THE ROLE OF QUAKERISM IN THE INDIANA WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1851-1885: TOWARDS A MORE PERFECT FREEDOM FOR ALL

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ABSTRACT

Eric L. Hamilton

THE ROLE OF QUAKERISM IN THE INDIANA WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1851-1885:
TOWARD A MORE PERFECT FREEDOM FOR ALL

As white settlers and pioneers moved westward in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, some of the first to settle the Indiana territory, near the Ohio border, were members of the Religious Society of Friends (the Quakers). Many of these Quakers focused on social reforms, especially the anti-slavery movement, as they fled the slave-holding states like the Carolinas. Less discussed in Indiana's history is the impact Quakerism also had in the movement for women's rights. This case study of two of the founding members of the Indiana Woman's Rights Association (later to be renamed the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association), illuminates the influences of Quakerism on women's rights. Amanda M. Way (1828-1914) and Mary Frame (Myers) Thomas, M.D. (1816-1888) practiced skills and gained opportunities for organizing a grassroots movement through the Religious Society of Friends. They attained a strong sense of moral grounding, skills for conducting business meetings, and most importantly, developed a confidence in public speaking uncommon for women in the nineteenth century. Quakerism propelled Way and Thomas into action as they assumed early leadership roles in the women's rights movement. As advocates for greater equality and

freedom for women, Way and Thomas leveraged the skills learned from Quakerism into political opportunities, resource mobilization, and the ability to frame their arguments within other ideological contexts (such as temperance, anti-slavery, and education).

Anita Morgan, Ph. D., Chair

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWSA	American Woman's Suffrage Association (branch of the national suffrage movement founded by Lucy Stone)
G.F.W.C.	General Federation of Women's Clubs
IWRA	Indiana Woman's Rights Association (1851-1860)
IWSA	Indiana Women's Suffrage Association (1869-1918)
IYM	Indiana Yearly Meeting (Religious Society of Friends)
NWSA	National Woman's Suffrage Association (branch of the national suffrage movement founded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony)
SUIR	Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform
WYM	Western Yearly Meeting (Religious Society of Friends)

INTRODUCTION

From the inception of the Indiana Woman's Rights Association (IWRA) in 1851 until her resignation due to health problems in 1885, the name of Dr. Mary Thomas (1816-1888) appeared in most of the IWRA yearly meeting records. When Thomas could not attend these meetings she encouraged and supported her fellow activists by sending letters to the group. Amanda M. Way's (1828-1914) name also repeatedly appeared in the IWRA records from its first meeting, where she served as vice president, until 1871 when she, as a part of only the second group of women ever to do so, addressed the Indiana State Legislature to push for women's equality as citizens under the law, including the right to vote. Prior to the Civil War, Way's fellow reformer, Thomas, was the first woman to ever address the Indiana State Legislature.

These facts demonstrate the importance of these women as two of the IWRA's most active, early leaders. They also shared a common Quaker heritage that played a very important role in their lives and, consequently, the organization and subsistence of the movement. Interestingly, both women also identified as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church for a part of their lives. Way's and Thomas's discontent with the Society of Friends and preference for the Methodist Episcopal Church came at different times in their lives, however, the causes centered around the same issue, specifically the anti-slavery movement and its activities, and both returned to the Friends church within a decade of the end of the Civil War. The case study of Thomas, Way, and their birthright to the Religious Society of Friends brings religion's influence on these reformers to the forefront of scholarship and also offers some insight into their associations with the

Methodist Episcopal Church. Quakerism propelled them to action where they assumed leadership roles in the fight for equal rights for women and in other social reforms like abolition, temperance, caring for the poor, and women's health. Their lives in the Quaker community not only instilled in them the moral grounding of their convictions, but also gave them the skills needed to conduct business and organize and implement action for change.[1]

My desire to explore Way's and Thomas's Quaker heritage and its influence on the women's rights movement in Indiana originated in a review of the extensive sources from and about Indiana Quakers housed at the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis, Indiana, alongside secondary sources concerning more well-known American women in general and Quaker women specifically. Sources briefly mentioned Way, mostly in relation to her temperance activities, and Thomas, overwhelmingly about her status as a pioneering female physician, and no source failed to mention their ties to prominent Quaker families. Upon learning that both women participated in the founding of and the leadership of the IWRA and that the IWRA record book was housed at the Indiana Historical Society, I determined that this was a part of their lives that needed further exploration and exposure. Something else touched on, but not explained in the brief

[1] The Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association Record Book (IWSARB), 1851-1886, Manuscripts Collection, William H. Smith Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. The record entry for the first convention, October 14 and 15, 1851, contained a notation that Thomas sent a letter to the group supporting their organizing, but she could not attend. The letter was read aloud to the group by Amanda M. Way, vice president. Clifton J. Phillips, s.v. "Thomas, Mary Frame Myers," *Notable American Women 1607-1950*, vol. 3, edited by Edward T. James, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971); Clifton J. Phillips, s.v. "Way, Amanda M.," *Notable American Women 1607-1950*, vol. 3, edited by Edward T. James, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971). The terms Society of Friends, Quakers, or just Friends are used synonymously with the Religious Society of Friends. Also, while the association began as the Indiana Woman's Rights Association, the name changed in 1861 to the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association. Notes will only reference years and sometimes specific dates of the yearly meetings of the IWRA because most entries in the record book consisted of only three to five pages which contained no pagination.

biographies or in articles available about Way and Thomas concerned their affiliations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the middle of their lives. What role did religion play in their ability to organize and lead the women's rights movement in Indiana? Why did these women leave the Society of Friends and establish themselves as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church? Finally, how does their story relate to or fit into the context of the national women's rights movement in its first five decades of activity?

This thesis will explore these questions throughout the next four chapters. The evidence clearly shows that Way and Thomas gained significant means for successful organization and execution of a grassroots movement, such as the women's rights movement, from their Quaker heritage. Also, both of the women, among other contemporary Quakers, sought out other Christian denominations, including the Methodist Episcopal Church, in order to align themselves with not only like-minded individuals, but also groups of individuals willing to act in a very public manner in order to achieve the reforms they required. Finally, the evidence will demonstrate that Hoosier women worked with other reform movements and other women's rights leaders in order to establish one of the earliest women's rights associations in the United States and to quickly revive it after the Civil War.

Unfortunately, Way and Thomas left little behind that has survived or is available to the public with their own words and thoughts forcing me to think outside the usual parameters to construct my research method and strategy. Some of the best primary source information came from the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association Record Book, newspaper articles (including obituaries), and family recollections (such as Thomas's daughter, Pauline Heald). Due to a lack of direct primary evidence many historians in the

past have shied away from attempting to tell and explain the lives of Thomas and Way, however, when I read an article published in the field of social sciences that helped explicate three key components to organizing and sustaining a grassroots movement, even suggesting that this could serve as a framework for closer analysis of state suffrage movements, I knew I had found the a tool for analyzing lives of Way and Thomas. These theories gave some explanation to their actions without having their first-hand accounts. The biggest obstacle faced when using broad social science theories in such a manner comes in the task of clearly explaining the theories and how they work, yet not allowing the theories to overshadow or bog down the story or analysis. However, the benefits of using cross-disciplinary methods, such as social science theories, to explore the women's and religious history of Indiana, enables scholars to analyze less documented, yet very important cases, like the lives of Thomas and Way.

Chapter one delineates the evolution of scholarship concerning the history of the women's rights movement, highlighting a few classics, but mostly focusing on works produced in the last twenty five years, showing gaps in the existing scholarship and providing some social science theories as tools to explore the stories needed to fill those gaps. The next three chapters focus on three social science theories, each with its own chapter, but still maintaining some chronological cohesion of Way's and Thomas's lives. Resource mobilization is the focus of chapter two, exploring Way's and Thomas's heritage and early life, and how that provided a foundation to organize movements for the women. Chapter three discusses political opportunities as an important part of a movement's success and that Way and Thomas experienced a growing number of these opportunities throughout their lives. Finally, chapter four explains how ideological

framing played an important role in their women's rights activities. Way and Thomas involved themselves in multiple reform movements throughout their lives which provided opportunities to frame their arguments to appeal to specific audiences. This chapter also reveals that Way and Thomas joined the Methodist Episcopal Church and left the Society of Friends during a time when the Friends were infighting over the proper way to dissent against slavery in the United States. Because of the similar views on the role of women, the Methodist Episcopal Church provided a religious sanctuary for Thomas and Way away from their birthright association with the Friends until after the Civil War when the church aligned with other mainstream Protestant denominations by imposing strictures on women including denying women's ordination. Finally, this study contributes to the following fields of study by revealing more about women's history, religious history, the history of reform movements, and how these components influenced Way's and Thomas's lives in nineteenth-century Indiana.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORIOGRAPHY

Women in the United States fought a long and arduous battle for women's suffrage from the mid-1800s until August 26, 1920, when the United States adopted the Susan B. Anthony Amendment as the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Many historians have documented this fight, but most have emphasized the key roles prominent women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Alice Paul played in the battle. Unfortunately, most historians (with rare exceptions mentioned later in this chapter) ignore or fail to mention or explore the fact that these women, and many others associated with the movement, came from Quaker families and belonged to and were active in the Religious Society of Friends throughout their lives. Another noticeably understudied part of this story concerns women within cities, counties, and states across the country who worked hard to change the attitudes of their state and national legislators, as well as of the general public, about women's right to vote. A study of the women's rights movement in Indiana sheds light onto both of these often neglected topics. This chapter explores a selection of scholarship about the important topic of women's rights to distinguish where some gaps lie in our knowledge of the subject.

Until the turn of this century, most of the scholarship on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' women's rights movement in the United States, in particular the suffrage movement, presented the subject either as a national synthesis or through "great woman" biographies. A synthesis describes a work that relies most heavily on secondary sources in order to extract and present new theses often informed by newly available

primary documents, whereas a "great woman" piece could also be a synthesis, but usually suits a biography more, relying most heavily on primary documents. Exploring some of the works that employed these methods and also discussing a few recent important social sciences theories can help shift the discussion away from these methods of analysis. The scholarship concerned with the women's suffrage movement needs to shift from the older paradigm of great woman history and works that focus on the national level in favor of state and even more localized suffrage activities. These carefully chosen secondary works and their methods, selected either because of their consideration as "classics in the field" or because they were among the newest (most published in the last twenty-five years) scholarly works available on the subject, also place the stories of Indiana's Amanda M. Way and Dr. Mary Frame Thomas (both Quakers and both leaders in Indiana reform movements) in the larger context of the national suffrage movement.

Studies of the women's rights movement in nineteenth-century America must begin with the classic work, *History of Woman Suffrage*. Its lengthy six volumes provide a wealth of primary documents compiled and edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, all leaders of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Many women contributed to the large project, but Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper wrote their history of the movement as they assembled and relied on only the documents they themselves selected out of thousands that were available and ignored any other narratives by other women involved in the movement. For example, Lucy Stone and the American Woman's Suffrage Association, its members, documents, and actions received very little coverage in the *History of Woman Suffrage* volumes because Stone was not consulted and she did not write her own

history of the movement from the AWSA perspective. Therefore, the *History of Woman Suffrage*, while important, did not provide as comprehensive a study of the movement as its multiple volumes might suggest.[1]

Eleanor Flexner wrote one of the earliest scholarly works on the topic of women's rights in *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*. Harvard University Press originally published Flexner's book in 1959 and it has since been reprinted thirteen times and quickly became a classic in the women's studies field. Flexner showed how women in the early nineteenth century pushed for an education equal to that of men and also took up vital roles in the anti-slavery movement. Eventually, Flexner posited, these women had the idea that if only they could vote then they could dismantle the legal restrictions placed on them. The author continually pointed to the "courage and wisdom" of the leaders in the women's rights movement from the early 1800s through the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which removed all legal barriers to women's right to vote in elections nationwide. Flexner wanted her history to inspire women contemporary to her to "face our own future with more courage and wisdom and greater hope." As one of the earliest works on the women's rights movement, Flexner's study struggled with the availability of primary and secondary sources. She readily admitted in her "bibliographic summary" that most of the secondary sources available to her were written by those closely related to the movement, and the works "all suffer[ed] from serious bias, a defect heightened by the split within the

[1] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vols. 1-6, (New York: Arno Press/New York Times, 1969, 1881). All six volumes are also available for free on Googlebooks.com.

suffrage movement." Flexner's broad study revealed a very "rich field" of "unploughed ground" for historians to find new studies.[2]

Six years later, in 1965, Aileen S. Kraditor produced another breakthrough study with *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement/1890-1920*. Kraditor, frustrated that the limited amount of research since Flexner's work "focused on organizational activities, names and dates," instead applied an "old-fashioned intellectual history" to the study of the suffrage movement. By investigating the ideas and philosophies of the suffrage movement, Kraditor showed that there had existed two differing approaches or ideologies from which suffragists framed their arguments for equality—"argument from justice" and "argument from expediency"—around their "conception of democracy." The "argument from justice" framework centered on the way suffragists argued for equality based on the ideas of "natural" and "inalienable" rights in order for the United States government to truly have "consent of the governed," otherwise there is no true democracy. Kraditor placed the arguments that "claim[ed] that woman suffrage would benefit society," into the "argument for expediency" category. One of the chapters, "Woman Suffrage and Religion," sounded promising; however, the author focused solely on Elizabeth Cady Stanton's relationship with religion and how her biblical commentary, *The Woman's Bible*, caused friction in the movement, especially with her closest friend, Susan B. Anthony. Kraditor contributed a new perspective to Flexner's initial work, but she still focused on the national organization and its activities. Some scholars have since restudied the arguments and the motives of the suffragists, but as seen in the following reviewed works, few have looked at local suffrage movements, and even fewer have

[2] Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 331, 337, 335.

employed the "old intellectual history" technique for examining the women's suffrage movement.[3]

Starting in the 1990s, several works of synthesis appeared in the scholarly presses and the various authors had used the *History of Woman Suffrage* as the backbone of their scholarship. Glenna Matthews's *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970* surveyed women's rights beginning in seventeenth-century America. While mainly focusing on women and politics she also illuminated "the relationship between private and public, the personal and the political, the home and the world." Matthews studied the implications of the definition of "public" found in *Webster's Dictionary* by applying it to four channels: legal, political, spatial, and cultural. The author acknowledged that not all American women experienced "public womanhood" in the same way, but concentrated her research on white, middle-class, Puritan, Quaker, and other Protestant women anyway. The book began with a quote from Stanton published in her *History of Woman Suffrage*. The author cited this standard work several other times throughout chapters five through eight. She used few unpublished manuscripts to help her discern how the anti-slavery, temperance, and suffrage movements may have led women to abandon the home and the "cult" of domesticity for more public, community and nationwide obligations. Matthews relied on secondary sources such as the usual great woman biographies and stories of national movements to mark the "erosion of patriarchy," and confirm why and how women moved their realm of activities, as defined by the "cult" of domesticity, to encompass the public sphere as well

[3] Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement/1890-1920,* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1985), viii, 44-45. The author mentioned that Susan B. Anthony told Stanton she wanted nothing to do with Stanton's "Bible Committee" for editing and commenting on the Bible, replying "No–I don't want my name on that Bible Committee–you fight that battle–and leave me to fight the secular–the political fellows.",78.

as the private sphere. The push for more involvement by women in the community surely happened outside of the often focused on New England region, especially New York and Massachusetts, where many reform movements in the nineteenth century maintained their national headquarters.[4]

Published that same year, in "Moral Champions and Public Pathfinders: Antebellum Quaker Women in Eastcentral Indiana" Peggy Brase Seigel argued that the same "pattern of feminist evolution" that took place in the Eastern United States, where women were denied a voice in anti-slavery societies and then decided they needed to begin fighting for their own rights, also happened in east-central Indiana. This pattern of linking the anti-slavery movement with the women's movement really began with the *History of Woman Suffrage* and Seigel followed that pattern by linking the Indiana suffrage movement to the states participation in anti-slavery activities. Seigel appropriately linked the Quaker reformers in Indiana to the anti-slavery movement. However, rather than focus on the local reformers like Henry Way (Amanda Way's great uncle) she only referred to big names from the East who came to Indiana and "started"

[4] Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 11, 6-9. Stanton's quote, "It requires philosophy and heroism to rise above the opinion of the wise men of all nations and races that to be *unknown* is the highest testimonial woman can have to her virtue, delicacy, and refinement," was cited from the *History of Woman Suffrage* and opened Matthews's "Introduction," 3. Glenna Matthews, *Just a Housewife: The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 6, defined the idea of the "cult" of domesticity as a term used by and originating with historians to describe the culture in the United States during "the early to mid-nineteenth century" when "women in their homes were the locus of moral authority in the society." Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70, no. 3, Special Edition: No More Separate Spheres! (September, 1998): 581; also provided an excellent definition in her opening paragraph. Matthews relied mostly on Cott's chapter "Eighteenth-Century Family and Social Life Revealed in Massachusetts Divorce Records" in the discussion of how and why the structure of patriarchy eroded as women pushed and even redefined their roles in opposition to those placed on them by this male centered paradigm, found in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck (eds), *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979).

