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Article Summary: After anti-suffrage forces gathered signatures to suspend a limited woman suffrage act signed in 1917, the Nebraska suffrage battle was waged in the courtroom. The Nebraska Supreme Court eventually upheld a lower court ruling that the referendum petition drive had failed because illegal procedures had been used to gather signatures. This decision led to major reform of the initiative and referendum process.

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Photographs / Images: Nebraska Secretary of State Charles W Pool; Lancaster County District Court Judge Leonard A Flansburg; "liquor interests" opposed giving women the vote (*Woman Citizen* cartoon, February 8, 1919); Judge Flansburg's injunction prevented the limited suffrage law from coming to a vote (*Omaha Bee* cartoon, January 27, 1919); petition-checker Katherine Sumney; petition-checker Grace Richardson; anti-suffrage referendum petition believed to include fraudulent signatures

BARKLEY VS. POOL: WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE NEBRASKA REFERENDUM LAW

By James E. Potter

Nebraska suffragists had reason to rejoice when Governor Keith Neville, on April 21, 1917, signed a legislative act allowing women to vote in municipal elections and for presidential electors. Though not the full suffrage measure Nebraska women had been seeking, the law was a major breakthrough after decades of frustration and defeat. The legislature granted woman suffrage to the fullest extent possible under the state constitution, which continued to bar females from voting for most state officers. As the suffrage movement gained strength in Nebraska and elsewhere, it seemed likely that remaining constitutional barriers to full voting privileges for women would soon be eliminated.

A chill invaded this climate of optimism when it was learned that anti-suffrage forces planned to mount a referendum petition drive to force suspension of the new, limited suffrage law. After it became obvious that enough signatures had been gathered to suspend the law, the suffragists decided to seek an injunction to prevent the referendum from being placed on the ballot. During the next two years the Nebraska suffrage battle was waged in the courtroom. The case of *Barkley vs. Pool* eventually reached the Nebraska Supreme Court, which upheld a lower court ruling that the referendum petition drive had failed due to fraudulent and illegal pro-

cedures used in gathering signatures.

The decision in *Barkley vs. Pool* came too late to provide many opportunities for Nebraska women to vote. The suffrage law had been suspended while the case was in the courts. By the time the case was decided, the adoption of full suffrage amendments to the Nebraska and US constitutions was imminent. However, by discrediting the anti-suffrage forces, *Barkley vs. Pool* helped pave the way for the Nebraska Legislature's unanimous ratification of the federal suffrage amendment in August 1919. More importantly, the case demonstrated what appeared to be serious flaws in the statutes governing the initiative and referendum process. Because of the evidence presented by the suffragists in *Barkley vs. Pool*, the legislature in 1919 made more restrictive the legal requirements for circulating initiative or referendum petitions.¹ It is interesting to note that some of the changes enacted by the 1919 legislature resurfaced as key issues in debate over the constitutionality of the petition law, sparked by a failed 1986 initiative petition drive.

