

CONSTITUTION

AND

BY-LAWS

OF THE

California State Woman's Suffrage

Educational Association.

---

INCORPORATED.

---

BACON PRINTING COMPANY, S. F.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
*California State Woman's Suffrage  
Educational Association.*

---

*CONSTITUTION.*

---

ARTICLE I. NAME.

SEC. 1. This incorporation shall be known as the California State Woman's Suffrage Educational Association, Auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTS.

The objects of this Association are to procure for the Women of California the Elective Franchise, together with all the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and the State of California to its male citizens, and to assist and encourage its members in the study of Political Economy and the Science of Government.

## ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP.

SEC. 1. All citizens of the United States subscribing to this Constitution, and paying not less than one dollar annually into the treasury of this Association, shall become members thereof, and shall be entitled to attend all its meetings, to participate in all discussions that may arise, and to receive reports and other documents published by it.

SEC. 2. The payment of twenty-five (\$25) dollars into the treasury shall constitute any citizen of the United States a Life Member of the Association, with all the privileges belonging to the regular annual members.

## ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. The officers of this Association shall be a President, three (3) Vice-Presidents-at-Large, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer and two Auditors. The officers named in this Section, shall be nominated by an informal ballot at a session of the Annual Convention of the Association. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for any office shall be considered the nominees of the Convention for that office, and the will of the Association shall be taken by a formal ballot.

SEC. 2. Presidents of all County Associations, auxiliary to the State Association, shall be Vice-Presidents of the State Organization.

SEC. 3. The Presidents of County Associations who, according to Section 2, Article 4, will be Vice-Presidents of the State Association, shall, with the Business Committee, form the Executive Board, nine (9) of whom shall be a quorum.

## ARTICLE V. MEETINGS.

The Annual Conventions of this Association shall be held where the Executive Board may decide, beginning on the first Tuesday in October, 1896, and lasting two days.

## ARTICLE VI. AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of members present at any Annual Meeting; after one day's notice in the Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the Business Committee, and by them published not less than three (3) weeks in advance in one of the San Francisco daily newspapers.

---

*BY-LAWS.*

## ARTICLE I.

SEC. I. For the accomplishment of the object specified in Article II of its Constitution, this Association shall seek to concentrate the efforts of all the advocates of Woman Suffrage in the State, by the following methods: (1) It shall hold annually one meeting of delegates, according to the basis of representation in counties, as per By-Law II, for the transaction of business, the election of officers and the advocacy of its principles; and it may hold one or more other conventions annually for the advocacy of its principles. (2) It shall form County Auxiliaries, and help to form local societies, which shall in turn be auxiliary to the county. It shall distribute suffrage literature; it shall prepare and circulate petitions to the State Legislature on behalf of the civil and political equality of women, and take such other measures

for the promotion of Woman Suffrage as the Executive Committee shall determine upon, subject always to the will of the Association.

#### BY-LAW II. BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

SEC. 1. Any County Woman Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the State Association by paying annually into its treasury twenty-five (25) cents per member of the County Society and its paid up auxiliaries.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of each auxiliary Association to send to the Treasurer of the State Association before Oct. 1st of each year, a list of its paid up members with their post-office addresses, certified to by their Recording Secretary.

SEC. 3. Every County Auxiliary Association shall be entitled to send three (3) delegates to the Annual State Convention, and one additional delegate for every twenty five (25) members of the County Societies and of its paid up Auxiliaries.

SEC. 4. All officers of this Association shall be ex-officio delegates-at-large, and shall be entitled to vote at all its business meetings.

#### BY-LAW III. CREDENTIALS.

All delegates-at-large specified in Sec. 4, By-Law II, must present credentials properly signed by the President and Recording Secretary of the organization represented.

#### BY-LAW IV. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee of this Association shall hold one (1) session preceding the opening of each Annual Con-

vention, and another immediately after adjournment of such Convention ; and the Committee having in charge arrangements for the Annual Convention shall always take cognizance of such meetings of the Executive Committee and make provision for them.

