintendents – appointed by county court; district school officers – three per district	Annual district meeting in August	Little Rock – (City)
California	1849	School Laws of 1870 and 1874	State Board of Education, State superintendent of public instruction, county	State board of education – governor, state superintendent, principal of state Normal School, county school superintendents 6 counties		City Districts

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
			superintendents, city boards of education, boards of trustees of school districts, state, county, and city boards	(named); State superintendent elected by the people, holds office for 4 years; county superintendent elected 2 years, city boards of education; State board of examiners – state superintendent and four professional teachers		
Connecticut	1818 – establishes school fund as perpetual fund	Revised Laws Relating to Education, 1872, with amendments, 1874	State Board of Education, secretary to board (substantially superintendent of public instruction; town school visitors; district committee; district boards of education, agent of the State board for enforcement of compulsory school law	State board composed of gov. and lt. gov. as ex-officio members, four personal appointed by general assembly; secretary of board appointed by board duties like state superintendent; town school visitors elected by the people for 3 year term “delegates of the people in matters relating to public education”; district committee, chosen annually by the voters of each school district (may be appointed if no one elected) can call meeting at special request of at least 20% of voters or by motion);	Twice a year	City Schools
Delaware	1831 constitution	Revised edition of the law relating to free schools – 1868 and An act in relation to free schools	County Superintendents; commissioners (committee) for each district; commissioners specially appointed by a county levy	State board – president of Delaware College, secretary of state, state auditor, and state superintendent of free schools; state superintendent appointed by governor, one year term; county superintendents (under old law not yet appealed)	School committee members take office 1 st Saturday of April.	City Systems

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
		– 1875	court at request of 12 or more freeholders; 1875 – development of State board of education, appointment of superintendent of free schools	appointed by governor, term one year; school committee men three per district, elected by the people		
Florida	1845 – school funds; 1868 “paramount duty”	School Law of the state of Florida, 1872	State board of Education, state superintendent of public instruction; county boards of education and superintendents of schools; local school trustees	State board of education – superintendent of public instruction, secretary of state, and attorney-general; school trustees appointed		
Georgia	1868 – first time legislature required to provide free schools at public expense to all children	Public School Laws of Georgia, 1875	State Board of Education; State Commissioner; County Boards and County Commissioners of Education	State Board – governor, attorney-general, secretary of state; comptroller-general, and State School Commissioner; State School Commissioner appointed by governor and confirmed by senate; ; County Boards of Education – composed of five freeholders selected by the grand jury of each county, 4 year terms; County Commissioners elected by the county boards from their own number, or from other citizens of the		City Systems

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				county, for term of 4 years.		
Illinois	1818 establishes use of land for schools including provisions for college or university – not until 1870 revision were there distinct education provisions	School Law 1872-1874	Constitution provides for county superintendent of schools; State superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents of schools, township trustees of schools, and district school directors Boards of Education for districts having 2,000 or more inhabitants	State Superintendent, elected for four year term, became part of the state’s executive officers in 1870 constitution; County Superintendents, elected for four year terms; Trustees of Schools – 3 per township, elected by for three year terms; district school directors – 3 per district, elected for three year terms; County Board of Education		City Schools
Indiana	1851 Constitution – article 8, section 1	New School Law of Indiana 1873		State Superintendent of Public Instruction elected, two year term (constitution); state board of education composed of governor, state superintendent, president of state normal school; superintendents of common schools of three largest cities, county superintendents – (replaced county examiners) appointed by township trustees on first Monday of June for two year terms; school trustees for cities, towns, and townships – 3 – elected by common councils of cities and boards	1 st Saturday in October for school districts; city districts 2 nd Saturday in June	City and Town districts, cities of 30,000+ school commissioner is elected by the people on second Saturday in June for each Ward

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				of trustees at first regular meeting in April, three year term; county boards of education – composed of county superintendent, trustees of townships, school trustees of towns and cities; city superintendents – appointed by board of school commissioners; school directors		
Iowa	1846; 1857, 1864	Code of Iowa 1873, title 12, pp 294-352 and school laws of Iowa 1874		State superintendent of public instruction – elected by the people, two year term; county superintendents – elected by the people, two year terms; boards of directors for district townships, and subdirectors for subdistricts – chosen yearly for one year term at yearly district meeting		City Schools
Kansas	1859	School Laws of 1873 with 1874 amendments; constitution of 1859		State Board of Education – created in 1873 composed of state superintendent, chancellor of state university, president of state agricultural college and principals of state normal schools, State Superintendent of Public Instruction – listed in 1859 constitution as state executive officer, two year term elected by the people; County Superintendents – 1859		City Districts

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				<p>constitution elected by the people for two year terms; County Examiners – county superintendent and two competent persons appointed by county commissioners for purpose of examining teachers; District Boards – three members elected by the people for three year terms; Boards of Education for cities; Board of Commissioners for Management of Permanent School Funds</p>		
Kentucky	<p>Early constitutions failed to provide for education, 1850 constitution addressed school revenues</p>	<p>1874 – “establish a uniform system of common schools for the colored children of this Commonwealth”</p>	<p>State board of education, State superintendent of public instruction, county commissioners, county and State board of examination, district trustees</p>	<p>State board includes state superintendent, sec. of state, attorney-general, and two professional teachers elected by them. State sup. And teachers constitute a standing committee to prepare rules, by-laws, and regulations for the government of common schools, course of study, textbooks, school libraries, etc.</p> <p>State Superintendent – term 4 years, \$3,000 annual salary</p> <p>County Commissioners – elected by presiding judge and justices of the peace. Board of examiners – county commissioner and two</p>		<p>Segregated Schools, City Districts</p>

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				<p>“competent and well-educated person” to examine teachers for county certificates</p> <p>Trustees of school districts – one person elected for white schools per district</p>		
Louisiana	1845, 1852, 1864 and 1868 – free public schools, supported by taxation, state superintendent, funding.	School Law of 1870, amended 1871, 1873, and 1874	State board of Education, state superintendent, division superintendent, parish board of school directors, special board for New Orleans	<p>State board – six division superintendents, state sup. As president – duties include appoint boards of school directors including for New Orleans</p> <p>State Superintendent – appointed until 1868 – 4 years/ \$5,000 annually</p> <p>Division Superintendents – appointed by governor</p> <p>Parish Boards – appointed by state board</p>		New Orleans – all board members appointed
Maine	1820 – suitable provision for the support of public schools	Compiled in 1873, amendments additions 1874	State superintendent of common schools, local officers, superintending school committees, or supervisor for towns, school agents, city superintendent	<p>State superintendent – appt. by governor</p> <p>Superintending school committees – 3 members, elected at annual town meeting – supervision of local schools</p> <p>School agents – elected at annual town or district</p>	At time of annual town meetings	Portland – city superintendent and superintending school committee

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				meeting oversight of building		
Maryland	Not until 1864 constitution provision for good, free public schools	1872 – amended in Jan. 1874	State Board of Education; County Board of Education; District School Boards	State board consists of principal of State Normal School, governor and four person appoint by governor with concurrence of senate; County board three or five persons (depending on county size) appointed by judges of circuit courts; district boards, three members appointed by county school commissioners	N/A	Segregated Schools, City Schools – Baltimore
Massachusetts	1780 constitution recognized value of educated population; amendment adopted 1857 required English literacy (reading/writing) for office and voting	1875 School Laws of Massachusetts	State Board of Education; Township school committees	State board consists of governor, lieutenant-governor, and 8 other person appointed by governor with concurrence of council. Secretary of board appointed by board performs office duties of a State superintendent; General agent of the board appointed by board to visit towns and cities to inquire into condition of schools; Director of art education to superintend the State Normal Art School and aid in training of teachers in drawing; School Committee chosen by written ballots at annual town meetings in any number divisible by 3; Prudential committees – in towns w/o school district system; Superintendents of	At annual township meetings	City School Systems

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				public schools appointed (or elected) annually by school committees; two or more towns allowed to unite for the election of superintendent		
Michigan	Proposed or adopted from 1835 to 1875 include variety of education provisions, 1850 State board of education to supervise state normal school	School laws of Michigan for 1873, amendments of 1875	State Superintendent of Instruction, Board of Regents /Board of Visitors for University; State board of Education; Township boards; Township superintendent, clerk and school inspector; Township superintendents of schools (replacing former county superintendents) ; District school boards	State superintendent – elected by the people every two years; state board of education 3 members elected by the people for 6 year terms; township boards include supervisor, two justices of peace and township clerk (all elected to office); township superintendents of schools elected at annual township meetings; district boards 3 members elected		City School Systems
Minnesota	1868 Constitution – Article 8 – “general and uniform system of public schools”	School laws of 1873 with amendments in 1875	State Superintendent; University board of regents, State normal school board; County Superintendents; District board of trustees; boards of	State Superintendent appointed for two year terms by Governor; County Superintendents appointed by the county commissioners for two year terms;	Districts – annual district meeting in October; annual town meeting	City School Systems (Independent School Districts)

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
			education for independent school districts			
Mississippi	Earlier constitutions “schools and the means of education forever be encouraged” 1868 Constitution made it duty of legislature to establish a uniform system of free public schools for all children	School Laws of 1873 to 1876	State Board of Education, State Superintendent of Public Education; County Superintendents; county and city boards; trustees of schools	State Board of Education appoints county superintendents; county and city boards consist of board of supervisors of county, mayor and alderman/selectmen of city having more than 2,000 individual; Trustees of schools – 3 for each school in rural districts; elected annually by the patrons of the schools who are qualified electors; town and city trustees elected by voters		State school fund “proceeds of state and local taxation; income from some special funds; Peabody fund
Missouri	1875 “establish and maintain free public schools” and delineates funding, administration	Schools Laws of Missouri 1875	State board of Education, State Superintendent of Public Schools; County Commissioners (formerly County Superintendents); board of directors for school districts, district clerks; boards of education for cities, towns, and villages	State Board of Education – includes superintendent of public schools, governor, secretary of state and attorney general; State Superintendent elected by the people (four year term), County Commissioners; Boards of School Directors elected	County Commissioners - Annual district meetings in April; City and Village Boards of Education, 2 nd Saturday in September	Segregated Schools, City Schools

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
Nebraska	New constitution 1875 – specifies school funding as well as school administration	School Laws of Nebraska, 1873-1875	State Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Board of Commissioners, County Superintendents; District Boards, and Boards of Education for cities; board of regents for university	State Superintendent elected by the people; State Board of Commissioners made up of governor, secretary of state, treasurer, attorney-general and commissioner of public lands (charged with managing funds); County Superintendents elected; District school boards (moderator, director, and treasurer) elected	County superintendent elected at October elections; School board elected at annual district meeting	City Schools
Nevada	1864 Constitution – uniform public schools, state superintendent	1873	State board of education, state superintendent of public instruction, regents for university; county superintendents of public schools; county boards of examiners, Boards of school trustees for districts, district census marshals.	State board of education – composed of governor as president, superintendent as secretary; and state surveyor-general; State Superintendent elected by the people, County superintendents elected at general election; County boards of examination include county superintendent and two competent persons appointed by him; School Trustees (3 or 5 in larger districts), elected at general elections; census marshals appointed by trustees		
New Hampshire	Amended in 1874, knowledge and learning essential to preservation of	Digest of school laws 1869	State superintendent of public instruction, trustees of State normal school, school committees	State superintendent appointed by governor and council; school committees of towns elected by ballot at annual town meeting; prudential committees to be no larger		City School systems

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
	free government		of towns, and prudential committees for districts.	than 3 individuals elected by voters at a school district meeting		
New Jersey	1844 amendment provided for fund to support free schools; 1875 amendments required “maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools”	New Jersey school law as prepared in 1875	State board of education, state superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents, district school trustees, district clears, state, city and county boards of examiners, trustees of state normal schools, trustees of the fund for the support of public schools	State board of education – consists of trustees of school fund (Governor, president of senate, speaker of house, attorney-general, secretary of state, and comptroller) and state normal school.; board appoints state and county superintendents; County boards of examiners made up of county superintendent and a number of teachers (no more than three) holding first grade certificates; School trustees (3 for a district) elected by the legal voters of the districts	Trustees elected first Monday in September	City School Districts
New York	Amended 1846, provides for common school fund to be applied to support of common schools.	General School Law of 1875 with amendments, Randall’s History fo the Common School System of New York	Board of regents for university, state superintendent of public instruction, deputy superintendent, school commissioners for counties and parts of counties, boards of education for cities, superintendents of city schools, town	State Superintendent elected by ballot by both houses of legislature; School Commissioners, (currently 112) elected triennially by the people at general election in November. School district officers – elected at annual district meetings	School district annual meeting second Tuesday of October	City Schools; Segregated Schools within city systems; Indian Schools (held on reservations)

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
			clerks, with district trustees, clerks, and librarians			
North Carolina	1868 – “people of the right to the privilege of education”	School Law and Instructions to School Officers; Stone & Rizzell, State Printers, 1873	State board of education; State Superintendent of public instruction; university trustees; board of education; board of examiners for each county, school committee for each township; other state and county officers as assigned education duties	State board of education made up of executive officers of the state; State Superintendent elected by the electors; boards of education for counties composed of county commissioners of each county; board of examiners appointed by county board of education; Township School committees (3 persons) biennially elected by the qualified voters in each township (or appointed by county board of education if not elected)		“embryo” system
Ohio	1802 – no passed to prevent poor with State an equal participation in the schools, etc. funded by donations of the U.S.; 1851 “encourage schools and means of instruction”	School laws – an act for the reorganization and maintenance of common schools, passed May 1, 1873, as amended	State commissioner of common schools; state, county, and city boards of examiners; boards of education of cities, villages, special districts and township districts; local directors of subdistricts. Other state officers based on position.	State commissioner of common schools elected at regular annual election every three years; Examining boards – 3 residents appointed by State commissioner for two year term. County examining boards, 3 persons resident of county appointed by probate judge; city and village examining boards appointed by the city or village boards of education, cities of first class may have 6 or 9 persons rather than 3; Boards of education (size based on population) ;	Local directors chosen annual on second Monday of April	May provided segregated schools if school population above colored pupils; City Schools

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				Local directors for subdistricts elected to 3 year terms		
Oregon	1857 constitution provided for state superintendent of public instruction, funding, “uniform and regular system of schools.”	School Laws of Oregon 1872 (published by authority);	State Board of Education; State Superintendent of Public Instruction; County School Superintendents, Directors and Clerks of School Districts	State Board of Education composed of governor, secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction (board may invite not less than four professional teachers to with them during semi-annual examinations); State superintendent of public instruction elected by the people to 4 year term; County School Superintendents elected by legal voters of the several counties biennially; district school officers (3 per district) chosen at annual meeting	School district annual meetings held the first Monday in April	City Schools - Portland
Pennsylvania	Original constitution 1682 provided for public schools; 1874 – state superintendent, “thorough and efficient system of public schools		State superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents, city and borough superintendents, district boards of directors.	State superintendent appointed by governor to four year terms; county superintendents elected at triennial convention of district school directors held in each county; city and borough superintendents chosen by school directors of city or borough on first Tuesday of May every third year; district boards of directors 6 members chosen at same time and place that elections are held for supervisors and constables,	Same time/place of supervisors and constables; borough or ward elections	City School Districts

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				and in wards of cities or boroughs at time and place of borough or ward elections.”		
Rhode Island	Article 12, section 1 “promote public schools”	Schools Laws of Rhode Island with Decisions, Remarks, and Forms, for the use of the School Officers of the State, 1873	Board of Education, Commissioner of Public Schools, Trustees of normal school, school committees and superintendents, district trustees, clerks, collectors, and treasurers	State board of education – governor and lieutenant-governor are ex officio members, each county of the state entitled to 1 member (Providence 2) elected by the general assembly; commissioner of public schools, elected annual by the board of education; School committees (not less than 3 members) elected by the towns for 3 year terms; school superintendents elected by the voters of the towns (or by the school committee); district trustees elected annually by voters of the district; district clerks elected by the people		City Schools
South Carolina	Constitution provides for supervision, funding, and other provisions	March 6, 1871 “act to establish and maintain a system of free schools”	Commission on Textbooks, State board of Education, State superintendent of education; school commissioners, boards of county examiners, and school trustees	Commission on textbooks – composed of governor, chairmen of committees on education of the senate and house and one member from each branch of the general assembly; state board of education composed of the several county school commissioners and the state superintendent; state superintendent of education		City Schools

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				elected by qualified voters of the state 4 year term; County school commissioners, elected by voters of each county – 2 year term; Boards of county examiners – commissioner and two members holding first grade certificates; district trustees (3) appointed by the county board of examiners for 2 year terms		
Tennessee	Amended in 1870 “to cherish literature and science”	Public School Law passed March 6, 1873, with amendments	State superintendent, state board of education, county superintendents, district directors, district clerks and treasurers	Board of Education (new as of March 1875) six members appointed by the governor; State Superintendent, nominated by the governor and confirmed by the senate; county superintendents elected by the county court; district school directors (3) elected by voters of district; district clerks and treasurers board of school directors may elect one of their number to serve as clerk/treasurer		Segregated Schools required by 1870 constitution, City School Systems planned for in new constitution but details not well established
Texas	1875 “duty of legislature to establish and make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of an efficient system of public	“An act to establish and maintain public free schools in the State of Texas passed May 22, 1873	Superintendent of public instruction, school directors, county superintendents, and district school trustees	Superintendent of public instruction, elected by the voters (4 year term); County directors – voters of each county elect for a term of 4 years 5 directors, 1 residing in every magistrate’s district and from their number the select a president who is ex officio	First Tuesday of September	Some support to private schools per state superintendent; City School Systems

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
	free schools.”			county superintendent, district school trustees, 3 elected by the voters of the district		
Vermont	1786 – provisions for education for the encouragement of virtue and prevention of vice	School laws of the state not yet codified	State superintendent of public instruction, town superintendents of schools, and district prudential committees	State superintendent appointed by the governor, town superintendents, elected annually by the qualified voters of the several towns; prudential committees consisting of either one or three legal voters in a school district at the district meeting (Towns may dissolve district system and create a town district)	District meeting last Tuesday of March	
Virginia	1870 constitution –funding supervision, “free public schools”	School Law of Virginia codified for office use 1873	Board of Education, superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents, district school trustees, county school boards, city boards of education, and city superintendents	Board of Education (governor, superintendent of public instruction and the attorney general); superintendent of public instruction elected by the general assembly (4 year term); county superintendents appointed by the board of education and confirmed by the senate; district school trustees (3) appointed by the board of education for each district; county school boards composed of the county superintendent and the trustees of the several districts of the counties; city boards of education appointed by the council of each city; city	Per constitution district trustees to be elected annually for 3 year terms	City Schools; segregated schools

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
				superintendents appointed by the city boards of education		
West Virginia	Constitution amended 1872 supervision, funding “thorough and efficient system of free schools”	School Law of West Virginia, passed April 20, 1873	State Superintendent of Free Schools; County superintendents, county boards of examiners, district boards of education; secretaries of the boards and subdistrict trustees	State superintendent elected by the voters (4 year term); county superintendents elected by the voters (2 year terms); county board of examiners composed of county superintendent and 2 experienced teachers appointed by presidents of district boards of education; district boards of education composed of a president and 2 commissioners elected; district trustees, 1 elected in each subdistrict by the voters thereof	State superintendent recommends changing election of trustees to be held only at the usual places of voting at general elections	City Schools
Wisconsin	Article 9 of constitution	Laws of Wisconsin relating to the common schools 1870	State superintendent, county superintendent, town clerks and treasurers, district directors, clerks, treasurers, and boards of supervisors	State superintendent elected by qualified voters (2 year terms), county superintendent elected by voters (2 year terms); district directors chosen at annual district meetings; Town boards of supervisors (no information); district boards composed of district clerks, treasurers and directors		City Schools (Milwaukee trustees appointed by city aldermen)
Alaska	No general laws					
Arizona			Territorial board of education;	Territorial board composed of governor, secretary and		

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
			territorial superintendent of schools, county superintendents, county examiners, school trustees of districts	treasurer of the territory; territorial superintendent office at present held by the governor; county superintendents, the probate judges acting ex officio; county examiners appointed by the governor; district trustees (3 per district) elected by the people		
Colorado	New constitution under which Colorado likely to be admitted; supervision, funding, etc.	School law of Colorado in force from February 12, 1876	Territorial superintendent, county superintendents, boards of directors of school districts	Territorial superintendent currently appointed with concurrence of legislative council (to be elected); county superintendents elected by the people (2 year term); Boards of school directors (size varies by size of district) elected by the people	3 rd Saturday of June	City Schools - Denver
Dakota Territory		Public school Law for the Territory of Dakota, approved January 15, 1875.	Territorial Superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents, school district boards	County superintendents elected by the people same time and manner as other county officers; school district boards elected by the people at the annual district meeting		
District of Columbia			Board of 19 trustees, 11 of whom must be resident of the city of Washington, 3 of the city of Georgetown and 5			Segregated Schools

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
			of the county; currently composed of 14 white members and 5 colored ones. Two superintendents – all appointed by the commissioners of the D.C. and term of office subject to their pleasure			
Idaho			Territorial superintendent, county superintendents, district school trustees	Territorial controller is ex officio superintendent of public instruction; county superintendents elected by the people at general elections (2 year terms); school trustees 2 for each district elected by the voters at each general election, county superintendent serves with them to create board of three		
Montana			Superintendent of Public Instruction, county superintendents, board of trustees, district clerks	Superintendent of Public Instruction appointed by the governor with concurrence of the legislative council; county superintendents elected by the people (2 year term); board of trustees elected by the people at the annual district meetings (3 year term)	Last Saturday of August	Segregated Schools (1872)
New Mexico			Board of supervisors and			

State	Constitutional Provision	School Law	School Officers	Elected/Appointed	School District Election Date	Differentiation of districts
			directors of public schools			
Utah		New School Law approved Feb. 18, 1876	Territorial superintendent, county superintendents, district school trustees	Territorial superintendent elected by the people (2 year term); county superintendents elected by the people at general election (2 year term); school district trustees elected by the people at a called district meeting (2 year term); county board of examiners appointed in each county by the county court.		City Schools
Washington			Territorial superintendent of common schools, county superintendents, directors of school districts	Territorial superintendent appointed by the governor with consent of the council (2 year term); county superintendents elected by the legal voters of their counties (2 year term); school directors (3), elected by the voters of the district at the annual meeting		
Wyoming			Territorial superintendent of public instruction, county superintendent, and board of directors of school districts	Board of directors for districts chosen by qualified voters of the district at regularly called meeting		Segregated Schools may be provided - 1870

Appendix B:
State Legislative Records Related to
Female School Suffrage and Women's Educational Office Holding

**State Legislative Records Related to
Female School Suffrage and Women's Educational Office Holding**

Alabama

Acts of the Sessions of July, September and November, 1868, of the General Assembly of Alabama (Montgomery, Jno. G. Stokes & Col., State Printers, 1868), 155.

Acts of the General Assembly of Alabama, Passed at the Session of 1882-83 (Montgomery, W. D. Brown & Co., State Printer, 1883), 606-607.

Alaska

Territory of Alaska Session Laws, Resolutions and Memorials (Juneau, AK: Daily Empire Print, 1913), 1.

Arizona

Laws of the Territory of Arizona Twelfth Legislative Assembly; Memorials and Resolutions (Prescott, AZ, Daily and Weekly Arizona Miner, Steam-Printing Office, 1883), 43-44.

Laws of the Territory of Arizona Thirteenth Legislative Assembly; also Memorials and Resolutions (San Francisco, CA: H. S. Crocker & Company, 1885), 151.

The Revised Statutes of Arizona: Civil Code 1913 (Phoenix: The McNeil Company, 1913), 919-920

Arkansas

Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the General Assembly – State of Arkansas (Little Rock: P. A. Ladue, Printer, 1876), 72-76.

California

The Statutes of California, Passed at the Twentieth Session of the Legislature, 1873-74 (Sacramento: G. H. Springer, State Printer, 1874), 356.

The Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes Passed at the Thirty-ninth Session of the Legislature (Sacramento: W. W. Shannon, Superintendent State Printing, 1911), 1548-1549.

Colorado

General Laws, Joint Resolutions, Memorials and Private Acts Passed at the Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Colorado (Central City, CO: Register Book and Job Printer, 1870), 100-101.

General Laws of the State of Colorado (Denver: Tribune Steam Printing House, 1877), 51-53, 360-364.

Laws Passed at the Eighth Session of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado (Colorado Spring, CO: The Gazette Printing Col., State Printer, 1891), 317-318

Laws Passed at the Ninth Session of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., State Printers, 1893), 256-258

Laws Passed at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Colorado (Denver: 1894), 68-71.