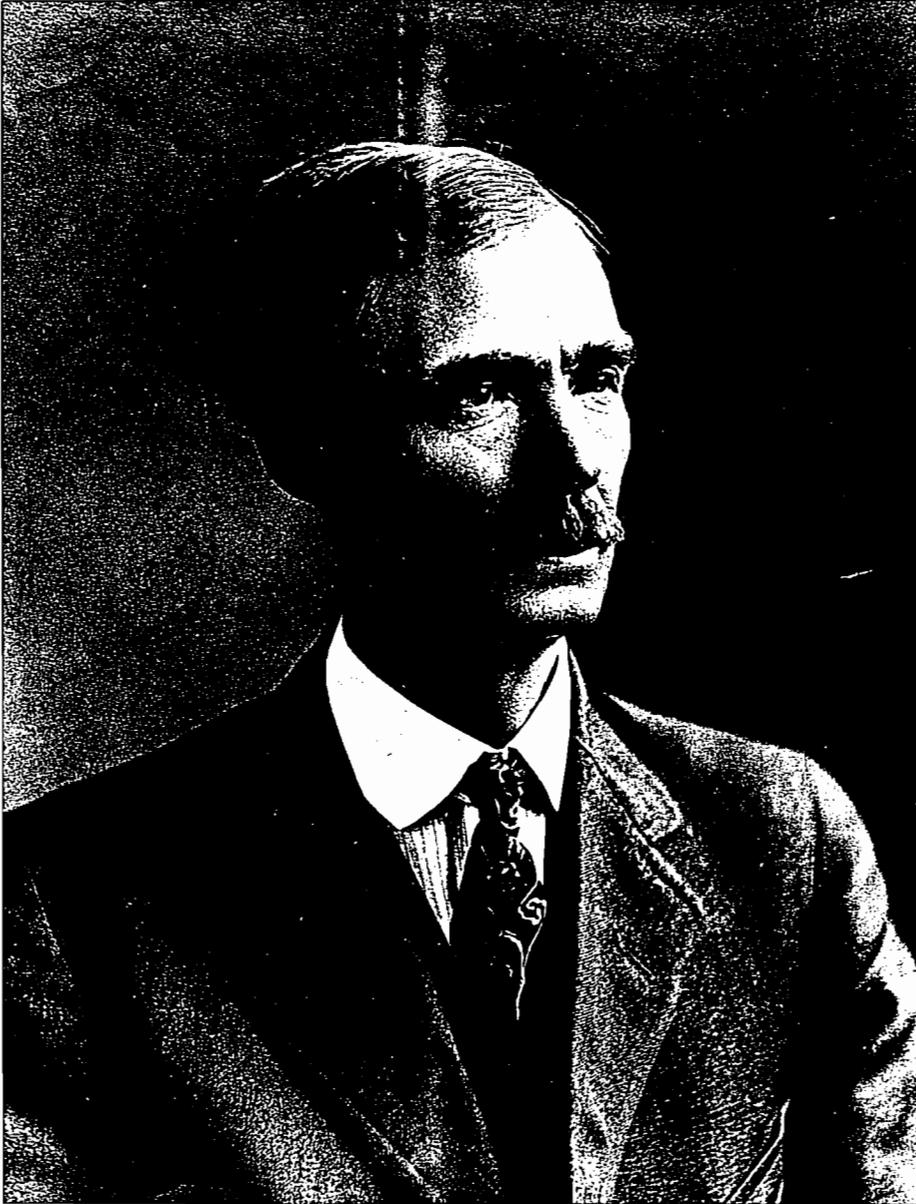
It was ironic that the groups seeking to prevent woman suffrage employed the referendum, which was a progressive reform anti-suffragists traditionally had opposed. No organization was more hostile to woman suffrage than the German-American Alliance, whose opposition was related to ethnic and religious values. Not only did many German-Americans believe that a woman's place was in the home, but

they feared that women voters would favor prohibition, a heartfelt issue for an ethnic group that generally regarded the drinking of alcoholic beverages as a matter of personal choice. The German-American Alliance was suspicious of the 1912 initiative and referendum amendments to the Nebraska constitution precisely because it feared that these constitutional weapons might be used by advocates of woman suffrage or prohibition to place such issues on the ballot.²

The Alliance's fears were realized when an initiative petition drive succeeded in placing a woman suffrage amendment on the ballot for the 1914 general election. The anti-suffrage forces could not have felt much relief when the amendment lost by less than 10,000 votes.³ Compared to earlier elections where suffrage had been defeated four to one, the 1914 vote demonstrated that the suffrage movement was gaining momentum. Much worse was to come, however, when a prohibition amendment, added to the ballot by initiative in 1916, was approved in the general election by a majority of nearly 30,000 votes. Prohibition took effect on May 1, 1917, after the legislature passed enabling legislation.⁴

Complicating the political situation for Nebraskans of German descent was the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914. As the ostensibly neutral United States moved closer to the Allied camp and war with Germany loomed, Nebraskans with ties to the fatherland sought to protect threatened cultural pre-

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Nebraska Secretary of State Charles W. Pool.

rogatives, some of which had been confirmed by statute. One was the Mockett Law, which authorized foreign language instruction in the public schools.⁵ As anti-German sentiment increased in Nebraska, a movement to repeal the Mockett Law surfaced during the 1917 legislative session. This session, coinciding with American

entry into the war, found the German-American members of the legislature increasingly on the defensive. In order to prevent repeal of the Mockett Law, German-stock lawmakers allegedly struck a deal to support the limited suffrage bill in return for votes from suffrage supporters to save the Mockett Law.⁶



Lancaster County District Court Judge Leonard A. Flansburg.