#### BY-LAW V. ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

In the Election of Officers, the delegates present from each County shall cast the full vote to which the organization represented by them is entitled. The vote shall be taken in the same way upon any other question whenever the delegates present from five (5) Counties concur in asking for it. In other cases each delegate shall have one (1) vote.

#### BY-LAW VI. RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of one (1) person from each county, elected by the delegation from the organization represented.

#### BY-LAW VII. COMMITTEES.

After each Annual Convention the Business Committee shall elect the following standing Committees : a Committee on Petitions, a Committee on Program, to consist of five (5) persons, one from each section of the State, of which the President shall be Chairman, to arrange the program for the next annual meeting, and Committees on Legislative Work, Press Work, Printing, Local Arrangements and Railroad Rates.

## BY-LAWS. VIII.

SEC. 1. The general officers named in Art. 4, Sec. 1, of the Constitution, viz: the President, three Vice-Presidents-at-Large, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer and two Auditors shall constitute a Business Committee or Board of Directors, to provide for and control the general interests of the work in the interim of the annual meetings, and to perform all other business not otherwise assigned.

Of these, five shall constitute a quorum when assembled, after due notice, or a majority may act by correspondence in response to a circular letter addressed to every member of the Business Committee, not less than ten days beforehand, by the President.

SEC. 2. The President may call special meetings of the Business Committee, when deemed necessary, or in response to the written request of any three members of the Business Committee, and shall perform all other duties usual to such office.

SEC. 3. The Vice-Presidents-at-Large in order of proceedings, shall perform all duties of the President in case of the President's absence or disability.

SEC. 4. The Recording Secretary shall attend all business meetings of the Association and the meetings of the Executive and Business Committees, and shall keep a correct record of the proceedings of the same, and perform all other duties usually pertaining to such office.

SEC. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all correspondence of the organization, and perform all duties usual to such office; and shall also send to the Secretary of each auxiliary association notice to prepare a report of work done by said auxiliary, blanks for credentials of delegates to

the annual meeting to which said auxiliary is entitled, and a notice of the necessity that said auxiliary shall send dues and list of names and addresses of members to the Treasurer of this Association.

SEC. 6. The Treasurer shall keep accurate accounts of all receipts and disbursements of money, and shall present a detailed report thereof to each annual meeting, to be afterward published, and shall pay no bill except on an order signed by the President and Recording Secretary; and at the annual meeting shall give to the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials the whole number of delegates to which each auxiliary is entitled, according to the number of members and amount of dues paid; and shall perform all other duties usually pertaining to this office.

SEC. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and shall give a report thereof at each annual meeting.

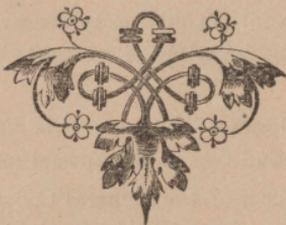
SEC. 8. The General Officers of this Association shall be elected on the second day of the annual meeting.

SEC. 9. The term of the General Officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the (annual) Convention proper, and the term of the newly-elected officers shall commence with the session of the Executive Committee, held after the conclusion of the Convention, provided for by By-Law IV.

SEC. 10. The Business Committee shall fill any vacancy that may occur in itself during the interim of annual meetings.

SEC. 11. In case of the absence from the Annual Convention of this Association of a County President, the delegation from that county may elect a proxy to represent the absentee on the Executive Board during the Convention.

SEC. 12. The Annual Report prepared by the Secretary of each County Association, and approved by the President of that Association must be read as written, and any alterations must be made from the floor in open convention.



72/112 Box 1, Folder: Harland, Hester; Lucy Stone

# PROGRESS

VOLUME VI.

JUNE.

NUMBER 1.

## Political Science Study Series.

Published Quarterly at 2008 American Tract Society Building, New York.

BY THE

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Price, \$1.45 per year.

Entered at Post Office, New York, as second class mail matter.

### WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

Sixty-two years ago, women could not vote anywhere. The idea of suffrage was new, and, like every other new and untried proposition, was received, whenever mentioned, with ridicule and bitter denunciation. But, like every new idea founded upon common sense and right, it has gradually made its way into popular acceptance, until in 1900 women enjoy some form of suffrage in nearly every civilized country in the world. In four States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—women vote upon terms of perfect equality with men; while in all the forty-eight States and Territories of the Union, except fifteen, some form of suffrage has been extended to them. In England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales women vote for all officers except members of Parliament, while varying degrees of suffrage are enjoyed by the women of almost all the English Colonies. In South and West Australia, in New Zealand and the Isle of Man women vote upon equal terms with men. In all European countries, except Greece, Spain, Portugal, Holland and some German provinces, women have some form of suffrage. Even Asia has responded to the appeal, and women possess a limited suffrage in all Russian provinces, and in the English colonies of India. Verily, the new idea has traveled around the world.

### PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

In 1838 Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows. In 1850 Ontario gave it to women both married and single. In 1861 Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867 New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869 England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows, Victoria gave it to women both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women. In 1871 West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont. In 1880 South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.

In 1881 municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883, Ontario and Tasmania gave them municipal suffrage in 1884, and Wisconsin gave them school suffrage in 1885. In 1886 municipal suffrage was given in

New Zealand and New Brunswick, and school suffrage in the State of Washington.

In 1887 municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave taxpaying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In 1888 England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889 county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891 school suffrage was granted in Illinois. In 1893 school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894 school suffrage was granted in Ohio, a limited municipal suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women both married and single. In 1895 full suffrage was granted in South Australia to women both married and single. In 1896 full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898 the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all officers except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; French women engaged in commerce were given the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce, and Louisiana gave taxpaying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1900 West Australia granted full Parliamentary suffrage to women both married and single.

### GROWING IN UNITED STATES.

There are now five States in which a woman suffrage amendment has been twice submitted to the voters, at intervals of some years. In every case the result has been more favorable the second time than the first. It was submitted in Colorado in 1877 and defeated; it was submitted again in 1893 and carried. In Kansas, when submitted the first time, it received 9,100 votes; when submitted the second time, it received 95,302. In the State of Washington, in 1889, the adverse majority was 19,386; in 1898, it dropped to 9,882. In South Dakota, in 1890, woman suffrage was defeated by a majority of 23,610; in 1898, by a majority of only 3,285. In Oregon, the vote on the suffrage amendment in 1884 stood 28,176 nays to 11,223 yeas; in 1900, it stood 28,298 nays to 26,265 yeas. In 1884, only one of the 33 counties of Oregon gave a majority for suffrage. In 1900, 21 counties gave a majority for it, another county was a tie, another went no by one vote, and still another by three votes. The progress of woman suffrage has been aptly compared to a series of wrestling bouts between an old man and a growing boy. The man can throw the boy as yet, but it is only a question of time when the case will be reversed.

### GROWING IN ENGLAND.

It is claimed that woman suffrage "is not making headway in England." The first petition for woman suffrage presented to Parliament, in 1867, was signed by only 1,499 women. The petition of 1873 was signed by 11,000 women. The petition presented to the members of the last Parliament was signed by 257,000 women.

### DO WOMEN KNOW ENOUGH TO VOTE?

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker has published a recent leaflet upon this question. In it she shows the great extent to which women are already being educated in parliamentary rules and the conduct of affairs by their many societies and organizations. She says:

Carroll D. Wright, in his late statistical report upon "Women's Clubs and Societies," has this to say of the number and variety of benevolent societies established and conducted by women:

"Many secret benevolent organizations, more or less after the pattern of Masonry, have been formed, chiefly by American women, and, to a lesser degree, by Jewish women. Mutual benefit unions have been founded by Germans, Americans, English, Scandinavians, and Hebrews. Irish women have established house visiting, sick visiting, and beneficent societies. All nationalities have joined forces in forming women's auxiliaries to hospitals, asylums, refuges, and sanitariums. The training of girls to be servants, and the education of servants, have called many clubs into existence. Societies in aid of schools and poor scholars are another prominent feature. One of them, the Vassar Students' Aid, has nearly 3,000 members. Free kindergartens and day nurseries have been endowed and conducted by special societies formed for the purpose. Another phase of philanthropy is represented by boys' reading rooms, college settlements, nurses' settlements, and homes for unemployed girls. The number of these new institutions is surprising. It is said that at the present rate of progress, one-third of the women of New York will be organized within the next five years into societies whose aim is the betterment of the individual and the community."