the antislavery movement in Indiana. Another one of Seigel's arguments that does not hold true concerned "Indiana's isolation from Eastern reformers," which she herself refuted by referring to the vast connections to "big east" anti-slavery societies, also when she revealed that Henry C. Wright spoke at the Indiana Women's Rights Association's first meeting and that other "well-known women reformers from Ohio and the East attended most of the meetings between 1853 and 1858." The following research will further reveal that Indiana suffragists were not isolated from Eastern reformers; it will also advance the exploration of the moment that Seigel identified as the culmination of Indiana's antebellum suffrage efforts, the January 1859 address by Mary Thomas to the Indiana General Assembly. Moreover, the ensuing research acknowledges that the anti-slavery movement played an important role in many Quaker women's lives but draws a much more direct line from Quakerism to women's rights because that heritage held the key to so many resources for these reformers to exploit in their efforts for equality and formed that strong moral sense of justice and equality that drove many Quakers to action. Finally, Seigel mentioned that Amanda Way became a Methodist Episcopal preacher and that and that "some women activists including Mary Thomas and Amanda Way left the formal Quaker church structure and joined other denominations," but she never explored or even questioned why this occurred, a question this thesis also addresses.[5]

One year later, in 1993, Christine Bolt's synthesis, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790's to the 1920's* compared and contrasted the various women's movements in each country. She took the reader through the history of these movements by looking at both the public and the private spheres of women through

[5] Peggy Brase Seigel, "Moral Champions and Public Pathfinders: Antebellum Quaker Women in Eastcentral Inddiana," *Quaker History* 81, no. 2, (Fall, 1992): 87, 88, 88-89, 100-101, 104.

the lens of gender analysis and discussed "the social and cultural implications of women's and men's sexuality." Bolt defined "feminism" as that which refers to any dissension against the injustices faced by women without regard to a dissenter's gender. Like Matthews, she also utilized the *History of Woman Suffrage,* but noted that "the best-known publication . . . by the activists . . . justified 'history written from a subjective point of view.'" Bolt argued that those "activists" intentionally organized the documents in such a manner to "hand down to later generations the achievements of American women." Bolt offered a more balanced study than her nineteenth century predecessors by including some unpublished writings and correspondence by other reformers such as Lucretia Mott and Carrie Chapman Catt. She also included news articles, advertisements, and political cartoons found in the *Women's Journal* and the *English Women's Journal* dating from the middle to late-nineteenth century. While some of her sources to told the story of women's rights more fully, the main chapters about the United States movement still focused on the big two national suffrage associations.[6]

Robert J. Dinkin, in *Before Equal Suffrage: Women in Partisan Politics from Colonial Times to 1920,* investigated the women's rights movement through women's political participation and showed readers that "women's role in partisan politics was gradually on the upswing, both qualitatively and quantitatively." His study revealed that during "the century and a half before the suffrage amendment, women went from performing individual deeds to taking part in group actions." Women then created "partisan women's clubs and ultimately [became] voters in several western states." Dinkin relied heavily on suffrage newspapers including Lucy Stone's *Women's Journal*

[6] Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s,* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 2, 1-11, 7.

and *Woman's Column*, as well as the *History of Woman Suffrage*. His sources and his own explanations still represent the too often focused on New England region of the United States and, again, the "great women" of the movement.[7]

White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism In the United States by Louise Michele Newman offered another synthesis with a focus on "great women," but with a new twist. Newman argued that "imperialism provided an important discourse for white elite women who developed new identities for themselves as missionaries, explorers, educators, and ethnographers." She explored how feminism connected to assimilation efforts at home and the United States' ability to "assert itself as an imperial power abroad" and how the efforts to establish national authority at home and abroad increasingly involved women in the economy and in politics. Newman used no shortage of published primary sources to illustrate the racial tensions between white and black suffragists. For example, a letter from Stanton to Anthony published in Kathleen Barry's *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* showed Stanton's clear disdain for Frederick Douglass' support of black male suffrage before white female suffrage and for his new inter-racial marriage to a white woman. The minutes of the National Woman's Suffrage Association meetings litter Newman's citations as well. However, the American Woman's Suffrage Association and its activists received very little mention, yet again ignoring a whole segment of the movement that embraced rights gained by black males and aimed only to build on that progress and not create tensions by arguing against the rights others have gained. This selective reading of the entire United States women's rights movement seriously undercuts Newman's thesis. Her narrow focus went

[7] Robert J. Dinkin, *Before Equal Suffrage: Women in Partisan Politics from Colonial Times to 1920*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995), 4-5, 155.

a step too far by cherry-picking certain evidence in order to make a statement about a movement that had many more influential facets than just its relation to race.[8]

Finally, in *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement,* Sally Gregory McMillen delivered a thorough chronological history of the movement from colonial times to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States even though most of her work focused on the second half of the nineteenth century. The author defined the 1848 Seneca Falls convention as the pivotal moment for women's rights. McMillen argued that "Seneca Falls led to a significant shift in Americans' perceptions of women, their status, and the rights they deserved." McMillen framed her argument through the lives of four particular "great women"—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone—however, she veered from this framework often and included many other reformers like William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Martha Coffin Wright, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, and Victoria Woodhull. McMillen relied heavily on secondary source materials in order to show the gains and sometimes losses over the course of the movement. She cited most of her primary evidence from published sources including Ann Gordon's *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (2003), the *History of Woman Suffrage*, and contemporary news articles in *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Woman's Journal* (often in opposition to each other). Still, the scholarship of women's suffrage keeps spinning new perspectives from the same sources, rather than looking for new stories to tell concerning women's rights in the United States.[9]

[8] Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 19, 21.
[9] Sally Gregory McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.

The above scholarship provided excellent information concerning women's movements in the sense that each author contributed her or his own well-informed and well-supported thesis. However, this scholarship relied heavily on a paradigm built upon a subjective and somewhat blemished (and sometimes acknowledged as so) representation of the women's suffrage movement as found in the *History of Woman Suffrage*. An alternative perspective comes in the form of biographies. Authors of this popular form of scholarship concerning the women's suffrage movement in the United States often relied most heavily on primary sources, so while they might have cited or used secondary sources for context, the bulk of their analyses involved archival and unpublished materials. Biography, however, also has problems.

While biographies do provide another means for the exploration of the woman's suffrage movement in the United States, most biographies have fixated on national leaders. The activists themselves, or more often their close friends or relatives, completed some of the earliest biographies and autobiographies. These early biographies, though very valuable, have their faults (they mostly fall under the category of hagiography), but researchers have created better histories and biographies with the publishing of, and additional access to, more primary documents. The following selected list of biographies illustrates that narrow focus.

One biography, Margaret Hope Bacon's *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*, portrayed Mott as a Quaker who consistently relied on her faith to guide her advocacy for equality and justice. The author utilized two of Mott's diaries, and many of her lectures and sermons housed at the Mott Manuscript Collection at the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, to complete her portrayal of Mott. She also

cited the papers of Mott's close associates William Lloyd Garrison and Abigail Kelly Foster, and the ever-present *History of Woman Suffrage*. Bacon corroborated the stories found in these papers with articles published in the *Liberator, National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and *Woman's Journal*. Bacon's 1980 work on Mott explored the Quaker influence on this "great woman," but other biographies that followed in the next couple of decades only briefly discuss religion and how it may have influenced the activists involved in the women's rights associations locally or nationally.[10]

Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton,* intended to "complete the factual record . . . to integrate [Stanton's] public and private lives . . . [and] examine her private feminist identity and her public feminist ideology." Stanton, one of the founding leaders of the National Women's Suffrage Association, participated in the initial call for and the planning of the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention, the first to take place in the United States. To Griffith, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a great woman, and this is *unabashedly* [italics added] a "great woman" biography." Contrary to Griffith's portrayal of a "saint-like" [Griffith's term] Stanton that borders on the edge of hagiography more than history, Lori D. Ginzberg *unabashedly* placed "Stanton firmly in her time and place, [and refused] to dismiss either her relationship to a community of reformers or her elitism and racism" in her 2009 biography *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life*. Griffith's and Ginzberg's works

[10] Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*, (New York: Walker and Company Press, 1980).

investigated the same great woman, but constructed two very different stories of Stanton.[11]

While Ginzberg and Griffith both used some of the same sources (Stanton's *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897* and *History of Woman Suffrage*, as well as similar manuscript collections like Stanton's papers collection and the records of the proceedings of the National Woman's Suffrage Association), the authors came to very different conclusions about the life of Stanton. Griffith placed Stanton on a pedestal and Ginzberg brought Stanton down to her rightful place in history. Ginzberg, however, had Ann D. Gordon's four-volume edition of *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, as well as the microfilm collection of these papers to work from, and Griffith did not. Griffith's and Ginzberg's accounts expose how later editions of the same subject's manuscripts lead to very different interpretations, but they also indicate just the tip of the iceberg concerning the large amount of coverage and attention Stanton has received from scholars.

Charlotte Cote described the life of another important suffragist in her 1988 *Olympia Brown: The Battle for Equality*. Cote showed that Brown participated in suffrage activities throughout her life with both sides of the movement (Stanton's National Women's Suffrage Association and Stone's American Women's Suffrage Association), but that Brown initially thought that the tactics of Stone's group were more achievable and went to Kansas to lecture there for women's suffrage. Brown also graduated from seminary school and became a Universalist minister. The inspiration for this biography happened due to Cote's acquaintance with Brown's descendants and their

[11] Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), xvii-xviii; xix; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), 192.

willingness to share oral histories and Brown's unpublished papers. Cote also used Brown's unpublished autobiography and essays found in the Radcliffe College collection of her papers. To verify Brown's recollections Cote relied on contemporary articles and the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Cote's ties to Brown's family and her desire to please them with this account of their ancestor (which she stated as her objective for writing the book, possibly as a means to explain that the families wishes were being met here more than an academic objective) established this biography within the "great woman" category of women's rights research.[12]

Lucy Stone: Speaking out for Equality by Andrea Moore Kerr offered one of the most complete biographies of Stone. Kerr acknowledged from the start that "hagiography is poor history," so she "tried simply to present the facts, leaving judgments to the reader," in this biography. She explained to the reader that Stone's motives and activities as a leader of the American Women's Suffrage Association based in Boston, Massachusetts, focused on passing local legislation in order to expand suffrage to include women. Stanton's National Women's Suffrage Association wanted federal legislation passed, but Stone's group worked to get school districts, cities, counties, and then states to include women at the ballot box as a means of sending a clear signal to the federal government that its people supported such legislation. The group also campaigned heavily in new states as the states drafted their new constitutions. Kerr made extensive use of manuscripts such as the Blackwell Family Papers (Stone did not take her husband's, Henry Blackwell, last name) and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Collection. The assemblage of newspapers and periodicals including the *Lily*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and

[12] Charlotte Cote, *Olympia Brown: The Battle for Equality*, (Racine, Wisconsin: Mother Courage Press, 1988).

Women's Journal solidified her research. Kerr also made great use of secondary sources in order to present the fullest and most factual retelling of Stone's life. Finally, Kerr applied more focus on the lesser covered national suffrage group and its leader, using some understudied primary sources in the Blackwell collection, but her Stone was still a "great woman" of the New England region such as so often received the bulk of historians' attention.[13]

The combined biographies of Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Olympia Brown, and Anna Howard Shaw presented in Beverly Zink-Sawyer's *From Preachers to Suffragists: Woman's Rights and Religious Conviction in the Lives of Three Nineteenth-Century American Clergywomen* presented a unique insight into how and why these women became so involved in not only the suffrage movement but other contemporary reform movements. Olympia Brown and Antoinette Brown Blackwell attended Oberlin College together in Ohio, where they met and began their friendship. Brown looked up to Blackwell because of her superior skills in public speaking. Blackwell had married Samuel Blackwell, who incidentally was the brother of Henry Blackwell, husband of Lucy Stone. Anna Howard Shaw, considered the first woman to be ordained in America as a Methodist preacher and who initially lectured around the Boston area on behalf of Stone's women's rights group, yielded to Susan B. Anthony's requests to join the National Women's Suffrage Association based in New York instead. Shaw became a critical negotiator in the late 1800s for the merger of the two national suffrage branches (completed in 1890), and later served as president of the association, the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, in 1906 and for the next ten years. Zink-

[13] Andrea Moore Kerr, *Lucy Stone: Speaking Out For Equality*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 192.

Sawyer's thesis that "[these women] were sincere in their religious and political beliefs and in their assumption that the two could not just peaceably coexist but were indeed two essential parts of one whole," explored the influences of Quakerism, the Universalist Church, Methodism, and the Congregational Church on these women's lives. Zink-Sawyer chose to study these ordained women preachers to expose the barriers that they repeatedly came up against in their religious lives, and how those barriers reflected the obstructions all women faced in the United States. She made use of many of the same early sources such as the *History of Woman Suffrage* and Stanton's *Woman's Bible* to show how women's views on their religious roles shifted among reformers, but she solidly grounded her argument in the manuscripts collections of Brown, Blackwell, and Shaw. Zink-Sawyer introduced two new "great woman" stories in Blackwell and Shaw, but she maintained the national suffrage focus seen in many previous works.[14]

Finally, Margaret Hope Bacon's *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* presented the earliest and the most comprehensive study of Quaker women's involvement and leadership in the feminist movement in America from colonial times through the 1970s. The bulk of her research centered on a variety of nineteenth-century reform movements and included women's suffrage. *Mothers of Feminism* offered a chronological tracking of the evolution of feminism and the unique role of the Quaker religion. Large quantities of archival material, including several collections of Quaker Meeting Minutes and unpublished journals and correspondence, supported Bacon's thesis that "the experience Quaker women had accumulated in public speaking, holding meetings, taking minutes, and writing epistles prepared them for leadership roles

[14] Beverly Ann Zink-Sawyer, *From Preachers to Suffragists: Woman's Rights and Religious Conviction in the Lives of Three Nineteenth-Century American Clergywomen,* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 192.

when the time was ripe for a women's rights movement to emerge." Bacon also looked at published biographies and autobiographies of and by Quaker women like Mary Coffin Johnson's *Rhoda M. Coffin: Her Reminiscences, Addresses, Papers, and Ancestry* and Isabel Ross's *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism*, alongside other works concerning women's history. Bacon's research established the groundwork for identifying Quaker women leaders in America. As helpful and groundbreaking as Bacon's research was, its broad historical focus and many brief examples begs historians to dig deeper and uncover some of these stories to a fuller extent. Other historians, however, did not pick up this idea for more research on Quaker women and left a gap in the study for new explorations.[15]

Scholars have most often used synthesis and biography to explore and study the women's suffrage movement, the different suffragists, and their motives and roles, but social science theories provide another means of examining this movement. More recent use and development of these theories have provided a framework for better understanding of why movements begin, how they function in society, and why they succeed or fail. Most of the theories discussed below could be applied to almost any social movement, but the application of these theories to state and local suffrage movements can shift the spotlight from the often-told, yet still valued and appreciated, stories of woman's suffrage in the United States as one large, cohesive, national movement led by a small number of famous women. These theories can validate or dismiss earlier historical paradigms, while illuminating lesser known histories.

[15] Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 2.

Holly J. McCammon suggested the idea of applying some of the following theories to local suffrage movements in her article "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment: The Formation of the State Woman Suffrage Organizations, 1866-1914." She compared the organization and mobilization of state suffrage movements (which she divided into East, West, and South and placed Indiana in the East group) by examining "the roles of political opportunities, resource mobilization, and ideological framing," to explain "why movement mobilization occurs." McCammon explained that political opportunity theorists such as Sidney Tarrow in his *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* argued that sometimes "opportunity exists when potential movement members have allies in the polity," or that "a period of political realignment" can signal "the time is ripe for reform." McCammon then cited resource mobilization theorists including Charles Tilly who theorized in *From Mobilization to Revolution* that like-minded communities or networks of peoples have the best chance at starting a grassroots movement because of their existing resource availability. McCammon's final theory, taken in part from Jiping Zuo and Robert D. Benford's article "Mobilization Processes and the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement," stated that "the way in which actors frame ideological arguments . . . may influence the mobilization of movements." In addition to these and other social science theorists, McCammon looked at the state suffrage records of all forty-eight states that formed suffrage associations and compared the associations to each other. She compared the political climates of each state (whether a sympathetic polity existed), the number of existing women's clubs in each state such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union or the Women's General Clubs Federation (to gauge existing networks for resource mobilization), and, finally, looked at the records of the

national suffrage organizations (to see which states aligned with which national association and how they framed their arguments for the right to vote).[16]

The political opportunity model for explaining the origins of a grassroots movement stated that mobilization began as reformers saw "openings" for progress. The openings or opportunities may have consisted of triggers such as sympathetic politicians and legislatures willing to formally listen to a movement's demands or when cooperation with other movements offered a means for each to succeed. McCammon did not cite education and religious opportunities because she may not have perceived them as directly related to politics, but these factors need consideration, as they allowed for women to obtain skills and engage in politics. Opportunities to participate in the political world presented themselves throughout Way's and Thomas's lives.[17]

McCammon's second theory—resource mobilization—explained that "movements are likely to emerge where preexisting networks and collectivities exist, particularly those whose members hold beliefs and values that are consonant with those of the incipient movement." Organizations and their members offered financial, emotional, and other provisions necessary for starting new "collective action" groups. For example, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.), the General Federation of Women's Clubs (G.F.W.C.), and "other religious and civic groups of the time," such as the Society of Friends, made available solid foundations for good resource

[16] Holly J. McCammon, "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment: The Formation of the State Woman Suffrage Organizations, 1866-1914," *Social Forces* 80, (2001): 452, 454, 455-456, 457, 460. McCammon organized the forty-eight states into three regions; East (which included Indiana), West, and South.