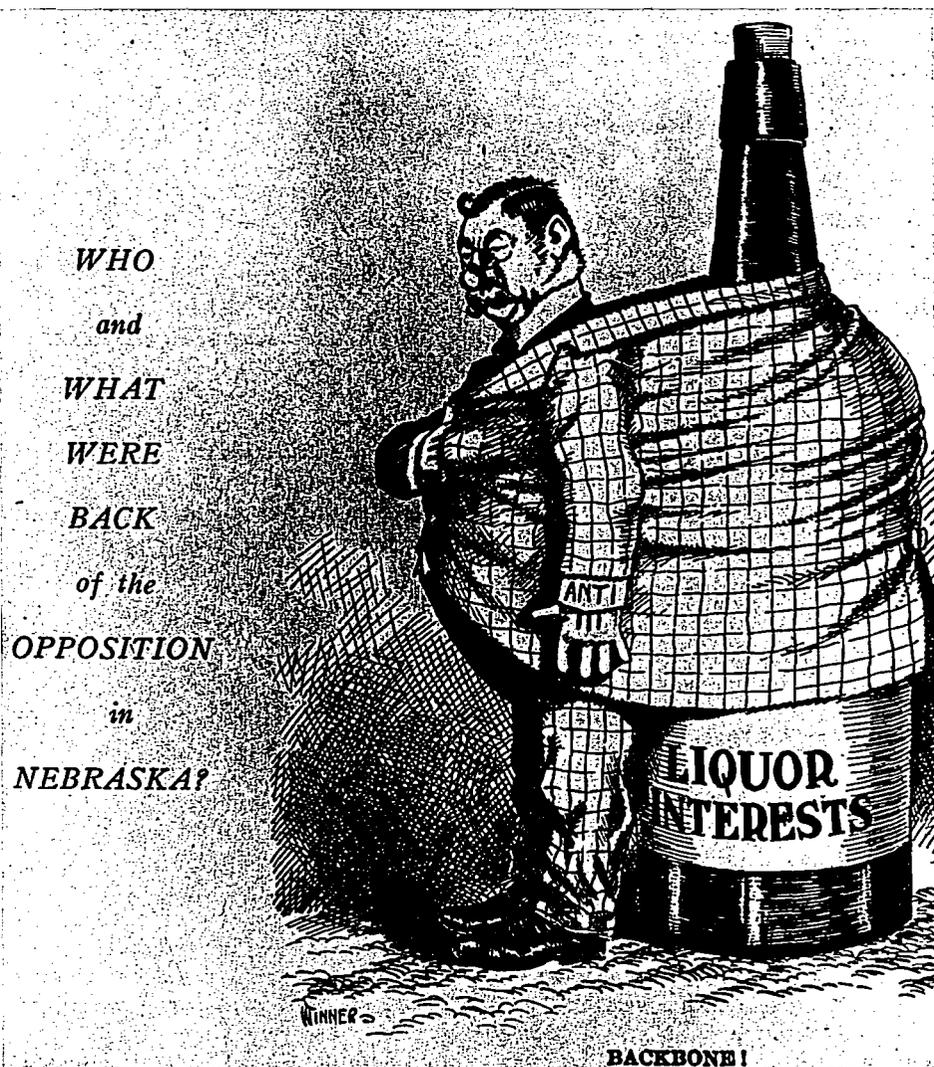
Others besides German-Americans had reason to fear woman suffrage and its implications for political reform. They included men like Omaha boss Tom Dennison, whose empire depended on bootlegging, gambling, and prostitution. The Dennison machine was already facing stiff opposition from Omaha reformers without opening the voting booth to women. To people like Dennison, woman suffrage in municipal elections presented a clear threat to the political status quo.⁷

After the 1917 legislature adjourned, a coalition of anti-suffrage forces made plans to defeat the limited suffrage law through the referendum process. If sufficient signatures could be gathered, the law would be suspended until it could be submitted to a vote of the people at the 1918 general election. Though there was no certainty that voters would reject the law, at least women would be barred from voting in the various municipal elections

scheduled during the ensuing year and a half.