Connecticut

Resolves and Private Acts of the State of Connecticut (Hartford, CT: John L. Boswell, 1837), 25.

The Public Statute Laws of the State of Connecticut (Hartford, CT: John B. Eldredge, 1838), 45-46.

Public Acts of the State of Connecticut, Passed May Session, 1841 (Hartford: J. Holbrook, 1841), 44-61.

Public Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, in the Year 1872 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, Printers, 1872), 43-76.

Public Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, in the Year 1887 (Hartford, CT: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1887), 755.

Public Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut (Hartford:, CT: Press of the Fowler & Miller Company, 1893), 411-412

Dakota Territory

General Laws and Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Dakota (Yankton, DT: W. S. Bowen & Company, Press and Dakotaian Print, 1875), 173-74

General Laws, and Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Dakota (Yankton, DT: J. C. Trask, 1879), 42.

Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota (Yankton, DT: Bowen & Kingsbury, Public Printers, Press and Dakotaian, 1883), 71

The Annotated Revised Codes of the Territory of Dakota, 1883 (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1883), 554, 575.

Delaware

Laws of the State of Delaware, Passed at a Session of the General Assembly vol. 13, part 2 (Dover, DE: Printed at Delawarean Office, 1889), 894.

Laws of the State of Delaware, Passed at an Adjourned Session of the General Assembly vol. 21, part 1 (Milford, DE: Printed at the Herald Office, 1898), 168-212.

Laws of the State of Delaware, Passed at a Session of the General Assembly vol. 23, part 2 (Dover, DE: The Delawarean Print, 1905), 146-147.

Florida

Acts and Resolutions of the general Assembly of the State of Florida (Tallahassee: Office of the Florida Sentinel, Printed by Joseph Clisby, 1849), 25-29.

The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida, at its Extra Session (Tallahassee, FL: Edw. M. Cheney, State Printer, 1869), 44-45.

The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida at its Second Regular Session, Under the Constitution of A.D. 1885 (Tallahassee, FL: N. M. Bowen, Printer, 1889), 76-77.

Georgia

Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia (Atlanta: Geo. W. Harrison, State Printer, 1897), 41-42.

Hawaii

Laws of Her Majesty Liliuokalani Queen of the Hawaiian Islands Passed by the Legislative Assembly at its Session 1892 (Honolulu: Robert Grieve, Steam Book and Job, 1892), 183.

Idaho

Laws of the Territory of Idaho (Boise City, ID: D. Bacon, Territorial Printer, 1879), 14-26.

General Laws of the Territory of Idaho Passed at the Twelfth Session of the Territorial Legislature (Boise: Milton Kelly, Territorial Printer, 1883), 44, 233-28

General Laws of the Territory of Idaho, Passed at the Thirteenth Session of the Territorial Legislature (Boise: Jas. A. Pinney, Territorial Printer, 1885), 194.

General Laws of the State of Idaho Passed at the Third Session of the State Legislature (Boise: Statesman Printing Company, 1895), 232.

Illinois

Laws of the State of Illinois: Passed by the Twenty-eighth General Assembly, First Session (Springfield, IL: State Journal Steam Print, 1873), 192.

Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirty-sixth General Assembly (Springfield, IL: H. W. Rokker, Printer and Binder, 1889), 199-200, 341.

Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Thirty-seventh General Assembly (Springfield, IL, H. W. Rokker, Printer and Binder, 1891), 135-136.

Indiana

Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the Forty-first Regular Session of the General Assembly (Indianapolis: Berry R. Sulgrove, State Printer, 1861), 72.

Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the Forty-third Regular Session of the General Assembly (Indianapolis: W. R. Holloway, State Printer, 1865), 7-8.

Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the Forty-eighth Regular Session of the General Assembly (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Co., Printers, 1873), 73.

Laws of the State of Indiana Passed at the Special Session of the General Assembly (Indianapolis: Carlton & Hollenbeck, Printers and Binders, 1881), 718.

Iowa

Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Regular Session of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the State of Iowa (Des Moines, IA: R. P. Clarkson, State Printer, 1876), 126.

Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Regular Session of the Twenty-fifth General Assembly of the State of Iowa (Des Moines, IA: Geo. H. Ragsdale, State Printer, 1894), 47.

Kansas

Constitution of the State of Kansas, Adopted at Wyandotte, July 29, 1859, Article 2, Section 23.
<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/90272>

General Laws of the State of Kansas, Passed at the First Session of the Legislature (Lawrence, KS: "Kansas State Journal" Steam Power Press Print, 1861), 260-261.

State of Kansas Session Laws of 1887 (Topeka, KS: Kansas Publishing House, T. D. Thacker, State Printer, 1887), 324-325.

Kentucky

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Frankfort, KY: A. G. Hodges, State Printer, 1838), 274-282.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky Passed at November Session of 1851 (Frankfort, KY: A. G. Hodges & Company, State Printer, 1852), 166.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Frankfort: KY: S. I. M. Major, Public Printer, 1870), 112-135.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky vol. 1 (Frankfort, KY: S. I. M. Major, Public Printer, 1884), 1391-1398.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky vol. 1. (Frankfort, KY: John D. Woods, Public Printer and Binder, 1886), 1340, 1878.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky vol. 2 (Frankfort, KY: Capital Office, John D. Woods, Public Printer and Binder, 1886), 6.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky vol. 1. (Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson, Public Printer and Binder, 1890), 1904.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky vol. 2. (Frankfort, KY: E. Polk Johnson, Public Printer and Binder, 1890), 1187

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Frankfort, KY: Capital Printing Company, 1894), 305-314.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Louisville, KY: Geo. G. Fetter Printing Co., 1902), 85-86.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Frankfort, KY: The Kentucky State Journal Pub. Co, 1912), 193-194.

Louisiana

Article 232, Constitution of the State of Louisiana: Adopted in Convention, at the City of New Orleans the Twenty-Third day of July, A.D. 1879 (New Orleans: Jas. Cosgrove, Convention Printer, 1879), 56.

Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the Regular Session (New Orleans: E. A. Brandao, State Printer, 1880), 56.

Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the Regular Session (Baton Rouge: Advocate, Official Journal of Louisiana, 1892), 80.

Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the Regular Session (Baton Rouge: The Advocate, Official Journal of the State of Louisiana, 1898), 200-2002.

Maine

Acts and Resolves of the Forty-Eighth Legislature of the State of Maine (Augusta, ME: Sprague, Owen & Nash, Printers to the State, 1869), 58.

Acts and Resolves of the Fifty-fourth Legislature of the State of Maine (Augusta: Sprague, Owen and Nash, 1875), 44, 72-92.

Acts and Resolves of the Sixtieth Legislature of the State of Maine (Augusta, Sprague & Son, Printers to the State, 1881), 20.

Maryland

Laws of the State of Maryland (Annapolis: William Thomason, Printer, 1868), 745-768.

Laws of the State of Maryland (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1870), 535-558.

Massachusetts

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1874 (Boston, Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1874), 443.

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1879 (Boston: Rand, Aberg, & Co., Printers to the Commonwealth, 1879), 559-560.

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1881 (Boston: Rand, Aberg, & Co., Printers to the Commonwealth, 1881), 502-503.

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1893 (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Col., State Printers, 1893), 1198-1201.

Michigan

Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular Session of 1855 (Lansing: Geo. W. Peck, Printer to the State, 1855), 44-45.

Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular Session of 1867, vol. 1 (Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State, 1867), 146-147.

Public Acts and Joint and Concurrent Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular Session of 1875 (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1875), 143.

Public Acts and joint and Concurrent Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular Session of 1881 (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1881), 163-170.

Public Acts and Joint and Concurrent Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, passed at the Regular Session of 1893 (Lansing, Robert Smith & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1893), 225-226.

Public Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan (Fort Wayne, IN: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1919), 530-532.

Minnesota

General Laws of the State of Minnesota, Passed During the Seventeenth Session of the State Legislature (St. Paul: The Pioneer-Press Company, 1875), 17-19.

General Laws of the State of Minnesota, Passed During the Eighteenth Session of the State Legislature (St. Paul, John Jay Lemon, State Printer, 1876), 29-30.

General Laws of the State of Minnesota, Passed During the Twenty-fourth Session of the State Legislature (St. Paul: The Pioneer Press Company, 1885), 275.

Mississippi

Laws of the State of Mississippi, Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature (Jackson, MS: Power & Barksdale, State Printers, 1878), 102.

Missouri

Laws of Missouri, Passed at the Session of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly (Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing Company, State Printers and Binders, 1889), 233.

Montana

Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, of the Territory of Montana ... 1864 (Virginia City, MT: D. W. Tilton & Company, 1866), 17-18.

Laws, Memorials, and Resolutions of the Territory of Montana Passed at the Tenth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly (Helena: Robert E. Fisk, Public Printer, 1877), 396-397.

Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Montana, Passed at the Thirteenth Regular Session (Helena, MT: Geo. E. Boos, Public Printer and Binder, 1883), 53-58.

Compiled Statutes of Montana Enacted at the Regular Session of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of Montana (Helena, MT: Journal Publishing Co., Public Printers and Binders, 1888), 1177-1178, 1180-1181.

Constitution of the State of Montana (Helena: Independent Publishing Company, 1889), 39, 42.

Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the State of Montana Passed at the Second Regular Session (Helena, MT: Journal Publishing Col, Public Printers and Binders, 1891), 37.

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Wilbur F. Sanders, ed., *Codes and Statutes of the State of Montana in Force July 1, 1895* (Helena: W. F. Sanders, 1895), 377, 400-401.

Nebraska

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed at the First, Second and Third Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Omaha: St. A. D. Balcombe, Public Printer, 1867), 102-110.

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed at the Fourth and Fifth Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Omaha: St. A. D. Balcombe, Printer to the State, 1869), 119.

The General Statutes of the State of Nebraska (Lincoln: Journal Company, State Printers, 1873), 965.

Laws, Joint Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Eleventh Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Omaha: Omaha Daily Republican, State Printers, 1875), 116.

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska at the Sixteenth Session (Omaha: Henry Gibson, State Printer, 1881), 338-339.

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Lincoln: Journal Company, State Printers, 1883), 289-290.

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Lincoln, NE: Journal Company, State Printer, 1887), 602.

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Omaha, Henry Gibson, State Printer, 1889), 542-543.

Laws, Joint Resolutions, and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Nebraska (Lincoln, State Journal Company, Printers, 1891), 317-334.

Laws, Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed by the Legislature of the State of Nebraska (York, NE: Nebraska Newspaper Union, Printers, Binders, 1903), 556-569.

Nevada

Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Fourteenth Session of the Legislature (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1889), 151.

Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Sixteenth Session of the Legislature (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1893), 198.

Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Twenty-fourth Session of the Legislature (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1909), 349.

Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Twenty-fifth Session of the Legislature (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1911), 455, 457.

Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Twenty-eighth Session of the Legislature (Carson City, NV: State Printing Office, 1917), 549.

New Hampshire

Laws of the State of New Hampshire (Nashua, NH: Orren C. Moore, State Printer, 1870), 410.

Laws of the State of New Hampshire (Nashua, NH: Orren C. Moore, State Printer, 1872), 18.

Laws of the State of New Hampshire (Manchester, NH: John B. Clarke, State Printer, 1878), 176.

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New Jersey

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New Mexico

Laws of the State of New Mexico Passed at the Second Regular Session of the First Legislature of the State of New Mexico (Sante Fe, NM: New Mexican Printing Co., 1913), 77.

New York

Laws of the State of New York (Albany, NY: C. Van Benthuysen and Company, 1843), 163-167.

Laws of the State of New York Passed at the One Hundred and Third Session of the Legislature vol. 1. (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers, 1880), 10

Laws of the State of New York, Passed at the One Hundred and Ninth Session of the Legislature (Albany: Banks & Brothers, Publishers, 1886), 511.

Laws of the State of New York, Passed at the One Hundred and Eleventh Session of the Legislature (Albany: Banks & Brothers, Publishers, 1888), 642-643.

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Laws of the State of New York Passed at the One Hundred and Eighteenth Session of the Legislature vol. 1 (Albany: James B. Lyon, Printer, 1895), 171-172.

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North Carolina

Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1901 (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughts, and E. M. Uzzell, State Printers and Binding, 1901), 64-65.

North Dakota

Laws Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota (Bismarck, Tribune, Printers and Binders, 1890), 188.

Ohio

The State of Ohio General and Local Acts Passed and Joint Resolutions ... vol. 91 (Norwalk, OH: The Laning Printing Company, State Printers, 1894), 182.

Oklahoma

The Statutes of Oklahoma 1890 (Guthrie, OK: The State Capital Printing Co., 1891), 1129.

The Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893 (Guthrie, OK: State Capital Printing Co., 1893), 1085, 1095-96.

Oregon

General Laws Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oregon ... December 6, 1852 (Oregon: Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1853), 55-57.

Laws of a General and Local Nature Passed by the Legislative Committee and Legislative Assembly Collected and Published Pursuant to an Act of the Legislative Assembly, Passed January 26, 1853 (Salem, OR: Asahel Bush, Territorial Printer, 1853), 198.

The Statutes of Oregon ... 1853 (Oregon: Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1854), 424-426.

The Code of Civil Procedure and Other General Statutes of Oregon (Oregon: Asahel Bush, State Printer, 1863), 42.

The Laws of Oregon; and the Resolutions and Memorials of the Tenth Regular Session (Salem, OR: W. B. Carter, State Printer, 1878), 59-69.

The Laws of Oregon: and the Resolutions and Memorials of the Twelfth Regular Session (Salem, OR: W. H. Byars, State Printers, 1882), 38-41.

The Laws of Oregon, and the Resolutions and Memorials of the Fifteenth Regular Session (Salem, OR: Frank C. Baker, State Printer, 1889), 125-126.

The Laws of Oregon, and the Resolutions and Memorials of the Sixteenth Regular Session (Salem, OR: Frank C. Baker, State Printer, 1891), 130.

The State of Oregon. General and Special Laws and Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed and Adopted by the Seventeenth Regular Session (Salem, OR: Frank C. Baker, State Printer, 1893), 62.

The State of Oregon. General and Special Laws and Joint and Concurrent Resolutions and Memorials Passed and Adopted by the Twentieth Legislative Assembly (Salem, OR: W. H. Leeds, State Printer, 1898), 22-23.

The State of Oregon. The General Laws and Joint Resolutions and Memorials Enacted and Adopted by the Twenty-first Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly (Salem, OR: W. H. Leeds, State Printer, 1901), 41-42.

State of Oregon. General Laws and Joint Resolutions and Memorials Adopted by the Twenty-ninth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly (Salem, OR: State Printing Department, 1917), 130.

Pennsylvania

Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania also Laws of the General Assembly of Said Commonwealth, Passed at the Session of 1874 (Harrisburg, PA: Benjamin Singerly, State Printer, 1874), 21.

Rhode Island

Article IX, Section 1, The Constitution of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations (Providence, RI: Knowles and Vose, 1842), 15.

Acts and Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Providence: Sayles & Miller, 1851), 7, 11-12.

Acts and Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Providence: E. L. Freeman & Co., Printers to the State, 1881), 118-119.

Acts and Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Providence: E. L. Freeman & Co., Printers to the State, 1882), 273.

South Carolina

Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Passed at the Regular Session of 1888 (Columbia, SC: James H. Woodrow, State Printer, 1889), 49-50, 160-162.

Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Passed at the Regular Session of 1900 (Columbia, SC: The Bryan Printing Company, State Printers, 1900), 364-366.

South Dakota

Laws Passed at the First Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota (Pierre, SD: State Bindery Co., Printers, 1890), xi, xx – xxi, xxvi.

Enabling Act and Constitution and The Laws Passed at the Seventh Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota (Aberdeen, SD: J. F. Kelley & Co., 1901), 105-106.

Tennessee

Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the Forty-sixth General Assembly (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce, Printers to the State, 1889), 213.

Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the Forty-seventh General Assembly (Nashville: Albert B. Tavel, Printer to the State, 1891), 317-318.

Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the Forty-ninth General Assembly (Nashville: Franc. M. Paul, Printer and Stationer, 1895), 70-71.

Texas

General Laws of the Twelfth Legislature of the State of Texas (Austin: Tracy, Siemering and Company, 1870), 114.

General Laws of the State of Texas, Passed at the Special Session of the Eighteenth Legislature (Austin, TX: E. W. Swindells, State Printer, 1884), 44-45.

General Laws of the State of Texas Passed at the Regular Session of the Twentieth Legislature (Austin, TS: State Printing Office, 1887), 122-123.

Utah

Acts, Resolutions and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, Public Printer, 1864), 46.

Acts, Resolutions and Memorials Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, Public Printer, 1865), 17-18.

Acts, Resolutions and Memorials Passed and Adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City, Geo. Q. Cannon, Public Printer, 1868), 26.

Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed and Adopted During the Nineteenth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City: Joseph Bull, Public Printer, 1870), 8.

The Compiled Laws of the Territory of Utah, Containing all the General Statues Now in Force (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1876), 87-88.

Laws of the Territory of Utah Passed at the Twenty-fourth Session of the Legislative Assembly (Salt Lake City: T. E. Taylor, Public Printer, 1880), 27.

Laws of the Territory of Utah, Passed at the Twenty-ninth Session of the Legislative Assembly (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1890), 117-118.

Laws of the Territory of Utah, Passed at the Thirtieth Session of the Legislative Assembly (Salt Lake City, Press of the Irrigation Age, 1892), 109.

Laws of the State of Utah (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1896), 183-184, 480-481.

Vermont

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at the Annual Session (Montpelier: Freeman Steam Printing House and Bindery, 1868), 41.

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, at the First Biennial Session (Montpelier: J. & J. M. Poland's Steam Printing Works, 1870), 54-55.

Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, as the Sixth Biennial Session (Rutland, VT: Tuttle & Co., Official Printers and Stationers to the State of Vermont, 1881), 102.

Virginia

Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia (Richmond, VA: Samuel Shepherd, Printer to Commonwealth, 1845), 19-33.

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed at the Session of 1869-70 (Richmond, VA: James E. Goode, Printer, 1870), 408-412.

Washington

Statutes of the Territory of Washington: Being the Code Passed by the Legislative Assembly (Olympia, WA: Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), 225-226, 319-328.

Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, Passed at the Second Regular Session (Olympia, WA: J. W. Wiley, Public Printer 1855), 7.

Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington (Olympia, WA: Edward Furste, Public Printer, 1858), 45-46.

Statutes of the Territory of Washington (Olympia, WA: T. F. McElroy, Printer, 1867), 6-10.

Statutes of the Territory of Washington (Olympia, W: Prosch & McElroy, Printers, 1871), 12-30, 175-176.

Laws of the Territory of Washington (Olympia: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1873), 435.

Laws of the Territory of Washington (Olympia: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1877), 268-269, 277-280, 282-283.

Laws of the Territory of Washington, Enacted by the Legislative Assembly (Olympia, WA: C. B. Bagley, Public Printer, 1883), 3-25, 39-40.

Laws of Washington Territory, Enacted by the Legislative Assembly, Tenth Biennial Session (Olympia, WA: Thomas H. Cavanaugh, Public Printer, 1886), 113-114.

Laws of Washington Territory, Enacted by the Legislative Assembly at its Eleventh Biennial Session (Olympia, WA: Thos. H. Cavanaugh, Public Printer, 1888), 21-23.

Session Laws of the State of Washington... 1889/1890 (Olympia: O. C. White, 1890), 305-312, 355-361, 377, 382.

Session Laws of the State of Washington Session of 1895 (Olympia, WA: O. C. White, State Printer, 1895), 66.

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West Virginia

Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia at its Thirteenth Session (Wheeling, WV: W. J. Johnston, Public Printer, 1877), 121.

Wisconsin

The Laws of Wisconsin, Together with the Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed at the Twenty-eighth Annual Session of the Wisconsin Legislature (Madison, WI: E. B. Bolens, State Printer, 1875), 220-221.

The Laws of Wisconsin Together with the Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed at the Twenty-ninth Annual Session of the Wisconsin Legislature vol. 1 (Madison, WI: E. B. Bolens, State Printer, 1876), 309.

The Laws of Wisconsin Passed at the Annual Session of the Legislature of 1882 (Madison, WI: David Atwood, State Printer, 1882), 370.

The Laws of Wisconsin, Except City Charters and Their Amendments, Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature of 1885 vol. 1 (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1885), 184-185.

The Laws of Wisconsin, Except City Charters and Their Amendments, Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature of 1887 vol.2 (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1887), 536.

The Laws of Wisconsin Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature of 1893 (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1893), 392.

The Laws of Wisconsin, Joint Resolutions and Memorials. Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature, 1897 (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1897), 813.

The Laws of Wisconsin Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature, 1901 (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1901), 384-385.

Wisconsin Session Laws Acts Resolutions and Memorials Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature, 1911 (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1911), 651.

Wyoming

General Laws, Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Wyoming Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly (Cheyenne: S. Allan Bristol, Public Printer, 1870), 223, 371.

Organic Act and General Laws of Wyoming, Together with the Memorials and Resolutions Passed by the Third Legislative Assembly (Cheyenne: H. Glafcke, Public Printer, 1874), 243.

The Compiled Laws of Wyoming (Cheyenne: H. Glafcke, 1876), 528-529.

Session Laws of Wyoming Territory Passed by the Eleventh Legislative Assembly (Cheyenne: E. A. Slack, Printer and Binder, 1890), 158, 184.

Session Laws of the State of Wyoming Passed by the Eighth State Legislature (Sheridan, WY: Sheridan Post Company, 1905), 113.

Session Laws of the State of Wyoming Passed by the Eighteenth State Legislature (Sheridan, WY: The Mills Company, 1925), 25.

Appendix C:
County Superintendent Election Data
Montana Territory and Early Statehood
1880 - 1900

County Superintendent Election Data Montana Territory and Early Statehood, 1880-1900

(NOTE: Elections usually held on the first Tuesday in Nov. during even numbered years with winning candidate taking office the following Jan.
In 1889 the election was held Oct. 2, 1889. There was no election for county officers in 1890.)