[17] Ibid., 455-57. Other studies in social movements used alongside state suffrage organization records and national suffrage records demonstrated how in some cases, such as in Montana, the right to vote in school elections spurred more action to demand full suffrage rights, or in other cases like Pennsylvania and Indiana, the ability to formally debate and lobby the legislature provided another "political opportunity" that bolstered organization membership and resolve.

mobilization. These and many other such organizations influenced and drove Way's and Thomas's ambitions throughout their lives.[18]

The third theory from McCammon—ideological framing—asserted that how movements frame their arguments can determine their success at rallying supporters for their causes and for them to reach their ultimate goals. For instance, when the national suffrage movement fractured into two different branches, each framed its arguments and its tactics differently. Additionally, alliances with other reform movements, such as temperance, abolition, religious beliefs, or even existing societal gender models for behavior such as the "cult" of domesticity influenced how advocates framed the argument for women's right to vote.[19]

A selective review of each of the three theories McCammon employs provides some further understanding of how they may function as tools for many different scholars and studies. In the ideological framing section, McCammon often referred to Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow's article, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," as a resource for scholars interested in ideological framing theory. The authors defined "framing," as "an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency . . . in the sense that what is evolving is the work of social movement organizations or movement activists." Benford and Snow concluded that the growing literature "contributes to a more thoroughgoing and integrated understanding of the

[18] Ibid., 457-459. McCammon related the formation of state suffrage organizations to preexisting groups such as anti-slavery, temperance groups and even the national suffrage organizations. She illustrated, through her own data and data from other sources, that these clubs not only allowed women to fully see and understand societal inequalities, but the women also realized they needed political power to address the problems effectively. However, due to McCammon's scope of post-Civil War years, she assigned western states as the first to establish state suffrage associations in 1867 with many eastern states to follow. McCammon did not speak specifically about the timing of the Indiana suffrage association's formation.
[19] Ibid., 459-461.

relationship between framing processes and the operation of social movements," and that "this evolving perspective cast[s] analytic light on aspects of movement dynamics that other perspectives have glossed over or failed to illuminate altogether." Basically, Benford and Snow concluded that the use of ideological framing theory produced fuller understandings of how social movements succeeded or failed by studying how they justified or framed their claims. Its application to the suffrage movement can explain why some states succeeded sooner than others at securing women the right to vote.[20]

Jo Freeman's article, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," delivered an early description of the extent of sociological literature and its "neglect" of study on social movements. Her thesis revolved around the following premises: "Proposition 1" claimed spontaneous activities relied on preexisting networks of communication, "Proposition 2" posited that "co-optable" like-minded individuals must have existed in the network, and finally "Proposition 3" suggested a crisis could galvanize the network to spontaneous action. Freeman applied these propositions to the women's liberation movement in the United States during the mid-1960s and early 1970s to explain its origins. She cited many sociological studies to illustrate how those works before her work placed social movements into the categories of either "collective behavior" or "interest-group and party formation," instead of "distinct social phenomena." Freeman looked at the primary documents of the Chicago women's

[20] Ibid., Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* volume 26 (2000), 611-639,614, 632-633. The term "processual phenomenon," as understood in context of its use, would be defined as an occurrence of or the development of an argument from an existing process of reform. T. Baylor's article "Media Framing of Movement Protest: The Case of American Indian Protest," found in *Social Sciences Journal* 33: 241-255, and D.S. Meyer's article, "Framing National Security: Elite Public Discourse on Nuclear Weapons During the Cold War," found in *Political Communication* 12, 173-192, heavily influenced Benford's and Snow's research and conclusions.

liberation movement, 1967-1969, mostly manuscripts and oral histories she herself collected while a member of the group. Freeman also collected and used oral histories of existing and former members of the National Organization for Women from across the country, but mostly Chicago and New York, in order to show when and why these branches formed. McCammon cited Freeman's work when she discussed theories of how movements began and sustained their causes.[21]

Another branch of emerging social science theory that McCammon touches on relates to space and geography. An early article by Howard B. Furer, "The American City: A Catalyst for the Women's Rights Movement," argued that urbanization provided the key to success in the women's rights movement. Furer stated that "it is impossible to understand the movement for woman suffrage and equal rights without trying to understand the growth and development of the country's cities. . . . in every generation the feminist leaders came from the urban environment." Furer relied on the *History of Woman Suffrage* and Theodore Stanton and Harriet Stanton Blatch's *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences*, and focused, yet again, on the "big east players," like Stanton, Anthony, and Stone. McCammon agreed with Furer and stressed the importance of state suffrage movements to maintain a large presence in urban areas because most government officials convened there and urban areas clearly had more people to rally support from while making networking for resources easier.[22]

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[21] Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 4, Special Edition: Changing Women in a Changing Society, (January, 1973): 792-811, 794-795, 792-793; McCammon, "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment," 457-459.
[22] Howard B. Furer, "The American City: A Catalyst for the Women's Rights Movement," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 52, no. 4, (summer, 1969): 285-305, 285-286; McCammon, "Stirring up Suffrage Sentiment," 457-458.

Glenn Deane, E.M. Beck, and Stewart E. Tolnay discussed how geography plays an important role in social movements in their article "Incorporating Space into Social Histories: How Spatial Processes Operate and How We Observe Them." They stated that "the purpose of this essay is to motivate interest in spatial-effects models among social historians," and they proceeded to discuss in more specific detail four major themes: "the common conditions under which spatial dependence arises," how to use a regression approach to detect spatial dependencies, interpretations for spatial-effects and the coefficients for the other independent variables in the presence of spatial effects. They then cited examples of the treatment of spatial processes in historical research, such as the importance of Larry W. Isaac's "Transforming Localities: Reflections on Time, Causality, and Narrative in Contemporary Historical Sociology," for how it brought spatial theory processes to the forefront of historical research, but the authors complained that "even here 'space' is subordinated to 'time.'" This model of social theory focused on space can provide an additional way to understand why some Quakers, Way and Thomas included, left the Religious Society of Friends and aligned with the fast growing Methodist Episcopal Church for a number of years prior to the Civil War only to realign with the Friends Church later in their lives. Geographically the Methodist Episcopal Church may have been closer than Quaker meetings, or at least meetings that would have also aligned with Way's and Thomas's proclivity for reform.[23]

"The Rise of the Methodist Episcopals in Indiana and Their Geographical Pattern, 1801-1865," by Bruce Bigelow falls directly into the spatial-effects model. Bigelow argued that the Methodist Episcopal Church had "Southern cultural roots," but they

[23] Glenn Deane, E.M. Beck and Stewart E. Tolnay, "Incorporating Space into Social Histories: How Spatial Processes Operate and How We Observe Them," *International Review of Social History* 43, (1998): Supplement Edition, 58, 57.

identified "to a more urbane and Northern political persuasion from 1800-1865." Bigelow used raw membership data of the Methodist Episcopal Church housed at the DePauw University archives, such as the "membership annual reports," and compiled and presented them in various tables. Bigelow cited many examples from other works to support his thesis that Methodist Church members may have arrived in Indiana as Democrats, but by the years before the Civil War, they shifted to the Whig or Republican Party. Bigelow's scholarship revealed that many of the members who identified with a more socially and theologically liberal ideology immigrated further north into Indiana, which included heavy membership in east central Indiana near Winchester and Richmond. This sect of Protestantism may have provided a more like-minded and active group in various reform movements than the Friends meeting houses that were located near Way and Thomas preceding the Civil War.[24]

Finally, an example of how the ideological framing theory can be applied to a local suffrage movement and how it can uncover reasons for why a particular movement succeeded or failed came from Peggy Seigel in her article "Winning the Vote in Fort Wayne, Indiana: The Long, Cautious Journey in a German American City." Seigel argued that because of the large temperance movement that also existed in Fort Wayne, and because most of the local suffragists advocated temperance, "politicians and business leaders representing the city's majority German American population blocked legislative efforts and stifled popular support until the final years leading up to the Nineteenth Amendment." Seigel relied on syntheses to illustrate the history of the suffrage

[24] Bruce Bigelow, "The Rise of the Methodist Episcopals in Indiana and Their Geographical Pattern, 1801-1865," *Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences*, 13, (2009): 2-3. The two tables Bigelow formed were, "Religious Group of Indiana, 1860" and "Qualitative Changes of Methodists in Indiana, 1830-1860" and they illustrated the shifts in Methodist Episcopal membership numbers and their principles.

movement and its roots in the anti-slavery movement, indicating that the suffrage movement had grown out of the anti-slavery movement, saying nothing new on that front. Seigel, however, used her "local" evidence from contemporary publications popular in the Fort Wayne area including the *Anti-Slavery Bugle, True Democrat* and *Fort Wayne Times* to show how the suffragists framed their arguments around the argument for temperance and how the opposition responded. The overwhelming German population enjoyed their saloons and their beer, they did not want to grant women the right to vote if it resulted in the outlaw of alcohol.[25]

In conclusion, a review of the selected literature highlights a lack of attention to local approaches to the study of women's suffrage. Most academic works focused on the movement from a synthetic or a biographical perspective, with the most available biographies featuring one of the nationally prominent women's rights leaders and their activities, not allowing local history to emerge from that national shadow. However, the development and popularity of the social science theories highlighted by McCammon and others provides a new framework for historians to research and present the histories of regional, state, or even more local suffrage movements in the United States. For instance, the use of these theories to study the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association and the Quaker women who formed and led that organization can demonstrate to researchers the varied circumstances, arguments, and networks exploited by Hoosier suffragists to make progress for their cause.

The application of four theories best explains how Way and Thomas garnered such a prominent leadership role in the women's rights movement. Bacon's research in

[25] Peggy Seigel, "Winning the Vote in Fort Wayne, Indiana; The Long Cautious Journey in a German American City," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 102, no. 3, (September, 2006): 222.

Mothers of Feminism offered the first and most important foundation for exploring how Quakerism assisted Way and Thomas in their reform activities. The next three theories used in the following research derive from McCammon's article "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment." The social theories presented in her article offers new means historians can use to assess why state suffrage associations formed when they did and how they organized. The three key "theoretical understandings of why movement mobilization occurs"—political opportunities, resource mobilization, and ideological framing—provide useful lenses for understanding the Indiana Woman's Rights Association and Way's and Thomas's involvement.[26]

[26] Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*. McCammon, "Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment," 473.

CHAPTER TWO: RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

Resource mobilization, the first of three key components to organizing a grassroots movement, provided the cornerstone for Way and Thomas to lead the Indiana movement for women's rights. Their birthright membership in the Religious Society of Friends served as their most fundamental and basic networking system, as well as provided the basis for their understanding of moral and civic beliefs and responsibilities. An exploration of their heritage as Quakers and some history of the religious organization itself reveal it as their first vital resource for learning how to organize a reform movement. At the same time, other organizations and affiliations also proved useful for explaining how they mobilized and sustained their fight for women's rights in Indiana. Resource mobilization, the ability to recruit like-minded individuals in order to persuade others to support their cause, proved especially crucial because the Civil War interrupted Way's and Thomas's tenures in the Indiana Woman's Rights Association.

Amanda Way's ancestry traced back to John and Mary (Long) Way of Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, where they married on March 24, 1739, and produced the first generation of the Way family in America. The Way family established an early presence on the predominantly Quaker island of whalers. When losses of friends and family to the perils of whaling became too much for the family to withstand, the third generation of the Way family left the island and moved to an established community of Friends in North Carolina. By the fourth generation, which included Amanda Way's father, Matthew Way, they relocated from the slaveholding North Carolina to the non-slaveholding

Randolph County, Indiana. Some Ways had previously immigrated to the area, including Matthews' uncle, Henry H. Way, a locally famous doctor and abolitionist.[1]

Matthew Way married Hannah Martin on September 30, 1824, and they produced eight children who lived to adulthood. Amanda Way, the second child and the eldest daughter, was born on July 10, 1828. Matthew and Hannah belonged to the Dunkirk Meeting of Friends in Winchester, Indiana, making their children birthright Quakers. Matthew made a living in Winchester as a "farmer, teamster, and schoolteacher" until his death from cholera on August 8, 1849. Way and her siblings attended local schools. At some point between the years 1840 and 1850, Way and her sister, Mary R., moved to the home of their aunt, Mary Reeder. The move could have occurred for several reasons; one possibility included the practicality of easier access to Winchester schools. While living with her aunt, Way attended the Methodist Episcopal Church in Winchester, which Reeder and her husband had founded. At the age of 14, Way joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Uncertainty exists as to whether she converted because of proximity to the church or whether the Methodist Episcopal Church held a more radical view

[1] Mary E. Way, *The Way Family: John and Mary Long Way of Nantucket; with Notes on Other Way Families*, (Martinez, California: Mary Elizabeth Way, 1969), 1-7, 40-51. The information for John and Mary Long Way included their marriage certificate, a deed, and John Way's will. The children of John Way and Patience Green Way included Amanda Way's father, Matthew Way, and six other children. The account of this family stated that "John Way came to Indiana from Marlborough District, S.C. in December 1816 along with his brothers, Paul and Henry H. Way," 41. For an excellent map of the route traveled by the family, ending in Randolph and Wayne Counties, Indiana, see page 40. Photographs found on page 44 featured the New Garden Meetinghouse in Wayne County and the Cherry Grove Meetinghouse in Randolph County. The author provided relevant information pertaining to Henry H. Way, and called him "a man of energy and many interests," and confirmed that he "along with other members of the Way family, was associated with Levi Coffin in the helping of the slaves of the southern states in their escape on what became to be known as 'The Underground Railroad,'" 48-50. William Ansel Mitchel, *Linn County Kansas: A History*, (Kansas City, Kansas; Campbell-Gates, 1928), 250; stated, "The [Way] family settled in America before the Revolutionary War and there is tradition that General Nathaniel Greene of the Revolutionary as well as Quaker fame was related to the Way family." These sources together painted the Way family and their heritage as one firmly established in service to their community and country.

against slavery (which Way and Thomas found appealing) than the existing Quaker meeting houses, or possibly a combination of both. Nonetheless, eventually Way and her older brother, James Paul, attended the Winchester Seminary School and taught school in Winchester, as their father had done.[2]

Mary Frame Thomas on the other hand, came to Indiana by way of Washington, D.C., and Ohio. So, while she was not a native Hoosier, the state should adopt her as a very influential and important Hoosier. Born on October 28, 1816, at a Quaker settlement in Maryland, near Washington, D.C., Mary was the younger of two daughters born to birthright Quakers Samuel Myers, a teacher and farmer, and Mary (Frame) Myers. Thomas never knew her mother because she died shortly after Thomas' birth. In 1818, her father married Paulina Iden and they produced five more daughters and two sons. The family resided for a short time in another Quaker settlement, Silver Spring, Maryland, near Washington, D.C., before it moved to the nation's capital, where Samuel

[2] *Indiana Marriage Collection*, 1800-1941 [database online], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2005. Many of these records exist on microfilm at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah. Way, *The Way Family*, 83; provided very little information about Matthew and Hannah (Martin) Way, except that the Dunkirk Meeting Minutes had sporadically cited Matthew for misconduct. 1830 US Census: *Winchester, Randolph, Indiana*; recorded Way for the first time, namelessly as "Female under 5." Jill Chambers, "Amanda M. Way: An Indiana Reformer," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Indiana Association of Historians Conference at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, on February 28-March 1, 2003 provided the most current and complete biographical sketch of Way. I obtained a copy of Chambers's presentation from her via email and owe her a great deal of thanks for her kindness to share her research with me. *Notable American Women 1607-1950*, vol. 3, ed. Edward T. James, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), Clifton J. Phillips, s.v. "Way, Amanda M.;" offered a good overview of Way's biographical highlights. Way, *The Way Family*, 83, stated that Amanda and Mary Way lived with their aunt, Mary Reeder. The author speculated that they "were staying with their aunt in order to attend school, perhaps a better one than where they lived." According to her biographical entry in *The Temperance Leaders of America*, Part I, "Miss Amanda Way, P.G.C.T.," edited by Rev. B.F. Austin (St. Thomas, Ontario; Alma College, 1896), 20, she joined the Methodist Episcopal Church at age 14. Many of the obituaries listed in the bibliography contain many of the same facts concerning Way's biographical information, many of which Phillips and Chambers cited. 1840 US Census: *White River, Randolph, Indiana*; recorded Way lived with her father, mother, and siblings. 1850 US Census: *Winchester, Randolph, Indiana*; recorded Way lived with Mary Reeder, 52, and Mary Way, 16.