The initiative and referendum, publicized and popularized by such reformers as William Jennings Bryan, had been added to the Nebraska constitution by a vote of the all male electorate in 1912. The amendment established the basis for calculating the number of signatures of legal voters required on petitions but gave the legislature responsibility for specifying the mechanics of the initiative and referendum process.⁸ The 1913 legislature affirmed that those signing initiative or referendum petitions had to be legal voters. Presumably legal voters were those meeting the constitutional definition of "elector," that is, white males, at least twenty-one years of age, either citizens or aliens who had declared their intention to become citizens. The 1913 law was silent regarding qualifications for petition circulators. Apparently they did not have to be legal voters, literate, or even Nebraska residents. Circulators of petitions were required to certify that the petitioners had signed in the circulator's presence and that the circulator believed the information given by the petitioner was correct. It was a felony for anyone to sign a petition with other than his own name; to knowingly sign more than once for the same issue; or to sign when not a legal voter. Circulators could be charged with a felony for falsely certifying to the signatures on any petition.⁹

Under the provisions of the 1913 referendum law, the anti-suffrage forces were required to gather 29,147 signatures within ninety days after the 1917 legislature adjourned in order to suspend the limited suffrage law for submission to a vote of the people. A group known as the Nebraska Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, headquartered in Omaha, took the lead in the petition drive. This group allegedly was supported by various Omaha politicians, by the German-American Alliance, and by liquor interests.¹⁰ Probably for the sake of



Many Nebraska suffragists believed that "liquor interests" opposed giving women the vote out of fear that women voters would favor prohibition. The Woman Citizen, February 8, 1919.

appearance, the organization's leadership included a number of women opposed to woman suffrage.

Some newspapers questioned whether there was much support for the anti-suffrage position. The *Nebraska State Journal* doubted that 30,000 men would be willing to go on record in favor of depriving women of voting privileges already granted by the legislature. The newspaper casti-

gated the anti-suffragist "diehards" for their efforts at a time when women were being "asked to fight for a country which will not grant them the responsibilities of citizenship."¹¹ This sentiment was echoed by others including the editor of the *North Nebraska Eagle* of Dakota City:

It should be known by anyone solicited to sign this petition that it has the legal effect of suspending the law for two years and is equivalent to

denying to the women of Nebraska the small part in the government that the legislature gave them. If you believe in suffrage refuse to sign such a petition. It requires 30,000 names and the Eagle does not believe there are that many men in Nebraska who will openly declare themselves so unfair.¹²

Despite observers' skepticism about the petition drive's chances for success, signatures were collected without apparent difficulty. On July 21, 1917, anti-suffrage leader Mrs. L.B. Crofoot, whose husband was president of the anti-prohibition "Prosperity League," presented petitions containing over 32,000 signatures to Secretary of State Charles W. Pool. The ease with which the signatures had been gathered aroused the suspicions of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association. Suffragists grew even more suspicious when newspapers reported that circulators had been paid for signatures gathered in Omaha pool halls and "soft drink" parlors, and that petition circulators had represented the petition as a pro-suffrage document.¹³

After determining that the required number of signatures had been collected, the secretary of state announced his intention to place the referendum on the ballot for the November 1918 general election. The law did not require that he verify the validity of the petitions, stipulating only that he determine whether they contained enough signatures. Citizens who wished to challenge the petitions could, under the initiative and referendum statutes, seek an injunction against the secretary of state in Lancaster County District Court.¹⁴

On July 28, 1917, Mrs. Edna Barkley, president of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, asked Secretary of State Pool for permission to examine the anti-suffrage petitions. At first Pool refused, offering to provide copies; later he gave representatives of the association free access to the petitions.¹⁵

The suffragists planned to challenge the petitions on the basis of fraud. Because 18,000 of the more than 30,000 signatures were gathered in Omaha, it

was there that they decided to concentrate their efforts. In September 1917 members of the association began working to verify names and addresses.¹⁶ By mid-February 1918 the suffragists were ready to go to court in an effort to prove that the referendum petition drive had failed.

On February 18 Mrs. Barkley and eighteen co-plaintiffs filed suit in Lancaster County District Court. They asked Judge Leonard A. Flansburg for an injunction against Secretary of State Pool to prevent Pool from placing the referendum on the November general election ballot. The suffragists charged that the petitions violated the referendum law in several respects. The suit argued that many of the signatures on the petitions were not genuine, that many petitions were certified illegally, that some circulators had engaged in fraud to procure signatures, and that altogether the referendum petitions did not contain the number of genuine signatures required by law.¹⁷

On March 16 eighty-seven men and women active in the anti-suffrage ranks petitioned the court and were permitted to join the case as "intervenors." Judge Flansburg appointed a special examiner to take testimony regarding the authenticity of referendum petitions that had been circulated across the state.¹⁸ The suffragists, who had spent long hours investigating petition signatures in Omaha and elsewhere, were ready to present their evidence.