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Beaverhead – 1864 (Dillion)	William Shineberger	1880	Democrat	Otto Klemm, Republican	<i>The Weekly Miner</i> (Butte), Nov. 23, 1880, 7; Shineberger 760, Klemm 618
	John Gannon	1882, 1884	Republican	1882 – Charles McCarthy, Democrat 1884 - Mary E. Carter, Democrat	1882 - <i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 25, 1882, 1; Gannon 639, McCarthy 504 1884 - <i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 22, 1884, 4; Gannon 673, Carter 526
	Miss Mary E. Carter	1886-July 1887	Republican	Raymond Mitchell, Democrat	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> (Dillon, MT), Nov 19, 1886, 8; Carter 746, Mitchell 643 Resigned July 1887; <i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , July 15, 1887, 5
	Mrs. Helen E. Taylor	July 1887 – Sept 1888			<i>Dillon Tribune</i> , July 15, 1887, 5 Appointed as county school superintendent <i>Dillon Tribune</i> , Sept. 7, 1888, 7; Resigned - going to Washington territory
	Mrs. Dora L. Melton	Sept. 1888 – Jan. 1889			<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Sept. 14, 1888, 7; Appointed county superintendent
	Horace A. Woods	1888	Republican	W. T. Eastman, Democrat	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 16, 1888, 7;

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					Woods 917, Eastman 609
	A.L. Stone	1889	Democrat	H. A. Woods, Republican	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Oct. 11, 1889, 1; Stone 823, Woods 708
	Miss Millie J. Coffin	1892	Republican	Miss Adelaide Staves, Democrat	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 18, 1892, 5; Coffin 813, Staves 529
	Kate Poindexter	1894	Democrat and Populist	Millie Coffin, Republican	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 14, 1894, 3; Coffin 576, Poindexter 629
	Millie Coffin	1895			<i>Report of the Bureau of Agriculture Labor and Industry of the State of Montana, Independent Publishing Company, 1896;</i> “appointed for unexpired term
	Maidie Rife	1896 – Dec. 1897	Democrat, People’s Party (Fusion County Ticket)	Millie Coffin, Republican and Silver Republican; Mrs. Ida M. Clyne, “National” Republican	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 13, 1896, 8; Rife, 751, Coffin, 654
	Isabella Rife	Dec. 6, 1897			<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Dec. 10, 1897, 8; Appointed by County Commissioners upon the resignation of Maidie Rife, Dec. 6, 1897
	Janie V. Carter	1898	Republican	Isabella Rife - Democrat	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 18, 1898, 1 Carter 681, Rife 578
	Isabella Rife	1900	Democrat, People’s Party, Labor Party	Janie V. Carter, Republican	<i>The Dillon Tribune</i> , Nov. 16, 1900, 8 Rife 916, Carter 766

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Broadwater – 1897 (Townsend)	G. R. McDonald	April 1897			Appointed at the creation of the county; <i>Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the State of Montana Passed at the Fifth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly</i> (Helena: State Publishing Company, 1897), 48
	Eva Harrington	1898, 1900	Democrat, Independent Democrats	1898 - Miss Bertha Kelly, Silver Republican and Populist; Mrs. C. F. Henry, Republican 1900 – Miss C. A. Murphy, Republican	1898 - “Official Returns,” <i>Townsend Messenger</i> , Nov. 19, 1898, 1; Kelly 280, Harrington, 606, Henry, 119 1900 - “Official Returns” <i>Townsend Messenger</i> , Nov. 22, 1900, 1; Harrington 617, Murphy 266
Carbon – 1896 (Red Lodge)	Lizzie McDonald	1895	Democrat		“Carbon’s Officials Named,” <i>Red Lodge Picket</i> , Jan. 5, 1895, 3
	Mrs. Martha A. Kearns	1896	Democrat	Mrs. A. H. Davis, Silver Republican; Julia L. Soule Davis, Independent	“Silver Speaks,” <i>Red Lodge Picket</i> , Nov. 7, 1896, 3; Davis 306, Kearns 707
	Catherine A. Feeley	1898	Democrat, Silver Republican,	E. C. McCadden, Republican	<i>Carbon County Sentinel</i> , Nov. 18, 1898, 1; Feeley 722, McCadden 417
	Martha “Mattie” Dilworth	1900	Republican	Catherine Feeley, Independent Democratic; Mrs. S. Francis Cochran, Democrat, Labor Party and People’s Party	<i>Red Lodge Picket</i> ; Nov. 9, 1900, 8; Feeley 339, Dilworth 761, Cochran 687
Cascade – 1887	Miss Bessie Ford	1887, 1888	Republican	Miss S. A. McBrine, Democrat; Professor	Appointed with creation of county, Sept. 1887, was already county superintendent

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
(Great Falls)				Patch, Independent	in Meagher County <i>The Great Falls Leader</i> , Nov. 8, 1888, 1; Ford 522, McBrine 422
	George B. Swan	1889	Republican	F. M. Babbington, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Oct. 10, 1889, 4; Swan 885, Babbington 747
	George Stephenson	1892 to Oct. 1894	Republican	Chas.C. Kellison, Democrat; May Gallagher, Populist	<i>Great Falls Weekly Tribune</i> , Dec. 2, 1892, 7; Gallagher, 756, Kellison 934, Stephenson, 1115
	Sam Stephenson	Oct. 1894 – Dec. 1894			<i>The Weekly Tribune</i> (Great Falls), Oct. 12, 1894, 8; S. Stephenson identified as “now superintendent”
	George B. Swan	1894	Republican	Mrs. Clarence A. Ogden, Democrat; George A. Graham, Populist	<i>Great Falls Weekly Tribune</i> , Nov. 15, 1894, 4; Graham 1181, Ogden 1067, Swan 1218
	George H. Mullery	Oct. 1896 – Jan. 1897			<i>Great Falls Weekly Tribune</i> , Oct. 9, 1896, 7; George Swan resigned Oct. 1896 and George Mullery, Republican Candidate, was appointed by the county commissioners to fill the position
	Ina Craven	1896, 1898	Democrat	1896 – George H. Mullery, Republican and Silver Republican 1898 – Annie McAnnelly, Populist; C. H. Robinson, Silver Republican, Miss Jessie L. Rich, Republican	1896 - <i>Great Falls Weekly Tribune</i> , Nov. 13, 1896, 8; Craven 2304, Mullery 1440 1898 - <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 12, 1898, 11; Craven 1,073, McAnnelly 834, Rich 797, Robinson 481

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Mrs. Martha A. Kearns	1900, 1902	Democrat	1900 – T. H. Cureton, Republican	<i>Great Falls Tribune</i> , Nov. 15, 1900, 9; Kearns 2491, Cureton 2053
Chouteau – 1865 (Fort Benton)	John Hunsberger	1880	Republican; Democrat	Unopposed	<i>The River Press</i> (Fort Benton), Nov. 17, 1880, 1; Hunsberger 732
	Dr. J. W. Wheelock	1882	Democrat	George D. Patterson, Republican	“Official Election Returns, Chouteau County” <i>The Benton Weekly Record</i> , Nov. 24, 1882, 5; Wheeler 653, Patterson 303
	Miss Mary E. Johnstone	1884	Republican	Miss Rose V. McQuillan, Democrat; Dr. J. W. Wheelock, Independent	<i>The River Press</i> (Fort Benton), Nov. 19, 1884, 1; Johnstone, 605, McQuillan, 374, Wheelock 59
	Miss Mary E. Finnegan	1886, 1888, 1889, 1892	1886 – Democrat 1888- Democrat and Republican 1889 – Democrat and Republican 1892 - Democrat	1886 – Mary E. Johnstone, Republican 1888 – Unopposed 1889 – Unopposed 1892 – Hattie T. Guyon, Republican	1886 - <i>The River Press</i> (Fort Benton) Nov. 17, 1886, 1; Finnegan 659, Johnstone 589 1888 - <i>The River Press</i> (Fort Benton), Nov. 21, 1888, 1; Finnegan 1223 1889 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Oct. 17, 1889, 6; Finnegan 1130 1892 - <i>The Montanian (Choteau)</i> , Dec. 2, 1892, 6; Guyon 740, Finnigan 779
	Margery “Hattie” Jacoby	1894, 1896	Republican	1894 - Miss Priestly, Populist; Miss M. E. Finnigan, Democrat (by the time of the official ballot Mary E. Finnigan appeared on both Populist	1894 - <i>The River Press</i> , Nov. 21, 1894, 1; Mary E. Finnegan 491 (Democrat), 20 (Populist), Jacoby 778 1896 – <i>The River Press</i> , Nov. 18, 1896, 1;

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				and Democrat tickets) 1896 – Mary E. Cook, Democrat (nominated but name did not appear on official ballot) – Jacoby unopposed	Jacoby, 972
	Miss Elizabeth R. Flagler	1898	Republican	N. C. Wescott, Democrat	<i>Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1898</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1898), 213; Flagler 736, Wescott 599
	Miss May Flanagan	1900	Republican, Independent Democratic	Elizabeth R. Flagler, People’s Party and Independent (declared candidate without party nomination)	<i>The River Press</i> , Nov. 21, 1900, 1; Flanagan 1005, Flagler 487
Custer – 1877 (Miles City)	Charles W. Savage	1880	People’s Ticket	Louis Payette, Democrat; Edward Flinn, Reform	“Custer County Vote,” <i>The Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 13, 1880, 3; Payette 473, Flinn 274, Savage 507
	Arthur C. Logan	1882, 1884	1882 – People’s Convention 1884 - Republican	1882 – Charles B. Towers, Republican 1884 - Unopposed	1882 - <i>Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 22, 1882, 1; Logan 1711, Towers 1010 1884 - <i>Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 22, 1884, 1; Logan 1378
	Miss Louisa M. Cooley	1886, 1888, 1889	Republican	1886 - Mrs. M. R. Southmayd, Democrat	1886 - <i>Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 20, 1886, 2; Cooley 838, Southmayd, 776

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				1888 – Mrs. Emily C. Carpenter, Democrat 1889 – Mrs. E. V. Lewis, Democrat	1888 - <i>Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 16, 1888, 1; Cooley 720, Carpenter 548 1889 - <i>Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> , Oct. 10, 1889, 1; Cooley 614, Lewis 543
	Mrs. J. E. Light	1892	Republican	Kate McKenzie, Democrat; Mary E. McKay, People’s Party	<i>Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 22, 1892, 3; Light 670, McKenzie 508, McKay, 124
	Louisa Cooley	1894	Republican	Kate McKenzie, Democrat	<i>The Yellowstone Journal</i> Nov. 17, 1894, 2; Cooley 629, McKenzie, 622
	Mrs. Laura Zook	1896	Democrat	Ada M. Bennett, Republican	<i>The Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 14, 1896, 8; Bennett 664; Zook, 738
	Katherine Wilson	1898	Republican	Laura Zook, Democrat	<i>The Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 17, 1898, 8; Zook 565, Wilson, 669
	Laura Zook	1900	Democrat, Populist	Mrs. Katherine Wilson Smith, Republican	<i>The Yellowstone Journal</i> , Nov. 22, 1900, 8; Smith 701, Zook 951
Dawson – 1882 (Glendive)	D. R. Mead	Sept. 1882			“Our County Officers,” <i>The Glendive Times</i> , Oct. 7, 1882, 1
	Josiah H. Ray	1882, 1884,	1882 - Republican 1884 – Republican and Independent County Ticket	1882 – R. R. Cummins, Independent County Ticket 1884 – Dr. Daniel M. McIntosh, Democrat	1882 - “The Election!” <i>The Glendive Times</i> , Nov. 9, 1882, 1; Ray 380, Cummins 200 1884 - “Victory!” <i>The Glendive Times</i> , Nov. 8, 1884, 3; Ray 331, McIntosh 256
	Dr. A. R. Duncan	1886	Democrat	E. W. Harvey, Republican	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 11, 1886, Duncan and Harvey tied at 206 votes

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					each; <i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 27, 1886, 1; “At the special election held in Dawson County, on Saturday last, for county superintendent of common schools, Dr. A. R. Duncan, democrat, was elected by a majority of 23 over the republican nominee, E. W. B. Harvey.”
	Alice Cavanaugh	1888, 1889	1888 – Democrat, People’s Ticket 1889 - Democrat	1888 - Mrs. Harriet (Nan) Little, Republican 1889 – Miss Gertrude G. Hoopes, Republican	1888 - “Official Vote of Dawson County, MT” <i>Glendive Independent</i> , Nov. 24, 1888, 1; Cavanaugh, 271, Little, 156 1889 - “Official Vote of Dawson County, MT,” <i>Glendive Independent</i> , Oct. 12, 1889, 4; Cavanaugh 287, Hoopes 245
	Alvira A. Truax	1892	Republican	Alice Cavanaugh, Democrat; Eva Harpster, People’s Party	<i>The Glendive Independent</i> , Dec. 3, 1892, 2; Cavanaugh 262, Truax, 304, Harpeter 72
	C.B.A. Scobey	1894	Republican	Mrs. Mary Hagan, Democrat	<i>Illustrated History of Yellowstone Valley</i> (Spokane, WA: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1907), 380; Hagan 211, Scobey 271
	Miss Nora Johnson	1896, 1898	1896 – People’s Party, 1898 Republican	1896 - Mrs. Austin Dilts, Republican; Mrs. Maria L. Eisenbart, Democrat 1898 – Estella Bovee, Democrat	1896 - ““Rah for Us!: Entire Republican Ticket Elected with But Two Exceptions – The Banner Republican Co. of Montana,” <i>The Glendive Independent</i> , Nov. 7, 1896, 1; Johnson received a majority of 115 votes 1898 - <i>Dawson County Review</i> , Nov. 17, 1898, 8; Bovee 256, Johnson 261

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Miss Grace Skinner	1900	Republican, Democrat	Unopposed	<i>Dawson County Review</i> , Nov. 15, 1900, 8; Skinner 523
Deer Lodge – 1864 (Anaconda)	C. K. Hardenbrook	1880	Democrat	Dr. L. E. Holmes, Republican	<i>The Independent Record</i> (Helena, MT), Nov. 20, 1880, 3; Hardenbrook 1,965, Holmes 1,433
	Thomas W. Catlin	1881, 1882, 1884	Republican	1882 - Frank D. Brown, Democrat 1884- R. H. Hereford, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , June 23, 1881, 6; Appointed County Superintendent by Commissioners of Deer Lodge County, June 1881 1882 - <i>The New North-west</i> , Nov. 17, 1882, 2; Catlin 838, Brown 801 1884 - <i>The New North-west</i> , Nov. 21, 1884, 2; Catlin 1444, Hereford 1365
	Miss Margaret I. Wolfe	1886, 1888, 1889	Democrat	1886 – Thomas W. Catlin, Republican 1888 – Jennie D. Kinney, Republican (name withdrawn) 1889 – Carrie Murphy, Republican	1886 - Partial Returns <i>The New North-west</i> , Nov. 5, 1886, 2; Catlin 1230, Wolfe 1871 1888 - <i>The New North-west</i> , Nov. 23, 1888, 2 Wolfe 2828 1889 - <i>Anaconda Standard</i> , Oct. 16, 1889, 4; Wolfe 2941, Murphy 2575
	Miss Elizabeth L. “Lizzie” Thomson	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 – Miss Josie Bond, People’s Party; Emma L. Davis, Democrat 1894 – Mrs. Mary McGrath; Democrat, Mrs.	1892 - <i>The New North-west</i> , Dec. 3, 1892, 5; Bond 1497, Davis 1691, Thomson 2138 1894 - <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 18, 1894, 6; McGrath 1,442, Mills 1,472,

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Mamie B. Mills, Populist	Thomson 1,722
	Miss Anna “Annie” Quigley	1896	Democrat	Elizabeth L. Thomson, Republican and Silver Republican; Mamie B. Mills, Populist	<i>The New North-west</i> , Nov. 20, 1896, 1; Quigley 2,261, Thomson 1,884, Mills 886
	Helena Gleeson	1898	Democrat	Jessie E. Blackstone, People’s Party and Silver Republican	<i>Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1898</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1898), 214; Gleeson 3112, Blackstone 1849
	Mary McLaughlin	1900	Democrat, Independent Democratic, Labor Party, People’s Party	Elizabeth L. Thomson, Republican	<i>Daily Inter Mountain</i> (Butte), Nov. 19, 1900, 6; McLaughlin 2,914, Thomson 2,133
Fergus – 1885 (Lewistown)					Although Fergus County was established by the territorial legislature in March 1885, it did not officially become a county with its own county officers until Dec. 1886
	David Calbreath	1886	Democrat	Miss Winnifred A. Shipman, Republican	Thomas J. Leard had originally been nominated as the Republican candidate in August, He was murdered in Sept. 1886 and Winnifred Shipman was nominated in his place. “Superintendent of Schools,” <i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Sept. 16, 1886, 2 <i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 18,

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					1886, 3; Shipman 482, Calbreath 594
	Miss Fannie A. Corbin	1888, 1889	Democrat	1888 – D. C. Van Buren, Republican 1889 – Mrs. Rebecca Howell, Republican	1888 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 22, 1888, 8; Corbin, 798, Van Buren, 491 1889 - <i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Oct. 10, 1889, 3; Corbin 642, Howell 612
	John M. Parrent	1892	Democrat	George Edwards, Republican	<i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Nov. 17, 1892, 2; Edwards 522, Parrent 829
	Horace A. Moulton	1894	Republican	John M. Parrent, Independent Voters; Frank A. Barnes, Democrat	<i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Nov. 15, 1894, 1; Barnes 323, Moulton 592, Parrent, 439
	John M. Parrent	1896	Democrat, People's Party (Fusion – nominated by Democrats)	Horace A. Moulton, Republican	<i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Nov. 19, 1894, 4; Moulton 733, Parrent 807
	Miss Elizabeth S. Peebles	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – B. F. Gordon, Democrat, Silver Republican 1900 – Maud E. Lindsey, Democrat	1898 - <i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Nov. 23, 1898, 2; Peebles 940, Gordon 603 1900 - <i>Fergus County Argus</i> , Nov. 21, 1900, 6; Peebles 1104, Lindsey 1070
Flathead - 1893 (Kalispell)	Alice Hill	March 9, 1893			Appointed with the creation of the county, Feb. 1893. (<i>The Columbian</i> (Columbia Falls), March 9, 1893, 4) Resigned Aug. 1893; <i>The Columbian</i> , Aug. 3, 1893, 4

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	N. Bernard	1893, 1894	Republican	Mrs. Seth McFerran (Alice R.), Democrat; Alice M. Jordan, Populist	Bernard appointed to fill position in Aug. 1893 <i>The Columbian (Columbia Falls, MT)</i> , Nov. 29, 1894, 2; Bernard 932, Jordan 679, McFerran 318
	N. T. Conklin	1896	Republican	F. D. Heads, People's Party	<i>The Columbian</i> (Columbia Falls, MT) Nov. 19, 1896, 4; Conklin 733, Head 691
	Fannie L. Spurck	1898, 1900	1900- Democrat	1898 – N. Anna Geddes, Populist; Alice L. Ingersoll, Republican 1900 – Sherman Robinson, Republican	1898 – <i>Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1898</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1898), 215; Spurck, 781, Ingersoll 633, Geddes, 355 1900 - Incomplete Return "County Returns," <i>The Kalispell Bee</i> , Nov. 10, 1900, 2; Spurck, 1409, Robinson 774
Gallatin – 1864 (Bozeman)	W. Frank Sloan	1880	Democrat	Charles Rich, Republican	"Territorial and County Officers," <i>Daily Independent [Helena, MT]</i> , Dec. 3, 1880, 3
	Dr. George W. Monroe	1882	Democrat	W. W. Wylie, Republican	Outcome
	Adda M. Hamilton	1884	Independent	W. W. Wylie, Republican; Frank Hill, Democrat	<i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 15, 1884, 1; Hamilton, 487, Wylie, 157, Hill, 486
	Miss Mary F. Houston	1886, 1888,	Democrat	1886 - Miss Josie Bell, Republican; Adda M.	1886 - <i>The Bozeman Weekly Chronicle</i> , Nov. 17, 1886, 2; Houston 1146, Bell

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
		1889		Hamilton, Independent 1888 – A. W. Remington, Populist and Prohibition; T. J. Stiles (Styles), Republican 1889 - Alward, Republican, Smith Prohibition	738, Hamilton 1077. 1888 - <i>The Bozeman Weekly Chronicle</i> , Nov. 21, 1888, 2; Houston 996, Stiles 553, Remington 137. 1889 - <i>The Bozeman Chronicle</i> , Oct. 16, 1889, 4; Alward 769, Houston 819, Smith 86
	John M. Kay	1892	Democrat	J. L. Wells, Republican	Outcome
	A.J. Walrath	1894	Republican	Orvis Smith, Populist	Outcome
	Miss Ida Mack	1896	Democrat	A. J. Walrath, Republican (endorsed by the Populists)	Outcome
	Mary E. "Bettie" Chrisman	1898, 1900	Democrat	1898 – Josephine McLeod, Republican 1900 – Miss E. Ferris, Republican	<i>Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1898</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1898), 216; McLeod 826, Chrisman 1042 <i>1900 – Seventh Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1900</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1900), 553; Chrisman 1278, Ferris 1206

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Granite – 1893 (Philipsburg)	Mrs. Abbie W. Wilkinson	1893			Appointed with the creation of the county. Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the State of Montana Passed at the Third Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly (Butte City, MT: Inter Mountain Publishing Company, State Printers, 1893), 216
	C.B. Stevens	1894	Republican	Mrs. Abbie W. Wilkinson, Populist and Democrat	<i>Philipsburg Mail</i> , Nov. 22, 1894, 2; Stevens 688, Wilkinson 567
	Mary E. Smith	1896, 1898	Democrat 1898 Democrat/Populist	1896 – Miss M. C. Ryan, Silver Republican 1898 – Carrie Craven, Silver Republican	1896 - <i>Philipsburg Mail</i> , Nov. 21, 1896, 3; Smith 1050, Ryan 701 1898 - <i>Philipsburg Mail</i> , Nov. 25, 1898, 4; Craven 573, Smith 702
	Maria C. Ryan	1900	People’s Party, Silver Republican, Bryan Democrat (Fusion Party)	Carrie Craven, Republican; Lillian Minear, Democrat and Independent Democratic	<i>Philipsburg Mail</i> , Nov. 23, 1900; Craven 393, Minear 357, Ryan 674
Jefferson – 1864 (Boulder)	E. McSorley	1880	Democrat	Unopposed	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 18, 1880, 3; McSorley 603
	Alex J. Elder	1882	Democrat	V. A. Cook, Republican	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 23, 1882, 3; Cook 609, Elder 676
	Dr. E.I. Fletcher	1884	Republican	Judge Alex J. Elder, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 13, 1884, 7; Fletcher 805, Elder 639
	William E. Dean	1886, 1888, 1889	Democrat	1886 - J. N. Anderson, Republican; W. W. Porter,	1886 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 18, 1886, 4; Dean 1,097, Anderson 910,

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				<p style="text-align: center;">Party</p> <p>1888 – Millard Filmore Allen, Republican</p> <p>1889 – R. E. Hammond, Republican</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Porter 110</p> <p>1888 - <i>The Age (Boulder, MT)</i>, Nov. 21, 1888, 5; Allen 961, Dean 1451</p> <p>1889 - <i>The Age</i>, Oct. 16, 1889, 2; Hammond 1045, Dean 1244</p>
	Edda Lee Lowry	1892	Democrat	Helen Starret, Republican	<p>Appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the disappearance of Superintendent Dean. <i>Northwest Journal of Education</i> 3, no. 2 (Oct. 1891), 28</p> <p><i>Jefferson County Sentinel</i>, Dec. 1, 1892, 4; Lowry 1179, Starret, 667</p>
	Nannita M. V. Bagley	1894	Populist	Mrs. Charles (Sarah) Schott, Democrat; T. A. Brown, Republican	<i>Jefferson County Sentinel</i> , Nov. 15, 1894, 2; Bagley 1140, Brown 1041, Shott 356
	Lillian Carey	1896, 1898	<p>1896 – Populist, Democrat</p> <p>1898 – Democrat</p>	<p>1896 – John Dale, Republican and Silver Republican</p> <p>1898 – Jennie Filcher, Silver Republican</p>	<p>1896 - <i>The Anaconda Standard</i>, Nov. 15, 1896, 9; Carey 1,486, Dale 776</p> <p>1898 - <i>Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1898</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1898), 217; Carey 753, Filcher 709</p>
	Jennie Filcher	1900	Republican	Mary Frawley, Democrat	<i>Seventh Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry of the State of Montana ... 1900</i> (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., State Printers, 1900), 557; Frawley 671, Filcher

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					808
Lewis & Clarke – 1864 (Helena)	George Reeves	1880	Republican	Daniel Searles, Democrat	<i>The Independent Record</i> (Helena), Nov. 4, 1880, 1; Searles 476, Reeves, 725
	Helen Clarke	1882, 1884, 1886, 1888	Republican	1882 - J. B. Porter, Esq., Democrat (Withdrew) 1884 – E. O. Railsback, Democrat 1886 – Mary Kinney, Democrat 1888 – Mrs. Mary Kinney, Democrat	<i>The River Press</i> , Sept. 20, 1882, 8; “I. B. Porter, the democratic candidate for superintendent of county schools in Lewis and Clarke county very gallantly withdraws in favor of Miss Clark.” 1882 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 23, 1882, 3; ballot only had Clarke’s name. Clarke, 1278 1884 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 13, 1884, 7 Clarke 2093, Railsback, 1,663 1886 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 11, 1886, 2; Clarke 2510, Kinney 2425 1888 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 8, 1888, 2; Clarke 4916, Kinney 3626
	Miss Carrie L. Turnley	1889	Democrat	Helen Clarke, Republican; Mrs. H. V. Wheeler, Prohibition	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Oct. 17, 1889, 2; Clarke 2420, Turnley 2520, Wheeler 213
	Miss Minnie A. Reifenrath	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 – Carrie L. Turnley, Democrat; Elfie Benjamin, People’s Party 1894 – Mrs. Maude Davis	1892 - <i>The Helena Independent</i> , Nov. 19, 1892, 5 Benjamin, 899; Reifenrath, 2601, Turnley, 1645 1894 - <i>The Helena Independent</i> , Nov. 9,

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Baker, Democrat; Carrie L. Turnley, People's Party	1894, 5 (incomplete returns) Reifenrath 2,224, Turnley 1,778, Baker 1,300
	Kathryne/Kathryn Johnston	1896, 1898	1896 - Democrat and People's Party 1898 – Democrat, Silver Republican and Populist	1896 – Minnie A. Reifenrath, Republican 1898 – Minnie A. Reifenrath, Republican	1896 - Incomplete Return “County is Surely Democratic,” <i>Helena Weekly Independent</i> , Nov. 12, 1896, 1 (incomplete return) Kathryn Johnston majority of 733 votes; 1898 - “No Doubt of It Now,” <i>Helena Weekly Independent</i> , Nov. 17, 1898, 12; Johnston 2025, Reifenrath 1798
	Ida Fullerton	1900	Republican	Bertha G. Kelly, Democrat	<i>Helena Semi-Weekly Independent</i> , Nov. 9, 1900, 15; Kelly 2287, Fullerton 2624
Madison – 1964 (Virginia City)	S. D. (L.) Bollinger	1880	Democrat	Amos Purdum, Republican	<i>The Madisonian</i> (Virginia City), Nov. 6, 1880, 2; Bollinger 637, Purdum 621
	Alden J. Bennett	1882	Republican	John C. Mahony, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 23, 1882, 3; Bennett 715, Mahoney 528
	John C. Mahony	1884, 1886, 1888, 1889	Democrat	1884 - Alden J. Bennett, Republican 1886 – Miss Virginia Gordon, Republican 1888 – Mrs. Ellen Garvey, Republican 1889 – Tanjor T. Black,	1884 - <i>The Madisonian</i> , Nov. 8, 1884, 2; Mahony 725, Benett 627 1886 - <i>The Madisonian</i> , Nov. 12, 1886, 2; Mahony 813, Gordon 679 1888 - <i>The Madisonian</i> , Nov. 17, 1888, 2; Mahony 716, Garvey 663; Dillon <i>Tribune</i> , Nov. 23, 1888, 5; J. Mahoney elected by majority of 23 votes