Myers worked for the abolition of slavery and helped Benjamin Lundy organize the city's first antislavery meeting.[3]

Myers, alongside his support for abolition, embraced Quaker teachings and guaranteed that his daughters received the same opportunities for education as his sons. He taught all of his children, including his daughters, at home, and often took them to legislative proceedings in Washington to hear Congressional debates. These "field trips" to the capital sparked some interest in politics for Mary Thomas. Her daughter, Paulina Heald, recalled that this time period heavily influenced her mother because she began to see the inequality of genders and race all around her. Heald cited a particular instance Thomas never forgot. A slave girl had knocked on the Myers's door seeking food and shelter, but her master arrived shortly thereafter and dragged the girl back "to slavery, crying bitterly." In 1832, Myers, disenchanted by the slow progress of the abolition cause in Washington, moved his family to the Quaker settlement of Salem, Ohio, where

[3] Pauline T. Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," *Michigan History Magazine*, 6, (Lansing, Michigan; Michigan Historical Commission (1917-1946), 1922), 369-373, read by Pauline T. Heald to the Michigan League of Women Voters, at Battle Creek, Michigan, on September 30, 1920. *Notable American Women 1607-1950*, vol. 3, ed. Edward T. James, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), Clifton J. Phillips, s.v. "Thomas, Mary F., M. D.," 450. Charles A. Bonsett, M. D., "Mary Frame Thomas, M. D.," *Journal for the Indiana State Medical Association* 73, no. 5, (Indianapolis; May 1980): 270; *History of Wayne County* (Chicago, Illinois; Inter-State Publishing Company, 1884), 606-608; and "Dr. Mary F. Thomas Obituary," *The Evening Item* 11, no. 197, (Richmond, Indiana; August 20, 1888), 1; all gave accounts of Thomas' early life, however, there existed minor differences concerning Thomas' life during this time period. I have decided to rely mostly on the reminiscences of her daughter where there is no proof to counter her accounts because of her familial ties. 1830 United States Federal Census, Washington Ward 2, Washington, District of Columbia; recorded Samuel Myers as head of a household of eight white persons and one free person of color, and Thomas as one of the two females listed in the category of "Free White Persons – Females – 10 thru 14: 2."

his children continued their education in the local school system and learned the skills and benefits of outdoor work on their farm.[4]

The Society of Friends connection carried a very distinct outlook on the equality of all humans, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, or social status. A short investigation into the history of the Quakers, their beliefs, and their history in Indiana provides a better understanding of the influences and foundations this religious community had on Way's and Thomas's lives. It may also provide some clues about why they joined the Methodist Episcopal Church for a number of years.

The establishment of Quakerism goes back to the turmoil within English Protestantism in the mid-seventeenth century, when George Fox and Margaret Fell emerged as the founding father and mother of the new movement. Fox gave a voice and a solution to what he and many other Puritan sects and reformers asked during this time; namely, "where did religious authority originate?" Fox believed that the authority did not lie in a hierarchy of priests who interpreted the Bible for others, but that the truest authority came from an "inner Light," within each person. Margaret Hope Bacon in her *Mothers of Feminism* described this belief stating, "the inner Light alone was sufficient for interpreting the Scriptures. This Light was defined as the capacity of each human soul to receive Divine illumination." In essence, Quakerism's most fundamental belief allowed all humans, regardless of any earthly limitation or distinction, to commune directly with the Divine.[5]

[4] Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 369; Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450; Bonsett, "Mary Frame Thomas, M. D.," 270; *History of Wayne County*, 606-608; *The Evening Item*, August 20, 1888, 1. Neither Samuel Myers nor Mary F. Myers made any appearance in the 1840 U.S. Census.
[5] Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 1-100.

An understanding of the equality of the sexes formed because of that early foundation of Quaker belief established by Fox. Embracing this understanding, Bacon recognized Elizabeth Hooten as the first Quaker woman minister, who, after meeting Fox, worked tirelessly until her death to spread Fox's beliefs. Later, Margaret Fell, who Fox acknowledged as his "helpmeet" for life, organized meetings all over England and left her distinguishing mark on Quaker beliefs with her *Womens Speaking: Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures, All Such as Speak by the Spirit and Power of the Lord Jesus. And how Women were the first that preached the Tidings of the Resurrection of Jesus, and were sent by Christ's Own Command, before He ascended to the Father, John 20.17* published in London in 1666. Writing most of this commentary while in the Lancaster Prison where she served a four-year sentence, likely for her outspoken and brazen attempts to break from the strict hierarchy of the Church of England, Fell argued that women played important roles as prophets and she used passages and stories from both the Old and the New Testament to prove her point. She solidified Quakerism's belief that a hierarchy of genders did not exist in the spiritual sense and should not exist in the earthly sense. Fell paved the way for other Quaker women like Way and Thomas to take up highly visible leadership roles in their communities, so that eventually Way could travel as an itinerant preacher and lecturer and Thomas could deliver the first address by a woman to the Indiana state legislature.[6]

Quaker beliefs, such as the refusal to pay tithes that supported local ministers or to take oaths and to serve in the army, caused much persecution by local magistrates,

[6] Ibid., 13-17, Bacon explored Margaret Fell's contributions to Quakerism. Fell's *Womens Speaking* is available to the public in its entirety on Googlebooks.com. Her book marked the first of its kind written by a woman using the Bible in order to argue for women's right to speak in public.

resulting in numerous incarcerations and even the deaths of countless Friends. Eventually, as a means of combatting the growing anti-Quakerism sentiment and to help safeguard each other, Fox organized "business" meetings which met separately from the "worship" meetings. At first, the meetings appear to have been "men only" meetings with a parallel "meeting for women to take care of the poor." These meetings grew and "were so successful and the women so clearly demonstrated their capacity to handle business and keep accounts and records," that by the late 1660s Fox used them to model what became a "system of preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings for business." This structure allowed for a systematic organization and accounting that the Friends utilized in order to ensure their members conducted themselves in a responsible manner and that those within the community in need of aid and assistance received it. Way's and Thomas's familiarity with this orderly system provided them with the expertise to organize and record the meetings of the Indiana Woman's Rights Association – a crucial component to sustaining a grassroots movement like the women's rights movement.[7]

Quakers first arrived in the American colonies as early as 1656 with Mary Fisher and Ann Austin at the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Puritans in America relentlessly persecuted the incoming Quakers – imprisoning them, deporting them, and fining ship captains for bringing them to port. Within a few years, however, Quakers had established monthly meetings, and by 1661 the first yearly meeting held in America took place at Newport, Rhode Island. Over the next thirty years Friends organized yearly meetings all across the eastern seaboard; Virginia (1671), Baltimore (1672), Philadelphia (1681), New York (1695) and North Carolina (1698). The North Carolina meeting marked the last

[7] Ibid., 17-23, especially 20-21, for the history of the system of meetings Fox devised.

meeting founded for almost 120 years, most likely due to the east coasts greater population density compared to the sparsely populated western frontier lands.[8]

Many Quakers migrated south, along the Atlantic Coast, during the eighteenth century. Typically, Quaker families came from Pennsylvania and moved to Virginia and then into the Carolinas. This pattern matched the Way family migration path, leaving Nantucket Island and moving down to the area of the Carolinas. Some Quaker communities moved westward to the frontiers of Ohio and Tennessee, which matched Thomas's family's experience. In 1813, the Ohio Yearly Meeting (OYM) formed and monthly meetings organized in Richmond and Winchester, Indiana, near the Ohio border. By 1821, the Indiana Quaker population grew large enough to break from the OYM. The Indiana Yearly Meeting (IYM) held its first session in Richmond, Indiana, seven years prior to Way's birth and when Thomas was only five years old.[9]

In 1828, the year of Way's birth, the IYM split into the IYM (Orthodox) and the IYM (Hicksite). The fracture came after a controversy within the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting between conservative Friends and Elias Hicks (1748-1830) over "Divine" authority. Hicks and his followers maintained the "inner Light" as the true authority. The Orthodox branch placed authority in the divine nature of Christ and the Scriptures.

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[8]Ibid., 23-28, covered the arrival of Mary Fisher and Ann Austin along with other pioneer Quaker women like Mary Dyer, who suffered terrible persecution at the hands of established Puritan communities. Williard C. Heiss, "Introduction to the Quaker Records Project," *Abstracts to the Society of Friends Meeting Minutes, Indiana*, 6 volumes, (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1962,) iii, provided an excellent brief background of Quakers in America, especially the growth of Quaker Meetings.

[9] Heiss, "Introduction to the Quaker Records Project," iii, offered a more in depth review of specific meetings and their origins, showing that the Whitewater meeting, Richmond, Indiana, established in 1809, was where most meetings in the area originated. L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths: A History of Indiana Churches & Religious Groups*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995,) 195, also offered excellent insight into the early Quaker settlements in Indiana and the Orthodox (Gurneyite), Hicksite, Abolitionist factions, mostly as they related to the family of Elijah and Rhoda Coffin, but the Way family's long and close association with the Coffin family suggested they had similar experiences.

The Hicksite branch held their meetings alternately in Richmond, Indiana, and Waynesville, Ohio, while the Orthodox branch continued holding their meetings exclusively in Richmond.[10]

In 1839, at the age of twenty-three, Mary Frame Myers married Owen Thomas in the same traditional Friends ceremony that each of their parents had experienced. Owen Thomas's Quaker heritage led him to view his wife as an equal partner in all they did and to fully support her ambitions for education and social reform, because he did not question his wife's ambition to act upon her "inner light." Following her marriage, Thomas continued to study with her father, who had yet again changed his livelihood and embarked on a career in medicine. He taught Thomas and her half-sisters, Hannah and Jane Myers, all he knew. In addition to his new medical career, Samuel Myers continued his abolitionist actions and his children followed his lead in these matters as well. Then Meyers involved himself in what Thomas Hamm described in *God's Government Begun* as a conviction toward "ultraism." Ultraism came from the idea that the flaws of American society needed radical change to right the inequalities found in several areas including economic, political, gender, and race relations.[11]

In 1840, a gathering of compatible reformers dubbed the Friends of Universal Reform met for the "Chardon Street Convention," in Boston. Ralph Waldo Emerson's

[10] Ibid., iv, described in good detail this first of several fractures in the Society of Friends that affected Indiana. Way, born the year of the official split of the IYM, most likely was not affected, but it surely impacted the Way family as a whole and the family's affiliation with the Dunkirk Meeting placed them under the umbrella of the Hicksite branch. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths*, 195-201.

[11] Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 370; Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450; Bonsett, "Mary Frame Thomas, M. D.," 270; *History of Wayne County*, 606-608; *The Evening Item*, August 20, 1888, 1; Thomas Hamm, *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842-1846*, (Bloomington; Indiana University Press, 1995), 57-58.

account of the members of this meeting as a bunch of "madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Drunkers, Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and Philosophers," illustrated the diverse group of individuals concerned with the state of the nation at that time. Myers did not attend this meeting, but upon hearing of its proceedings he approvingly wrote of it to his friend, Edmund Quincy, saying, "I fear, to be Christ-like . . . has constituted no part of the concern of the present ministry; and I conclude that it needs a thorough shifting." Myers stated that he had lost faith in the current manner of change and believed the reformation of society required the implementation of more radical change.[12]

By 1842, the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform (SUIR) formed out of the discussions at the Chardon Street Convention, the abolition movement, evangelical Protestantism, and the "intellectual exploration of Hicksite Friends in southwestern Ohio." The society focused on communitarianism or the idea that establishing communities as models for reform based on "God's plans for humanity," and not "institutional religion" or "human government" could save the nation from its miserable, sinful state. In 1840, Marlborough, Ohio, one of the first communities fashioned in this manner predated the official organizing of the SUIR and Owen and Mary Thomas were among its founders. Owen's brother and sister-in-law, Jonathan and Hannah Thomas, along with Mary's half-sisters, Hannah and Jane Myers, joined them and two other Hicksite Quakers in this community.[13]

Mostly populated by Hicksite Quakers, Garrisonian abolitionists, and some evangelical Protestants, the SUIR founded seven other communities in Ohio. According

[12] Hamm, *God's Government Begun*, 57-58.
[13] Ibid., xix-xxv, 59, 104-108, 217-218, 232-233.

to the report of one of the founding Marlborough residents, Ann Lukens, the community achieved relative harmony and "love and good fellowship reigned paramount." At its peak in early 1845 the community supported roughly fifty residents, about half of them adults. Over the course of 1845, the growing population placed economic strain on the community and talks of commerce with the outside world for more financial stability began to break the community apart. In early 1846, the SUIR experiment with communitarianism came to an end and Esther Ann Lukens, Ann Lukens's daughter, provided the following epitaph, "the experiment failed at the time it did through lack of faith in those who had the funds, and lack of funds in those who had the faith," in other words, those who believed in the eventual success of the community could not afford to finance it, yet those who could finance it had no faith in its ability to truly affect change. Obviously Ann had high hopes early on for the community and possibly overplayed its success because less than four years later her daughter, Esther, reported its failure and confirmed that it failed due mostly to financial unsustainability.[14]

While at Marlborough, Mary Thomas socialized and established connections with many radical reformers, and expanded her network of like-minded individuals, as well as experienced some major milestones in her life. These milestones included the births of two of her three daughters, Laura in 1841 and Pauline in 1846. In 1845, Thomas had a life changing experience when she heard Lucretia Mott address the Ohio Yearly Friend's Meeting. Mott inspired Thomas and sparked her interest in the need for women to gain

[14] Ibid., xix-xxii, 104-108, Hamm defined Garrisonian abolitionists as those abolitionists who also favored "radical views on religion, woman's rights, and government." Many of the evangelicals who joined the movement came from one of the big three national denominations – Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist – all of which allowed slave ownership among its members. Some, however, thought the church and its clergy should take a more anti-slavery stance, which led to fractures in congregations and even motivated geographical relocation to or from slave-holding states.

the full rights of citizenship. Only three years later, in 1848, Mott, three other Quaker women, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the first woman's rights convention in the United States, convened at Seneca Falls, New York. The women and men at the convention called for the formation of state and local women's rights associations as a means to end the oppression of women. Hoosier women, in particular Thomas and her Quaker friends, answered the call and initiated one of the earliest state women's rights associations.[15]

As Thomas made her journey west toward Indiana, growing her network of resources, Way also involved herself in other reform movements early in her life, making her not only a recognizable and formidable reformer, but also very resourceful and efficient at advocating and building support for change. Way's fight for abolition began early in her life. Her biographical entry in the *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* commented that she "[was] a pioneer member of an anti-slavery society and assisted in the work of the Underground Railway at Winchester." Unfortunately, because of the secrecy surrounding the Underground Railroad and its operations, much is unknown about the extent of her involvement. However, a close friend, Thursey Hiatt, the future wife of Way's brother, James Paul, participated in the movement, too, and Thursey had reportedly guided slaves from Kentucky to Canada since her girlhood. Way

[15] 1850 U.S. Federal Census, Aboite, Allen County, Indiana, recorded Laura Thomas, age 9 and Pauline (incorrectly listed as Lallina) Thomas, age 6. Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450. Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 1, cited that on July 13, 1848, four of the women who hatched the plan for the Seneca Falls Convention that occurred six days later were Quakers and "the fifth, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, had come to the tea party to see her old friend and long-time role model, Lucretia Mott," almost as if Stanton's involvement was happenstance. Bacon also stated that while [Quakers] represented only a tiny percentage of the American population in 1848 . . . , [they] comprised thirty percent of the pioneers in prison reform, forty percent of women abolitionists, and fifteen percent of suffragists born before 1830."

surely knew of and most likely joined directly in the same activities associated with the clandestine organization as did her older brother and future sister-in-law.[16]

The fight against alcohol and intemperance stirred Way to activism, too. In 1854 she led about fifty women in Winchester who gathered "a small army of hungry children," to take advantage of free lunches offered by the saloon keepers. Needless to say, keepers hoped for drinking, therefore paying, customers, they did not plan on feeding all the town's hungry children. Then in 1857, Way's youngest brother and the baby of the Way family, Armsbee Diggs, drank too much at a local saloon and someone placed him on the doorstep of their house, passed out and suffering from alcohol poisoning. The experience of nursing her brother back from near death had a profound impression on Way and certainly bolstered her commitment to the cause of temperance. That same year, she gathered another large posse of women in Winchester and marched from saloon to saloon emptying barrels of liquor. When one saloon owner pulled a gun on Way and her group, she brandished her own firearm, keeping the man busy while her compatriots emptied his liquor barrels. Temperance remained an important cause for Way throughout her life.[17]

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[16] Ernest Hurst Cherrington, LL.D., LITT. D. (ed), *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, Volume VI, Simons–Zythos, (Westerville, Ohio; 1930), s.v. "Way, Amanda M.," 2811; *The Temperance Leaders of America*, edited by Rev. B.F. Austin, 20, claimed "[Way] was a member of an anti-slavery society, clerk of the 'underground railway' in Winchester." "Thirza A. Hiatt Way," unattributed obituary, Linn County Historical Society, Library and Museum, Pleasanton, Kansas; "Obituary," *Pleasanton Observer* (Enterprise, Kansas; January 16, 1889, as found in Chambers's, "Amanda M. Way: An Indiana Reformer." Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 109, wrote about the strong network of women in the anti-slavery movement, "ready to respond to the woman's rights message," and that "Indiana had a particularly strong Female Anti-Slavery Society, made up largely of Quaker women."