As the hearings proceeded, it became clear that a final ruling in the case might not be made before the November 1918 election. The anti-suffragists hoped the delay might force the issue to a vote of the people regardless of the ongoing investigation. To prevent the secretary of state from placing the referendum on the November ballot the plaintiffs requested a temporary restraining order against Pool. Judge Flansburg issued the order on July 6, 1918.¹⁹

Throughout the summer and fall of

1918 the hearings dragged on. After being presented with convincing evidence that fraudulent signatures had been found on some of the petitions circulated in Omaha, Judge Flansburg decided to replace the restraining order with a temporary injunction against the secretary of state.²⁰

The suffragists used a process as simple as it was time consuming to check the validity of signatures. They copied petitions filed with the secretary of state and tried to verify each name and address. Some 18,000 names were checked in Omaha by suffrage workers under the leadership of Mrs. Katherine Sumney and Mrs. Grace Richardson.²¹ The workers found that many of the addresses on petitions were fictitious and that the localities named were in the middle of cornfields or railroad yards. Some addresses, had they existed, would have been located in the Missouri River. The suffragists discovered petitions bearing the names of men who had never lived at the addresses given and who, when contacted, affirmed that they had never signed any petition. Some men said that they had signed a petition because the circulator had represented it as a pro-suffrage petition; others thought it was a petition to "bring back beer." Paid circulators from Omaha traveled around the state collecting signatures. In at least one instance a circulator was a resident of Iowa. A person named A.O. Barclay had certified to 112 Douglas County petitions on which many of the signatures could not be verified. Despite the efforts of investigators, Barclay was never located.²²

Handwriting experts testified that all signatures on many petitions were in the same handwriting. Other petitions were found to have been left in pool halls, cigar stores, and barber shops for anyone to sign. Some were circulated by minors or by illiterates who were paid a fee for each signature. In several instances, the plaintiffs proved that men whose signatures appeared on petitions had died months before the

petitions were circulated. One Nebraska newspaper noted that "many dead and gone long before the suffrage question ever became an issue in Nebraska apparently returned to Earth to fight suffrage."²³ One Omaha petition contained the name of W.J. Bryan, residing at 1462 North Seventh Street. A search revealed no such address. The *Omaha Daily News* remarked, "If W.J. Bryan lived at that address he would be domiciled in the middle of Charles Street. Neighbors say to their knowledge Mr. Bryan has not lived in the street."²⁴

One fact that was particularly galling to the suffragists was that many petition signers were not citizens. The Nebraska constitution provided that males who had declared their intention to become citizens (e.g. had taken out their "first papers") were "electors" and qualified to sign initiative or referendum petitions. It seemed poetic justice later when, just as the ruling in *Barkley vs. Pool* restored limited voting rights to women, a 1918 constitutional amendment prohibiting alien suffrage took effect, disenfranchising thousands who had never bothered to become citizens.²⁵

In issuing the temporary injunction, Judge Flansburg ruled that the plaintiffs had proved that many of the names on specific petitions had been fraudulently written there by the circulators. Therefore those entire petitions would be disqualified unless the intervenors could prove that the remaining signatures were genuine. However, except for generally denying knowledge of any fraud, the anti-suffrage leaders made no effort to refute the testimony of the plaintiffs. They convinced Judge Flansburg to issue a special finding that the Omaha women who directed the circulation of the petitions had not been shown to have been implicated in the frauds!²⁶ After the temporary injunction was issued, the anti-suffrage forces appealed to the Nebraska Supreme Court, which refused to hear the appeal on the grounds that the district court



The *Omaha Bee* (evening) of January 27, 1919, published this cartoon after Judge Flansburg on January 24 issued an injunction preventing Secretary of State Pool from submitting the limited suffrage law to a vote of the people.

injunction was not a final order in the case.²⁷

On January 24, 1919, Judge Flansburg issued a permanent injunction to prevent the secretary of state from submitting the limited suffrage law to a vote of the people. The judge found that fraud, forgery, and false certification invalidated more than 4,600 signatures on the referendum petitions and that the required number of valid signatures had not been collected. He assessed the costs in the case to the state (as defendant) and to the intervenors. The Nebraska attorney general ruled that women were eligible to vote in upcoming municipal elections under the provisions of the 1917 limited suffrage law.²⁸