Add to this the number of women now studying the higher branches (including always political economy) in our high schools, normal schools, and colleges, many of whom will become teachers in our public schools. On this point we have the testimony of no less a person than Prof. Harris, National Commissioner of Education at Washington. On my writing to him, in 1898, for accurate information as to the number of women compared with men who are now students at these institutions, he wrote me as follows:

"I find, on making the actual calculation, that the women in secondary and

higher education, added together, number 287,162, and the men number 235,296, equal to 54.9 per cent. of the former, and 45.1 per cent. of the latter. This, you see, is almost exactly 55 per cent. women to 45 per cent. men for the entire education higher than the elementary schools."

And President Capen, of Tufts College, said in a recent address: "Our colleges have doubled in numbers within ten years, and the number of women who are getting ready for college is astonishing. When all the women now preparing for college are educated and begin studying the social questions of the time, what may we not hope for in the solution of the difficulties that now confront us?"

### ARE WOMEN GOOD ENOUGH TO VOTE?

A prominent Episcopal Bishop lately objected to equal suffrage on the ground that "to the vote of every criminal man you would add the vote of a criminal woman." Instead of doubling the criminal and undesirable vote, woman suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the criminal and disreputable vote very little. This is a matter not of speculation, but of statistics.

The United States Census of 1890 gives interesting statistics of the relative number of men and women in the State prisons of the different States. Omitting fractions, they are as follows:

In the District of Columbia, women constitute 17 per cent. of the prisoners; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 14 per cent.; in New York, 13; in Louisiana, 12; in Virginia, 11; in New Jersey, 10; in Pennsylvania and Maryland, 9; in Connecticut, 8; in Alabama, New Hampshire, Ohio and South Carolina, 7; in Florida, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico and Tennessee, 6; in Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina and West Virginia, 5; in Arkansas and Delaware, 4; in California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Texas and Vermont, 3; in Colorado, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska and Utah, 2; in Arizona, Kansas, Nevada and South Dakota, 1; in Washington, four-fifths of one per cent.; in Oregon and Wisconsin, two-fifths of one per cent.; in Wyoming and Idaho, none.

Somebody says few women would vote if enfranchised. Well, it often happens in an election that more than half the men refuse to vote. But if one man or woman wants to exercise the right to vote, what earthly reason is there for denying it because other men and women do not wish to exercise it? If I desire to breathe the fresh air of heaven, shall I not cross my threshold because the rest of the family group prefer the stale atmosphere indoors? —Secretary of the Navy John D. Long.

The assertion that when a majority of women ask for equal political rights they will be granted, is a confession that there is no conclusive reason against their sharing them. And, if that be so, how can their admission rightfully depend upon the majority? Why should the woman who does not care to vote prevent the voting of her neighbor who does? Why should a hundred girls who are content to be dolls, and do what Mrs. Grundy expects, prejudice the choice of a single one who wishes to be a woman, and do what her conscience requires?—George William Curtis.

#### WOMEN DO NOT WANT TO VOTE.

It is often said that whenever the majority of women ask for suffrage they will get it. Although, in the early days of our government, the suffrage was restricted to a comparatively small body of men, and every decade since has witnessed its extension to some new class of men, until man suffrage is almost universal, yet, curiously enough, the only "Man Suffrage Association" ever formed is of recent origin. It had its unique existence in Massachusetts, and did not come, as might be supposed, to advocate the cause of some disfranchised class of men, but to oppose the further extension of suffrage to women. We have no historical record of the majority of any class of disfranchised American men asking for the ballot. Women who are indifferent to the suffrage are so in response to that natural instinct, which is universal, to uphold any established custom, and to fear any untried proposition. Their attitude is only a phase of the same world-wide conservatism which leads a majority of the men of the world to submit to monarchical governments often painfully oppressive. It does not follow, however, that women will not vote when enfranchised. The testimony is overwhelming from every State, province and country where women are voters that they vote as generally as men; and after voting learn to want to vote, exactly as men have learned to value the ballot themselves after a trial of it.