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Republican	1889 - <i>The Madisonian</i> , Oct. 19, 1889, 2; Mahony 751, Black 637
	William J. Oliver	1892	Republican	W. F. McFarland, Democrat and People's Party	<i>The Madisonian</i> , Nov. 19, 1892, 3; McFarland 754, Oliver 795,
	Della Herndon	1894	Democrat	F. W. McFarland, Populist, W. J. Oliver, Republican	<i>The Madisonian</i> (Virginia City), Nov. 17, 1894, 5; Herndon 960, McFarland 277, Oliver 607
	Charles W. Birchard	1896	Democrat and People's Party (Populist/Fusion)	Nellie Switzer, Republican and Silver Republican	<i>The Madisonian</i> (Virginia City), Nov. 14, 1896, 1; Birchard 994, Switzer, 863
	Janet L. Davis	1898	Republican, Silver Republican, Populist	Roscoe S. McIntyre, Democrat	<i>The Madisonian</i> , Nov. 18, 1898, 1; Davis 1129, McIntyre 665
	Julia Donegan	1900	Democrat, Independent Democrat	Janet L. Davis, Republican	<i>The Madisonian</i> , Nov. 15, 1900, 7; Davis 1045, Donegan 1315
Meagher – 1867 (White Sulphur Springs)	J. F. McClintock	1880	Democrat	J. Hillis, Republican	“Official Vote of Meagher County,” <i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 25, 1880, 3; McClintock 571, Hillis 557
	Alice S. Nichols	1882	Republican	J. C. Tipton, Democrat	R. S. Price initially nominated by Republicans (<i>The River Press</i> , Sept. 20, 1882, 8) He withdrew and Miss Alice S. Nichols was nominated in his place. (<i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Oct. 12,

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					1882, 6) <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 30, 1882, 3; Nichols 1011, Tipton 923
	Alice M. D'Arcy	1884	Democrat	Alice Nichols, Republican	<i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 20, 1884, 3; Nichols 905, Darcy 1,250
	Miss Bessie Ford	1886	Republican	Alice M. D'Arcy, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 25, 1886, 5; Ford 714, D'Arcy 638
	Alice M. D'Arcy	1887			Appointed at resignation of Bessie Ford who resigned to become superintendent in Cascade County
	Mrs. Belle Blazer	1888	Republican	W. M. McGinness, Democrat	<i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 15, 1888, 3; Blazer 901, McGinness 602
	Miss Neta Sutherlin	1889	Democrat	Mrs. Belle Blazer, Republican	<i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Oct. 10, 1889, 7; Blazer 683, Sutherlin 688
	Mrs. Leona Baker	1892	Democrat	Mrs. Belle Blazer, Republican; Ella Ross, Populist	<i>The Neihart Herald</i> , Nov. 12, 1892, 2; Blazer 441, Baker 773, Ross 265
	Miss S. E. Curtis	1894, 1896	1894 - Democrat and Populist 1896 – Democrat, People's Party, and People's Silver Party	1894 – J. Anna Kline, Republican 1896- Miss M. E. Diefendorf, Republican, Silver Republican	1894 - <i>The Neihart Herald</i> , Nov. 17, 1894, 3; Curtis 736, Kline 721 1896 - <i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 12, 1896, 2; Diefendorf 589, Curtis 1159
	Lottie A. Harris	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – Annie Cramer, Democrat and Silver	<i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 17,

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Republican (Anna M. Kramer?) 1900 – Mrs. J. S. Brewer, Democrat, Miss Belle Shorey, Independent Democratic Party	1898, 2; Harris 342, Kramer 316 <i>Rocky Mountain Husbandman</i> , Nov. 15, 1900, 2; Brewer 107, Shorey 229, Harris 449
Missoula – 1864 (Missoula)	Thomas Williams	1880, 1882	Democrat	1880 - Dwight Harding, Republican 1882 – C. W. Lombard, Republican	1880 - Outcome 1882 - <i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 30, 1882, 3; Lombard 419, Williams 1690
	J.A.T. Ryman	1884	Republican	J. J. Bond, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 20, 1884, 8; Ryman 1239, Bond 634
	Harriet L. “Hattie” Hord	1886	Democrat	Jas. H. Reynolds, Republican	Outcome
	Frederick Gilbert	1888	Republican	A.J. Urlin, Democrat	<i>The Weekly Missoulian</i> , Nov. 23, 1888, 3; Gilbert 2026, Urlin 1326
	Harriet L. “Hattie” Hord	1889, 1892	Democrat	1889 - Frederick Gilbert, Republican 1892 – W. Hershey, Republican; Sarah B. Maclay, Populist	1889 - <i>The Weekly Missoulian</i> , Oct. 16, 1889, 3; Hord, 1612, Gilbert 1469 1892 - <i>The Weekly Missoulian</i> , Nov. 23, 1892, 5; Hershey 1794, Hord 2589, Maclay 955
	Sarah B. Maclay	1894	Populist	Miss Bee Thornton, Republican; Mary E. McCormick, Democrat	Incomplete Returns <i>Weekly Montanian</i> (Thompson Falls), Nov. 10, 1894, 2; Maclay 107, McCormick 15, Thornton 19

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Harriet L. "Hattie" Hord	1896, 1898	Democrat	1896 - Sarah McClay, Fusion (Republican/Populist) 1898 – Minnie Spurgin, Republican	1896 - <i>The Daily Missoulian</i> , Nov. 15, 1896, 3; Maclay 1176, Hord 1283 1898 - <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov 18, 1898, 12; Spurgin, 875, Hord 1710
	Kate Shelley	1900	Democrat, Independent Democratic, People's Party	Lillian Phelps, Republican and Labor; (Miss Minerva Saddleback, HIJi)	<i>Daily Democrat-Messenger</i> , Nov. 22, 1900, 3; Shelley 1765, Phelps, 1463
Park – 1887 (Livingston)	Brunette (Nettie) Ballinger	May 1, 1887			"The Bill Creating Park County," <i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , March 5, 1887, 2
	Mrs. Eva M. Hunter	1888, 1889	Democrat	1888 – Brunette Ballinger, Republican 1889- Miss Mary L. Blake, Republican	1888 - <i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 10, 1888, 2; Ballinger 747, Hunter 936 1889 - <i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Oct. 12, 1889, 2; Blake 880, Hunter 1013
	Josie B. Duke	1892	Democrat	Mathew R. Wilson, Republican	<i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 19, 1892, 1; Duke 1232, Wilson 1141
	Annie McAnnelly	1894	Republican	Josie B. Duke, Democrat; Eva M. Hunter, Populist	<i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 17, 1894, 1; Duke 942, McAnnelly 1322. Note: No Populist candidates including Eva Hunter, appeared on official Nov. ballot.
	Anna "Annie" McDermott	1896	Democrat	Annie McAnnelly, Republican	Incomplete Returns - <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 5, 1896, 5; McDermott, 750, McAnnelly, 763; <i>Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 10, 1896, 1; Final count had

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					McDermott winning by 4 votes
	Alma E. Evans	1898	Silver Republican	Anna McDermott, Democrat	<i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 19, 1898, 1; McDermott 564, Evans 809
	Mrs. Nora Colvin	1900	Democrat, Labor Party and Independent Democrat	L. D. Glenn, Republican	<i>The Livingston Enterprise</i> , Nov. 17, 1900, 2; Glenn 723, Colvin 1111
Ravalli – 1893 (Hamilton)	J. J. Bond	April 1893	Populist		“At Ravalli’s County Seat,” <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , April 10, 1893, 6
	Anna Bond	1894	Republican	Miles L. Rickman, Democrat; George M. Tuxbury, Populist	<i>The Ravalli Republican</i> (Stevensville), Nov. 14, 1894, 2; Bond 876, Rickman 581, Tuxbury 338
	Kittie Ostermeyer	1896	Populist	Anna Bond, Republican; Ella Boland, Democrat	<i>The Ravalli Republican</i> , Nov. 18, 1896, 1; Bond, 511, Boland 577, Ostermeyer 635
	B. May Million	1898	Democrat	Ida L. Fisher, Republican; Kittie Ostermeyer, Silver Republican and People’s Party	“Official Election Returns for Ravalli County”, <i>The Ravalli Republican</i> (Stevensville, MT), Nov. 16, 1898, 2; Million, 722, Fisher, 434, Ostermeyer, 616
	Kittie Ostermeyer	1900	People’s Party	Ida L. Fisher, Republican; B. May Million, Independent Democratic; W. W. Welch, Labor and Democrat; Oscar M. Parelou, Social Democrat Party of America	<i>The Western News</i> (Stevensville), Nov. 21, 1900, 5; Fisher 562, Ostermeyer 830, Million 569

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Silver Bow – 1881 (Butte)	R. B. Hassell	May 1881	Republican	Joseph H. Harper, Democrat	<i>The Weekly Miner</i> , April 12, 1881, 5; Harper 1036, Hassell, 1170
	Clinton H. Moore	1882	Republican	John (Joseph?) H. Harper, Democrat	<i>Helena Weekly Herald</i> , Nov. 23, 1882, 5; Moore, 1803, Harper, 1725 Resigned Dec. 7, 1883 (left county)
	Frederick Lockley	Dec. 7, 1883			Appointed by county commissioners. “The County Commissioners,” <i>The Semi-Weekly Miner</i> (Butte), Dec. 8, 1883, 2.
	T.J. Booher	1884	Democrat	T. T. Baker, Republican; Frederic Lockley, People’s Party	<i>The Semi-Weekly Miner</i> (Butte), Nov. 12, 1884, 1; Booher 2103, Baker, 1791, Lockley 1011
	Miss Mary R. Layton	1886, 1888	Republican	1886 – T. J. Booher, Democrat 1888 – Mary O’Farrell, Democrat	1886 - <i>Butte Semi-Weekly Miner</i> , Nov. 10, 1886, 4; Booher 2092, Layton 3692 1888 - <i>Butte Semi-Weekly Miner</i> , Nov. 17, 1888, 2; Layton 3,701, O’Farrell 3,356.
	Miss Carrie Cox	1889	Democrat	1889 – Mary Layton, Republican	“The Campaign,” <i>The Helena Independent</i> , Sept. 15, 1889, 1; Miss Sadie Medin was nominated by the Silver Bow Democrats. Her name was withdrawn and she was succeeded by Miss Carrie Cox. <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Oct. 15, 1889, 5; Layton 3333, Cox 3388
	Miss Bridget Winnifred Holland	1892	Democrat	E. E. Paxson, Republican	Outcome

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	John F. Davies	1894	Republican	B. Winnifred Holland, Democrat and Populist	<i>The Anaconda Standard</i> Nov. 17, 1894, 8; Davies 4961, Holland 4284
	Mary Mullins	1896	Democrat and Populist (Fusion)	John F. Davies, Republican; A. C. Newill, Silver Republican	<i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 12, 1896, 6; Mullins 5, 856, Davies 3,015, Newill 1,644
	Miss Bridget Downey	1898	Democrat	Miss Briscoe, Fusion (Clark Democrats and Republicans); Miss Belle Calkins, Silver Republicans	<i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 27, 1898, 10; Briscoe 4897, Downey 5948, Calkins 1141
	Mary Mullins	1900	Democrat, People's Party, Labor Party, Eight Hour Republican	A.C. Newill, Republican; Bridget Downey, Independent Democratic	<i>Daily Inter Mountain</i> (Butte), Nov. 17, 1900, 16; Downey, 4,538, Newill 3,334, Mullins 7,771
Sweet Grass – 1895 (Big Timber)	Leon C. Olmstead	April 1895			Name appears in official directory for Sweet Grass County as County School Superintendent, <i>Big Timber Pioneer</i> , June 7, 1894, 8; “They are Chosen,” <i>Big Timber Pioneer</i> , Dec. 27, 1894, 5. Officially appointed by legislative action March 1895
	Bessie H. Mirrielees	1896	Democrat, Silver Republican	L. C. Olmstead, Republican	<i>Big Timber Pioneer</i> , Nov. 12, 1896, 4; Mirrielees 372, Olmstead 213
	Miss Eva L. Dana	1898	Republican, Silver Republican	Mary E. Frawley, Democrat	<i>Big Timber Pioneer</i> , Nov. 17, 1898, 1; Dana, 342, Frawley, 254
	Stellah Walker	1900	Democrat	Edith R. Mirrielees, Republican	<i>Big Timber Pioneer</i> , Nov. 15, 1900, 4; Walker 402, Mirrielees, 361

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Teton – 1893 (Choteau)	J. G. Bair	March 1893			Appointed at formation of the county. <i>The Montanian</i> , March 10, 1893, 6
	Effie A. Hardin	1894	Democrat and People’s Party	Grace H. Vance, Republican	<i>The Montanian</i> (Choteau, MT), Nov. 16, 1894, 2; Hardin (People’s) 45, Hardin (Democrat) 433, Vance 279
	Florence Bean	1896	Fusion (People’s Party, Democrat)	John A. Moulton, Republican	<i>The Montanian</i> , Nov. 20, 1896, 4 Bean 367, Moulton 255
	Mrs. Fannie E. Chenoweth	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – S. Y. Penrod, Democrat/Populist Ticket 1900 - Oma S. Cord, Democrat and Independent Democratic	1898 - S. Y. Penrod had been named to the Democrat-Populist (Fusion) ticket in Oct. 1898 - Penrod’s name did not appear on the official ballot although others of the ticket were on the ballot (See <i>The Montanian</i> (Choteau, MT), Oct. 28, 1898, 5); <i>The Montanian</i> (Choteau, MT), Nov. 18, 1898, 1; Chenoweth 547 1900 - <i>The Montanian</i> (Choteau, MT), Nov. 16, 1900; Chenoweth 541, Cord 522
Valley – 1893 (Glasgow)	Henry H. Hedges	Jan. 1893			Appointed at the creation of the county; “The Senate,” <i>The Helena Independent</i> , Jan. 15, 1893, 8
	Mark D. Hoyt	1894	Democrat	Henry H. Hedges, Republican	<i>Valley County Gazette</i> , Nov. 17, 1894, 4; Hoyt 176, Hedges 136
	Mrs. Jessie Bell (Mrs. George W. Bell)	1896	Republican	J. B. Booth, Democrat	<i>Valley County Gazette</i> , Nov. 14, 1896, 4; Bell 215, Booth 160

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Elsie Clough (Rutter)	1898	Democrat	Jessie Bell, Republican	<i>Valley County Gazette</i> , Nov. 19, 1898, 4; Clough 229, Bell 141
	Carrie E. Luther	1900	Republican	Elsie Rutter, Democrat; Mabel Peck, Independent Candidate	<i>North Montana Review</i> , Nov. 10, 1900, 4; Rutter 242, Luther 246, Peck 151
Yellowstone – 1883 (Billings)	J. E. Hendry	April 1883	Democrat	W. F. Mayer, Republican	“Democratic Victory,” <i>The Billings Herald</i> , April 14, 1883, 1
	Benjamin F. Shuart	1883, 1884	1884 - Republican, People’s Ticket, Taxpayers’ Ticket	B.S. Scott, Democrat	Shuart appointed by County Commissioners, <i>The Billings Herald</i> , June 9, 1883, 3 <i>The Billings Herald</i> , Nov. 15, 1884, 3; Shuart 599, Scott 285
	Mrs. Anna S. Shuart	1885			<i>The Daily Yellowstone Journal</i> [Miles City, MT], April 7, 1885, 1; appointed after husband failed to qualify for office
	Joseph H. Rinehart	1886	Republican	Alfred Brown, Democrat; Anna S. Shuart, Independent Candidate	<i>The Daily Gazette</i> (Billings, MT), Nov. 9, 1886, 3; Rinehart, 409, Brown 286, Shuart 173
	Martha J. Rogers	1888	Republican	W. B. George, Democrat	<i>Billings Weekly Gazette</i> , Nov. 15, 1898, 8; Rogers 482, George 386
	Mrs./Miss Mattie J. Crampton	1889, 1892	1889 – Republican and Democrat 1892 – Populist	1889 – Unopposed 1892 – Miss Louisa Soule, Republican	1889 – <i>The Billings Gazette</i> , Oct. 17, 1889, 8; Crampton 618 1892 – <i>The Billings Gazette</i> , Nov. 17, 1892, 8; Crampton 461, Soule 413

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
			and Democrat		
	Martha E. Shoemaker	1894	Republican	W. E. Burr, People's Party; Mrs. Lucy S. Railsback, Democrat; Florence Snyder, Independent Republican	<i>The Billings Gazette</i> , Nov. 17, 1894, 8; Burr 121, Railsback 358, Shoemaker 901, Snyder 55
	Gwen F. Burla	1896, 1898	Democrat and Populist	1896 - Miss M. E. Shoemaker, Republican 1898 - W. D. White	1896 - "The Official Count," <i>The Billings Daily Gazette</i> , Nov. 9, 1896, 3; Shoemaker 409, Burla 571 1898 - <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , Nov. 13, 1898, 2; Burla 740, White 339
	Mrs. Marguerite M. Strang	1900	Republican	Prof. N. McCrary, Democrat, People's Party and Independent Democrat	"Total Vote in County," <i>The Billings Gazette</i> , Nov. 9, 1900, 3; Strang 906, McCrary 546

Appendix D:
County Superintendent Election Data
Washington Territory and Early Statehood
1874-1900

County Superintendent Data Late Washington Territory and Early Statehood, 1874-1900

Election Returns are from the Secretary of State Records held at the Washington State Archives unless otherwise noted.

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Adams – 1883 (Ritzville)	Mrs. J. G. Bennett (Mrs. C. Bennett)	1883, 1884, 1886	Republican	1884 – J. S. Edwards, Democrat 1886 – Eliz. Scholl, Democrat	Initially appointed December 19, 1883 1884 - Mrs. C. Bennett 118, J. S. Edwards 47, J. Kufin (?) 1, William Whitney 1 1886- Mrs. C. Bennett 123, Eliz. Scholl 113
	Robert C. Egbers	1888, 1890, 1892	Republican	1888 – J. J. Huffman, Democrat 1890 – W. R. Cunningham, Democrat 1892 – B. J. Neare, Democrat	1888 – R. C. Egbers 234, J. J. Huffman 135 1890 – W. R. Cunningham 154, R. C. Egbers 253 1892 – Egbers 280, Neare 244; <i>Seattle Post- Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 30, 1892, 2
	John W. Emmert	1894, 1896	Populist	1894 – Opponent and Party 1896 – Mrs. L. Bemis, Republican	1894 – Outcome 1896 - Bemis 272, Emmert, 344
	Leta Winslow Emmert	Dec. 1897			Appointed
	L. C. Van Patten	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 - Walter Staser, Populist 1900 – B. J. Neare,	1898 - Van Patten 330, Staser 212 1900 – Van Patten 505, Neare 497

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Democrat	
Asotin – 1883 (Asotin)	Charles G. Goodwin	1883			Appointed by county commissioners at creation of county Nov. 14, 1883
	Angie Bean (Mrs. A. B. Tuttle)	1884	Republican	J. N. Boggan, Democrat	Appointed February 4, 1884 to fill vacant position; “Commissioner’s Court,” <i>Asotin Spirit</i> , February 8, 1884, 3 Angie Bean 300, Boggan 132
	Mrs. Sarah E. Morrill	1886	Independent, endorsed by the Democratic Convention	Mrs. D. A. McIntosh, Republican	McIntosh 157, Morrill 305
	W. W. Henry	1888	Democrat	D. S. Jennings, Republican	D. S Jennings, 145, Henry 189
	D. W. Savage	1890	Democrat	Unopposed	Savage Dill 214, Scattering 1
	D. S. Jennings	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 - Albert Cook, Democrat 1894 - Unopposed	1892 - Jennings 213, Cook 154 1894 - Jennings 218
	Mrs. Hallie B. Robison	1896	People’s Party	Joshua B. Jones, Republican	Jones 236, Robinson 239
	Joshua B. Jones	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 - Hallie E. Robinson, People’s Party 1900 – Mrs. Myra	1898 - Jones 280, Robinson 192 1900 – Jones 411, Roadruck 327

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Roadruck, Democrat	
Chelan – 1899 (Wenatchee)	John D. Atkinson	1899			Appointed at the creation of the county January 1900
	J. E. Porter	1900	Republican	C. Will Shaffer, Democrat	Porter 610, Shaffer 559
Clallam – 1854 (Port Angeles)	G. B. Hotchkiss	1872, 1874	Republican	1874 – Smith Troy, Democrat	1874 - John Morris 1, Smith Troy 49, B. G. Hotchkiss 49, William King 1
	Smith Troy	1876	Democrat	William C. Garfield, Republican	W. C. Garfield 29, Smith Tory, 69, E. H. McAlmond 1, Chas. McDermoth 2
	William Payne	1878	Democrat	B. G. Hotchkiss, Republican	William Payne 72, B. G. Hotchkiss 61
	Smith Troy	1880, 1882, 1884, 1886	Democrat	1880 – B. G. Hotchkiss, Republican 1882 – H. C. Minkler, Republican 1884 – Mrs. Geo. Entriken, Republican 1886 – Donald McInnis, Republican	1880 – Smith Troy 72, B. G. Hotchkiss 55 1882 – H. C. Minkler 31, Smith Troy 84 1884 – Mrs. Geo. Entriken 88, Smith Troy 144 1886 – McInnis 147, Troy 163
	N. M. Burch	1888	Republican	Thomas Maloney, Citizen’s Ticket, J. B. Dick, Democrat	Richard Eacrett 1, Thomas Malony 101, N. M. Burch 132, J. B. Dick 104

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Thomas Maloney	1889			Appointed August 6, 1889
	A. B. Dorsey	1890, 1892	Republican	1890 – Thomas Malony, Democrat 1892 – Lena Wilcox, Democrat; W. B. Main, People’s Party	1890 – A. B. Dorsey 548, Thos. Malony 407 1892 – Wilcox 466, Dorsey 598, Main 290
	Ella L. Guptill	1894	People’s Party	Archie N. Taylor, Republican; W. D. Johns, Democrat	Taylor 469, Johns 119, Guptill 734
	E. N. (H?) Hatch	1896	Republican	W. D. Johns, Democrat; Ella L. Guptill, People’s Party (?)	Hatch 653, Johns 77, Guptill 549
	Archie N. Taylor	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – Gena Wilcox, People’s Party 1900 – unopposed	1898 – Taylor 586, Wilcox 374 1900 – Taylor 865, D. O’Brien (write in) 6 (Annie O’Brien nominated by the Social Democrat Party – <i>Seattle Daily Times</i> , June 25, 1900, 1; did not appear on official ballot)
Clark(e) – 1845 (Vancouver)	(Rev.) A. S. Nicholson	1870, 1872, 1874	Republican	1874 - Miss Irene Clark, Party	1874 - Clark 297, Nicholson 357
	W. Bryon Daniels	Feb. 1876			Appointed to fill position left vacant with Nicholson’s resignation. <i>Vancouver Independent</i> , February 19, 1876, 4 Daniels resignation was accepted August 1877. “Proceedings of the Board of County