On April 28 the intervenors appealed Judge Flansburg's ruling to the Nebraska Supreme Court while the state, having accepted the decision, withdrew from the case. The intervenors appealed on the grounds that the judge had erred in throwing out entire petitions when only certain names had been proved fraudulent, that the plaintiffs (who were not eligible to vote) had no right to sue because the suit pertained to a political, rather than a civil right; and that the injunction prevented the legal voters of the state from voting on the question of woman suffrage.²⁹

In upholding Judge Flansburg's ruling the Supreme Court on June 28, 1919, agreed that the remedy of injunction against fraudulent referendum petitions was available to any citizen including non-voting women, and that knowingly certifying to a fraudulent signature on a referendum petition destroyed the credibility of the circulator to the degree that the entire petition was invalidated.³⁰

In the aftermath of this protracted struggle the suffrage movement soon achieved final victory. On August 2, 1919, the Nebraska legislature in special session unanimously ratified the nineteenth amendment to the US Constitution. After ratification by other states the federal amendment took



Suffrage workers led by Mrs. Katherine Sumney (above) and Mrs. Grace Richardson (below) checked thousands of Omaha petition signatures. MS 1073, Records of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society.

effect in August 1920. A Nebraska constitutional convention proposed a full suffrage amendment to the state constitution, which was approved by the votes of both men and women at a September 21, 1920, special election.³¹

Though the case of *Barkley vs. Pool* failed to materially hasten the enfranchisement of Nebraska women, it had a significant effect on the subsequent history of the state's initiative and referendum law. Even the suffragists recognized that the fate of woman suffrage did not hinge on the outcome of the case. Mrs. Grace Richardson noted:

This has been a fight for good government even more than for the right of women in Nebraska to vote . . . We were not afraid to have the suffrage question voted on again as has been suggested by some opponents of suffrage but we were unwilling to have it brought before the people by fraudulent petitions. The fight has been to protect state laws on the initiative and referendum.³²

This view was echoed by the *Nebraska State Journal*:

What happened can be told in a few words. A large fund of money was raised by interests opposed to suffrage. Men were given money and told to get the petitions. There was only a pot of money. Men hired to get signatures found it hard to get signers. Some, accordingly, secured signatures by representing it as a pro-suffrage petition. Others took a short cut and signed up the petitions themselves, using city directories or telephone directories as a source of names. No other referendum petitions had been questioned as to their genuineness. It was assumed that this one would not be.

Could this kind of thing have continued, we should shortly have been at a point where anybody with ten thousand dollars to spend could buy the suspension of any act of the legislature . . . Manipulating referendum petitions is not a killing matter. The most that can be accomplished, if the people favor the legislation attacked, is a delay of a year and a half. Nevertheless, fraud, even of no worse consequence than this, is intolerable. The present legislature will no doubt consider whether ways cannot be found to render fraud in initiative and referendum petitions harder to commit and more certain of detection and punishment.³³

As the *State Journal* predicted, the 1919 session of the Nebraska Legislature amended the law pertaining to the initiative and referendum. Senate File 225, adopted by a vote of 29-0 in the senate and 75-0 in the house, was approved by Governor Samuel McKelvie on April 16, 1919. The press reported that the new amendments to

Barkley vs. Pool

the initiative and referendum law were for the specific purpose of preventing fraud in the circulation of petitions. *The Woman Citizen*, the organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association, predicted that the amendments

will make impossible, as far as can be done, any such frauds in the future and warn corrupt individuals from trying thus to pervert the law... [the amendments] will compel those who may file such petitions in the future to buttress them thoroughly against attack, or in other words, stop the filing of referendum petitions that are fraudulent and perjured in character.³⁴

Significant changes were made in the statutory provisions governing petition circulators. Where the old law was silent regarding circulators' qualifications, the amended law required that they be at least eighteen years of age and a resident of the county in which petitions were to be circulated.

Furthermore, circulators were required to swear to the validity of the petitions rather than merely to certify. Each circulator was required to swear that he had stated the nature of the petition to each person asked to sign. Anyone wishing to circulate petitions outside their county of residence was required to give bond.³⁵

Since 1919 Nebraska's initiative and referendum law has been amended several times. Later amendments have made even more restrictive the initiative and referendum process. Legislation in 1969 and 1973 prohibited paid circulators and required that petition signers be registered voters.³⁶ A failed 1986 initiative seeking a popular vote on a state lottery resulted in charges against several individuals on the grounds that they violated the petition

law, certain provisions of which had been enacted by the 1919 legislature in response to the case of *Barkley vs. Pool*. The episode produced court challenges to the constitutionality of portions of the law and sparked debate over whether changes were needed.³⁷

Though they could not yet vote, Nebraska suffragists made a significant contribution to Nebraska's political history through their fight against the referendum on the 1917 limited suffrage law. They demonstrated the fallacy of the anti-suffrage argument that women were "too delicate" for the rough and tumble world of politics. In order to protect a fundamental concept of direct democracy, they waged a lengthy and expensive legal battle more important in principle than for its eventual effect on the suffrage cause.