#### WOMEN CANNOT BEAR ARMS.

In our own country suffrage has at different times been conditioned upon property, intelligence, moral character, in some cases even upon religious opinions and church membership, but never on the ability to bear arms.

If no one were allowed to help choose the law-makers except those who can help to enforce the laws, women could not complain of being ruled out along with other non-combatants. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to vote, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight.

It is sometimes objected that even men exempt from military service may be called upon to help in putting down a riot. Some men exempt from military service may be called upon, but not all. There is no such liability for a blind man or a cripple, yet they can vote. Moreover, such calls are altogether exceptional. Not one voter in a thousand is ever called upon to help in putting down a riot. In all ordinary cases the enforcement of the civil law is done by

the police, and women contribute to it in exactly the same way that the majority of the men do—i.e., they help to pay for it. No man is compelled to serve in the police, but out of those who volunteer a sufficient number are hired, and they are paid with tax money that is levied equally upon the property of men and women.

It may be said that we have to legislate for classes, not for individual exceptions, and that men as a class can fight, while women as a class cannot. But there are large classes of men who are regarded as unable to fight, and are legally exempt from military service, and who are nevertheless allowed to vote. All men over forty-five years of age are exempt from military service. So are all who are not physically robust. The United States military statistics, taken at the time of our civil war, showed that a large majority of the doctors, lawyers, ministers and editors examined for military service were found to be physically disqualified. Of unskilled laborers, on the other hand, only a very small fraction were found disqualified. Since professional men as a class cannot fight, while unskilled laborers can, does it not follow that suffrage should be taken away from professional men, and be limited to unskilled laborers?

Besides, it is not true that we do not legislate for exceptions. Men as a class are of sound mind; men as a class are unconvicted of crime; men as a class are able to read and write. But when a man is an exception, in anything that is regarded as essential to suffrage, he is treated as an exception, and is forbidden to vote.

Either the ability to fight is a necessary qualification for suffrage, or it is not. If it is, the men who lack it ought to be excluded. If it is not, the lack of it is no reason for excluding women. There is no escape from this conclusion.

#### WYOMING.

The women of Wyoming were enfranchised by an act of the Legislature in 1869, and since that date have voted in all elections on equal terms with men. In 1890, when Wyoming became a State, woman suffrage was incorporated in the constitution. Women have therefore been voting in that State for thirty-one years.

The census of 1890 developed the fact that the population of the United States increased in the preceding decade 24.6 per cent.; that of Wyoming increased 127.9 per cent. The number of criminals in the whole United States increased 40.3 per cent.; in Wyoming the per cent. of criminality decreased. The number of criminals reported in 1890 was exactly the same as in 1880, although the population had more than doubled. Wyoming was the only State in which the per cent. of criminal women decreased. The fear that voting will increase criminality in women is contradicted by the experience of the State where the longest experiment has been made.

In 1893 the Wyoming House of Representatives passed unanimously the following Concurrent Resolution:

"Be it resolved by the Second Legislature of the State of Wyoming:

"That the exercise of suffrage by the women in Wyoming for the last quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has

done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice from this State, and that without any violent or oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order; and we point with pride to the fact that after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage not one county in Wyoming has a poor-house, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the State, almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community to enfranchise its women without delay."

Wyoming has had nine Governors since women were enfranchised, and each has given his unqualified endorsement of woman suffrage, and declared it a benefit to the State. Governors of Territories are appointed by the President, so that from 1869 to 1890, a period of twenty-one years, the Governors of Wyoming were in no sense dependent upon the voters of the Territory for their positions. Their commendation cannot be construed into flattery of constituents; but is, instead, the testimony of honest men convinced of the advantages of woman suffrage by their observation of the actual experiment. All concur in substance with Hon. John W. Hoyt, who served as Governor from 1879 to 1884. In his official territorial report in 1882, he said of woman suffrage:

"Elsewhere objectors persist in calling this honorable statute of ours 'an experiment.' We know it is not. Under it we have better laws, better officers, better institutions, better morals and higher social conditions in general. None of the predicted evils, such as loss of native delicacy and disturbance of home relations, has followed in its train. The great body of our women, and the best of them, have accepted the elective franchise as a precious boon, and exercise it as a patriotic duty. In a word, after twelve years of happy experience, woman suffrage is so thoroughly rooted and established in the minds and hearts of this people that, among them all, no voice is ever uplifted in protest against it."