[17] "Obituary," s.v. "Amanda M. Way." *The Pacific Friend* 21, (1914): 14-15. The obituary stated "her autobiography noted the following: 'About this time [1857-1858] her youngest brother, a mere baby boy, was laid at her door as apparently dead, drugged with alcohol, and in that night of watching in awful anxiety she renewed her vows to battle against the liquor traffic.'" No autobiography has yet been found or released to a public holding. However, Jill Chambers, in

Two years later, challenges forced some tough decisions on the Way family. Way lost her husband-to-be, "a Dr. Cook," and then her father, to a cholera epidemic. She never married. James Paul married Thursey Hiatt and moved out of the Way family home and started his own family. Way decided to move back into the home of her mother with her sister Elmira, Elmira's husband, Robert, and their child, Isada, to help the family financially. During this time Way quit her job as a school teacher in order to make more money as a milliner and seamstress and opened her own shop.[18]

Way's commitments to reform in Indiana continued to grow. In January 1851, at an Anti-Slavery Friends Meeting in Greensboro, Henry County, Indiana, she introduced a resolution to convene the state's first women's rights convention. With the adoption of that resolution, the first meeting of the Indiana Woman's Rights Association convened and alongside Way's name on the roll call were recorded the names of James Paul Way,

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her "Amanda M. Way: An Indiana Reformer," made it seem as if this occurred before, possibly prompting Way's organized raids on Winchester saloons, but Armsbee would have been very young if Amanda was only 19. Also, according to the obituary in *The Pacific Friend* (1914) in 1854 Way (aged 26) organized "fifty women who joined together in a crusade against the saloons of their town with the result of the destruction of the liquor and the closing of the saloons." If Armsbee's mishap was in 1857, it would make sense for Amanda to have "renewed" her fight against alcohol. The figure of "80 women" and the date of 1847 (Way aged 19), comes from "Early Randolph County Temperance Work Led by Miss Amanda M. Way," *Richmond Palladium and Sun-Telegram*, (Richmond, Indiana; February 10, 1923): p. 14, as cited in Jill Chambers, "Amanda M. Way: An Indiana Reformer." Cherrington, LL.D., LITT. D. (ed), *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 2811, stated that "in 1854 . . . [Winchester] saloon-keepers advertised a 'free lunch,' . . . with the help of some other women, she collected a small army of hungry children . . . they then made a raid on the saloons and the children enjoyed the rare luxury of a full meal, much to the discomfiture of the proprietors." Way obviously had a skill for organizing and acting on behalf of others, sometimes in big ways.

[18] John L. Smith and Lee L. Driver, *Past and Present of Randolph County with Biographical Sketches of Representative Citizens and Genealogical Records of Many of Its Old Families*, (Indianapolis, Indiana: 1914), 857, provided the name of Dr. Cook and mentioned that he passed only weeks before their marriage, as found in Jill Chambers, "Amanda M. Way: An Indiana Reformer." The dates of Matthew Way's death and the marriage of James Paul Way and Thursey Hiatt were found in Way, *The Way Family*, 83 and 134. The obituary in *Pacific Friend*, 14, stated that Way "became rather an expert in the tailoring trade for at one time she had a shop of her own in which she employed a number of helpers." 1860 US Census: *White River, Randolph, Indiana*, recorded Way, 31, lived with Hannah Way, 57, Robert Porter, 28, Elmira Porter, 20, Isada[?] Porter, 3.

Thursey Way, and Hannah Hiatt. Hannah Hiatt served as the association's first president, Amanda Way served as the first vice president and at the request of the president, she delivered the opening address. Hoosier Quaker women rallied, called for and resolved to organize a state convention on women's rights. Way's and Thomas's names flooded the early records of the organization and their involvement and influence shaped the Indiana movement.[19]

Way's and Thomas's lives gave them the groundwork to exploit one of McCammon's essential parts of a successful grassroots movement, resource mobilization. Through their upbringing and involvement in the Quaker networks for reform the women had access to groups of men and women who shared their beliefs, such as when Thomas heard Lucretia Mott speak at one of the yearly meetings. Many reform-minded Friends, like Way and Thomas, first took up the mantle of abolition, which brought them into contact with more like-minded individuals from outside of the Quaker community, such as the Garrisonian abolitionists, made up of mostly evangelical Christians. Finally, the Temperance movement, a movement that attracted many women looking to temper the consumption of alcohol by the men in their lives, further highlighted the injustices upon women and brought those women closer together. These connections allowed Way and Thomas to have a vast array of people to recruit to the women's rights cause.

[19] Phillips, *Notable American Women*, s.v. "Thomas, Mary Frame, M. D.," and "Way, Amanda M.," and the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association Record Book (IWSARB), October 14-15, 1851, minutes listed the names of the attendees. Also, the minutes began, "In pursuance to a call signed by Hannah Hiatt, Amanda M. Way, M.J. Diggs, Henry Hiatt, Fanny Hiatt, T.A. Way, Lydia Davis, Joel P. Davis, Agnes Cook, and others, a number of the friends of the woman's rights movement met in the Church to hold a woman's rights convention. Those who met elected Hannah Hiatt, president, Amanda M. Way, vice president, and Henry Hiatt, secretary."

CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY

Education, Quaker meetings, and especially their tireless labor for reform, continually provided Way and Thomas with political opportunity. Thomas received this training early in her life when her father introduced her to the proceedings and debates of the legislature and ensured that his daughter received the same level of education as her brothers. Way had early introductions to these same opportunities also through the education her father insisted on for her, but also via her early association with leaders of the abolitionist movement, especially her great uncle, Henry Way. These opportunities and others that followed in the ensuing years proved critical to the movement's ability to rally the support of citizens and politicians alike.

The struggle for women's rights became a lifelong fight for Way and her founding association colleagues. She and Thomas held several different offices in the Indiana Woman's Rights Association (IWRA). They and their compatriots organized the association in the same manner as a Quaker yearly meeting: it met once each year to conduct state-wide business, assigned volunteers to committees, and encouraged the formation of area or local meetings that resembled the smaller quarterly or monthly Friends meetings. Way served as president of the IWRA in 1856 and again in 1869. The 1857 IWRA meeting minutes showed that Thomas, president, conducted the meeting and was nominated along with two other women to present a petition to the Indiana Legislature in favor of women's right to vote. At the end of the minutes, Amanda M. Way was listed as the association's secretary, which presumably meant she recorded the minutes for this particular meeting. A comparison of the Duck Creek Anti-Slavery

Woman's Monthly Meeting Minutes (1843-1857), Henry County, Indiana, with the IWSA's annual meeting minutes reveals striking similarities in record keeping structure and details. When compared to other clubs or association meeting minutes, while some similarities in terminology exist, they all seem much less formal and were formatted more as a narrative record than a business style record. For example, the Social Sewing Society (1851-1862), a benevolence society associated with the Methodist Episcopal Church that made clothes for the destitute in their community, usually only recorded a small, dated entry of no more than a paragraph. They sometimes used terms like "the meeting commenced," or "adjourned," and they even made up committees responsible for certain tasks, but the society passed "regulations" for its members and to abide by, one of their first of which concerned who was responsible for providing tea, coffee, and biscuits at the meetings. They also recorded more important issues, such as the progress of making a mattress for a family in need, but the minutes still do not carry the formal and direct tone found in the minutes of both the Society of Friends and the IWRA.[1]

[1] Indiana Women's Suffrage Record Book (IWSARB), 1851-1871, recorded the following offices held by Way; 1851 – vice president, 1856 – president, 1857 – secretary, 1869 – president and delegate to the "Western Woman's Suffrage Association" held in Chicago later that year, 1870 – vice president and petitioning committee member that "shall demand action," from "members of the Legislature in this movement," 1871 – executive committee chair. Indiana Quaker Meeting Minutes Collection, Duck Creek Women's Meeting Meetings, William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, houses the largest holding of Anti-Slavery Friends Meetings in the state. See especially the minutes for the date of June 8, 1843, the year of the split. Social Sewing Society, Records, 1851-1862, Short Collections, William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, especially Reports 1-7, August-November 1851. Indiana Council of Churches, Records, 1827-1980, Manuscript Collection, Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Indiana Sunday School Union (1888-1901), William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis; Indianapolis Retirement Home, Records, 1867-1980, Manuscripts Collection, Board of Managers Meeting Minutes (1867-1913, under the name, The Indianapolis Home for Friendless Women), William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis; Current Literature Club (Rockville, Ind.), Records, 1906-1910, Minutes of Club Meetings (1906-1907), William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, all bear more resemblance to the minutes recorded by the Social Sewing Society, less formal and more narrative like, than

Way, Thomas, and some of their fellow Hoosier Quaker women had strong ties to abolition. Similarly, four of the five women who organized the famous Seneca Falls Convention were also Quaker women active in the abolition movement. Way's activity and leadership roles in both the Friends community and the abolitionist movement bolstered her credibility and her political clout. The symbiosis of the two movements would have allowed Way to frame her arguments for each movement in relation to the other. For instance, she could argue that women's right to vote would help the abolition cause or that the abolition cause would help women secure the right to vote, while framing both under the auspices of the moral and religious arguments for the equality of all people as found in the tenets of the Quaker faith.[2]

Way's work in the state and national temperance movement added to her busy schedule of reform activities. Here too, Way relied on the same skills she gained from her Quaker heritage, most significantly her penchant for public speaking without inhibitions due to her gender, considering that society at large did not consider it a womanly thing to speak in public. Her moral fortitude and unrelenting persistence helped grow the temperance movement by leaps and bounds. In 1854, she organized the Woman's Temperance Army in Winchester and she joined the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) and traveled and lectured on their behalf. In 1856, Way served as one of only two women permitted at the International Supreme Session of the IOGT where "she took a prominent place in its deliberations." In 1857-58, Way's travels and lectures resulted in the organization of sixty-eight new chapters for the IOGT and the temperance cause. Prior to and after the Civil War, she served in most offices of the

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those recorded by Friends or the early members of the IWRA, which reflect a more formal, direct, goal-oriented manner.

[2] Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 1, (also see footnote 15 on page 43 for more information).

organization, including Grand Worthy Chief Templar, the highest office in the order. Way was the first woman to hold this office and she was voted to this position of authority seven times by her peers in the organization. She later helped organize another 150 chapters for the IOGT and multiple chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union across Indiana, Ohio, and Kansas. All the lectures delivered by Way throughout the Midwest helped build her name recognition and her credibility, and afforded her opportunities to convince everyday citizens and local politicians about the need for reform. [3]

While Way kept busy with the temperance movement alongside the women's movement, Thomas began her long, arduous battle for respect in the medical field, at that time mostly thought to be a man's occupation. She also pushed for social reforms and gained more political opportunities to advocate for them. In 1849, shortly after the birth of their third daughter, Julia, the Thomas' moved to Allen County, Indiana, near Fort Wayne. Once there, Thomas prepared for her formal medical education. According to several reports, she never failed at her duties as a mother and wife during this endeavor. Heald notes that "her home always came first," and in a letter to a friend, Thomas herself described her preparations for medical school as demanding

> the most vigorous discipline of my mind and systematic arrangement of time . . . when my youngest daughter was three months old I began in earnest to make the most of my opportunities by strict application to reading and domestic duties . . . so that my husband and children should not suffer for any comforts of a wife and mother owed them.

[3] Ibid., 134-135, Bacon stated that "[Way's] coworker in temperance and suffrage, Dr. Mary Frame Thomas, also joined," the IOGT. *Pacific Friend*, 14-15; Cherrington (ed.), *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 2811, both offer more information on Way's travels and the new chapters she started. *The Temperance Leaders of America*, 20, provided a complete list of the numerous offices she held in the many temperance organizations which she belonged.

After four years of preparation without the aid of hired help or a sewing machine, Thomas made enough clothes for her family for six months as she headed off to the Female Medical College in Philadelphia for the 1851-52 session. This exemplifies the nature and determination of Thomas to pursue her goals while she maintained her place in the prescribed sphere of mother and home while pushing the boundaries of that sphere to include a profession widely regarded as a man's.[4]

When Thomas's oldest daughter became very ill, she left Philadelphia to return home to help care for her. Laura did not survive her illness, and her death surely caused the Thomas family much grief. Mary Thomas, however, did not quit her pursuit of a medical degree. She attended some lectures at the Cleveland Medical College before she returned to Philadelphia and received her M.D. in 1854 from Penn Medical University for Women. Her attendance at these particular medical institutions also brought Thomas into a social circle that included the Blackwell family. Owen Thomas graduated from the Medical Department of Western Reserve College at Cleveland with Emily Blackwell. Mary Thomas also sat in on some of those lectures and may have had contact with Blackwell both at Cleveland and also when Blackwell went to Penn Medical as a lecturer. This also may have brought Thomas into contact with Henry Blackwell, Lucy Stone's husband, the eventual mouthpiece and leader, respectively, of the American Women's Suffrage Association. Upon her return to Indiana, she worked with her husband in their joint medical practice and Thomas applied twice for membership in the Allen County Medical Society, but the society denied her admission because she was a woman. The Thomas family then moved to Richmond, Wayne County, Indiana. Heald claimed they

[4] Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 370; *History of Wayne County*, 606; Bonsett, "Mary Frame Thomas, M. D.," 270.

moved, "on account of the better school system, largely fostered by the many Quakers . . . from 1856 for more than thirty years Richmond was the family home." Thomas and her husband opened a medical practice there as well and they soon became very respected and known in the community.[5]

As Thomas established herself as a medical professional she also continued growing a large network of like-minded reformers, focused on everything from abolition and temperance, to her work with the poor and providing medical treatment to women committed to the local asylums for the poor and insane, as well as prisons. In 1855, before leaving Fort Wayne, Thomas attended a lecture by the visiting Lucy Stone and "then began their lifelong friendship." In 1857 Thomas served as editor of *The Lily*, the first woman's journal dedicated to furthering the rights of women. She edited this journal for about a year before Mary B. Birdsall, also of Richmond, took over. Heald recalled that, "in some early numbers of *The Lily* so many women's names appear that were household words to us – Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, of course, Lucretia Mott, an old family friend, Frances D. Gage, Helen Tracy Cutler, Earnestine L. Rose, Amelia Bloomer, Rev. Amanda M. Way, Emi B. Swank, and many others, both men and women." With such an impressive list of fellow suffragists from all over the nation, Thomas no doubt had established the connections needed for an expansive network of like-minded individuals to rally for the cause of women's rights.

[5] Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 371; *History of Wayne County*, 606; Bonsett, *"Mary Frame Thomas, M. D.,"* 270; Frederick C. Waite, "The Three Myers Sisters – Pioneer Women Physicians," *Medical Review of Reviews*, (March, 1933): highlighted the fact that Thomas's two younger half-sisters, Hannah and Jane, also attended and lectured at Penn Medical College.

Her success in her medical career and her growing name recognition across the country opened up political opportunities to advocate for her causes.[6]

Continuing both her medical practice with her husband and her suffrage activism, Thomas also rallied to the call of other causes and subsequently left the Society of Friends. Thomas joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, indicating the possibility that the Quakers established in the Richmond did not support all of the reforms that Thomas advocated. Margaret Hope Bacon, author of *Mothers of Feminism,* blamed abolition as the reason that many Quakers, especially Hicksite Quakers, left the Society of Friends. They instead aligned with the ideas for reform embraced by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Temperance movement could also explain this religious affiliation shift, which coincided with Thomas' growing involvement in the movement as a member of the Order of Good Templars and the Women's Christian Temperance Union since the Methodist church also focused on solving the problem of intemperance in the country. No matter what her reasoning, the Society of Friends had already greatly influenced Thomas and she would return to them before her death.[7]

In the years prior to the Civil War, Thomas increased her involvement in the Indiana Woman's Rights Association. As mentioned earlier, during the first several years

[6] Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," stated that Amelia E. Bloomer created *The Lily* in 1848 near Seneca Falls, New York. At first, *The Lily* functioned as a literary paper, sharing short stories and poetry written by women, but it quickly evolved into a forum for women and men to debate the rights of women. After Birdsall edited the journal Lizzie Bunnel Read bought it and "changed its name to *The Mayflower* and published it for about ten years at Peru, Ind," 371.