An anti-suffrage referendum petition (front and back) believed to include fraudulent signatures written by the same person. RG 2, Records of the Nebraska Secretary of State, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society.

Name	Residence. (If in a City, street and number.)	Post office.
1. W. L. Smith	Falls Coll.	
2. H. H. Snyder	Falls Coll.	
R. H. Jones	Falls Coll.	
3. E. B. Holland	Falls Coll.	
4. A. Schmeitzel	Falls Coll.	
5. J. M. Bennett	Falls Coll.	
6. J. C. Bertram	Falls Coll.	
7. J. E. Herdman	Falls Coll.	
8. E. E. Fisher	Falls Coll.	
9. C. Kouns	Falls Coll.	
10. J. P. Riffing	Falls Coll.	
11. J. P. Lewis	Falls Coll.	
12. J. M. McClary	Falls Coll.	
13. W. A. Whitstine	Falls Coll.	
14. J. M. Brown	Falls Coll.	
15. J. M. Jones	Falls Coll.	
16. J. C. Lewis	Falls Coll.	
17. J. C. Lewis	Falls Coll.	
18. J. C. Lewis	Falls Coll.	
19. J. C. Lewis	Falls Coll.	
20. J. C. Lewis	Falls Coll.	

STATE OF NEBRASKA
County of Richardson

I, J. F. Norton, hereby certify that

W. L. Smith, J. C. Bertram, J. M. McClary,
H. H. Snyder, J. E. Herdman, J. A. Whitstine,
R. H. Jones, E. E. Fisher, J. P. Riffing,
J. M. Brown, C. Kouns, W. A. Whitstine,
E. B. Holland, J. P. Lewis, C. W. Jones,
A. Schmeitzel, J. M. Bennett, J. C. Lewis,
J. M. Bennett, J. C. Lewis

Signed this sheet of the foregoing petition, and each of them signed his name thereto in my presence; I believe that each has stated his name, postoffice address and residence correctly, and that each signer is a legal voter of the State of Nebraska and County of Richardson

WITNESSES: Address J. F. Norton
M. S. Ford 346 1/2 Unit 257 California Omaha
Omaha

By the time they won full suffrage, Nebraska women had already demonstrated that they were ready for, and capable of, full participation in the political process.

NOTES

¹A good summary of the woman suffrage movement in Nebraska is Ann L. Wilhite, "Sixty-five years Till Victory: A History of Woman Suffrage in Nebraska," *Nebraska History* 49 (Summer 1968):149-63. Also see Thomas C. Coulter, "A History of Woman Suffrage in Nebraska 1856-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1968). Many of the newspaper and other sources used in this article can be found in MS 1073, Records of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society.

²The best review of the role of the German-American Alliance in Nebraska politics is Frederick C. Luebke, "The German-American Alliance in Nebraska, 1910-1917," *Nebraska History* 49 (Summer 1968):165-85. Nebraska newspapers saw the hand of the German-American Alliance in the anti-suffrage petition drive, for example, *The Geneva Signal*, June 28, 1917 and *Nebraska State Journal*, July 24, 1917.

³Luebke, "German-American Alliance," 179.

⁴Ibid. 183; Addison E. Sheldon, *Nebraska The Land and the People*, Vol. I (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1931), 913-14. For vote totals on constitutional amendments see *The Nebraska Blue Book*, published biennially by the Clerk of the Legislature.

⁵Luebke, "German-American Alliance," 177-78.

⁶Wilhite, "Sixty-five Years Till Victory," 161-62; Coulter, "Woman Suffrage," 154-57; *Lincoln Star*, February 16, 1918.

⁷*The Woman Citizen*, August 25, 1917; *Nebraska State Journal*, July 24, 1917.