#### COLORADO.

In November, 1893, the electors of Colorado by 6,000 majority extended the suffrage to the women of the State.

On January 31st, 1899, the Colorado Legislature followed the example of Wyoming, and recommended woman suffrage by the following concurrent resolution, which was passed with only three dissenting votes in the House and one in the Senate:

"Whereas, Equal suffrage has been in operation in Colorado for five years, during which time women have exercised the privilege as generally as men, with the result that better candidates have been selected for office, methods of election have been purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased, and womanhood developed to greater usefulness by political responsibility; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that, in view of these results, the enfranchisement of women in every State and Territory of the American Union is hereby recommended as a measure tending to the advancement of a

higher and better social order; that an authenticated copy of these resolutions be furnished by the Governor of the State to the Legislature of every State and Territory, and that the press be requested to call public attention to these resolutions."

#### OPEN LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF COLORADO.

Woman suffrage has passed its experimental stage in Colorado, and the public verdict is one of approval. Only those who expected a moral transformation from its adoption have been disappointed. Those of us who believed that women should assume their proportion of public responsibility, and secure as individuals the benefits of a broader citizenship, and that, through the suffrage, the general standard of womanhood would be uplifted, have reason to feel that our opinions have been sustained by the experiences of the past four years.

Women are prone to regard the possession of the franchise as a serious public trust, and they vote for the most part from a sense of duty. To perform this duty properly they seek to inform themselves concerning public questions, and in doing this they naturally extend their inquiries into other fields of knowledge. Their clubs are devoted to discussion and criticism, to the mastery of parliamentary rules and other details of procedure, which are only more natural to men because the latter have had more need to know them. Our women are consequently making mental progress; enlarging the horizon of their information, and demonstrating the truth of Wendell Phillips's reflection that they have been superficial in their mental acquirements only when their environment made it unnecessary for them to be anything else. I think it safe to say that the women of Colorado, now five years on their way of suffrage, are as well posted and as capable of voting intelligently upon current political and industrial problems as any other class of voters in the United States; and that their sense of duty involved in the proper discharge of their political rights, is higher than that of the average male voter.

Nor has the Colorado woman lost any of her feminine graces or charms through her performance of public duty. The home circle, the vocations of wife, mother and daughter, are unimpaired. The ghost of woman's degradation through the suffrage has never materialized in Colorado. I can, therefore, say without hesitation that woman's enjoyment of political rights is wholly compatible with every duty and requirement of her daily life.

To the bread-winning portion of the sex the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she is to be reckoned with at the polls. Hence it is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of her helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all-sufficient.

One curious effect of woman suffrage has not yet been much commented on. It is that as a rule the woman of the half-world prefers not to vote, and generally will not unless she is pressed or coerced to do so.

One of the stock arguments against the granting of the privilege has been that this class will do most of the voting and exert most of the influence. In practice the pleasing fact seems to be otherwise. I think the reason for this is that these poor creatures are, more than any others, the sport and plaything of local political pulls and spites and jealousies. They fear that by voting they will incur the animosity of the powers that "be" or "may be," and therefore take refuge in abstention. But, whatever the reason, the evil predicted from this source has not yet materialized.

Another advantage to be briefly noticed is the higher tone which prevails in the deliberations of caucuses and conventions. Men and women become excited and passionate at these gatherings, but the profanity and vulgarity of the old regime have departed. Violent disturbances are practically unknown. The presence of women elevates the deliberations of assemblies, and reminds us that at these places, as at all others, we should be gentlemen.