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					Commissioners," <i>Vancouver Independent</i> , August 16, 1877, 5
	A. S. Nicholson	1876	Republican	Webster Abbott, Democrat	1876 – Nicholson 427, Abbott 327; George H. Steward had originally been nominated at the Republican Convention <i>Vancouver Independent</i> , September 23, 1876, 4; Nicholson was added to the ballot later; "Commissioner and Superintendent," <i>Vancouver Independent</i> , October 7, 1876, 4
	Robert Robb	1878, 1880	Republican	1878 – A. S. Nicholson, People's Ticket 1880 – Lettie Lyons, People's Ticket	1878 – Robert Robb 413, A. S. Nicholson 410 1880 – Robert Robb 495, Miss Lettie Lyons 422
	A. S. Nicholson	1882	People's Ticket	Edwin Pratt, Republican	Nicholson 685, Edwin Pratt, 447
	M. Ella Whipple	1884	Republican	A.S. Nicholson, Party ; Wm. H. Johnson, Party	A. S. Nicholson 884, M. Ella Whipple 1064, Wm. H. Johnson 114
	W. P. Hiddleson	1886	Democrat	Miss Lettie Lyons, Republican	Miss Lettie Lyons 887, W. P. Hiddleson 1196, L. M. Cidden 1
	I. N. Lafferty	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 - W. P. Hiddleson, Democrat 1890 - P. Hough, Democrat	1888 – I. N. Lafferty 986, W. P. Hiddleson 696, John Cleary 1, F. Shannon 1 1890 – P. Hough 820, I. N. Lafferty 1034
	C. E. Alexander	1892	Democrat	W. A. Gilmore, Republican, William Hargreaves, People's Party;	Gilmore, 1074, Alexander, 1080, Hargreaves 371, Goddard 81

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				J. H. Goddard, Prohibition	
	I. N. Lafferty	1894	Republican	C. E. Alexander, Democrat; William Hargreaves, People's Party; W. J. Jacob, Prohibition	Lafferty 1103, Alexander 999, Hargreaves 599, Jacob 44
	A. C. Rinehart	1896	People's Party	J. H. Schirmer, Republican	Schirmer 1138, Rinehart 1563
	Milton W. Evans	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – A. C. Rinehart, People's Party 1900 – J. Monroe Wood, Democrat, Mrs. Clara Ryan, Prohibition	1898 – Evans 1345, Rinehart 1033 1900 – Evans 1402, Wood 679, Ryan 769
Columbia – 1875 (Dayton)	T. S. Leonard	1875	Party	R. H. Wills, Party	Election December 23, 1875; Leonard 357, Wills 206
	J. E. Edmiston	1876	Democrat	Sm. O. Matzger, Republican	Matzger 320, Edmiston 393
	Frank M. McCully	1878, 1880	Republican	1878 - William Wills, Democrat 1880 – F. W. D. Mays, Democrat	1878 - McCully 658, Wills 543 - <i>An Illustrated History of Southeastern Washington</i> , 393 1880 – F. M. McCully 820, F. W. D Mays 592
	Julia Newkirk	1882	Democrat	R. O. Hawks, Republican	Julia Newkirk 619, R. O. Hawks 474
	R. O. Hawks	1884, 1886	Republican	1884 - James Austin, Democrat	1884 – James Austin 819, R. O. Hawks 1106 1886 – R. O. Hawks 1002, James L. Dumass

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				1886 – J. L. Dumas, Democrat	907
	G. S. Livengood	1888	Democrat	R. O. Hawks, Republican	R. O. Hawks 663, G. S. Livengood 673
	John Woods	1890	Republican	G. S. Livingood, Democrat	G. S. Livingood 664, John Woods 666
	Charles S. Terpening	1892	Democrat	H. Ridgely, Republican; James Bradford, Prohibition	Ridgely 473, Terpening 941, Bradford 94
	H. B. Ridgeley	1894	Republican	T. A. Rogers, Democrat; C. S. Terpening, People's Party	Ridgely 665, Rogers 414, Terpening 536
	Ella Terpening	1896, 1898	People's Party	1896 - H. B. Ridgeley, Republican 1898 – W. W. Hendron, Republican	1896 - Terpening 872, Ridgely 753 1898 – Terpening 769, Hendron 716
	W. W. Hendron	1900	Republican	Nancy Gilbreath, Democrat	Hendron 900, Gilbreath 707
Cowlitz – 1854 (Kelso)	Samuel Vestal	1874	Party	Unopposed	S. Vestal 334
	Columbia L. Klady	1876	Republican	T. V. McCarthy, Democrat; W. Elyea, People's Ticket	D. Serlor X, C. L. Klady 257, W. Elgea 48, T. V. McCarthy, 31, D. Sortor, 1
	Antoinette B. Huntington	1878, 1880	Republican	1878 – W. Y. Algea, People's Ticket 1880 – P. McMillan, People's Ticket	1878 - A. B. Huntington 213, W. Elgea 181 1880 – Mrs. A. B. Huntington 223 – election returns list no opponent

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				(withdrew?)	
	Orren W. Barber	1882	Republican	Mrs. Jennie Hart, Democrat	C. W. Barber 262, Mrs. Jennie Hart 180
	A. M. Barnett	1884	Democrat	Ed. R. Huntington, Republican	E. R. Huntington 371, A. M. Barnette 432, Mrs. E. R. (Antoinette) Huntington, R. Corgen
	Mrs. J. A. Abernathy	1886	Republican	A.M. Barnett, Democrat	A. M. Barnette 495, Mrs. J. A. Abernathy 509
	W. A. Berry				“Mr. Abernethy resigned as School Superintendent, and W. A. Berry has been appointed to fill the vacancy from March 5 th .” <i>Washington Standard</i> , March 2, 1888
	Mrs. E. T. Searles	1888	Republican	A. M. Barnett, Democrat	A. M. Barnett 421, Mrs. E. V. Searles 540, Prof. Pratt 1
	W. A. Berry	1890, 1892	Republican	1890 - J. W. Palmer, Democrat; J. N. Thum, Prohibition 1892 – C. A. Soney, Democrat	1890 – W. A. Berry 607, J. W. Palmer 459, J. N. Thum 62 1892 – Berry 831, Soney 455; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> Nov. 21, 1892, 2.
	T. H. Adams	1894	Republican	James (Joseph) O’Neill, Populist; J. Ilen Harrison, Democrat	<i>The Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 11, 1894, 1; Adams 482; Harrison 470, O’Neill 510
	Joseph. O’Neill	1896, 1898	People’s Party	1896 - T. H. Adams, Republican 1898 – G. H. Marsh, Republican	1896 – Adams 931, O’Neil 966 1898 – Marsh 724, O’Neill 772

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Ada Julesburg	1900	Democrat	Opponent and Party	Outcome
Douglas – 1883 (Waterville)	Eva Brown	1884	People’s Convention	Unopposed	Appointed September 8, 1884 by county commissioners 1884 – Brown 185
	C. C. Ladd	1886, 1888	Republican	1886 – Cora Johnson, Party 1888 – A. R. House, Democrat	1886 – Clarence C. Ladd 138, Cora Johnson 117 1888 – A. E. House 205, C. C. Ladd 241
	O. D. Porter (A. C. Porter)	1890	Democrat	E. M. Bogart, Republican	E. M. Bogart 323, A. C. Porter 391
	Edgar M. Bogart	1892	People’s Party	O. D. Porter, Republican Mary A. Pryor, Democrat	Porter 344, Pryor 312, Bogart 367
	J. W. Wolverton	1894	Republican	Lucy A. Andrews, Democrat; Edgar M. Bogart, People’s Party	Wolverton 499, Andrews 108, Bogart 468
	G. S. Floyd	1896	People’s Party	J. W. Wolverton, Republican	Wolverton 437, Floyd 623
	Sevilla Steiner	1898, 1900	1898 – Fusion 1900 - Democrat	1898 - E. F. Elliott, Republican 1900 - Charles W. Weedon, Republican	1898 - Elliott 370, Steiner 477 1900 – Weedon 451, Steiner, 685
Ferry – 1899 (Republic)	G. A. Graham	1899			Appointed by the county commissioners at the

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					creation of the county
	Miss Josephine Grim	1900	Republican	Unopposed	Grim 765
Franklin – 1883 (Pasco)	J. E. Van Gordon	1883			Appointed December 8, 1883
	Mrs. Flora Livesley	1883			Appointed December 29, 1883 to replace Van Gordon
	J. W. O’Keefe	1884	Party	M.C. McBride, Party	John W. O’Keefe 144, M. C. McBride 22
	C. M. McBride	1886	Party	J. E. Van Gordon, Party	C. M. McBride 92, J. E. Van Gordon 10
	Mrs. Clara W. Wilkins	1888			Appointed?
	John E. Gantenbein	1888	Democrat	C. M. McBride, Party	J. E. Gantenbein 79, C. M. McBride 60, L. Wilkins 1
	Mrs. Eliza O’Keefe	1890	Democrat	Mrs. M. V. Harper, Reform; Miss Addie V. Woodruff, Republican	Mrs. M. V. Harper 11, Mrs. Eliza G. O’Keefe 66, Miss Addie V. Woodruff 65
	Mrs. Marguerite Speck	1892	Democrat	Eliza G. O’Keefe, Populist	Speck, 66, O’Keefe 52; “Franklin County,” <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 12, 1892, 1
	Mrs. Clara Wilkins	1893			Appointed to replace Speck on February 7, 1893
	Mrs. E. G. O’Keefe	1894, 1896	1894 – Party 1896 – People’s	1894 – Opponent and Party 1896 – Mrs. Alice A.	1894 Outcome 1896 - Benton, 53, O’Keefe, 95

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
			Party	Benton, Republican	
	Miss L. Lumm (Charlotte Lum)	1898	Democrat		Lumm 5 votes No name appears to have officially been on the ballot although the local paper listed Lumm as the Democratic candidate; Populists did not name a candidate (they had approached the Democrats to fuse but were refused) and the Republicans ran no ticket in the county. "The Conventions," <i>(Pasco) News-Recorder</i> , Oct. 21, 1898, 3
	Mrs. E. G. O'Keefe				Appointed? – 1900 Census gives her as superintendent, appointed to replace Lumm?
	C. M. McBride	1900	Democrat	Opponent and Party	Outcome
Garfield – 1881 (Pomeroy)	William H. Marks	1882	Republican	Joseph Wills, Democrat	County commissioners declared office vacant on Feb. 21, 1882. Marks appointed then? Marks had a majority of 173 votes
	Mrs. F. G. (T. C.) Morrison	1882	Republican	F. M. Beckwith, Democrat	Jo Harris 3, Mrs. F. G. Morrison 526, W. H. Marks 3, Frank Schuster 1, J. Rolli 1, J. H. Gallagher 1 – Beckwith's name does not appear in election returns
	I. C. Sanford	1884	Republican	J. N. Miller, Democrat	C. C. Sanford 771, J. N. Willis 500 – election returns gives opponent as Willis, other sources give name as Miller
	T. Driscoll	1886	Republican	F. M. Beckwith, Democrat	F. M. Beckwith 616, T. Driscoll 691

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	H. C. Benbow	1888, 1890, 1892	Republican	1888 - T. Driscoll, Democrat 1890 – C. W. Cotton, Democrat M. M. Humphrey, Prohibition 1892 – R. B. Brown, Democrat J. Q. Strech, People’s Party R. L. Latz, Prohibition	1888 – Horace Benbow 506, T. Driscoll, 455 1890 – H. C. Benbow 416, C. W. Cotton 341, M. M. Humphrey 72 1892 – Benbow 406, Brown 132, Strech 217, Latz 127
	E. V. Kuykendall	1894	Republican	C. W. Cotton, People’s Party; F. M. Beckwith, Prohibition	Kuykendall 473, Cotton 440, Beckwith 7
	Emma (Nelson) Elsensohn	1896, 1898	People’s Party	1896 - E. V. Kuykendall, Republican 1898 – Alice Scully, Republican	1896 - Kuykendall 400, Nelson 462 1898 – Eisensohn 445, Scully 405
	Nellie Vallen	1900	Republican	Hattie Corbin, Democrat	Vallen 576, Corbin 416
Grays Harbor (Chehalis)-1854 (Montesano)	James Gleason, Jr. (Sr.)	1874	Party	Dennis Shaffer, Party H. D. Taylor, Party; W. H. Amidon, Party; Sherman Estus, Party	Shaffer 36, Taylor 20, Armidon 2, Gleason 44, Estus 10
	Mrs. D. M. Newton	1876	Party	C. N. Byles, Party	Mrs. Delia M. Newton 78, C. N. Byles 67
	Sherman Estus	1878, 1880,	Party	1878 – unopposed	1878 – Sherman Estus 145, D. F. Byles 1

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
		1882		1880 – Thomas Wylie, Democrat 1882 – J. D. Hill, Party	1880 – Sherman Estus 118, Thomas Wylie 61, H. D. Taylor 1 1882 – Sherman Estus 143, J. D. Hill 110
	Mrs. J. M. Walker	1884	Republican	Sherman Estus, Party; M C. Dunlap, Party	Mrs. J. M. Walker 576, Sherman Estus 121, M. C. Dunlap 338, W. Valentine
	S. S. Caldwell	1886	Party	Sherman A. Estus, Party	S. A. Estus 457, S. S. Caldwell 588
	R. B. Bryan	1887			Appointed? – R. B. Bryan files the County Superintendent report to the Territorial Superintendent Aug 1, 1887
	F. A. White	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 - W. H. Amiden, Democrat 1890 – A. H. Kennedy, Democrat	1888 – F. A. White 713, W. H. Amiden 686 1890 – A. H. Kennedy 817, F. A. White 1195
	James A. Hutchinson	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 - L. E. Mahaffey, Democrat; B. G. Cheney, People's Party 1894 - Eldredge Wheeler, Democrat; N. Grant Wheeler, Prohibition; H. F. Coles, People's Party	1892 - Mahaffey 780, Hutchison 915, Cheney 631 1894 – Hutcheson 918, E. Wheeler 421, N. Wheeler 201, Coles 603
	N. D. McKillip	1896, 1898	People's Party	1896 - R. P. Campbell, Republican 1898 - J.D. Dean, Republican	1896 - McKillip 1330, Campbell, 1251 1898 – Dean 1117, McKillip 1230

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	P. A. Williams,	1900	Republican	E. W. Boling, Democrat	(incomplete) Williams 1828, Boling 1035; <i>Aberdeen Herald</i> , Nov. 8, 1900, 1.
Island – 1853 (Coupeville)	Joseph S. Kelley	1874	Party	J. Snow, Party	Joseph S. Kelly 98, J. Snow 84, E. B. Ebey 2
	G. O'Haller (G. O. Haller)	1876	Democrat	D. O. Pearson, Republican	G. O. Haller 70, D. O. Pearson 68, C. H. Larrabee 1, C. T. Terry 4, S. D. Howe 1
	H. H. Lloyd	1878	Democrat	S. D. Crockett, Republican	H. H. Lloyd 99, S. D. Crockett 76, William Patterson 1
	Mary E. Coupe	1880	Republican	Julia Kinney, Democrat	Mary E. Coupe 92, Julia Kinney 91, Jerome Ely 1
	Jerome Ely	1881, 1882	Republican	N. H. Straube, Democrat	Lloyd provides county report to Territorial Superintendent in Sept. 1881 H. H. Lloyd 1, Jerome Ely 77, N. H. Straube 69
	Julia E. (Kinney) Hancock	1884	Democrat	Jerome Ely, Republican	Jerome Ely 137, Julia Kinney 171
	Lizzie E. Crockett	1886	Democrat	Jerome Ely, Republican	Jerome Ely 103, Miss L. E. Crockett 247
	Thomas Grauney (Cranney)	1888	Republican	Lizzie E. Crockett, Democrat	Thos Cranney 141, Lizzie Crockett 123, T. H. Stringham 1
	Frank D. Newberry	1890	Republican	John Dawson, Democrat	John L. Dawson 130, F. D. Newberry 173
	Lewis H. Smith	1892	Party	Kaehler, Party	Smith 195, Kaehler, 140; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 29, 1892, 8.

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Mrs. Mary E. Jenne	1894, 1896	1894 – Populist and Democrat 1896 - Party	1894 – F. D. Newberry, Republican 1896 F. J. James, Republican	1894 – [Mrs. N. Jewell] 194, Newberry 183; <i>Seattle Post Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 10, 1894, 2. 1896 - James 190, Jenne 218
	Laura G. Plummer	1898	Republican	C. E. Newberry, People’s Party	Plummer, 235, Newberry 125
	Ella Meagher	1900	Republican	Laura G. Plummer, Democrat	Meagher 227, Plummer 182; <i>Island County Times</i> , Nov. 9, 1900, 2.
Jefferson – 1852 (Port Townsend)	Rev. John Rea	1874	Republican	Unopposed	John Rea 384, Seavey 1
	Robert E. Ryan	1876	Republican	H. L. Blanchard, Democrat	Robert E. Ryan 201, Henry L. Blanchard 152, John Rea 1
	A. R. Huffman	1878	Republican	H. C. Willison, Democrat	H. C. Willison 150, A. R. Huffman 194 Huffman died in office on May 2, 1880
	D. W. Smith	1880			Appointed?
	Virginia M. Hancock	1880	Democrat	R. E. Ryan, Republican	Virginia Hancock 201, R. E. Ryan 145
	E. A. Collins	1882	Democrat	Allen Weir, Republican	Allen Weir 206, E. A. Collins 240, R. C. Kerr 3
	J. J. Calhoun	1883			Appointed? Submits annual report to state September 1883

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	R. H. Allen	1884	Democrat	Robert E. Ryan, Republican	R. H. Allen 523, R. E. Ryan 424
	Robert E. Ryan	1886, 1888, 1890	Republican	1886 – Lucian D. McArdle, Democrat 1888 – A. W. Buddress, Democrat 1890 – F. W. Colvin, Democrat	1886 – R. E. Ryan 553, Lucian D. McArdle 543 1888 – A. W. Buddress 488, R. E. Ryan 585 1890 – F. W. Colvin 682, Robert E. Ryan 721
	W. J. Rohde	1892	Democrat	Robert Ryan, Republican; Thompson, Party	Ryan 603, Rohde, 636, Thompson 99; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> Nov. 29, 1892, 8.
	A. W. Buddress	1893			Appointed?
	U. Grant Edwards	1894	Republican	W. D. Steele, Democrat; C. A. Thompson, Populist; August Duddenhausen, Independent	Edwards 468; Steele 341; Thompson 119; Duddenhausen 257; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 11, 1894, 1.
	Clara Ryan	1896	People's Party	U. Grant Edwards, Republican	Edwards, 568, Ryan 654
	U. Grant Edwards	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – C. B. Aubert, People's Party 1900 – Opponent and Party	1898 – Edwards 578, Aubert 374 1900 - Outcome
King – 1852 (Seattle)	J. M. Hall	1874	Republican	Thomas B. Morris – “People’s Candidate”	J. H. Hall 458, F. B. Morris, 333

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Edward Sturgis Ingraham	1876, 1878, 1880	Republican 1878 – Ran on both Republican and Democratic Tickets	1876 - D. R. McMillan, Democrat 1878 – unopposed 1880 – Miss Anna Bean, Democratic and People’s Ticket	1876 - Ingraham 929 McMillan 573 1878 – E. S. Ingraham 1412, Mrs. Page 1, C. H. Hodge 1, W. D. Lyts 22, Scattering 1 1880 – E. S. Ingraham 816, Anna Bean 756
	O. S. Jones	1882, 1884	1882 - Independent Ticket (People’s Ticket) 1884 – Young Men’s Political Club Independent Ticket	1882 – J. F. Ellis, Republican 1884- Florence Chick, Republican Mary Condon Democratic/Independent Republicans (withdrew); H. F. Jones Democratic and Independent Republican (Fusion)	1882 – J. F. Ellis 692, O. S. Jones 1176, Scattering 1 1884 – Florence Chick 1325, O. S. Jones 3442, H. F. Jones 282
	Isaac P. Rich	1886	People’s Independent Ticket (People’s Party of Washington)	O. S. Jones, Republican and Prohibition	I. P. Rich 3010, O. S. Jones 2530, Scattering 2
	V. A. Pusey	1888, 1890, 1892	Republican	1888 – Isaac P. Rich, Democratic and People’s Party; O. L. Fowler, Prohibition	1888- Isaac P. Rich 2706, V. A. Busey 3243, O. L. Fowler 286, Scattering 1 1890 – V. A. Pusey 4965, A. M. Dailey 1292

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				1890 – A. M. Dailey, Prohibition 1892 – William G. McCarthy, Democrat; George L. Carmichael, People’s Party; Mrs. Annie E. Kirkland, Prohibition	1892 – Pusey 4118, McCarthy 2844, Carmichael 1593, Kirkland 271
	J. M. Layhue	1894	Republican	W. J. Meredith, Democrat; David Thomas, People’s Party, Straight People’s Party; William W. Head, Prohibition	Layhue 5043, Meredith 2427, Thomas 4026, Head 193
	W. J. Meredith	1896, 1898	1896 – Democrat (People’s Party Ticket) 1898 – People’s Party	1896 – J. M. Layhue, Republican 1898 - W. G. Hartranft, Republican; William W. Head, Prohibition	1896 - Layhue 6397, Meredith 7305; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 8, 1896, 19 1898 – Hartranft 5924, Meredith 6117
	W. G. Hartranft	1900	Republican	Madison M. Moss, Democrat; James D. Curtis Social Democrat	Hartranft 9663, Moss 8132, Curtis 332
Kitsap – 1857 (Port Orchard)	A. L. Allison	1874	People’s Candidate	Unopposed	A. S. Allison 310
	Alfred Snyder	1876			Appointed?