[7] Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 125-126, offered more insight into the number of Quakers who left the Society of Friends for the Methodist Episcopal Church prior to the Civil War only for a majority of them to return in the decades after the war, and linked the exodus to issues over the abolition movement. Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450. Jack J. Detzler, *History of the Northwest Indiana Conference of the Methodist Church, 1852-1951*, (Nashville, Tennesse: The Parthenon Press, 1953), 96, "'We are a temperance church [and] . . . shall return to aggressive methods of putting forward temperance as a moral and religious reform and urge it as a personal responsibility.'"

of the IWRA, Thomas attended medical courses in Pennsylvania and Cleveland and did not attend the yearly meetings of the association. However, for the years 1851-1854, notations in the records indicated that Thomas knew of the meetings and supported the efforts and resolve of her fellow Hoosiers. The meeting minutes for 1855 find Thomas's name completely absent, but of course that year marked the death of her oldest daughter, which may explain her absence. On the final page of the records for 1856, Thomas received her first nomination for an office in the IWRA and the members elected her as president of the association for the following year.[8]

Thomas went on to serve eight times as president, nine times as vice president, five times as secretary, and she held numerous other committee and chair appointments. If people had not heard of the name Dr. Mary Frame Thomas before January 6, 1859, they probably did soon thereafter. One of her numerous committee appointments in 1858 catapulted Thomas into the spotlight as the woman assigned the task of presenting a petition for woman's right to vote at the next convening of the Indiana State Legislature. Thomas delivered the petition alongside Mary B. Birdsall, Agnes Cook, and Way. Thomas's address marked the first time the legislature accepted any woman's formal and public address to them. The occasion also signified a very import breakthrough in political opportunity. Women capitalized on resource mobilization and positioned

[8] IWSARB, 1851-1856; Eloise Beach, "Women's Movement Began Before Civil War in This Area," *Richmond Palladium*, (Richmond, Indiana; November 27, 1975), 62, cited that Dr. Thomas's name "punctuates the story of the development of the women's rights movement," and that in her message to the first convention in 1851 Thomas stated, "be firm and outspoken in opinions and the encouragement of young women to enter trades and professions and fit themselves for pecuniary independence."

themselves to address Indiana's lawmakers, framing their arguments in such a way as to appeal to their religious and civil senses of justice and equality.[9]

Imagine the pressure on Thomas to deliver an address to the men who held all legal power over Hoosier women. The task proved a daunting one, but Thomas and her fellow suffragists did not back down. An analysis of Thomas' address to the legislature as recorded in the *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Fortieth Session of the General Assembly,* alongside Thomas's own recollections of the occasion and the many letters to the editor and editorial responses printed in the Indianapolis newspapers, highlighted some of the interesting points that framed the speech in a manner that appealed to both the religious and the rational sensibilities of all legislators.[10]

Thomas began her address in a humble tone. She stated that the women petitioned only for the same "God-given" and "natural rights" that others possessed. Thomas really ramped up her rhetoric when she specified that without the right to vote and to have a say in "the laws of *her country*," then a woman "has no country, by the right that men have a country, we are aliens in our native land." She continued, "but in all honesty and candor, we fully believe that the time has come for the women of Indiana to assert their rights as human beings, as the emanation from the same great author of

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[9] IWSARB, 1851-1885, specifically, "Presentation of Petition to the Legislature in 1859," penned by Thomas on May 1, 1876.

[10] IWSARB, "Presentation to the Legislature in 1859;" *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Fourth Session of the General Assembly*, (January 6, 1859), 186; Fred D. Cavinder, "1st Woman to Address Legislature was Ridiculed: Lawmakers in 1859 didn't like Dr. Mary F. Thomas' lobbying," *Indianapolis Star*, (Indianapolis, IN, April 5, 1987), Sec.13, p.4; Pat Creech Scholten, "A Public "Jolification": The 1859 Women's Rights Petition before the Indiana Legislature," *Indiana Magazine of History* 72, no. 4 (December 1976).

existence from which man emanated." These arguments catered to both a religious and civic call for justice.[11]

Thomas made seven strictly civic or legal requests for woman's suffrage in the speech. These arguments focused on the right and the ability of women to participate as full citizens of society. She noted that society now recognized women speaking in public. Women performed as well as men in art, education, science, preaching, and numerous other callings or occupations. Legal voters, meaning white men at this point, just as well as women, signed the petition she presented to the legislators. Finally, Thomas noted, women bore a great injustice in that they paid taxes yet had no representation. Taxation without representation incited women to draw parallels between their arguments for women's freedom to the fight for colonial liberty from British subjugation.[12]

Thomas also argued seven points that appealed to the religious or spiritual understandings of her audience. She spoke about the "God-given" and "natural" rights of human beings. Women, like men, had a responsibility to God for the correct use of the rights bestowed upon them. The denial of dignity of a woman's being went against God's design. Women's exclusion denied the ability for all minds to flourish, and again, interfered with God's design. Thomas also stated that while she could not instruct the lawmakers as a full, voting citizen, she was "duty-bound" or called by God to ensure that all people had the ability to fulfill "those high and holy duties," that God may bestow upon them. Using the language of religion Thomas called on the legislators to follow their allegiance to a higher order or design, namely God's and not their own, by restoring

[11] IWSARB, "Presentation to the Legislature in 1859," *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Fourth Session of the General Assembly*, (January 6, 1859), 186.
[12] Ibid.

woman her dignity so she could fulfill her higher calling or duty. This, she argued, would permit all individuals and society to flourish.[13]

Unfortunately for all Hoosier women, the legislature did not grant women their right to vote. The speech also garnered some sharp criticism from the media in Indianapolis. In his research on how newspapers reported on the Indiana Woman's Rights Association's (IWRA) activities, Nathan Gallagher concluded that prior to the Civil War, Thomas had "gained a reputation as 'strong-minded' among Indiana's press." In the 1850s, this was not a nicety but rather meant as quite an insult. Most societal norms of the day expected women to remain submissive and worry about the home, not politics. The *Indiana Daily State Sentinel* editorialized, "we trust, for the sake of women, 'the last best gift of God to man,' that the legislature of Indiana will never again give its sanction to such a proceeding." The *State Journal*, on the other hand, printed Thomas's speech in its entirety, but then commented that if women received everything they petitioned for, "then they would soon wish, like the bricklayer who broke his leg in falling from a scaffold and begged Jupiter to suspend the laws of gravitation in his case, that they were restored to their former condition." The day after her address a Senate committee reported "legislation on this subject is inexpedient at this time," and a House committee agreed. Thomas, Way, and the rest of the men and women in the IWRA had garnered the undivided attention of all Indiana lawmakers, even if for a few short minutes. Then, the United States entered the Civil War and everyone understood the need to apply their

[13] Ibid.

skills and time to the war effort. From 1861-67 no Indiana Woman's Rights Association meetings took place. Thomas and Way served as nurses for the Union.[14]

Under the direction of Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton, Thomas accompanied supply ships to Memphis, Tennessee, and Natchez, Mississippi, to escort wounded Union troops back to the North. Eventually, Mary Thomas's husband, Owen Thomas, was assigned to a Refugee Hospital in Nashville, Tennessee, and she worked alongside him at the hospital. Because of her sex, Thomas never earned the recognition of Surgeon or Doctor, even though she performed all the same medical services as her husband. Instead she only received the title of nurse. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper noted in their *History of Woman Suffrage* that Thomas "manifested as much patriotism as any man did on the battlefield." The recognition of her service helped gain Thomas respect, popularity, and most of all, veracity in the eyes of her male counterparts.[15]

When the Civil War began and four of her five brothers enlisted to serve in the Union Army, Way, like many other reformers, put temperance and suffrage on the back

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[14] Nathan Gallagher, "The Coming Storm: Women's Suffrage in Indiana, 1851-1881," (IUPUI undergraduate, unpublished research for the Mary F. Chrisler Scholarship, 2012), 3, cited "Sketches of a Few of the Leaders," *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, (Indianapolis, IN; June 11, 1869). Cavinder, "1st Woman to Address Legislature was Ridiculed," *Indianapolis Star*; Scholten, "A Public "Jolification," 350-353.

[15] 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Richmond, Wayne County, Indiana, significantly listed both Owen and Mary as physicians. The Census also cited Paulina Thomas's name incorrectly again as Bolena. Interestingly too, the record indicated that a Jane Stokes, aged 74, from Pennsylvania and with a value of "real estate" listed at $3,000 and Lorenzo D. Randall, aged 11 of Indiana, resided in the Thomas household. Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 372; *History of Wayne County*, 606; Bonsett, "Mary Frame Thomas, M. D.," 270; Waite, "The Three Myers Sisters," 119; Beach, "Women's Movement Began Before Civil War in This Area," 62; Beth Roberts, "Dr. Mary E. Walker and Dr. Mary F. Thomas: Women, Physicians, Rebels?" (IUPUI undergraduate, unpublished research, December 13, 2011), 8; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage and Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. 2 of 6, (Rochester, New York; Charles Mann Printing Company, 1881), 314.

burner and assisted with the war efforts. Way joined the Sanitary Commission and for the first part of the war spent most of her time on a hospital boat on the Mississippi River as a nurse caring for the wounded. After her mother died in 1863, Way spent more time in Kansas where her brother and sister-in-law, James and Thursey, had moved in 1861. According to *Linn County, Kansas: A History*, Way was present in Kansas during the winter of 1864-65 during Price's Raid, a push through Missouri and Kansas by Confederate Major General Sterling Price in 1864. Way's previous service in the Army as a nurse enabled her to lead the women of Mound City in caring for more than 100 wounded Union and Confederate soldiers ambulanced in from the Battle of Mine Creek, in October of 1864, a battle associated with Price's Raid. Way's sacrifices and achievements for the good of her country helped raise her recognition and credibility among the general public and those in political arenas. [16]

Utilizing their connections for resource mobilization and capitalizing on their increased recognition in their communities as well as the surrounding areas opened many doors of opportunity for Way and Thomas. The apex of their pre-Civil War efforts culminated in the address to the legislature and Thomas noted in her reflections on the event, that more and more "lawmakers were convinced of our argument." She understood that while her presentation drew a lot of criticism, it also had the same

[16] *Pacific Friend*, "Obituary," 14, stated that "[Way] became a regular army nurse and was on many fields of battle amid the dead and dying." Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 154, stated "[Dr. Mary Frame Thomas and her husband] moved to Richmond, Indiana, where they practiced medicine and together served on the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War." Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas: A History*, 312, gave an account of the battle of Mine Creek and revealed that "Miss Way, by reason of her experience in the army, was made head nurse and head of the commissary department . . . and when the first ambulance load came she was ready to bestow them and provide the necessities for their care." 1860 US Census: *White River, Randolph, Indiana*, recorded Way, 31, living with Hannah Way, 57, Robert Porter, 28, Elmira Porter, 20, Isada[?] Porter, 3.

amount of opportunity to convince more and more people of their arguments. Finally, Thomas's and Way's absolute willingness to serve their country when called upon amplified the appreciation and respect their fellow citizens had for them.[17]

[17] IWSARB, "Presentation to the Legislature in 1859."

CHAPTER FOUR: IDEOLOGICAL FRAMING

Way and Thomas encountered plenty of openings for exploiting various other reform movements in order to achieve resource mobilization and political opportunity. They also used specific arguments and tactics, framing ideas based upon their audiences. Communities heavily entrenched in the effort for temperance might have heard speeches guaranteeing that women's right to vote would help their cause, too. Or, in an area of strong abolition advocacy, women's right to vote could help pass that legislation as well. However, this could also cause problems for the suffrage movement if the backlash against temperance or abolition was high and women's rights were tied to that ideological argument.

After the war, Thomas and her husband returned to Richmond. He decided to take up dentistry while she continued their medical practice. Thomas advocated for reform in the treatment of women patients in mental health institutions and prisons. She insisted that women physicians should attend to the medical needs of women patients. Thomas also continued to fight for women's suffrage. In 1869 she and Way called for the reactivation of the Indiana Woman's Rights Association (IWRA) and on June 8 and 9 they hosted its first postwar meeting in Indianapolis. Upon the nomination and approval of her peers, Thomas and two other women formed a "committee on Permanent Organizing." As the members of the Indiana association reorganized and recommitted themselves to the fight for enfranchisement, a fracture in the national association threatened to divide the Indiana association.[1]

[1] Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 372-373; Indiana Woman's Rights Association Record Book (IWRARB), 1869.

The 1870 meeting minutes indicated Thomas served as president of the Indiana association and revealed a name change for the association to the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association (IWSA). Over the course of the sessions on June 8 and 9 of that year, Susan B. Anthony of the National Woman's Suffrage Association (NWSA) and Henry Blackwell (husband of Lucy Stone) of the American Woman's Suffrage Association (AWSA) addressed the Indiana association's members. The national split, which Anthony and Blackwell represented, was due in large part to the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment which granted all black males the right to vote, but did not grant women of any race the same right. Another reason for the national schism, as suggested by some historians, concerned the tactics of the two associations. The NWSA pushed for sweeping federal action. The AWSA emphasized winning local suffrage first in order to build support for a federal amendment. Stanton and Blackwell traveled across the country and lobbied state suffrage associations to align with their respective strategies. Ultimately, but by the narrowest of margins, at the conclusion of the 1870 meeting, by a vote of 15-14, the Indiana group identified itself as an auxiliary to Lucy Stone's AWSA. The 1870 Indiana meeting minutes also recorded a call to deliver to the Indiana legislature another petition for the enfranchisement of women. Leaders encouraged all members to continue and strengthen their advocacy at the local levels. County officials convinced of the injustices placed upon women could help remedy the oppression of their neighbors.[2]

[2] IWSARB, 1870, recorded "just before the adjournment of the meeting a request was made by A. M. Way that all members of the Association [tarry?] for a few moments, when by a vote of 15 to 14 the State organization was made auxiliary to the American Woman Suffrage Association. Resolved: That this Association is in favor of the union of the National and American Associations as soon as practicable," showing the distress and divide among the state association members. Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism*, 125-129, provided more insight into this divide over

Way addressed a joint session of the Indiana Legislature in January 1871. Thomas and two other association representatives accompanied her to Indianapolis. According to Thomas's record of Way's speech to the Indiana Legislature the address "and arguments were more attentively listened to by the members . . . more than half convinced of the truth of this reasoning and the justice of the claims for equal rights before the law for woman." Thomas then noted that the association had and would continue to present to both houses of the legislature petitions at every session of the state legislature. She also reported "that our claims as citizens, has been kept before the people, and the woman suffragists of the state has not lost any opportunity of making themselves heard in appeals for the removal of all restrictions of legal and political disability for the women of the state." The legislators took no action toward granting women equal rights that session. Finding the silver lining, Thomas praised the effort and

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black males granted the right to vote before white women, and how the NWSA focused intently on passing federal suffrage legislation while the AWSA worked hard to organize suffrage passage state-by-state. She went on to say that "other Quaker women put energies into local suffrage work; . . . Dr. Mary Frame Thomas and Amanda Way in Indiana." Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, provided insights into the work Mott did to try to reconcile the two associations. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, explored the racist overtones Stanton placed on the NSWA's activities after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and her insistence that suffrage be enacted at the Federal level immediately. Kerr, *Lucy Stone*, contributed a biography of Stone that investigated the differences between the two associations from her perspective, showing Stone accepted small victories, like black male suffrage or local school board suffrage, as building blocks toward the larger goal of equality for all. Newman, *White Women's Rights*, showed how race spawned the movement, originating with women abolitionists, but following the Civil War, race became a divisive topic in the movement, ultimately causing the formation of two different branches fighting on two different fronts, prolonging the battle for women's suffrage. IWSARB, 1870, concerning petitions to the polity, recorded "Resolved: That this Association call a Mass Convention to meet in this city [Indianapolis] during the next session of the Legislature to bring the claims of the Woman Suffrage Movement before the members of that body. Resolved: That in our respective Counties we use our [illegible] Endeavors to interest the prospective members of the Legislature in this movement and convince them that we shall demand action in their legislative capacity," along with the 1859 petition to the Legislature showed a very active interest in state and local mobilization, as opposed to appealing to the United States Legislature, evidencing the IWSA already aligned more with the AWSA in that regard. 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Richmond Ward 4, Wayne County, Indiana, showed Owen and Mary Thomas in their mid-fifties, listed as physicians, and the only ones in their household.

insisted again that every opportunity to present their case convinced more legislators and legal voters of "the logic of their arguments."[3]

On June 21, 1871, at the next IWSA yearly meeting, some members voiced their opinion to discontinue the group's affiliation with Lucy Stone's national branch of the movement (AWSA). These members favored operating the association independently of both national branches until the two camps resolved their differences and united. Susan B. Anthony (NWSA) may have rekindled this debate and stirred up this sentiment when she visited Richmond, Indiana, earlier that month. These members may have noticed the tension that choosing sides in the national schism may have caused within the Indiana association. Afterwards, the members debated the issue and decided to shelve their decision until the next yearly meeting. This entry indicates that the association members had differing opinions on the tactics and the framing of their arguments.[4]

Also in 1871, outside of the affairs of the IWSA, Thomas and Way belonged to the Richmond district of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The North Indiana Conference licensed Way as one of the first female Methodist preachers in Indiana. A closer look at the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in England and America will explain why Way and Thomas briefly aligned with this religious association. They still attended Quaker Anti-Slavery meetings, as evidenced in Way's calling for the first woman's rights convention in Indiana at one of