Some of the good results of woman suffrage, briefly summarized, are:

Increased responsibility resulting in the acquisition of knowledge, thus broadening the mental horizon of women generally.

Increased capacity for the intelligent exercise of the suffrage, which is regarded as the imposition of a duty rather than the grant of a privilege.

The compatibility of every womanly trait with every political prerogative.

The elevation of the working woman by the possession of political power, thus enabling her to fight life's battles on terms of equality.

A general elevation and improvement in the tone of practical politics.

Sincerely yours,  
C. S. THOMAS.

Executive Chamber, Denver, Col.  
January 31st, 1899.

Letters frequently appear in newspapers condemning woman suffrage in Colorado. These are invariably anonymous, or signed by unknown or unimportant names. To offset these reports, the following statement was issued by the citizens of Colorado, and was signed by persons whose representative character is a guarantee of their responsibility:

"We, citizens of the State of Colorado, desire, as lovers of truth and justice, to give our testimony to the value of equal suffrage.

"We believe that the greatest good of the home, the State and the nation is advanced through the operation of equal suffrage. The evils predicted have not come to pass. The benefits claimed for it have been secured, or are in process of development. A very large proportion of Colorado women have conscientiously accepted their responsibility as citizens.

"The vote of good women, like that of good men, is involved in the evils resulting from the abuses of our present political system; but the vote of women is noticeably more conscientious than that of men, and will be an important factor in bringing about a better order."

This is signed by the Governor, two ex-Governors and the Governor-elect; the Chief Justice, all the Judges of the State Supreme Court, the Denver District Court, and the Court of Appeals; both of the United States Senators, and all of the Con-

gressmen from Colorado; the President of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, President Slocum of Colorado College, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer and Auditors, the Mayor of Denver, prominent clergymen of different denominations, and a long list of well-known citizens, including the Presidents of thirteen of the principal women's associations of Denver.

The Indianapolis "Press," in December, 1899, published an article by an alleged citizen of Colorado, signed "Gold Mine," which bitterly condemned woman suffrage in that State. The social science department of the Woman's Club of Denver, an organization numbering a thousand of the most influential women of the city, appointed a committee to formulate a reply. After stating that the charges made were unsupported by facts, they added:

"Not only have no ill results followed from granting the suffrage to women in this State, but we can point to certain positive benefits.

"Polling places are no longer the resort of disorderly rowdies, but are entirely quiet, safe and decent.

"All political parties are obliged to consider the personal character of their candidates, since women refuse to vote for candidates who are known to be immoral or dishonest."

The report goes on to enumerate various good laws passed through the efforts of the enfranchised women. This list is embodied in a resolution given elsewhere.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The following resolution was adopted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its annual convention, at Washington, D. C., in February, 1900:

Whereas, At the Congressional hearing yesterday, it was asserted that equal suffrage had led to no improvements in the laws of Colorado, and Congressman Shafroth, of Colorado, who wished to correct this misstatement, was not permitted by the "antis" to speak; therefore,

Resolved, That we call attention to the fact that Colorado owes to equal suffrage the laws raising the age of protection of girls to 18; establishing a State Home for Dependent Children and a State Industrial School for Girls; making fathers and mothers joint guardians of their children; removing the emblems from the Australian ballot, and prohibiting child labor; also city ordinances in Denver providing drinking fountains in the streets; forbidding expectoration in public places; requiring the use of smoke-consuming chimneys on all public and business buildings, and the law providing for an annual appropriation for the purchase of books for the State Library, and the appropriation voted in 1899 for building the Girls' Industrial Home.

UTAH.

The Utah Constitutional Convention of 1895 embodied woman suffrage in the proposed constitution which was submitted to the voters November 5th, 1895, and ratified. Its most vigorous opponent in the Constitutional Convention was Brigham H. Roberts, whose trial and rejection by the United States House of Representatives have made his name familiar to the nation.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF UTAH.

State of Utah, Executive Office.  
Salt Lake City, December 29th, 1896.

The first election under the constitution of this State, which provides that the rights of citizens to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex, was held on the third day of last November, and as about the same number of women registered as men, it is fair to conclude an equal number voted. Previous to the election, primaries and conventions of the various political organizations were held, and women took a prominent part in them.