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	J. S. Houghton	1876	Democrat	J. S. Allison, Party	J. S. Houghton 257, J. S. Allison 164
	Charles McDermouth	1878	Party	Dr. Houghton, Democrat; Reed, Party	McDermouth 340, Houghton 32, S. W. Reed 24
	Miss L. M. Ordway	1880, 1882	Democrat 1882 – nominated by Republicans as well	1880 – J. M. Frink, Republican 1882 – Unopposed	1880 – Frink 165, Ordway 244; <i>Daily Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 6, 1880, 3 1882 – Ordway 374 votes
	Lillie C. Meigs	1884	Republican	L. M. Ordway, Democrat	Miss L. M. Ordway 296, Miss L. C. Meigs 428
	Miss L. M. Ordway	1886	Democrat	A.D. Guthrie, Party A.D. Dickey, Party	Appointed? – Ordway files report with territorial superintendent in August 1885 and conducts teachers’ exams in Nov. 1886 Miss L. M. Ordway 438, A. D. Guthrie 286, A. D. Dickey 64
	A. A. Dickey (S. A. Dickey)	1888, 1890	Party	1888 – Unopposed 1890 – E. L. Carson, Party	1888 – S. A. Dickey 951, Scattering 2 1890 – E. L. Carsen 370, S. A. Dickey 446
	C. M. Barnes	1892	People’s Party	Effie Johnson, Democrat and Prohibition; C. N. Winger, Republican	Winger, 458, Effie Johnson, 453, Barnes 482
	C. N. Winger	1894, 1896	Republican	1894 – Effie Johnson, Prohibition; W. A. Thomas, Populist	1894 – <i>The Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 10, 1894, 2; Winger 577, Thomas 467

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				1896 - Effie Johnson, People's Party	1896 – Winger 757, Johnson 683
	James B. Finch	1898	Republican	N. E. Walker, People's Party	Finch 670, Walker 457
	F. D. Newberry	1900	Republican	James B. Finch, Independent Republican	Newberry 820, Finch 404; <i>Port Orchard Independent</i> , Nov. 10, 1900, 1 Although Democrats ran candidates for other offices they did not run a candidate for school superintendent
Kittitas – 1883 (Ellensburg)	Irene Cumberlin	1883, 1884	Democrat	1884 – J. A. Laurie, Republican	Appointed by county commissioners as first county school superintendent for Kittitas County – <i>Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer</i> , December 27, 1883, 3 Irene Cumberlin 606, J. A. Laurie 265
	D. G. C. Baker	1886			Cumberlin resigned March 15, 1886 and D. G. C. Baker was appointed to fill the vacant position
	Clara V. Peterson	1886	Party	Carrie McDowell, Party	C. V. Peterson 870, Hrisley (?) 1, Carrie McDowell 588, S. L. Bates 1
	J. L. McDowell	1888	Republican	George W. Parrish, Democrat; J. E. Denton, Prohibition	Geo. W. Parrish 754, J. L. McDowell 766, J. E. Denton 89
	J. H. Morgan	1890	Democrat	W. T. Haley, Republican	W. T. Haley 847, J. W. Morgan 959
	Geo. M. Jenkins	1892,	Republican	1892 - Fred O. Seaton, Democrat; J. M. Traughber,	1892 - Seaton 565, Jenkins 959, Traughber

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
		1894		Populist 1894 – Mrs. S. F. Montgomery, People’s Party (Fusion)	615 1894 – Jenkins 956, Montgomery 813
	W. A. Thomas	1896	Fusion (People’s Party)	C. H. Hinman, Republican	Thomas 1223, Hinman 1107
	C. H. Hinman	1898	Republican	W. A. Thomas, Fusion	Hinman 1058, Thomas 856, Jenkins 1
	W. A. Thomas	1900	Democrat	C. A. Hinman, Republican	Hinman 1045, Thomas 1053
Klickitat – 1859 (Goldendale)	P. E. Mitchell (Michell)	1874, 1876	Republican	1874 – unopposed 1876 - unopposed	1874 - P. E. Michuel 138, M. V. Harper 4, J. A. Blach 1, M. Short 9 1876 – P. E. Michell 189
	Sidney Brown	1878	Democrat	H. Caldwell, Republican	H. Caldwell 140, Sidney Brown 422
	J. T. Eshelman	1880	Democrat	Opponent and Party	Outcome
	W. R. Neal	1882	Democrat	Mrs. Corwin K. Seitz, Republican	Mrs. C. K. Seitz 340, W. R. Neal 500, Eshilwau 1
	Mrs. A. E. Rodman	1884, 1886	Republican	1884 - Dudley Eshelman, Democrat 1886 – Miss Nellie E. Lyon, Democrat	1884 – Mrs. A. E. Rodman 691, Dudley F. Esholman 624, Gillshnop 1 1886 – Mrs. A. E. Rodman 1034, Miss Nellie E. Lyon 693

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	N. B. Brooks	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 - W. R. Neal, Democrat 1890 – W. R. Neal, Democrat; William Gilmore, Prohibition	1888 – N. B. Brooks 674, W. R. Neal 427 1890- N. B. Brooks 545, Wm. Gilmore 98, W. R. Neal 420
	C. M. Ryman	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 - Mrs. S. S. Long, Fusion 1894 – C. S. Baker, Democrat; Mrs. M. Reynolds, Populist	1892 - Ryman 681, Long 574 1894 –Ryman 698, Baker 339, Reynolds 265
	C. L. Colburn	1896, 1898	Republican	1896 - W. R. Neal, Fusion (People’s Party) 1898 – Mary J. Reynolds, Fusion	1896 - Colburn 874, Neal 687 1898 – Colburn 907, Reynolds 339
	C. M. Ryman	1900	Republican	Unopposed	Ryman 991
Lewis – 1845 (Chehalis)	Henry N. Stearns	1874, 1876, 1878, 1880	1878 - Republican	1874 – P. Henssay, Democrat 1876 – Opponent and Party 1878 – C. C. Pugett, Democrat 1880 – J. Russel Frost, Democrat	1874 - H. N. Stearns 210, P. Henssay 84 1876 – only information is that Stearns was the successful candidate 1878 – H. N. Stearns 249, C. C. Pugett 143 1880 – H. N. Stearns 293, J. Russel Frost 264

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Florence Page	1882	Democrat	1882 – T. Broaillette, Republican	1882 – T. Brouillette 215, Miss Florence Page 435
	A. B. Balch	1884	Republican	Mrs. A. A. Adams, Democrat	1884 – Mrs. A. A. Adams 467, Albert B. Balch 810
	Mattie Vanice	1886	Democrat	E. F. Carpenter, Republican	1886 – Miss Mattie Vance 843, E. F. Carpenter 841
	Ulysses E. Harmon	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 – M. D. Curry, Democrat 1890 – E. T. Tremble, Prohibition; Miss Lizzie Twiss, Democrat	1888 – U. E. Harmon 869, M. D. Curry 677 1890 – U. E. Harmon 1028, E. T. Tremble 178, Miss Lizzie Teviss (sp?) 986
	J. E. Lease	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 – D. S. Eddy, Democrat; E. H. Pointer, People's Party; T. T. Vincent, Prohibition 1894 – G. I. Brooks, Democrat; Jas. M. Traughber, People's Party; Miss Persy Honeywell, Prohibition	1892 – Lease 1,390, Eddy 983, Pointer 696, Vincent, 139; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 22, 1892, 8 1894 – Lease 1243, Brooks 661, Trauber 909, Honeywell 123; <i>Chehalis Nugget</i> , Nov. 16, 1894, 3
	Geo. H. Tucker	1896	People's Party	Wm. Taylor, Independent; Kate Montgomery, Republican	Tucker 1703, Montgomery 1520
	George A. Spencer	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – George H. Tucker, People's Party 1900 – G. I. Brooks,	1898 – Spencer 1496, Tucker 1315 1900 – Spencer 1947, Brooks 1427; <i>Chehalis</i>

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Democrat	<i>Bee-Nugget</i> , Nov. 23, 1900, 1
Lincoln – 1883 (Davenport)	C. W. Walters	1883			Appointed Dec. 18, 1883
	C. H. Pryor	1884, 1886	Republican	1884 - C.R. Walters, Democrat 1886 – Mrs. A. Nelssay, Democrat	1884 – C. H. Pryor 1211, C. R. Walters 1026 1886 – Mrs. A. Nelssay (?) 723, Chas. H. Pryor 948
	Mrs. C. H. Pryor	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 – S. R. Wesp, Democrat 1890 – H. N. Martin, Democrat	1888 – Mrs. C. H. Pryor 1021, S. R. Wesp 592, Smith 12 1890 – H. N. Martin 964, Mrs. C. H. Pryor 1103
	H. N. Martin	1891, 1892	Democrat	A. S. Melcher, Republican; C. C. Gibson, People’s Party/Populist	Martin appointed to when Pryor found ineligible for office Melcher 858, Martin 1000, Gibson 549
	E. F. Elliot	1894	Republican	W. W. Hutton, Democrat; E. F. Scarborough, Populist	Elliot, 1,025, Hutton 473, Scarborough 968
	Alice Neal	1896	Populist (People’s Party)	E. F. Elliot, Republican	Elliott, 1066, Neal 1441
	Mrs. Lena Bemis	1898	Republican	Mrs. Dora Morgan, Democrat; Alice E. Neal, Populist (People’s Party)	Bemis 883, Morgan 337, Neal 789

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Alice Neal	1900	Democrat	Opponent and Party	Outcome
Mason – 1854 (Shelton)	John McReavy (McReary)	1874	Party	John Campbell, Party	John McReavy 55, John Campbell 36
	Henry C. Hale	1876	Party	Edward Callow, Party	H. C. Hale,86, Edward Callow 55, Thomas Moran 1, Bwang (?) 1
	Robert Watkinson	1878, 1880	Republican	1878 – Opponent and Party 1880 – I. Campbell (Could this be John Campbell?), Party	1878 – Outcome 1880 - R. Watkinson 76, I. Campbell 65
	Edward Callow	1882	Republican	R. Watkinson - Democrat	R. Watkinson 114, E. Callow 43 Note: in 1883 Territorial report Callow reports being recently appointed ? – odd given election results
	David Shelton	1884	Independent	Myron Eells, Party	Myron Eells 131, David Shelton 157
	Mrs. A. M. Brooks	1886	Republican	J. W. Day, Democrat	Mrs. A. M. Brooks 303, J. W. Day 112
	C. S. Brumbaugh	1888, 1890, 1892	Republican	1888 – W. H. McCarney, Democrat 1890 – L. G. Shelton, Democrat 1892 – Marcus Knight, Democrat	1888 – W. H. McCarney 125, C. S. Braumbough 419, S. L. Miller 1 1890 – O. S. Brumbaugh 386, L. G. Shelton 323 1892 – Brumbaugh 421, Knight 405; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 22, 1892, 8
	G. B. Gunderson	1894,	Republican	1894 - L. R. Byrne, Democrat; John E. Green,	1894 – Gunderson 486, Byrne 377, Green 71;

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
		1896		Populist 1896 – George W. Draham, People’s Party	<i>Mason County Journal</i> , Nov. 16, 1894, 2 1896 – Gunderson 542, Draham 521
	H. Minnie Ford (Decker)	1898	Republican	H. W. Durporaw, Democrat	Ford 491, Durporaw 312
	Mary M. Knight	1900	Democrat	H. Minnie Decker, Republican; H. W. Durporaw, Democratic Suffragist	Decker 445, Knight 496, Durporaw 40; <i>Mason County Journal</i> , Nov. 16, 1900, 4.
Okanogan – 1888 (Okanogan)	L. C. Malott (A. Malott)	1888			Appointed by County Commissioners on formation of county March 7, 1888
	J. F. Samson	1888			Appointed?
	J. W. Romaine	1888	Republican	Virginia Grainger, Democrat	1888 – J. W. Romaine 341, Mrs. James Grainger 216
	Henry Carr	1888			Appointed?
	Mrs. V. M Grainger	1890	Democrat	Henry Carr, Republican, E. D. Finch, Republican F. Hunt, Republican	Mrs. V. M. Granger 443, Henry Carr 2, E. D (?) Finch 2, F. Hunt 1- No official Republican candidate, County Clerk reported party affiliations
	J. F. Samson	1892	Republican	Hedges, Party; Baldwin, Party	Samson 572, Hedges 403, Baldwin 159; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> Nov. 25, 1892, 3.
	Joseph E. Leader	1894	Republican	Mrs. V. M. Grainger, Democrat	Leader 414, Grainger 328, Wright 249

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				T. A. Wright, Populist	
	Mrs. V. M. Grainger	1896	People's Party	A. S. York, Republican	York 376, Grainger 825
	J. F. Samson	1898	Republican	Mrs. F. C. Wehmeyer, Peoples' Party	Samson 572, Wehmeyer 325
	Mrs. S. A. Robinson	1900	Democrat	J. F. Samson, Republican	Samson 518, Robinson 614
Pacific – 1851 (South Bend)	M. S. Griswold	1874	Party	W. W. Lilly, Party	M. S. Griswold 132, W. W. Lilly 114
	G. W. Dolan (E. W. Dolan)	1876	Party	Opponent and Party	Outcome
	C. A. Reed	1878	Democrat	G. W. Dolan, Republican	C. A. Reed, 149, G. W. Dolan, 109; <i>Daily Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 20, 1878, 3
	Mrs. A. S. Bush	1880	Republican	C. A. Reed, Democrat	C. A. Reed 108, Mrs. A. S. Bush 134, Adda Brown 1
	Mrs. I. F. (Jennie) Griswold	1882	Republican	Mrs. A. S. Bush, Democrat	Mrs. Jennie F. Griswold 144, C. A. Reed 1, Mrs. A. S. Bush 136, F. C. Davis 1
	Mrs. Ada B. Hicklin	1884, 1886	Democrat	1884 – Mrs. Jennie F. Griswold, Republican 1886- Mrs. A. D. Bowen, Republican	1884 - Mrs. Adda Hicklin 476, Mrs. Jennie F. Griswold 154 1886 – Mrs. A. B. Hicklin 385, Mrs. Addie R. Bowen 175, Mrs. Graham 1
	Ola Gillespie	1888	Party	Mrs. P. Moore, Party	Ola Gillespie 362, Mrs. P. Moore 231, L. W.

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
					Fansher 14, R. B. Crandall 15
	L. W. Fansher	1890, 1892	1890 – Party 1892 - Republican	1890 – D. B. English, Party 1892 – Matthews, Democrat	1890 – D. B. English 287, L. W. Fansher 344 1892 –Fansher 752, Matthews 645; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Dec. 4, 1892, 1;
	E. S. Stevens	1894	Republican	Thomas H. Dunckley, Populist	Outcome
	Mrs. Ada M. Harris	1896, 1898	Republican	1896 – C. A. Murdock, Populist 1898 – ran unopposed	Harris 785, Murdock, 703 1898 - Harris 912
	Mrs. Arepta Murdock	1900	Democrat	Opponent and Party	Outcome
Pierce – 1852 (Tacoma)	John V. Walker (?) (John V. Meeker?)	1874	Party	H. C. Taylor, Party	John V. Walker 280, H. C. Taylor, 260
	L. G. Shelton	1876, 1878	Democrat	1876 – G. H. Greer, Republican 1878 – John H. Hall, Republican	1876 - L. G. Shelton 310, G. H. Greer 253 1878 - L. G. Shelton 420, John H. Hall 371
	Clara A. McCarty	1880	Republican	Fred E. Eldridge, Independent	Annie Weller 7, Katie Webster 9, Clara McCarty 534, Mrs. Greer 5, Fred Eldridge 126
	Mrs. C. J. Spencer Greer	1882	Republican	Unopposed	Mrs. G. H. Greer 845, Scattering 31

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Harvey R. Cox	1884	Republican	Mrs. A. E. Bailey, Democrat	1884 – H. R. Cox 1651; Mrs. A. E. Bailey 1233
	Matthew S. Stewart	1886, 1888, 1890	Republican	1886 – H. M. Lillis, Party; Mrs. M. F. Ingalls, Party 1888 - E. A. Collins, Democrat; Miss J. M. Barnett, Party 1890 – A. C. Dresbach, Democrat	1886 – M. Stewart 1611, H. M. Lillis 1441, Mrs. M. F. Ingalls 754 1888 – E. A. Collins 1698, Matthew Stewart 2425, Miss J. M. Barnett 95 1890 – A. C. Dresbach 3126, Mat Stewart 3675
	Harvey R. Cox	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 – Willis R. Hall, Democrat; Mrs. W. S. Taylor, People’s Party; M. G. McKenzie, Prohibition 1894 – Elizabeth C. Gear, Democrat; W. F. Grass, People’s Party; Mrs. J. M. Silsby, Prohibition	1892 - Hall 3,571, Cox 3795, Taylor 3059 (no report on Prohibition vote tally); <i>Tacoma Daily News</i> , Nov. 18, 1892, 7. 1894 – Cox 4268, Gear 1929, Grass, 2878, Silsby 117; <i>Tacoma Daily News</i> , Nov. 15, 1894, 4.
	John L. Tait	1896	People’s Party	Scott L. White, Republican	White 2923, Tait 3465
	Henry B. Dewey	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – John L. Tait, People’s Party 1900 – M. T. O’Farrell, Democrat	1898 – Dewey 4127, Tait 3664 1900 - Dewey 6214, O’Farrell 3376, W. P. Bonney; <i>History of Pierce County Washington</i> vol. 1 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1927), 544

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
San Juan – 1873 (Friday Harbor)	William Bell	1874, 1876, 1878, 1880, 1882, 1884	Democrat	1874 – W. Z. Dese, Party 1876 - Thomas J. Weeks, Republican 1878 – Rev. Thomas J. Weeks, Republican 1880 – Opponent and Party 1882 – Mrs. M. Weekes, Republican 1884 – C. L. Seward, Party	1874 - William Bell 122, W. Z. Dese 16, Nichols 1 1876 – William Bell 96, T. J. Weeks 86 1878 – Outcome 1880 – Outcome 1882 – William Bell 117, Mrs. Madge Weekes 80 1884 – William Bell 233, C. L. Seward 160
	E. C. Gillette	1886, 1888	Democrat	1886 – William Bell, Republican 1888 – C. E. Setzer, Republican	1886 – E. C. Gillette 218, William Bell 162 1888 – E. C. Gillette 248, C. E. Setzer 126
	J. Mills Hellen	1890	Democrat	Chas. Gillingham, Republican	Chas. Gillingham 221, J. Mills Hellens 252
	F. A. Shadle	1891			Appointed? Records show he was county superintendent during this time period although he did not run for election
	R. M. Wansbrough	1892	Republican	F. A. Shadle, Democrat	Wansbrough 322, Shadel 242; “San Juan County,” <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 12, 1892, 1
	Theodore L. Dyer	1894	Republican	Albert F. Shadel, Citizens	Dyer 355, Shadel 284

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Reform Movement Ticket	
	Rhoda A. Lee	1896	Populist	Theodore L. Dyer, Republican	Dyer, 344, Lee 357 Lee resigned January 1898 <i>The Islander</i> (Friday Harbor) Feb. 3, 1898, 3
	Lou E. Warren	Feb. 1898			Warren had been serving as deputy county superintendent and was appointed to continue with Lee's resignation
	Ethan Allen	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 – Mrs. Charles W. Hammond, People's Party 1900 – Charles N. S. Tucker, Democrat	1898 – Allen 355, Hammond 235 1900 – Allen 414, Tucker 273; <i>San Juan Islander</i> , Nov. 15, 1900, 3.
Skagit – 1883 (Mount Vernon)	Miss J. M. Bradley	1883	Democrat	G. E. Hartson, Republican	Hartson 262, Bradly 304; (Special election was held December 18, 1883)
	G. E. Hartson	1884	Republican	R. L. Jacks, Democrat	G. E. Hartson 901, R. L. Jacks 458
	Richard. O. Welts	1886	Republican	G. S. Blake, Democrat	R. O. Welts 731, G. S. Blake 510, G. Savage 1
	T. R. Hayton	1888	Republican	G. S. Blake, Democrat	T. R. Hayton 748, G. S. Blake 422
	J. M. Shields	1890, 1892	Republican	1890 - J. W. Gilkey, Democrat; B. M. Howell, Prohibition 1892- J. W. Gilkey, Democrat; Mrs. McKenzie, People's Party	1890 – J. W. Gilkey 875, B. M. Howell 103, J. M. Shields 885 1892- Shields, 1090, Gilkey, 1036, McKenzie, 683

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Will B. Davis	1894	Republican	Lewis Sandell, Democrat; J. P. Edwards, People's Party	Davis 1254, Sandell 390, Edwards 1020
	B(arlie) R(eginald). McElreath	1896	People's Party	W. B. Davis, Republican	Davis 1306, McElreath, 1583
	Susan Lord Currier	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 - B. R. McElreath, Populist 1900 – Miss Phi Smythe, Democrat	1898 - Currier 1413, McElreath, 1148 1900 - Currier 1910, Smythe 1220
Skamania – 1854 (Stevenson)	John W. Brazee	1874	Party	Unopposed	35 votes
	S. B. Jones	1876	Party	Unopposed	34 votes
	Geo. K. Pike	1878			Appointed
	John W. Brazee	1878	People's Party	Opponent and Party	J. W. Brazee won with a 6-vote majority; <i>Vancouver Independent</i> , Nov. 21, 1878, 5
	John Orivs Waterman	1880, 1882	Party	1880 – Mrs. G. K. Pike, Party 1882 – M. G. Aldrich, Party	1880 - J. O. Waterman 62, Mrs. G. K. Pike 54; <i>Vancouver Independent</i> , Nov. 18, 1880, 5 1882 – J. O. Waterman 65, M. G. Aldrich 54
	E. R. Ninville (Winville)	1884	Party	M. G. Aldrich, Party Frank Marble, Party	Outcome
	M. G. Aldrich	1885			Appointed?

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	John Orvis Waterman	1886, 1888	Party	1886 – M. G. Aldreich, Party 1888 – F. Marble, Party	1886 - J. O. Waterman 140, M. G. Aldrich 44 1888 – J. O. Waterman 94, F. Marble 15
	Mrs. Katie A. Mason	1890	Party	H. N. Turk, Party	H. N. Turk 55, Mrs. R. A. Mason 59
	C. C. Wetherell	1892	People's Party	Unopposed	Wetherell, 165; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> December 9, 1892, 1.
	Frank Marble	1894, 1896	People's Party	1894 – Opponent and Party 1896 – John M. Coulter, Republican	1894- Outcome 1896 – Coulter 140, Marble 229
	Edward Hollis	1898	People's Party	Louisa Thomas, Republican	Thomas 137, Hollis 144
	Mrs. Lillie Miller	1900	Democrat	Opponent and Party	Outcome
Snohomish – 1861 (Everett)	William H. Reeves	1874		Unopposed	W. H. Reeves 213, Martin Cetchell (sp?) 1, E. Packwood 1, Sam Cach 3
	A. C. Folsom	1876			Appointed?
	James Towne	1876	Democrat	Hugh Ross, Republican	James Towne 183, Hugh Bass 169, Scattering 2, James Francis Majoirdy(?) 12
	(Dr.) T. W. McCoy	1878	Republican Democrat	Unopposed	J. W. McCoy 406, J. Gathcant 1

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	C. A. Missimer	1880	Republican	Dr. D. E. Bartlett, Democrat	Outcome
	Mrs. L. M. J. Bell	1882	Democrat	A. H. Eddy, Republican	A. W. Eddy 184, Mrs. L. W. J. Bell 301, C. A. Missimer 3; Bell left county prior to qualifying for office.
	Eldrige Morris	1883			Appointed but failed to qualify
	Mrs. Ella C. Granger	1883, 1884	Republican and People's Ticket	D. W. Craddock, Democrat	Appointed to fill position in May 1883 E. C. Granger 546, D. W. Craddock 465
	J. W. Heffner	1886, 1888	Republican	1886 – J. I. Griffith, Democrat and People's Ticket 1888 – John. R. Winn, Democrat,	1886 – J. W. Heffner 642, J. I. Griffith 574 1888 – J. W. Heffner 806, John R. Winn 491, John Redpath 1
	B. H. Dickson (Dixon)	1890	Republican	A. B. Rogers, Democrat	B. N. Dixon 1062, A. B. Rogers 685
	J. W. Sinclair	1892	Populist	Rev. G. H. Feese, Democrat; Rev. J. W. Dorrance, Prohibition; B. H. Dixon, Republican	Dixon 1332, Sinclair 2648, Dorrance 104
	H. J. Langfitt	1894	Republican	James Brady, Populist	Langfitt won by a plurality of 108 votes.
	R. E. Friars	1896, 1898	1896 - Fusion (People's	1896 - J. H. Langfitt, Republican	1896 - Langfitt 1836, Friars 2790

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
			Party)	1898- H. P. Niles, Republican	1998- Niles 1780, Friars 2012
	Mrs. R. A. Small	1900	Democrat	Eva L. Bailey, Independent; J. L. Campbell, Republican	Small 1757, Campbell 1728, Bailey 1056; <i>Monroe Monitor</i> , Nov. 8, 1900, 1
Spokane – 1879 (Spokane)	William H. Reeves	1874			Appointed near time of creation of county
	J. J. Browne	1878			Appointed?
	Maggie Windsor	1879	People’s Ticket	1879- Rev. J. H. Leard, Republican	Outcome
	A. J. Stevens	1880	Republican	Miss Maggie Windsor, Democrat	A. J. Stevens 484, Maggie Windsor 401, Rilla Masterson 23
	A. J. Warren	1882	Democratic	F. F. Clark, Republican	F. F. Clark 775, A. J. Warren 1183
	Miss N. S. Haldeman	1884	Republican	A. J. Warren, Democrat	A. J. Warren 1129, Miss Lizzie Haldeman 1677
	Mrs. Rosa McMahan	1886	Party	W. E. Richardson, Republican; S. W. Travis, Party	W. E. Richardson 1722, Mrs. Rosa McMahan 1812, S. W. Travis 646
	Isaac Chase Libby	1888	Republican	A. J. Warren, Democrat; R. E. Bisbee, Party	I. C. Libby 2469, A. J. Warren 1723, R. E. Bisbee 198
	W. B. Turner	1890, 1892	Republican	1890 – Mrs. M. C. Price, Labor Party; Mrs. Jessie Borden, Democrat; A. K.	1890 – Turner 2115, Borden 1238, Price 719, Jacquith 210 1892 – Turner 3,736, Abbott 3,534; <i>Seattle</i>

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Jacquith, Prohibition 1892 - Osmer Abbott, Democrat and People's Party	<i>Post Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 24, 1892, 1
	Zach Stewart	1894	Republican	William A. Porter, Democrat; V. H. Hopson, People's Party	Potter 1512, Stewart 2764, Hopson 2781; <i>Spokane Daily Chronicle</i> , Nov. 17, 1894, 3
	Vivian Hopson	1896	People's Party	Zach Stewart, Republican	Stewart 3476, Hopson 4928
	Elmer B. Drake	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 - V. A. Hopson, People's Party (Fusion) 1900 - W. B. Turner, Democrat	1898 - Drake 4128, Hopson 2888 1900 - Drake 5479, Turner 5154
Stevens – 1863 (Colville)	Moses Dupuis	1874, 1876, 1878	1874 – Party 1876 – People's Party	1874 – Opponent and Party 1876 - James Monaghan; Republican; E. I. Turner; Republican 1878 - J. J. Brown, Democrat	1874 - Outcome 1876- Moses Dupuis 129, James Monaghan 89, E I. Turner 36 1878 - Outcome
	Henry Wellington	1880	Party	A. E. Young, Party	A. E. Young 45, Henry Wellington 76, M. Dupuis 1
	D. T. Stuart	1882	Party	Raes (Zaes, Geos?)	D. T. Stuart 73, (Raes, Zaes, Geos?)