⁸Robert W. Cherny, *A Righteous Cause: The*

Life of William Jennings Bryan (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co., 1985), 190. Constitution of Nebraska, with Amendments, *The Nebraska Blue Book*, 1915.

⁹*Laws of Nebraska, 1913*, 488-98.

¹⁰*Omaha Daily News*, April 23, 1917; *Nebraska State Journal*, June 23, 1917; *Chadron Journal*, July 20, 1917.

¹¹*Nebraska State Journal*, May 24, 1917.

¹²*North Nebraska Eagle* (Dakota City), June 21, 1917.

¹³*Omaha Daily News*, June 10, 1917; *Chadron Journal*, July 20, 1917; *The Woman Citizen*, August 3, 1918; February 8, 1919; Sheldon, *Land and People*, 911.

¹⁴*Laws of Nebraska, 1913*, 491-92.

¹⁵*Omaha World-Herald*, August 23, 1917; *Omaha Daily News*, December 5, 1917; *The Woman Citizen*, February 8, 1919. Even Secretary of State Pool began to doubt the validity of the petitions.

¹⁶*The Woman Citizen*, February 8, 1919.

¹⁷*The Evening State Journal*, February 14, 1918; *Omaha Daily News*, February 14, 1918. A copy of the petition in equity filed by the suffragists is in MS 1073. Copies of all documents in Case File 67-127, Lancaster County District Court (*Barkleyus. Pool*) are at the Nebraska State Historical Society.

¹⁸*The Woman Citizen*, August 3, 1918; February 8, 1919.

¹⁹Coulter, "Woman Suffrage," 166; Case File 67-127.

²⁰Coulter, "Woman Suffrage," 167; Case File 67-127.

²¹*Omaha Daily News*, January 25-26, 1919; *The Woman Citizen*, February 8, 1919.

²²*Evening State Journal*, February 14, 1918; *The Woman Citizen*, September 15, 1917; *Omaha Daily News*, January 25, 1919.

²³*O'Neill Frontier*, January 30, 1919.

²⁴*Omaha Daily News*, February 14, 1918.

²⁵*The Woman Citizen*, August 4, 1917; February 2, 1918; February 22, 1919; *Omaha Daily News*, January 25, 1919. For a good summary of the situation regarding alien suffrage, see Hattie

Plum Williams, "The Road to Citizenship: A Study of Naturalization in a Nebraska Community," Anne P. Diffendal, ed., *Nebraska History* 68 (Winter 1987):168-82.

²⁶Case File 67-127; *Omaha Daily News*, January 25, 1919; *Nebraska State Journal*, January 26, 1919.

²⁷*Report of Cases in the Supreme Court of Nebraska*, V. 102:799-805. (hereafter *Nebraska Reports*). Interestingly, one of the principal attorneys for the anti-suffrage group was Omahan John Lee Webster, who had successfully argued Ponca Chief Standing Bear's claim to constitutional protection in 1879.

²⁸Case File 67-127; *Omaha World-Herald*, March 3, 1919; *Nebraska State Journal*, January 26, 1919.

²⁹*Nebraska Reports* 103:629-36; *Omaha Daily News*, March 6, 1919; *The Woman Citizen*, July 19, 1919.

³⁰*Nebraska Reports*, 103:629-36.

³¹Wilhite, "Sixty-five Years Till Victory," 162-63; Sheldon, *Land and People*, 961-64. A factor in the unanimous ratification of the federal amendment may have been the fact that most of the anti-suffrage, German-stock members of the legislature had been defeated in the Republican landslide of 1918.

³²*The Woman Citizen*, August 16, 1919.

³³*Nebraska State Journal*, January 16, 1919.

³⁴*Nebraska Senate Journal, (37th Session) 1919*, 786; *Nebraska House Journal, (37th Session) 1919*, 1113; *Omaha World-Herald*, March 11, 1919; *The Woman Citizen*, February 8, 1919.

³⁵*Laws of Nebraska, 1919*, 212-18.

³⁶*Laws of Nebraska, 1969*, 1017-27; *Laws of Nebraska, 1973*, LB 562.

³⁷For example see *Sunday Journal and Star*, September 7, 1986; *Lincoln Journal*, September 8, September 29, 1986; November 7, 1986; and *Sunday World-Herald*, October 18, 1987, 7:B. Beginning in July 1986, Nebraska newspapers, particularly the *Lincoln Journal*, the *Lincoln Star*, and the *Omaha World-Herald* have provided extensive coverage of the lottery petition controversy.