[3] IWSARB, 1870-1871, and "Presentation of Petition to the Legislature in 1871," penned by Thomas on May 1, 1876.
[4] IWSARB, 1870-1871; "We had the pleasure of seeing Miss Susan B. Anthony," *Richmond Palladium*, (Richmond, Indiana; June 10, 1871), p.2, col.2, documented that Anthony stayed with the Thomas' at their home on her route to California. The columnist editorialized that "we expected to behold a repulsive old maid-of-a-virgin, instead of a common-sense lady and noble specimen of her sex." Obviously, while Thomas considered Lucy Stone of the AWSA a close friend, she held no ill feelings toward Anthony and the efforts of the NWSA.

those meetings. Their affiliation with the Methodists was a tactical one based on common goals of social reform and similar beliefs in universal egalitarianism. A comparison of the two denominations shows how this alliance made sense for Way and Thomas.[5]

First introduced in Georgia and other Southern territories in the 1730s, Methodism did not find wide acceptance in the United States until the 1770s. Methodist ideals spread quickly, finding many converts in the rural, pioneer territories and among the poor. Methodism developed into one of fastest growing denominations in early America. Founded as a religious club in England and designed so members would not fall out of favor with or be excommunicated by the Anglican Church (The Church of England), Methodism represents another Christian sect formed out the English reformations, much like the Society of Friends. During the eighteenth century in England, many other evangelists created other religious societies that reflected many of the same ideas that eventually emerged as the central tenets associated with Methodism,

[5] Phillips, *Notable American Women,* 451, commented, "Dr. Thomas . . . a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Order of Good Templars . . . made her chief contribution to the cause of woman suffrage." Phillips, *Notable American Women*, 553; *Pacific Friend*, "Obituary," 14, documented Way's licensing to preach by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Jean Miller Schmidt and Sara J. Myers, "Methodist Women," *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, vol.1, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 325, documented that "although the Northern Indiana Conference . . . ordained Helenor M. Davison by 1866, other branches of Methodism did not follow suit." Then in 1869, Maggie Newton Van Cott received a license to preach by her local conference in New York. In 1880 Anna Howard Shaw and Ann Oliver, "both graduates of Boston University School of Theology and had local preacher's licenses," were not only denied, but the conference ruled that all local licenses issued since 1869 were revoked and the church did not reverse this decision until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. *Winchester Journal*, "Miss Amanda Way has been licensed as a preacher," February 21, 1872, displayed a certain excitement by this Whig/Republican newspaper, and it noted of her sermon preached at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Winchester that "Miss Way is a pleasant speaker, but we agree with her brother in his opinion, that she speaks much better without manuscript than with it." Ibid., "Miss Amanda Way occupied the pulpit," March 27, 1872 stated that she preached in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Winchester, both morning and evening. Way, *The Way Family*, 135-136; Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas: A History,* 250, documented her move to Kansas.

but the original club members wished to remain in the fold of the Anglican Church and avoid the persecution that many of the Quakers and other dissenters received.[6]

The Religious Society of Friends and the Methodist Episcopal Church, also shared some common beliefs that led "one commentator in 1752 [to place] Methodism within a history of 'Enthusiasts' that included the Family of Love, the Covenanters, the sects of the 1640s, the New England persecutors of witches, Quakers, Cameronians, and Fifth Monarchy Men." These fringe Protestant groups incorporated the fervor of ecstatic and boisterous worship. In the autumn of 1730, while attending Oxford University, John and Charles Wesley (the brothers are considered the founders of Methodism) and a few friends began "visiting the prisoners at the city jail and county prison, as well as [sic] teach some orphans and to supply several poor widows and children with food, clothes and other necessities." As the group became more prominent, they also added members. John Wesley organized peripheral groups that received "lists of questions, ciphers for diary entries, books for study, and schedules for visiting the needy people," from the central, leading group. The organization built by the Wesleys somewhat mirrored the way George Fox began trying to organize the growing numbers of Friends about four decades prior. By 1732, several of these "Wesleyan" groups existed around the

[6] Richard P. Heitzenrater, "The Founding Brothers" in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, edited by William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 34-41; J. C. D. Clark, "The Eighteenth-Century Context" in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, edited by William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3-13; Jack J. Detzler, "English Origins of the Methodist System," in *History of the Northwest Indiana Conference of The Methodist Church, 1852-1951*, (Nashville, Tennessee: The Parthenon Press, 1953), 11-23; Frederick A. Norwood, "The Way We Began," in *History of the North Indiana Conference, 1917-1956*, (Winona Lake, Indiana: Light and Life Press, 1957), 17-46, both offered very brief histories of the Methodist beginnings in England as well. Schmidt and Myers, "Methodist Women," 319-322, also provided a good history of early Methodism, but with much more emphasis on women's role and America.

university and the city, and while called the Sacramentarians, the Holy Club, and the Godly Club, among others, the term Methodists stuck in the long run.[7]

Often misconstrued as a "semi-Pelagian" theology, meaning one earns salvation by doing good works, Wesleyan theology directed early Methodism. However, John Wesley's sermons revealed a much more inward focus on "meditative piety oriented on a virtue of ethic." For Methodists, God's grace allowed them to become "like Christ, filling them with [Christ like] virtues." The Wesleys created a double focus for Methodism; loving God and neighbor, and achieving Christian perfection. According to religious historian Richard P. Heitzenrater, "the importance of both, Christian fellowship (social holiness) and outreach (social concern), demonstrated the Methodist double emphasis on works of piety and mercy." This social justice theology must have appealed to Way, Thomas, and other reformers in America who turned their inward piety outward in an effort to alleviate the injustices that plagued their communities and the nation.[8]

As the Methodist movement gained momentum, preaching, indoors and out, became very important. In an effort to not interfere with the Anglican Church's "consecrated 'chapels'" the society referred to their gathering places as "preaching houses." This term also distinguished them from other dissenters of the Church of England that often used the term "meeting houses," such as the Religious Society of Friends. Another issue Methodism had to face concerned the lack of preachers for the growing number of members and the increasing number of women called to preach, which put early pressure on the brothers to ordain women. They conceded to allow women to lead services with very strict limits, but not preach, and they maintained that

[7] Heitzenrater, "The Founding Brothers," 33.
[8] Ibid., 34.

"Methodists admit of no women preachers." This controversy highlighted another way in which the Methodists tried to stay in good standing with the Anglican Church, distancing themselves from dissenters like the Quakers who placed little to no restrictions on woman's right to preach.[9]

In 1735, John Wesley had convinced his brother Charles, to accompany him on a missionary venture to America. The Wesleys' time spent in Georgia proved minimally successful due to Charles's poor health and John's legal issues with authorities in Savannah. In June of 1737, however, "the new settlement in Frederica experienced the first 'Methodist' meeting in America." Charles returned to England shortly thereafter; John followed by the end of the year. The experience had nonetheless altered John's outlook on life and consequently expanded the Wesleyan mindset. His encounters with the Moravians in Savannah and his contact with and ministry to slaves in South Carolina not only led him to write poetry and publish his first book of hymns, but to adjust his views on theology and missions. Other Methodists like George Whitefield, James Hutton, and Peter Boehler also made the trek to the American colonies on mission trips, but Methodism in America received a jolt of revivalism with the arrival of Francis Asbury (also known as Bishop Asbury later in life).[10]

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[9] Ibid., 42-45, noted that women "were not to 'preach' on a text or speak continually for twenty minutes, but were simply to hold Bible studies or exhort their listeners, interspersing their discourse with occasional prayers," showing the very strict limits placed on women in order to resist the label of dissenter from the Church of England.

[10] Ibid., 34-35, indicated that most historians view the Wesleys' mission to Georgia a complete failure. The brothers had "unfortunate encounters with designing women," and a "packed jury" indicted John on "ten counts of maladministration and malfeasance." John published *Psalms and Hymns* in 1737 in Charleston, South Carolina. David Hempton, "The People Called Methodists; Transitions in Britain and North America," in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, edited by William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 72-78, aptly discussed the initial rejection of Methodism by many in the American colonies, but that its message of "millennial optimism," or the imminence of "the returning of Christ" and "the kingdom of God," could transform the human condition into a social holiness "deemed essential"

In August 1771, Asbury volunteered to go on a mission to America. Asbury grew up the son of a gardener and by the age of thirteen worked as an apprentice to a local metal worker outside of Birmingham, England. His familiarity with the lives of the working class "enabled him to forge a bond with American Methodists, most of whom came from the lower and middle ranks of society." Methodism in America saw significant growth under Asbury's leadership, "rising from a few hundred members in 1771 to more than 200,000 in 1816, the year of his death." As a "brilliant administrator," Asbury established one of the most important building blocks of this new religious society in America—a very elaborate and sophisticated version of John Wesley's itinerant preacher system that "worked better than it ever had in England." By 1812, this system employed "thousands of preachers and lay workers," and it organized traveling preachers into regional circuits of "200 to 600 miles in circumference." The circuits covered mostly rural areas in which the preachers, or circuit riders, continuously toured, preaching to congregations and parishes along the way. Asbury considered the system the best way to reach the most number of people, but some Methodists pushed back against the rigors of riding the circuits and some wanted permanent congregational appointments, especially in urban areas. George Fox and the early Quakers in England also relied on itinerant preaching by its members, which also came to America with them. Amanda Way would eventually travel and preach in this capacity. She was even

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and "a welcoming gift," for Christ. Hempton also explained that missions to Native Americans were less successful than the missions to African slaves due to the African Americans' ability "to adapt Methodism's oral and singing traditions to their own cultural traditions."

assigned a circuit from 1871-1880 when the Indiana Northern Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church licensed her to preach.[11]

In 1783, one year prior to the Methodist Episcopal Church's official organization in America, the "Holston circuit was formed," to attend those Methodists crossing the Ohio River from Kentucky and Tennessee into southern Indiana territories. From the east, settlers moved westward out of Ohio, and in 1784, the Redstone circuit formed to service that area of the Indiana territory. "Circuits were added endlessly in Methodist fashion. [And] all were on the visitation agenda and under the eye of Bishop Asbury." In 1800, the official establishment of the Indiana Territory opened up land for sale and settlers flooded in, including some very enthusiastic Methodists flying high on the spirit of revivalism that had just taken place at that year's General Conference in Baltimore. By 1805, Kentucky Methodists had settled just south of present day Richmond and some Carolina Methodists had settled near the present day city of Brookville, both along the Whitewater River. The official establishment of the Whitewater Circuit in 1806 included both Richmond and Brookville settlements. By then, the Way family and many other Quaker families had established settlements in the areas near Richmond and Winchester. Many of them had followed the same routes as their Methodist counterparts—Way from the southern route from the Carolinas, and Thomas from the Baltimore area via Ohio.[12]

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[11] John H. Wigger, "Francis Asbury and American Methodism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, edited by William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 51-57, summed up Asbury's "upbringing and early career," and discussed his methods for organizing and beginning new members and societies from Virginia to Georgia and South Carolina.

[12] Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths*, 13-15, discussed the various routes Methodist settlers used when they moved into the Indiana Territory. The author also noted that even though Asbury visited Indiana only once, in 1837, the Methodists in Indiana established the Indiana Asbury College, later to become Depauw University, near Greencastle, Indiana.

In 1832, the establishment and first official meeting of the Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in New Albany, Indiana, marked a significant milestone—they now had over 65 traveling preachers that served more than 20,000 members. According to Jack J. Detzler "the Methodists [had] already far surpassed the Baptists as the most numerous religious denomination in the state." By 1843, with rapid growth in membership and constant geographical expansion, the state divided into two conferences boasting "216 traveling preachers and 488 local preachers serving a Methodist membership of 67,219." The large number of Methodist members in 1860 forced the formation of two more conferences. Indiana's four conferences then consisted of the Indiana Conference, the North Indiana Conference, the Northwest Indiana Conference, and the Southeast Indiana Conference. While the number of preachers and members create an impressive picture of rapid growth, church attendance often doubled the official membership lists, meaning many more people attended services than were members.[13]

Keeping with Asbury's intent, the preachers and their circuits provided the foundation for the enthusiasm and revivalist atmosphere generated by Methodism. As populations grew and circuit sizes reduced, many areas felt the pinch of a shortage of preachers needed to cover more yet smaller circuits, just as the Wesley brothers

[13] Ibid., 14-16, covered the establishment of the state conference and its eventual divisions. The author also discussed the rapid increase in members and preachers in the state, especially after 1815. Detzler, *History of the Northwest Indiana Conference of the Methodist Church; 1852-1951*; Norwood, *History of the North Indiana Conference, 1917-1956; North Indiana Methodism in the Twentieth Century*; Rev. H. N. Herrick and William Warren Sweet, *A History of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church from its Organization, in 1844 to the Present*, (Indianapolis, Indiana; W.K. Stewart Company, 1917); Rev. F. C. Holiday, *Indiana Methodism: Being an account of the Introduction, Progress, and Present Position of Methodism in the State*, (Cincinnati, Ohio; Hitchcock and Walden, 1873), offered more information concerning the history of the various conferences established in Indiana. None of these sources, however, mention the ordination of any women.

experienced in England. Indiana Methodists did not experience this problem though, because "gifted and articulate young men kept receiving a 'call to preach.'" Little difficulty occurred in the procurement of a license from a local elder to exhort or preach locally, or even gain an invitation to travel for a short time and preach alongside an elder. A preacher, however, had to exhibit amazing gifts for oratory to achieve a full time traveling position or to be considered for the positions of deacon, bishop, or elder. To earn these titles "the preacher must have [had] 'rousement,'" must have been able to "produce shaking or moving" in their parishioners, or been able to "start a fire on ice." Way definitely experienced this 'call to preach,' as seen in her attendance at the county seminary in Winchester and the accounts of her own stirring sermons and lectures. Ways travels, at the behest of her "inner Light," which called her to speak, and the many reform movements she participated in, prepared her for her stint as a circuit rider for the North Indiana Conference.[14]

Asbury did have some regrets about his early religious work, especially his decision to have "reluctantly acquiesced to southern Methodists holding slaves . . . [which] haunted him for the last thirty years of his life." Both Wesley brothers opposed England's and America's slave trade, but as the southern population increased in numbers and wealth, it proved difficult for Asbury and other leaders to object. Just as the issue of slavery in America fractured the Society of Friends, it also caused the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church begin opposing one another over the issue. The "egalitarian spiritual message" of Methodism, however, made it "a form of popular

[14] Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths*, 16-17 discussed the Asbury circuit system and the early success of and morale of Methodist preachers. Also the author pointed out that the ability of young men who lacked formal education to become preachers at the most basic and local level with such ease represented the most democratic step before competing with other preachers for higher designations in the church.

religion that successfully attacked social, ecclesiastical, and professional elites," and by the "eve of the Civil War Methodism was the largest Protestant denomination in the United States." Margeret Hope Bacon's observation in *Mothers of Feminism* that many Quaker women left the Society of Friends for the Methodist Episcopal Church prior to the Civil War coalesces with the facts that it proved highly egalitarian like the Society of Friends, but had a larger and ever expanding network of like-minded individuals duty-bound by their faith to social holiness and concern for others, in particular, alongside ending the practice of slavery.[15]

After Way's address to the legislature and her licensing to preach by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1871, she moved her permanent residence to Kansas, but she continued to travel throughout Indiana, Ohio, and Kansas, preaching and lecturing for temperance and women's rights. In 1875, Way attended the National Women's Christian Temperance Union yearly convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, as a Kansas delegate. In 1880, The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church ruled that all local

[15] Wigger, "Francis Asbury and American Methodism," 51 and 55, showed the tensions created in early American Methodism by the presence of slavery and growing wealth. Most Methodists believed that material stuffs distracted from spiritual cares and the two most important focuses of love, God and neighbor, and to strive for Christian Perfection. Hempton, "The People Called Methodists," 72-73; Detzler, *History of the Northwest Indiana Conference*, 41-46, indicated that the members of this conference were "divided as to the desirable degree of aggressiveness to be taken in regard to the slavery question, [but] in principle, each member opposed slavery." Norwood, *History of the North Indiana Conference*, 30-31, stated that "All the Indiana Conferences stood strong for union, as they had previously stood strong against slavery," and the North Indiana Conference members actively took part in the "interdenominational Christian Commission for work with soldiers," as well and in 1866 formed and participated in The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Valentine Nicholson Collection, 1841-1915, Manuscript Collection, William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, the collection guide (available online or in the library), noted that "Nicholson of Ohio and Indiana was a member of the Society of Friends in his early life but withdrew from the faith because of his ardent abolitionist feelings." Nicholson went on to found a commune called the "Prairie Home Community" in Logan County, Ohio, and showed "interest in Spiritualism and participated in séances." So not all Friends who left over the issue of slavery found sanctuary among the Methodists, but this does reinforce the notion that the issue of slavery did push some Friends away from the Society.

licenses issued since 1869 were revoked and the church did not reverse this decision until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. This restriction of women's role in the Methodist Episcopal Church, interpreted by some historians as getting more in line with mainstream American cultural ideals, drove Way and Thomas back to the Quakers.[16]

Prior to the Civil War, Way and Thomas belonged to a large network of Quakers, abolitionists, temperance reformers, and women's rights advocates which allowed them to frame their arguments around each of these issues and appeal to more people as they traveled and lectured. With Quaker fractures over the issue of slavery, Way and Thomas found a home among the Methodist Episcopal Church members with similar egalitarian theology and their ardent activities in the areas of abolition and temperance reform. Their affiliation with this church not only expanded their ability to frame their pleas for social justice around the Methodist ideology of social holiness and perfection, but it also expanded their ability to network with like-minded reformists. After the Civil War, Way and Thomas focused returned to the issues of temperance and women's rights. As the tensions over slavery eased, both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Society of Friends began the process of repairing their relationships with fractured conferences and eventually reuniting splits on most levels—local, regional, and national. Way and

[16] *Winchester Journal*, "Miss Amanda Way has been licensed as a preacher," February 21, 1872; Ibid., "Miss Amanda Way occupied the pulpit," March 27, 1872; Way, *The Way Family*, 135-136; Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas: A History*, 250; documented her move to Kansas. Schmidt and Myers, "Methodist Women," 319-321, commented that "increasingly, Methodist women found their sphere of influence retracting. As part of a much larger phenomenon in the United States, women came to be seen as the protectors of the domestic world, moral values, and family religious life," just as society attempted to recover the role of women with through the ideals of the "Republican Motherhood," (the concept that women's responsibility was in the home raising good citizens, especially sons,) following the American Revolutionary War. This pattern indicates that each time a war called women out of the home in order to fill in for the men off to war, some paradigm shift had to take place upon the completion of the war to signal that women should return to their sphere of home and family.