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Oppenheimer, Party	Oppenheimer 34
	E. T. Stewart	1884	Party	Unopposed	E. T. Stuart 431, Mrs. Meyers 1, Mrs. Halzell 1
	Orin Belknap	1886		Opponent and Party	Appointed prior to election? – given as superintendent responsible for teachers' exams in Nov. 1886
	Mrs. G. B. (Hattie) Aubin	1886	Party	Orin Belknap, Party	Orin Belknap 342, Mrs. G. B. Aubin 374
	Peter J. Niven	1888	Party	Hattie Aubin, Party	Peter J. Niven 324, Mrs. Hattie Aubin 209
	Thomas Nagel	1890	Democrat	Joseph Jones, Party	Joseph Jones 478, Thomas Nagle 492
	Matthew. B. Grieve	1892	Republican	Thomas Nagel, Democrat	Grieve won by 3 votes.
	Otis J. Smith	1894, 1896	Populist (People's Party)	1894 - John A. Berry, Republican; Con M. Darland, Democrat 1896 – Evalyn E. Church, Republican; John S. Barry, Union	1894 –Barry 678, Smith 798, Durland 176; <i>Spokane Weekly Review</i> , Nov. 15, 1894, 3. 1896 – Church, 478, Smith 1024, Barry 835
	William L. Sax	1898, 1900	1898 – Populist (People's Party) 1900 - Democrat	1898 - J. N. Sinclair, Fusion (Election Returns – Citizens) 1900 – J. S. Smith, Republican	1898 - Sax 1017, Sinclair 951, H. G. Kirkpatrick 1, D. C. Ely 2, Leopold De Rudder1, L. L. Tower 2, C. T. Smith 4 1900 –Smith 1016, Sax 1759

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
Thurston – 1852 (Olympia)	D. R. Bigelow	1874	Republican	John M. Murphy, Democrat	Bigelow 225, Murphy 142
	(Rev.) J. R. Thompson	1876, 1878, 1880	Republican	1876 – D. N. Utter, Democrat 1878 – H. Hicklin, Democrat 1880 – J. L. Henderson, Democrat	1876- J. R. Thompson 379, D. N. Miller [miswritten by auditor?] 302, Scattering 1878 – John R. Thompson 477, Hermes Hicklin 298 1880 - J. R. Thompson 399, G. D. Henderson 267
	Mrs. Pamela C. Hale	1882, 1884, 1886	1882 – Independent (People’s Convention) Democrat	1882 – J. R. Thompson, Republican 1884 – Jennie Moore, Republican 1886 – Ella Stork, Republican; Ellen Stevenson, People’s Convention	1882 – John R. Thompson 380, Mrs. P. C. Hale 405 1884 - Jennie Moore 684, Pamela C. Hale 856 1886 – Ella T. Stork 490, P. C. Hale 649, Ellen Stevenson 415
	L. P. Venen	1888	Republican	Theo. D. Young, Democrat; R. H. Massey, Prohibition	L P. Venen 857, Theo. D. Young 529: R. Massey 31
	L. R. Bryne	1890	Democrat	B. W. Brintnall, Republican	B. W. Brintnall 821, L. R. Byrne 979, L. P. Venen 1
	Amy A. Case	1892	People’s Party	R. A. Ford, Republican; L. R. Byrne, Democrat	Ford 725, Byrne 820, Case 916; <i>Seattle Post Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 14, 1892, 2
	T. N. Henry	1894	Republican	Mrs. P. C. Hale, Democrat; Amy Case, Prohibition;	Henry 795, Hale 418, Austin 539, Case 474;

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Fannie W. Austin, Populist	<i>Washington Standard</i> , Nov. 16, 1894, 2
	Burgess W. Brintnall	1896	People's Party	T. N. Henry, Republican	Henry 1115, Brintnall 1327
	T. N. Henry	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 - B. W. Brintnall, People's Party 1900 - Orson Curry, Democrat	Henry 1016, Brintnall 951 1900 - Henry 1261, Curry 1060; <i>Washington Standard</i> , Nov. 16, 1900, 2.
Wahkiakum – 1854 (Cathlamet)	J. W. Smith	1874	Party	Charles McCall, Party, Edw. Searborough, Party	James W. Smith 56, Charles McCall 21, Edw. Searborough 13
	Frank Illsby	1876	Party	C. C. Shepherd, Party	Frank Illsby 46, C. C. Shepherd 26, J. J. Foster 1
	C. C. Shepard	1878	Party	G. Y. Carlton, Party	C. C. Shepard 97, G (?). Y. Carlton 7
	J. J. Tasker	1880	Party	Unopposed	J. J. Tasker 170, C. Page, 1, C. C. Shepherd 3, W. T. Dillon 1
	J. W. Clemens	1882	Party	N. O'Connor, Party	J. W. Clemens 108, N. O'Conner 42, J. G. Foster 1
	Mrs. Mary Irving	1884, 1886	1884 – People's Ticket (nominated on both Democrat and Republican	1884 - N. O'Connor, Party 1886 – H. A. Shaw, Party	1884 – Mrs. Mary T. Irving 141, N. O'Connor 123 1886 – Mary T. Irving 193, H. A. Shaw 117, N. O'Conner 11

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
			tickets <i>Daily Astorian</i> , October 10, 1884, 2)		
	Minnie O'Connor	1888, 1890, 1892	1888 – Democrat 1890 - Democrat 1892 – Democrat and Populist	1888 – Sarah Cahill, Republican 1890 - Ellen Kent, Republican 1892 – S. W. Hepner, Republican	1888 – Miss Minnie O'Connor 236, Sara Cahill 72, Mary Irving 1 1890- Ellen Kent 82, Minnie O'Connor 291 1892 – Hepner, 129, O'Connor, 404; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 22, 1892, 8
	W. S. Dover	1894	Party	Opponent and Party	Outcome
	J. C. Ross	1896	Republican	D. R. McIntosh, People's Party	Ross 337, McIntosh 328
	D. R. McIntosh	1898, 1900	1898 – People's Party 1900 - Democrat	1898 – Albert E. Vender, Republican 1900 – Opponent and Party	Vender 264, McIntosh 280 1900 - Outcome
Walla Walla – 1854 (Walla Walla)	A. W. Sweeney	1872, 1874, 1876	Democrat	1874 - M. T. Cranfuden, Republican 1876 – L. H. Wells, Republican	1874 – A. W. Sweeney 866, M. T. Cranfuden (sp?) 475 1876 – A. W. Sweeney 545, L. H. Wells 362 Resigned in May 1877

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	L. K. Grim	1877			Appointed to fill vacant position May 1877
	C. W. Wheeler	1878, 1880	Republican	1878 - L. K. Grim, Democrat 1880 – P. Russell, Party	1878 – Wheeler 700, Grim 484 1880 – C. W. Wheeler 975, P. Russell 784
	J. W. Brock	1882	Republican	Miss Tina Johnston; Democrat	J. W. Brock 986, Miss Tina Johnston 778
	J. H. Morgan	1884	Democrat	Mrs. J. H. Bauer, Republican	Bauer 1148, Morgan 1786
	Ellen (Nellie) Gilliam	1886	Republican	J. H. Morgan, Democrat	Ellen Gilliam 1686, J. H. Morgan 1557
	J. B. Gehr	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 - J. L. Dumas, Democrat; C. G. Harwood, Prohibition 1890 – W. G. M. Hayes, Prohibition; Walter Lingenfelder, Democrat	1888 – J. B. Gehr 1260, J. L. Dumas 1105, C. G. Harwood 80 1890 – J. B. Gehr 1139, N. G. M. Hays 139, Walter Lingenfelder 977
	E. L. Brunton	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 - Walter Lingenfelder, Democrat; H. L. Hunt, Prohibition 1894 – J. V. Steele, Democrat; H. A. Davis, People’s Party	1892 - Brunton 1393, Lingenfelder 1309, Hunt 101 1894 –Brunton 1714, Steele 801, Davis 224
	Grant S. Bond	1896, 1898	Republican	1896 - Walter Lingenfelder, People’s Party	1896 - Bond 1654, Lingenfelder 1602 1898 –Bond 1872, Gilliam 980

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				1898 – Mary Gilliam, Democrat (Election Returns People’s Party)	
	J. E. Myers	1900	Republican	R. B. Smith, Democrat	Myers 2150, Smith 1451
Whatcom – 1854 (Bellingham)	F. F. Lane	1874	Democrat	W. H. Fouts, Independent Ticket	Lane 197, Fouts, 152
	D. E. Gage	1876	Democrat	W. H. Davis, Republican; W. H. Fouts, Independent Ticket	W. H. Davis 198, D. E. Gage 219, W. H. Feutess (sp?) 62, scattering 3
	John A. Tennant	1877, 1878	Party	E. D. Winslow, Party; S. C. Lade, Party	Tennant published a report as county superintendent in May 1877 - “A Card from the School Superintendent,” <i>Bellingham Bay Mail</i> , May 19, 1877, 3. J. A. Tennant 349, S. C. Lade 43, E. D. Winslow 278, Scattering 1
	W. H. Fouts	1880	Republican	J. S. Kelley, Democrat; A. T. Burnell, Independent	W. H. Fouts 379, J. S. Kelly 168, A. T. Burnill 203
	G. E. Hartson	1882	Republican	H. A. Judson, Democrat	1882 – George E. Hartson 485, H. A. Judson 313, Scattering 2
	Nellie S. Coupe	1884			Appointed?
	H. J. Swim	1884	Republican	O. E. Noble, Democrat	H. J. Swim 1230, O. E. Noble 1184
	T. J. Griffin	1886	Republican	J. R. Bradley, Democrat	J. T. Griffen 678, J. R. Bradley 410

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	H. J. Swim	1888	Republican	J. R. Bradley, Democrat	H. J. Swim 771, J. R. Bradley 470, A. J. Griffin 1
	G. B. Johnson	1890	Republican	J. R. Bradley, Democrat; C. E. Kagay, Prohibition	J. R. Bradley 1021, G. B. Johnson 1572, C. E. Kagay 167
	J. M. Hitt	1892, 1894	Republican	1892 – Harry Pattison, Democrat; Henry C. Shelton, People’s Party; C. T. Brownlee, Prohibition 1894 – Opponent and Party	1892 – Hitt 1,618, Pattison 1,221, Shelton 1,047, Brownlee 111; <i>Seattle Post- Intelligencer</i> , Nov. 30, 1892, 2 1894 - Outcome
	J. W. Tanner	1896	People’s Party	Arthur T. Williams, Republican	Williams 1963, Tanner 2172
	R. S. Simpson	1898, 1900	Republican	1898 - J. W. Tanner, People’s Party 1900 – Ira Graffis, Democrat; William Jones, Social Democrat	1898 – Simpson 1894, Tanner 1577 1900 – Simpson 2990, Graffis 1595, Jones 320
Whitman – 1871 (Colfax)	O. L. Wolford	1874	Republican	Opponent and Party	1874 – Outcome
	J. E. Bishop	1876	Democrat	P D. Bumill, Republican	J. E. Bishop 165, P. D. Bumill (?) 142 J. E. Bishop failed to qualify in 1876 so Wolford served another term, <i>Illustrated History of Whitman County</i> , 161

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	Chas. M. Mecklam	1877			Appointed?
	Cushing Eells	1878	Republican	A. Wisner, Democrat; L. D. Wolford, Party	Rev. C. Eells 563, A. Wisner 319, L. D. Wolford 27 Resigned May 1879
	A. J. Banta	1879			Appointed to fill vacancy left by resignation of Cushing Eells
	M. T. Crawford	1880	Republican	1880 – Miss Mary E. Davis, Democrat 1882 – H. D. Irwin, Democrat	1880 - M. T. Crawford 680, Mary E. Davis 670 1882 - M. T. Crawford 1130, H. D. Irwin 972
	J. C. Lawrence	1882			Appointed to fill vacancy left by resignation of Crawford
	William N. Ruby	1884	Republican	D. W. Adams, Democrat; Lawrence, Party	W. N. Ruby 1884, D. W. Adams 1233, J. C. Lawrence 21
	Chas. M Mecklem (Mecklam)	1886	Democrat	Mrs. V. A. Pusey, Republican	Mrs. V. A. Pusey 2063, Chas. M. Mecklem 2085, Saltees 1
	Charles W. Bean	1888, 1890	Republican	1888 W. H. Miller, Democrat; Stella Traver, Prohibition 1890 – J. P. Rose, Democrat; Miss Lottie Moore, Prohibition	1888 – C. W. Bean 1831, W. H. Miller 1802, Stella W. Traver 116 1890 – Chas W. Bean 1529, Lottie B. Moore 323, John P. Rose 1465
	M. A. Corner	1892	Republican	James N. Taggard, People’s Party; W. W.	Corner 2,027, Brand 1 938, Taggard 1,415, Vandever 142; <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> Nov.

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
				Brand, Democrat; J. H. Vandever, Prohibition	12, 1892, 2
	A. C. Butcher	1894	People's Party (Populist)	J. A. Mattoon, Republican; S. M. McCroskey, Democrat	Mattoon 1910, McCroskey 1522, Butcher 2009
	James Phillips	1896	People's Party	S. C. Roberts, Republican; Edwin R. Jones, Union Silver	Roberts 1603, Phillips 2783, Jones 812
	S. C. Roberts	1898	Republican	Charlotte White, Democrat; James Phillips, People's Party	Roberts 2013, White 705, Phillips 1574
	S. M. McCroskey	1900	Democrat	S. C. Roberts, Republican	Roberts 2437, McCroskey 2920
Yakima – 1865 (Yakima)	J. O. Clarke	1874	Republican, People's Convention	T. S. Meade, Democrat	Meade 113, Clark 167
	J. P. Marks	1876	Republican	J. W. Beck, Democrat; Charles O'Neal, Party	Marks 133, J. W. Beck 104, Charles O'Neal 28
	George W. Parish	1878	Democrat	William Capes, Republican	William Capes 198, G. W. Parrish 205
	W. H. Peterson	1880	Democrat	J. O. Clark, Republican	W. H. Peterson 351, Prof. Miller 1, J. O. Clark 236
	Mrs. Ella S. Stair	1882	Republican	C. L. McGatchlen, Democrat	C. L. McGatchlen 330 (?) Ella S. Stair 433

County	Name	Date	Political Affiliation	Opponent(s)	Notes
	W. F. Jones	1884	Democrat	Mrs. Ella S. Stair, Republican	Ella S. Stair 505, W. F. Jones 508, J. G. Warren 1
	Mrs. M. B. (Fannie) Curtis	1886	Republican	Annie Matton, Democrat	Mrs. M. B. Curtis 547, Annie Mattoon 446
	Hilda A. Engdahl	1888	Democrat	O. Vaughn, Republican	Hilda Engdahl 434, O. Vaughn 429, Scattering 5
	J. G. Lawrence	1890, 1892	Republican	1890 - Hilda Engdahl-Meystre, Democrat 1892- William D. Ingalls, Populist; Elwyn P. Greene, Democrat	1890 – J. G. Lawrence 647, H. Engdahl-Meyster 392 1892 - Lawrence 711, Ingalls, 318, Greene 452
	J. F. Brown	1894	Republican	Elwyn P. Greene, Democrat; J. B. Ingram, Populist	Brown 799, Greene 677, Ingram 658
	F. H. Plumb	1896, 1898	Fusion (People's Party)	1896 - E. M. Douglass, Republican 1898 - J. M. Richardson, Republican	1896 - Douglass 986, Plumb 1184 1898 – Richardson 954, Plumb 987
	S. A. Dickey	1900	Republican	Carrie S. Young, Democrat	Dickey 1324, Young 1299

Appendix E:
Basic Demographics of Women
Nominated, Elected or Appointed County Superintendents,
Montana - 1882-1900

**Basic Demographics of Women County Superintendents
(Nominated, Elected and Appointed)
Montana – 1882-1900**

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Bagley	Nannita M. V. Bagley	Jefferson		1894			Populist	18	21	single
Baker	Maude Davis Baker	Lewis & Clark			1894		Democrat	34	22	widowed
Baker	Lenora Baker	Meagher		1892			Democrat	32	33	widowed; married in office
Ballinger	Brunette (Nettie) Ballinger	Park	1887		1888		Republican	31		single
Bean	Florence Bean	Teton		1896			Fusion (People's Party, Democrat)	27	29	married in office
Bell	Josephine "Josie" Bell	Gallatin			1886		Republican	23	25	married in office
Bell	Jessie Bell	Valley		1896	1898		Republican			married
Benjamin	Elfie Benjamin	Lewis & Clark			1892		People's Party	35		single
Bennett	Ada M. Bennett	Custer			1896		Republican	25		single
Blackstone	Jessie E. Blackstone	Deer Lodge			1898		People's Party; Silver Republican	31		single
Blake	Mary L. Blake	Park			1889		Republican			single
Blazer	Belle Blazer	Meagher		1888			Republican	30	52	widowed

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Boland	Ella Boland	Ravalli			1896		Democrat	21		single
Bond	Josie (Josephine) Bond	Deer Lodge			1892		People's Party	38	45	single
Bond	Anna Bond	Ravalli		1894	1896		Republican	26	34	single
Bovee	Estella Bovee	Dawson			1898		Democrat	19	40	single
Brewer	Eleanor Brewer	Meagher			1900		Democrat	35	27	married
Briscoe	Elizabeth Briscoe	Silver Bow			1898		Fusion (Clark Democrats and Republicans)	27	29	single
Calkins	Belle Calkins	Silver Bow			1898		Silver Republican	33	35	single
Carey	Lillian Carey	Jefferson		1896, 1898			Populist and Democrat	27	31	married in office
Carpenter	Emily C. Carpenter	Custer			1888		Democrat	22	23	divorced
Carter	Mary E. Carter	Beaverhead		1886	1884		Republican	50		single
Carter	Janie V. Carter	Beaverhead		1898	1900		Republican	33		single
Cavanaugh	Alice Cavanaugh	Dawson		1888, 1889	1892		Democrat	23	32	single
Chenoweth	Fannie E. Chenoweth	Teton		1898, 1900			Republican	36	21	widowed
Chrisman	Mary E. "Bettie" Chrisman	Gallatin		1898, 1900			Democrat	21		single
Clarke	Helen P. "Nellie" Clarke	Lewis & Clark		1882, 1884, 1886,	1889		Republican	36		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
				1888						
Clough	Elsie M. Clough	Valley		1898	1900		Democrat	23	24	married in office
Clyne	Ida M. Clyne	Beaverhead				1896	"National" Republican			married?
Cochran	Mrs. S. Frances Cochran	Carbon			1900		Democrat, Labor Party, and People's Party	39	28	widowed
Coffin	Amelia Millicent "Millie" Coffin	Beaverhead	1895	1892	1894, 1896		Republican	29	42	single
Colvin	Nora Colvin	Park		1900			Democrat, Labor Party, Independent Democrat	34	19	married
Cook	Mary E. Cook	Chouteau			x	1896	Democrat			
Cooley	Louisa M. Cooley	Custer		1886, 1888, 1889, 1894			Republican	27	47	single
Corbin	Fannie/Annie (Frances) A. Corbin	Fergus		1888, 1889			Democrat	18		single
Cord	Oma S. Cord	Teton			1900		Democrat, Independent Democratic	28		single
Cox	Carrie Cox	Silver Bow		1889			Democrat	30	34	single
Cramer	Annie Cramer	Meahger			1898		Democrat			single
Crampton	Mattie J. Crampton	Yellowstone		1889, 1892			Republican (1889);	38	24	married

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
							Populist and Democrat (1892)			
Craven	Ina Craven	Cascade		1896, 1898			Democrat	24		single
Craven	Carrie A. Craven	Granite			1898, 1900		Silver Republican (1898); Republican (1900)	22	35	single
Curtis	Sarah E. Curtis	Meagher		1894, 1896			Democrat and Populist (1894); Democrat, People's Party, People's Silver Party (1896)	29		single
Dana	Eva L. Dana	Sweet Grass		1898			Republican	28	30	single
D'Arcy	Alice M. D'Arcy	Meagher	1887	1884	1886		Democrat	31		single
Davis	Emma L. Davis	Deer Lodge			1892		Democrat	24	27	single
Davis	Janet L. Davis	Madison		1898	1900		Republican, Silver Republican, Populist	24	30	single
Diefendorf	Mary E. Diefendorf	Meagher			1896		Republican, Silver Republican	40		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Dilts	Mary P. Dilts	Dawson			1896		Republican	37	35	married
Dilworth	Martha R. Dilworth	Carbon		1900			Republican	26		single
Donegan	Julia Donegan	Madison		1900			Democrat	26		single
Downey	Bridget P. Downey	Silver Bow		1898	1900		Democrat (1898); Independent Democratic (1900)	35		single
Duke	Josie B. Duke	Park		1892	1894		Democrat	25	36	single
Eisenbart	Maria L. Eisenbart	Dawson			1896		Democrat	39	39	married
Evans	Alma E. Evans	Park		1898			Silver Republican	23	51	single
Feeley	Catherine (Kate, Katherine) A. Feeley	Carbon		1898	1900		Democrat (1898); Independent Democrat (1900)	25	30	single
Ferris	E(leanor) Ferris	Gallatin			1900		Republican	25	26	single
Filcher	Jennie Filcher	Jefferson		1900	1898		Silver Republican (1898); Republican (1900)	24	28	single
Finnegan	Mary E. Finnegan	Chouteau		1886, 1888, 1889, 1892	1894		Democrat; Democrat and Republican (1888);	33		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
							Democrat and Populist (1894)			
Fisher	Ida L. Fisher	Ravalli			1898, 1900		Republican	40		single
Flagler	Elizabeth Flagler	Chouteau		1898	1900		Republican	42	52	single
Flanagan	May G. Flanagan	Chouteau		1900			Republican	25		single
Ford	Bessie Ford	Meagher; Cascade	1887	1886, 1888			Republican	42	46	single
Frawley	Mary E. Frawley	Sweet Grass, Jefferson			1898, 1900		Democrat	23		single
Fullerton	Ida Fullerton	Lewis & Clark		1900			Republican	42		single
Gallagher	May Gallagher	Cascade			1892		Populist	32	37	single
Garvey	Ellen Garvey	Madison			1888		Republican	46		widowed
Geddes	N(ora) Anna Geddes	Flathead			1898		Populist	32	24	married
Gleeson	Helena Gleeson	Deer Lodge		1898			Democrat	29		single
Gordon	Virginia Gordon	Madison			1886		Republican	36	41	single
Guyon	Hattie T. Guyon	Chouteau			1892		Republican	22	23	married in office
Hagan	Mary Hagan	Dawson			1894		Democrat	31	30	married
Hamilton	Adda M. Hamilton	Gallatin		1884	1886		Independent	26	29	single
Hardin	Effie A. Hardin	Teton		1894			Democrat and Populist	26	31	single
Harpster	Eva (Evette) Harpster	Dawson			1892		People's Party	24	27	single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Harrington	Eva Harrington	Broadwater		1898, 1900			Democrat (1898); Independent Democrat (1900)	20	45	single
Harris	Lottie A. Harris	Meagher		1898, 1900			Republican (1900)	29		single
Henry	Mary Henry	Broadwater			1898		Republican	32	26	married
Herndon	Della Herndon	Madison		1894			Democrat	27	28	married in office
Hill	Alice Hill	Flathead	1893					20	30	single
Holland	Bridget Winnifred Holland	Silver Bow		1892	1894		Democrat (1892); Democrat and Populist (1894)	25	28	single
Hoopes	Gertrude G. Hoopes	Dawson			1889		Republican	22	27	single
Hord	Harriet (Hattie) Hord	Missoula		1886, 1889, 1892, 1896, 1898			Democrat	23		single
Houston	Mary F. Houston	Gallatin		1886, 1888, 1889			Democrat	24	38	married in office
Howell	Rebecca Howell	Fergus			1889		Republican	30	33	single
Hunter	Eva M. Hunter	Park		1888, 1889	1894		Democrat	36	20	married
Ingersoll	Alice L.	Flathead			1898		Republican	24	26	single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
	Ingersoll									
Jacoby	Margery Jacoby	Chouteau		1894, 1896			Republican	23	28	single
Johnson	Elenora "Nora" Johnson	Dawson		1896, 1898			People's Party (1896); Republican (1898)	20	36	single
Johnston	Kathryn Johnston	Lewis & Clark		1896, 1898			Democrat and Populist (1896)	31		single
Johnstone	Mary E(gan) Johnstone	Chouteau		1884	1886		Republican	23	26	single
Jordan	Alice M. Jordan	Flathead			1894		Populist	31	25	married
Kearns	Martha A(urstacia) Kearns	Carbon; Cascade		1896, 1900			Democrat	31		widowed
Kelly	Bertha G(eneva) Kelly	Broadwater; Lewis & Clark			1898, 1900		Silver Republican, Populist (1898); Democrat (1900)	30	49	single
Kinney	Jennie D. Kinney	Deer Lodge				1888	Republican	18	19	single
Kinney	Mary Kinney	Lewis & Clark			1886, 1888		Democrat	38		married
Kline	J. Anna Kline	Meagher			1894		Republican	35		single
Layton	Mary R. Layton	Silver Bow		1886, 1888	1889		Republican	26	32	single
Lewis	Ella V. Lewis	Custer			1889		Democrat	23	36	single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Light	Susie E. Light	Custer		1892			Republican	32	29	married
Lindsey	Maud E. Lindsey	Fergus			1900		Democrat	27	29	married in office
Little	Harriet "Nan" Little	Dawson			1888		Republican	35	30	married
Lowry	Edda Lee Lowry	Jefferson	1891	1892			Democrat	25	26	married in office
Luther	Carrie E(stelle) Luther	Valley		1900			Republican	34	20	married
Mack	Ida Mack	Gallatin		1896			Democrat	22	24	married in office
Maclay	Sarah B. Maclay	Missoula		1894	1892, 1896		Populist (1892), Populist (1894); Fusion (Republican/Populist) (1896)	32		single
McAnnelly	Annie McAnnelly	Park; Cascade		1894	1896, 1898		Republican	21		single
McBrine	Sarah A. McBrine	Cascade			1888		Democrat	31		single
McCormick	Mary E. McCormick	Missoula			1894		Democrat			
McDermott	Anna "Annie" McDermott	Park		1896	1898		Democrat	30	38	single
McDonald	Lizzie McDonald	Carbon	1895				Democrat	22	23	married in office
McFerran	Alice R.	Flathead			1894		Democrat	43		married

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
	McFerran									
McGrath	Mary McGrath	Deer Lodge			1894		Democrat	36		married
McKay	Mary E. McKay	Custer			1892		People's Party			single
McKenzie	Kate McKenzie	Custer			1892, 1894		Democrat	20	33	single
McLaughlin	Mary McLaughlin	Deer Lodge		1900			Democrat	23		single
McLeod	Josephine McLeod	Gallatin			1898		Republican	26	28	single
McQuillan	Rose V. McQuillan	Chouteau			1884		Democrat	25	29	single
Medina	Sadie Medina	Silver Bow				1889	Democrat			single
Melton	Dora L. Melton	Beaverhead	1888					26	25	married
Merrillees	Elizabeth "Bessie" H(arriet) Merrillees	Sweet Grass		1896			Democrat, Silver Republican	20	22	married in office
Million	B(ettae) May Million	Ravalli		1898	1900		Democrat (1898); Independent Democratic (1900)	23	27	single
Mills	Mamie B. Mills	Deer Lodge			1894, 1896		Populist	37	22	married
Minear	Lillian Minear	Granite			1900		Democrat and Independent Democratic	30	32	single
Mirrielees	Edith R.	Sweet Grass			1900		Republican	22		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
	Mirrielees									
Mullins	Mary Mullins	Silver Bow		1896, 1900			Democrat and Populist (1896); Democrat, People's Party, Labor Party, Eight Hour Republican (1900)	44		single
Murphy	Carolyn (Carrie) A. Murphy	Deer Lodge, Broadwater			1889, 1900		Republican	35		single
Nichols	Alice S. Nichols	Meagher		1882	1884		Republican	41	43	married in office
O'Farrell	Mary O'Farrell	Silver Bow			1888		Democrat	28		single
Ogden	Mrs. Clarence A. Ogden	Cascade			1894		Democrat			widowed
Ostermeyer	Kittie Ostermeyer	Ravalli		1896, 1900	1898		Populist (1896); Silver Republican (1898); People's Party (1900)	25	34	single
Peck	Mabel Peck	Valley			1900		Independent	25		single
Peebles	Elizabeth S. Peebles	Fergus		1898, 1900			Republican (1900)	28	33	single
Phelps	Lillian Phellps	Missoula			1900		Republican	25		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
							and Labor Party			
Poindexter	Kate Poindexter	Beaverhead		1894			Democrat and Populist	37	22	married
Priestly	Emily H. Priestly	Chouteau				1894	Populist	24		single
Quigley	Anna Quigley	Deer Lodge		1896			Democrat	25		single
Railsback	Lucy S. Railsback	Yellowstone			1894		Democrat	34	23	married
Reifenrath	Minnie A. Reifenrath	Lewis & Clark		1892, 1894	1896, 1898		Republican	26		single
Rich	Jessie L. Rich	Cascade			1898		Republican	33		single
Rife	Maidie Rife	Beaverhead		1896			Fusion (Democrat and Populist)	20	33	single
Rife	Isabella Rife	Beaverhead	1897	1900	1898		Democrat, People's Party, Labor Party	28	32	Single
Rogers	Martha J. Rogers	Yellowstone		1888			Republican	43	35	married in office
Ross	Ella Ross	Meagher			1892		People's Party			single
Ryan	Maria C. Ryan	Granite		1900	1896		Silver Republican, Independent Silver Ticket (1896); People's Party, Silver Republican,	59		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
							Bryan Democrat (Fusion) (1900)			
Shelley	Kate Shelley	Missoula		1900			Independent Democratic	36	38	single
Shipman	W(innefred). A. Shipman	Fergus			1886		Republican	30	32	married in office
Shoemaker	Martha E. Shoemaker	Yellowstone		1894	1896		Republican			single
Shorey	Belle Shorey	Meagher			1900		Independent Democratic	21	28	single
Shott	Sarah Shott	Jefferson			1894		Democrat	25	20	married
Shuart	Anna S. Shuart	Yellowstone	1885					39	30	married
Skinner	Grace Skinner	Dawson		1900			Republican	37	45	single
Smith	Mary E. Smith	Granite		1896, 1898			Democrat (1896); Democrat and Populist (1898)	22	36	single
Snyder	Florence Snyder	Yellowstone			1894		Independent Republican			single
Soule (Davis)	(Julia) Louisa Soule	Yellowstone, Carbon			1892, 1896		Republican (1892); Silver Republican, Independent (1896)	51	52	single
Southmayd	Mrs. M. R. Southmayd	Custer			1886		Democrat			married
Spurck	Fannie Spurck	Flathead		1898,			Democrat	27	31	single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
				1900			(1900)			
Spurgin	Minnie Spurgin	Missoula			1898		Republican	25	55	single
Starrett	Helen P. Starrett	Jefferson			1892		Republican	27	19	married
Staves	F. Adelaide Staves	Beaverhead			1892		Democrat	28	38	single
Strang	Marguerite M. Strang	Yellowstone		1900			Republican	28	23	married
Sutherlin	Neta (Juanita) Sutherlin	Meagher		1889			Democrat	21	33	married in office
Switzer	Nellie Switzer	Madison			1896		Republican, Silver Republican	28	30	single
Taylor	Helen E. Taylor	Beaverhead	1887					47	24	married
Thomson	Elizabeth L (Lizzie) Thomson	Deer Lodge		1892, 1894	1896, 1900		Democrat (1892); Republican (1894); Republican, Silver Republican (1896); Republican (1900)	24		single
Thornton	Bee Thornton	Missoula			1894		Republican	26		single
Truax	Alvira A. Truax	Dawson		1892			Republican	43		single
Turnley	Carrie (Cinderella) L.	Lewis & Clark		1889	1892, 1894		Democrat	49		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
	Turnley									
Vance	Grace H. Vance	Teton			1894		Republican	21	25	single
Walker	Stellah Walker	Sweet Grass		1900			Democrat	27	34	single
Wheeler	Sarah A. Wheeler	Lewis & Clark			1889		Prohibition	41	28	married
Wilkinson	Abbie W. Wilkinson	Granite	1893		1894		Populist and Democrat	55	35?	widow
Wilson	Katherine Wilson	Custer		1898	1900		Republican	26	27	married in office
Wolfe	Margaret I. Wolfe	Deer Lodge		1886, 1888, 1889			Democrat	31	39	single
Zook	Laura Zook	Custer		1896, 1900	1898		Democrat	28	21	widowed

Appendix F:
**Basic Demographics of Women
Nominated, Elected or Appointed County Superintendents,
Washington - 1874-1900**

**Basic Demographics of Women County Superintendents
(Nominated, Elected and Appointed)
Washington – 1874-1900**

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Abernathy	J. A. (Abbie) Abernathy	Cowlitz		1886			Republican	44	36	married
Adams	Augusta M. Adams	Lewis			1884		Democrat	30	25	married
Andrews	Lucy A. Andrews	Douglas			1894		Democrat	54	45	widowed?
Aubin	Harriet "Hattie" Aubin	Stevens		1886	1888			33	19	married
Austin	Fannie Austin	Thurston			1894		Populist	35	19	living apart from husband in 1892
Bailey	Amanda E. Bailey	Pierce			1884		Democrat	41	34	married
Bailey	Eva L. Bailey	Snohomish			1900		Independent	45	22	married
Barnett	Jane Mathilda Barnett (Silsby)	Pierce			1888, 1894		Prohibition (1894)	40	42	single, married
Bauer	Julia H. Bauer	Walla Walla			1884			42	21	married
Bean	Annie Bean	King			1880		Democrat, People's Ticket	25	31	single
Bean	Angie Bean	Asotin	1884	1884			Republican	30	32	married in office
Bell	Linna M. J. Bell	Snohomish		1882			Democrat	40		widowed

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Bemis	Lena Bemis	Adams, Lincoln		1898, 1900	1896		Republican	31	28	married
Bennett	Christine McKay Bennett	Adams	1883	1884, 1886			Republican	37	19	married
Benton	Alice A. Benton	Franklin			1896		Republican	45	17	married
Borden	Jessie Borden	Spokane			1890		Democrat	34		widowed
Bowen	Addie R. Bowen	Pacific			1886			20	18	married
Bradley	Josephine M. Bradley	Skagit		1883			Democrat	22		single
Brooks	Annette M. Brooks	Mason		1886			Republican	45	19	living apart from husband
Brown	Eva Brown	Douglas	1884	1884			People's Convention	25	34	single
Bush	Layfeate Ellen Bush	Pacific		1880	1882		Republican	45	31	married
Cahill	Sarah Cahill	Wahkiakum			1888					
Case	Amy A. Case	Thurston		1892	1894		People's Party (1892); Prohibition (1894)	36		single
Chick	Florence Chick	King			1884		Republican	46	19	living apart from husband
Church	Evalyn E. Church	Stevens			1896		Republican	39		married?
Clark	Irene Clark	Clarke			1874			30	31	single
Comstock	Claire	Island				1900	People's	21		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
	Comstock						Party			
Condon	Mary Condon	King				1884	Democrat/ Independent	22	26	single
Corbin	Hattie Corbin	Garfield			1900		Democrat	24	24	Single
Coupe	Nellie S. Coupe	Whatcom	1883					39	26	married
Coupe	Mary E. Coupe	Island		1880			Republican	24	25	married in office
Crockett	Lizzie E. Crockett	Island		1886	1888		Democrat	22	28	single
Cumberlin	Irene Cumberlin	Kittitas	1883	1884			Democrat	35		single
Currier	Susan Lord Currier	Skagit		1898, 1900			Republican	27	31	single
Curtis	Fannie Curtis	Yakima		1886			Republican	34		married
Davis	Mary E. Davis	Whitman			1880		Democrat	21		single
Emmert	Leta W. Emmert	Adams	1897					22	22	widowed
Engdahl	Hilda A. Engdahl	Yakima		1888	1890		Democrat	22	25	single
Entriiken	Sallie Entriiken	Clallam			1884		Republican	30	20	married
Ford	H. Minnie Ford	Mason		1898	1900		Republican	36	36	married prior to taking office
Gear	Elizabeth C. Gear	Pierce			1894		Democrat	51		divorced
Gilbreath	Nancy Gilbreath	Columbia			1900		Democrat	34		single
Gillespie	Ola Gillespie	Pacific		1888				35		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Gilliam	Ellen (Nellie) Gilliam	Walla Walla		1886				32	35	single
Gilliam	Mary Gilliam	Walla Walla			1898		Democrat	33		single
Granger	Ella C. Granger	Snohomish		1884			Republican, People's Ticket	36		widowed?
Greer	Cornelia J. Spencer Greer	Pierce		1882			Republican	41	25	married
Grim	Jospehine Grim	Ferry		1900			Republican	30		single
Griswold	Jennie Griswold	Pacific		1882	1884			37		married
Guptill	Ella L. Guptill	Clallam		1894				24	36	single
Haldeman	Lizze Haldeman	Spokane		1884			Republican	28	31	single
Hale	Pamela C. Hale	Thurston		1882, 1884, 1886	1894		People's Convention (1882); Democrat	48	22	widowed while in office
Hammond	Ester A. Hammond	San Juan			1898		People's Party	43	20	married
Hancock	Virginia M. Hancock (Grainger; Hermann)	Jefferson, Okanogan		1880, 1890, 1896	1888, 1894		Democrat	21	27	single, married, divorced
Harper	Margaret W. Harper	Franklin			1890		Reform	42	27	married
Harris	Ada M. Harris	Pacific		1896, 1898			Republican	42	30	married
Hart	Jennie Hart	Cowlitz			1882		Democrat	30		married
Hicklin	Ada B. Hicklin	Pacific		1884,				27		widowed?

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
				1886						
Honeywell	Persy Honeywell	Lewis			1894		Prohibition			
Huntington	Antoinette B. Huntington	Cowlitz		1878, 1880			Republican	40	26	married
Ingalls	Mary F. Ingalls	Pierce			1886			45	19	living apart from husband
Irving	Mary Irving	Wahkiakum		1884, 1886				29	28	married
Jenne	Mary E. Jenne	Island		1894				37	21	married
Johnson	Effie Johnson	Kitsap			1892, 1894, 1896		People's Party; Prohibition (1896)	27	33	single
Johnson	Tina Johnson (Johnston?)	Walla Walla			1882		Democrat	28		single
Johnson	Cora Johnson	Douglas			1886					
Julesburg	Ada Julesburg	Cowlitz		1900			Democrat	26		single
Kent	Ellen Kent	Wahkiakum			189			25	27	single
Kinney	Julia E. Kinney	Island		1884	1880		Democrat	25	26	married in office
Kirland	Annie E. Kirkland	King			1892		Prohibition	28		married
Knight	Mary M. Knight	Mason		1900			Democrat	44	20	married
Lee	Rhoda A. Lee	San Juan		1896			Populist	41	45	single
Livesley	Flora Livesley	Franklin	1883							married?
Long	Sadie (Sarah) S. Long	Klickitat			1892		Fusion	49	27	married

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Lumm	Charlotte "Lottie" L. Lumm	Franklin		1898			Democrat	21		single
Lyon	Nellie E. Lyon	Klickitat			1886		Democrat	21		single
Lyons	Lettie Lyons	Clarke			1880, 1886		People's Convention (1880)	24		single
Mason	Katie A. Mason	Skamania		1890						married
Masterson	Rilla Masterson	Spokane			1880			23		single
Matton	Annie Mattoon	Yakima			1886		Democrat	27	34	single
McCarty	Clara A. McCarty	Pierce		1880			Republican	22	24	married in office
McDowell	Carrie McDowell	Kittitas			1886			24		single
McIntosh	Alice McIntosh	Asotin			1886		Republican	28	25	married
McKenzie	Mrs. McKenzie	Skagit			1892		People's Party			married
McMahan	Rosa McMahan	Spokane		1886				24	20	widowed, married while in office
McMillen	Paulina McMillen	Cowlitz				1880	People's Convention	36	41	single
Meagher	Ella Meagher	Island		1900			Republican	21		single
Meigs	Lillie C. Meigs	Kitsap		1884				25		single
Miller	Lillie Miller	Skamania		1900			Democrat	32	21	married
Montgomery	Catherine	Lewis			1896		Republican	30		single

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
	"Kate" Montgomery									
Montgomery	Sadie "Sasie" F. Montgomery	Kittitas			1894		Fusion (People's Party)	34	31	married
Moore	Jennie (Janet, Jennette) Moore	Thurston			1884		Republican	24		single
Moore	Mrs. P. Moore	Pacific			1888					married
Moore	Lottie Moore	Whitman			1890		Prohibition			single
Morgan	Dora Morgan	Lincoln			1898		Democrat	46	40	married
Morrill	Sarah E. Morrill	Asotin		1886			Democrat	39	27	living apart from husband
Morrison	Ella Morrison	Garfield		1882			Republican	29	25	married
Murdock	Arepta Murdock	Pacific		1900	1898		Democrat (1900)	40	35	married
Neal	Alice Neal	Lincoln		1896, 1900	1898		Populist, Democrat (1900)	37	47	single
Nelson	Emma Nelson	Garfield		1896, 1898			People's Party	26	27	married in office
Nelssay	Mrs. A. Nelssay	Lincoln			1886					married?
Newkirk	Julia Newkirk	Columbia		1882			Democrat	25	27	married in office
Newton	Delia M. Newton	Grays Harbor		1876				49	21	widowed
O'Brien	Annie O'Brien	Clallam				1900	Social Democrat			

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
O'Connor	Minnie (Mary) O'Connor	Wahkiakum		1888, 1890, 1892			Democrat (1880); Democrat and Populist (Fusion?) (1892)	22		single
O'Keefe	Eliza O'Keefe	Franklin		1890, 1894, 1896	1892		Democrat (1890); Populist (1892), People's Party (1896)	30	25	married
Ordway	Lizzie M. Ordway	Kitsap	1885	1880, 1882, 1886	1884		Democrat (1880); Republican (1882)	52		single
Page	Florence Page	Lewis		1882			Democrat	21	27	single
Peterson	Clara V. Peterson	Kittitas		1886				30	34	single
Pike	Nelly Pike	Skamania			1880			28	27	married
Plummer	Laura G. Plummer	Island		1898	1900		Republican, Democrat (1900)	23	30	single
Price	Mary C. Price	Spokane			1890		Labor	50	31	married, appears to have been living apart
Pryor	Addie Pryor; Mary A. Pryor	Lincoln; Douglas	1887	1888, 1890	1892		Republican; Democrat (1892)	24		widowed
Pusey	Amanda Pusey	Whitman			1886		Republican	29	21	married

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Reynolds	Mary Reynolds	Klickitat			1894, 1898		Populist (1894); Fusionist (1898)	39	24	married
Roadruck	Myra Roadruck	Asotin			1900		Democrat	33	18	married
Robinson	Hallie B. Robinson	Asotin		1896	1898		People's Party	24	21	married
Robinson	Sarah A. Robinson	Okanogan		1900			Democrat	62		married
Rodman	Albertine E. Rodman	Klickitat		1884			Republican	44	28	married
Ryan	Clara Ryan	Jefferson, Clarke		1896	1900		People's Party, Prohibition (1900)	44		widowed?
Scholl	Elizabeth Scholl	Adams			1886		Democrat	43	22	married
Scully	Alice Scully	Garfield			1898		Republican	25	41	single
Searles	Elizabeth T. Searles	Cowlitz		1888			Republican	28		married
Seitz	Kate Seitz	Klickitat			1882		Republican	27	16	married
Small	Rainie A. Small	Snohomish		1900			Democrat	39	25	married
Smythe	Phi Smythe	Skagit			1900		Democrat	22	31	single
Speck	Margueritte Speck	Franklin		1892			Democrat	27		married
Stair	Ella S. Stair	Yakima		1882	1884		Republican	25	21	married
Steiner	Sevilla Steiner	Douglas		1898, 1900			Democrat; Fusion (1900)	24	26	married in office

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
Stevenson	Ellen Stevenson	Thurston			1886		People's Convention	33		single
Stork	Ella Stork	Thurston			1886		Republican	44	40	married
Taylor	Sarah J. Taylor	Pierce			1892		People's Party	36	23	married
Terpening	Ella Terpening	Columbia		1896			People's Party	44	31	married
Thomas	Louisa Thomas	Skamania			1898		Republican			
Traver	Stella W. Traver	Whitman			1888		Prohibition	45	32	married
Twiss	Lizzie Twiss	Lewis			1890		Democrat	25		single
Vallen	Nellie Vallen	Garfield		1900			Republican	26		single
Vanice	Mattie Vanice	Lewis		1886			Democrat	29	31	married in office
Walker	Janette M. Walker	Grays Harbor		1884			Republican	43		widowed
Warren	Lou(isa) E. Warren	San Juan	1898					40		single
Weekes	Margarete "Madge" Weekes	San Juan			1882		Republican	32	26	married
Wehmeyer	Lena Wehmeyer	Okanogan			1898		People's Party	33	31	married
Weller	Anna C. Weller	Pierce				1880	Democrat	20	21	single
Whipple	M. Ella Whipple	Clarke		1884			Republican	33	38	single
White	Charlotte White	Whitman			1898		Democrat	37		single
Wilcox	Lena Wilcos	Clallam			1892,		Democrat;	23	22	married

Surname	Name	County	Appointed	Elected	Defeated	Withdrew	Political Party	Age at Election	Age at Marriage	Marital Status at Election
					1898		People's Party (1898)			
Wilkins	Clara W. Wilkins	Franklin	1888, 1893					35	22	married
Windsor	Margaret "Maggie" Windsor	Spokane		1879	1882		People's Ticket	22	18	married in office
Woodruff	Addie V. Woodruff	Franklin			1890		Republican			single
Young	Carrie S. Young	Yakima			1900		Democrat	28		single

Notes on Sources

The research behind this dissertation should be considered just a beginning in uncovering and understanding women's educational office holding during the nineteenth century. The significant increase in digitization of historic materials made this research possible in ways that would not have been available to earlier scholars. Optical Character Recognition (OCR) along with digital search tools made materials from across the nation available. The availability of digitized state and territorial session laws through HeinOnline (<https://home.heinonline.org>) meant that research was not restricted to local or regional collections. Likewise, while federal census records and state birth, marriage and death records are available on microfilm/microfiche, digitization of those records made available through ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) and Family Search (www.familysearch.org) significantly reduced the research time necessary to create demographic profiles for the women who were appointed to, nominated for and elected as county school superintendents in Montana and Washington.

Due to the lack of any organized archival collections considering questions related to school suffrage and women's educational office holding during the nineteenth century, it was necessary to rely on newspapers to provide much of the material regarding both. Beyond the extensive microfilm collections held by the Montana State Historical Society Research Center, the Washington State Library and the University of Washington Libraries, digitized newspapers were accessed through a variety of sources. These included the Library of Congress's Chronicling America (<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>), Newspapers.com

(<https://www.newspapers.com>), Gale's Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers

(<https://www.gale.com/c/19th-century-us-newspapers>), ProQuest's Newspaper Archive

(<https://newspaperarchive.com>); as well as digital archival newspaper collections maintained by various states including California, Illinois, Montana and Washington along with the archival collections of the *New York Times*.

Much of the information regarding elections came from newspapers. By the last decades of the nineteenth century most newspapers were not strictly partisan as in they were not financially supported by a specific political party. This did not mean that the editors did not have a partisan perspective regarding elections and candidates. To gain the broadest perspective possible, an effort was made to locate papers that represented the entire spectrum of political thought.

Although not part of the research for this project, it was interesting to note the national breadth seemingly inconsequential information regarding women's election and voting received while other more significant details rarely appeared outside of a local or regional context. Placement of information regarding women's educational voting or office holding also varied with some papers relegating it to a "women's" page or section, with others including seemingly as "filler" and still others featuring it on the front page.

In examining historic records looking for evidence of women's appointment, nomination and election as educational offices, it was necessary to be willing to look beyond what is considered normal or traditional names and naming patterns. One should not assume that just because official records identify individuals only by surname along with first and middle initials that no women were included in the list. In Montana and Washington official elections results could and did include the names of women identified in just that manner. Additionally, it was important to assume that because a first name has been long identified as belonging to a man or woman, it has

not always been the case. In the late nineteenth century, Gwen and Vivian were not women's names. It was necessary to use records from multiple sources to confirm whether an individual was a man or a woman.

In the process, I discovered that the women appointed to, nominated for and elected as county superintendents did not always follow what was considered traditional naming patterns for their generation. Nor did they always use honorifics to identify themselves by their marital status. Some chose to use initials just as many of their male colleagues did. Others, whether married, widowed or divorced, chose to use their own first name instead of their husband's. A few even continued to use their maiden names after marriage. Except in the appendices related to election results, I deliberately chose use the women's own first names along with the surname by which they were known at the time of elections. I also chose not to use honorifics to indicate a woman's marital status. This is their story, they deserved their own name.

In conducting digital searches a wide variety of terms as well as search term order (such as women AND "school suffrage" as well as "school suffrage" women). Just as women and men's naming patterns varied, so did the terms used to identify the efforts related to women's school suffrage and educational office holding. Among terms used in the search process were woman, women, lady, ladies, suffrage, vote, election(s), school(s), district, school district, trustee, school trustee, director, superintendent, school superintendent and county superintendent. The search history was also regularly cleared to prevent narrowing of search efforts due to embedded algorithms in the various search platforms.

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