Thomas then had two religious communities of reformers primed and ready to answer their call to action when they reconvened the Indiana Woman's Rights Association and renamed it the Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association.

CONCLUSION

Way and Thomas continued to organize reform groups and fight for equality until their deaths. Way attended the 1880 National Women's Suffrage Association (Stanton's and Anthony's branch) national conference in Chicago, Illinois. Way then moved to Idaho for a brief period, before she moved on to Oakland, then Whittier, California. In 1905 Way addressed the National American Women's Suffrage Association (the association that reconciled and brought the two branches back together) national conference in Portland, Oregon. The 1910 U.S. Census recorded Way, age eighty-one, living in Los Angeles, California, at a household (possibly some sort of group home for the elderly) with twenty-one other members, most elderly, and listed as "inmate" in relation to the head of household. The death of Way on February 24, 1914, drew wide coverage by newspapers and journals from the Pacific to the Atlantic.[1]

Thomas lectured around the state and country for women's rights and she continued to help the poor and sick, but she also worked with professional medical associations. She applied twice for membership in the Wayne County Medical Society and the society twice rejected her membership because of her sex. In 1875, under the threat from her husband, Owen, that he would not continue his membership if the society

[1] *Pacific Friend*, "Obituary," 14-15; Way, *The Way Family*, 135-136; Philips, *Notable American Women*; all provided details of Way's life after Kansas. The obituaries printed in Kansas newspapers cited in the bibliography, even though they incorrectly used the name "Amanda J. Way," offered more information concerning her work in Kansas, also see, Austin, *Temperance Leaders of America*, 20; Cherrington, *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 2811. 1880 US Census: *Lawrence, Douglas, Kansas*; recorded Way lived with Thursey Way as head-of-household (James had died) and her children. No record exists of Way in 1890, but the 1900 US Census: *Boise Ward 1, Ada, Idaho*; showed her living with Arthur P. Way, her nephew, as head-of-household, along with his mother, Thursey, 73, and sister, Emma R.,23. 1910 US Census: *Los Angeles District 74, Los Angeles, California*; recorded Way, 81, lived with 21 other people, 11 older than 60.

did not accept his wife as a member, she finally gained membership as the first woman physician admitted into that medical society. The following year Thomas also broke the gender barrier for the Indiana Medical Society, and regularly attended those meetings for many years. In 1877 she represented both the Wayne County Medical Society and the Indiana Medical Society at the yearly meeting of the American Medical Association and established herself as one of the first women physicians to do so. Ten years later, in 1887, a year before her death, the Wayne County Medical Society elected Thomas as president.[2]

Her medical ambitions and successes built her credibility in her community and strengthened her ability to lead and agitate for the causes of the Indiana Women's Suffrage Association (IWSA). Altogether, over the first thirty-four years of the association, Thomas served as president eight times, vice president nine times, and secretary five times. She broke a gender barrier when she addressed the Indiana state legislature in 1856, but she continued pushing the legislatures by going back with Way in 1871 and again addressed the body herself in 1877 and 1879. Thomas also took up leadership roles at the national level in the American Woman's Suffrage Association (Stone's branch), serving as president for the first time in 1880 and again in 1882 and 1885 before she resigned due to her deteriorating health. Thomas passed away on August 19, 1888, from the complications of dysentery. According to Heald, "one of her last conscious utterances was, 'Tell Lucy Stone, the principles we have advocated are right, and I know it.'" Thomas was initially entombed at the cemetery on the grounds of

[2] Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450-451; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 372-373; Bonsett, *Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association*, 270; Waite, "The Three Myers Sisters," 119; Beach, "Women's Movement Began Before Civil War in This Area," p.62, col.2.

Quaker-based Earlham College in Richmond, but Pauline Heald later returned to Indiana from her new residence in Hartford, Michigan, to retrieve her mother's remains and have them relocated to a cemetery near her. Heald also retrieved her father, Owen, and took him to Hartford where they comforted each other while mourning the loss and Heald took care of him in his old age. Owen perished on June 17, 1894.[3]

Thomas encountered a lot of resistance from those who labeled her "strong-minded" and those in the medical profession who did not allow her to join their association or consider her a real doctor based on her sex. By the time of her death, however, Thomas had changed the hearts and minds of many of her skeptics and critics, and eventually gained the respect and admiration of her community in Richmond, the state of Indiana, and even people throughout the country. In her hometown of Richmond, *The Evening Item* called Thomas "a true and noble woman," stating that she "was capable of great heroism . . . [and] by nature she was kind and benevolent," and in *The Richmond Telegram* they honored Thomas through a list of resolutions that resembled the format of the resolutions adopted by the IWSA, "*Resolved*, That by her death we are deprived of . . . her quick perception of the truth, which she saw in advance of others." Thomas had brought a certain level of respect and dignity to the movements she promoted, especially the women's rights movement.[4]

On a national level, the *Woman's Journal*, based in Boston, called Thomas "the 'Mother of Women,'" and stated "as the mother toils, endures, and sacrifices for her

[3] Indiana Women's Suffrage Association Record Book (IWSARB), 1851-1885; Philips, *Notable American Women*, 450-451; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 372-373; *Indiana Deaths, 1882-1920*, "Mary F. Thomas," August 19, 1888; Richmond, Indiana; *Michigan, Deaths and Burials Index, 1867-1995*, "Owen Thomas," June 17, 1894; Hartford, Van Buren, Michigan.
[4] "Dr. Mary F. Thomas Obituary," *The Evening Item*, p.1; "In Honor of Mary F. Thomas," *The Richmond Telegram*, (Richmond, Indiana, August 30, 1888), p.5, col.1.

children, especially for the child less able to help itself, so she toiled, endured, and sacrificed for humanity, especially for women," showing that they viewed Thomas' works as a nurturing role for all of society. Finally, in 1980, the *Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association* acknowledged Thomas's contributions to the medical profession in Indiana. The journal stated that in the beginning of her career she "was harassed by some of the male members" of the medical association but that by the end of her life and career "she was well liked by all and revered by some." Heald echoed this sentiment and stated that her mother overcame the prejudices of her early days and that "any doctor in that part of the state was glad to counsel with her," illustrating the great gains Thomas forced on that profession by persevering and committing herself to the highest level of medical care and professionalism.[5]

The lives of Way and Thomas offer a case study for understanding the unique role their Quaker heritage played in their ability to lead and organize reform movements in early Indiana, especially the Indiana women's rights movement. Way witnessed several fractures in the Indiana Yearly Meeting over the course of her life. Her great uncle, Henry H. Way, facilitated one of the most divisive separations in the society and led its most progressive or reform minded branch, the Anti-Slavery Indiana Yearly Meeting. As a child of Samuel Myers, one of the founding Quaker abolitionists, Thomas learned at an early age the disparities that existed in her country. Both families instilled in their daughters a yearning for a society built on the Quaker model that all humans carried the same capacity for learning and deserved the same rights to participate in the governance of that society. Both women's determination to travel and publicly lecture (especially

[5] "The Mother of Women," *The Woman's Journal* (Boston, Massachusetts, September 29, 1888), 307-308; Bonsett, *Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association*, 270; Heald, "Mary F. Thomas, M.D., Richmond, IND.," 374.

Way's) for reforms also originated from their Quaker customs. Finally, their skills to network, organize, call, record, and preside over meetings, derived from the disciplined structure and organization of the Society of Friends.

Way and Thomas experienced numerous political opportunities throughout their lives, which contributed to their successes and sustained fight for equality. A couple of those opportunities came early in life with Way's completion of seminary school and the success of her own business and Thomas's ability to enter and complete her medical training in a profession relegated mostly to men. Both women always took advantage of any political opportunities available to them to further their cause. They gained more opportunities when both served in official capacities for the Indiana Woman's Rights Association. The deliveries of the IWRA and the IWSA petitions to the Indiana Legislature, both heard by a joint session of both houses, marked considerable opportunities where the polity at least acknowledged the grievances of the women.

Way and Thomas also had the perfect connections for resource mobilization at their disposal. The most influential and obvious was with their reform-minded Hicksite Friends, which led both to early activities and associations in the anti-slavery movement. These connections to abolitionist Friends gave Way and Thomas intimate connections with other reform minded women. Way called for the first women's rights convention in Indiana while attending an anti-slavery meeting. Thomas's call to fight for women's rights came while listening to Lucretia Mott lecture on the subject at an anti-slavery meeting in Ohio. Both women continued putting their Quaker heritage to use and organized for temperance as well, locally and nationally. The network of support these organization members provided for each other proved invaluable as they traveled and

organized. Immersed in all three movements, Way and Thomas had a vast network of women and men to support them in their efforts.

Finally, their Quaker heritage and beliefs supplied them with the ideological framework to justify their arguments for equality. Way's and Thomas's understanding of human equality as espoused in Quaker theology allowed them to frame their activism through the lens of God's laws as a means to best correct social deficiencies. The argument fit the framework of society's understanding women's place as mothers and the moral and religious educator/compass, except it moved their responsibilities from the household to include the local community and even the state and the nation. Way and Thomas fulfilled all of these roles to their greatest ability. Both saw to it that their families were provided for at home while working tirelessly to elevate the agency of women and provide for the poor and downtrodden. They pushed the societal boundaries of women's roles as mothers and citizens.

Way's and Thomas's lives and accomplishments reveal the importance of their birthrights as members of the Religious Society of Friends as the foundation for their actions and successes. Their involvement in and their push for women's rights stemmed directly from the Quaker ideals of equality and, as in the case of Indiana, were formed in the context of Quaker communities and Quaker meetings. They gained important skills while growing up in very socially active and reform-minded Quaker families. Those skills included courage, self-determination, and self-confidence, but also how to organize, hold, and keep records of meetings in order to set, follow-up on, and attain goals.

In conclusion, the cases of Way and Thomas support Bacon's assertion that the Society of Friends prepared women for leadership roles and also show that McCammon's

three constructs—political opportunity, resource mobilization, and ideological framing—were the means by which Quaker women played a very important part in the formation and persistence of the women's rights movement in Indiana. The leadership roles they took up in the women's rights movement reflect the beliefs and the disciplined structure of the Society of Friends. Way's and Thomas's educational opportunities and life experiences in a community of reformers provided them with the knowledge and strong convictions needed to become some of the earliest, politically active women in Indiana. Way and Thomas found refuge in the Methodist Episcopal Church during a time of moral turmoil for many Quaker communities before the Civil War, but both, like many other Quaker men and women, went back to the Religious Society of Friends after the Methodist Church placed limits on women's rights to speak. These associations, along with Thomas' brief experiment with the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, influenced their lives and consequently Way's and Thomas's involvement in the women's rights movement in Indiana and across the nation.

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1830 U.S. Census: *Winchester, Randolph, Indiana*, Page: 22; NARA Roll: M19-29; Family History Film: 0007718. 1840 U.S. Census: *White River, Randolph, Indiana*; Roll: 92; Page: 7; Image: 18; Family History Library Film: 0007729. 1850 U.S. Census: *Winchester, Randolph, Indiana*; Roll: M432_168; Page: 87A; Image: 176. 1860 U.S. Census: *White River, Randolph, Indiana*; Roll: M653_292; Page: 858; Image: 330; Family History Library Film: 803292. 1870 U.S. Census: *Indianapolis Ward 6 (2nd Enum), Marion, Indiana*; Roll: M593_339; Page: 392B; Image: 214; Family History Library Film: 545838. Graden, Debra (ed.) *Kansas Settlers, 1854-1879* [database online]. (Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 1999.) Original Data: Gleed, Charles S. (ed.) *Kansas Memorial, A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting Held at Bismark Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879*. (Kansas City, MO, USA: 1879.) 1880 U.S. Census: *Lawrence, Douglas, Kansas*; Roll: 380; Family History Film: 1254380; Page: 83B; Enumeration District: 67; Image: 0168. 1900 U.S. Census: *Boise Ward 1, Ada, Idaho*; Roll: T623_231; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 1. 1910 U.S. Census: *Los Angeles District 74, Los Angeles, California*; Roll: T624_83; Page: 15B; Enumeration District: 0048; Image: 515; FHL Number: 1374096. (All of the above Census records were accessed via Ancestry.com by the Indiana Historical Bureau (hereafter, IHB) for their Historic Marker file concerning Amanda M. Way. I was granted access to the IHB file on 10/7/2011.)

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Roberts, Beth. “Dr. Mary E. Walker and Dr. Mary F. Thomas: Women, Physicians, Rebels?” IUPUI Undergraduate, Unpublished research paper, December 13, 2012. (Roberts gave me a copy of her work on December 13, 2011).

CURRICULUM VITAE

ERIC L. HAMILTON

EDUCATION

Indiana University at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis
M.A. History, U.S. **2013**
Thesis: "The Role of Quakerism in the Indiana Women's Suffrage Movement, 1851-1885: Towards a More Perfect Freedom For All"

Indiana University at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis
B.A. Religious Studies **2010**
Area of Concentration: U.S. Religious History
Capstone Project: "Gender and Religion in Spain and New Spain Catholic Art"

AWARDS

Mary F. Chrisler Scholarship, $3,000, IUPUI – Project with Dr. Johnny Flynn on Native American Religion. **August 2008 – May 2009**

RELATED EXPERIENCE

IUPUI, School of Liberal Arts, Department of History
Part time Office Assistant **August 2011 – Current**
Assist office administrator, professors and students with various tasks.

IUPUI, School of Liberal Arts, Department of History
Teaching Assistant **August 2012 – May 2013**
Provide as needed assistance to lead lectures, grade assignments and exams, maintain course website, and organize and lead study sessions.

IUPUI, School of Liberal Arts, Polis Center
Research Assistant and Assistant to the Directors **January 2012 – July 2012**
Compile data and hospitality arrangements for the hosting of a National Endowment for the Humanities Advanced Summer Institute on Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives in the Digital Humanities.

IUPUI, School of Liberal Arts, Department of Religious Studies
Research Assistant and Assistant to the Directors **May 2010 – August 2010**
Compile data and hospitality arrangements for the hosting of a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute on The Many and the One: Religion, Pluralism, and American History.

IUPUI, School of Liberal Arts, Department of Religious Studies
Independent Study with Dr. Kelly Hayes **January 2010 – May 2010**
Compile a reading list and syllabus for a new course on religion and healing with a focus on marginalized religions and the role of women.

IUPUI, School of Liberal Arts, Department of Religious Studies
Independent Study with Dr. Rachel Wheeler **January 2009 – May 2009**
Review and update a reading list and syllabus for an old course on the history of religion and the environment in the United States.

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

October 2012: Indiana Woman's Bar Association, Indianapolis, IN; "The Role of Religious and Legal Language in the Indiana Women's Suffrage Movement, 1851-1855"

March 2013: Indiana Association of Historians Annual Conference, Indianapolis, IN; "The Role of Quakerism in the Indiana Women's Suffrage Movement, 1851-1885"

March 2013: Indiana University Paul Lucas Conference, Bloomington, IN; "The Role of Quakerism in the Indiana Women's Suffrage Movement, 1851-1885"

PROJECTS IN PROGRESS

"The Role of Quakerism in the Indiana Women's Suffrage Movement, 1851-1885," for *Ohio Valley History* and The Filson Historical Society.

"Centennial Celebration: The Progressive Spiritualist Church of Indianapolis," will serve as a congregational and institutional history of the The Progressive Spiritualist Chuch, who marks their one hundred year anniversary of establishment in Indinapolis in October, 2013.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Society of Church History; since 2011
Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture; since 2010
Indiana Association of Historians; since 2013