My testimony is that the experiment is an unqualified success, although the results of the election were contrary to my own political views. I may say, however, that in my opinion the success of the wrong ticket was not due to the woman vote, but to other causes unnecessary to explain here.

The effect of this large increase in the vote of the State is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here. Their influence upon primaries, conventions, and at the polls was decidedly in the direction of bettering previous methods and generally purifying politics.

Women of all classes went to the polls. I personally saw scores of women voting who had previously opposed the extension of the franchise to them.

I believe the movement is righteous and timely, and that the time is not distant when women will be allowed to vote and hold office throughout the United States.

Very respectfully,  
HEBER M. WELLS.

Mrs. Antoinette Brown Kinney, of Salt Lake City, an intelligent young Gentile woman, niece and namesake of Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, of New York, writes:

"In my opinion, the results in Utah are overwhelmingly in favor of woman suffrage. Women have been active in securing laws for the protection of minors, also laws relating to municipal house-cleaning. They have been active in all educational matters. In most cities the question of public libraries is early agitated. Here women have proved themselves a reserve moral power, sustaining men in their best endeavors. In the places of trust that they hold, their honesty, punctuality and faithfulness are proverbial."

In the last Legislature of Utah, the only woman member of the Lower House introduced and carried through two bills, one doubling the number of free scholarships in the State Normal School, the other establishing an Art Institute. The only woman in the Senate introduced a bill, which was passed, providing for improved sanitation in schools, and the better protection of the public health in various ways. In Utah, as in Colorado and Wyoming, the law raising the age of protection for girls was a result of equal suffrage.

IDAHO.

Women were given the suffrage in Idaho by popular vote at the general election in 1896, by a majority of almost two to one. A statement has been published, signed by all the Judges of the State Supreme Court,

testifying that thus far it has proved satisfactory. They say:

"Woman suffrage in this State is a success; none of the evils predicted of it have come to pass, and as a measure of justice it has gained much in popularity since its adoption by our people."

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF IDAHO.

Hon. Frank Steunenberg, Governor of Idaho, says, in a recent article in "Harper's Bazar":

"In a general sense, there can be no doubt that the participation of women in our public affairs has had a most elevating influence. All parties see the necessity of nominating the best individuals of their parties. The natural aim of women is towards the best good of the community and to secure the highest social conditions. Instead of seeking extremes of reform, as had been predicted, they are interested in stable and conservative administration, for the benefit of the homes and the children, and they avoid radical and excessive reforms. In short, the objections which, in theory, have been urged against woman's participation in public affairs have been overcome by the actual application of the system in Idaho, and with this has come to us that elevating and ennobling influence which woman always exerts upon the affairs in which she has a part."

Prof. L. F. Henderson, of the Idaho State University, said, at a public meeting in Boston, in April, 1900: "Equal suffrage, even in the few years that it has been in operation in Idaho, has proved itself a thing so simple, so natural, so entirely free from any objectionable features, that it has been generally accepted, and is now looked upon as a matter of course. It has already converted the majority of the men who were formerly opposed, and, what is still more remarkable, has also converted the majority of the women."

At the same meeting Mrs. Henderson said: "The intelligent women take more interest in suffrage than the ignorant ones. Women have suffered no loss of consideration or social influence, but are treated, if anything, with more consideration. The possession of the ballot has made women much more intelligent about public questions, as it has stimulated them to study these subjects."

WHICH WAY?

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is to-day, some one asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a woman suffrage meeting.

"Yes," answered the Bishop, "I don't want to fall in at the rear of this reform; I mean to march with the procession!"

There can be no doubt as to which way the procession is moving.

A TEST OF TRIAL.

Although active "anti" associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years trying to get all the adverse testimony they could, they have not yet found, in all the enfranchised States put together, a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that equal suffrage has had any bad results.

**A CANARD.**

A preposterous story appeared in the public press in May, 1900, to the effect that at the election at Weiser, in Idaho, two women quarrelled at the polls and scratched each other's faces; that each woman then had the other arrested, and that the jury of women before whom the case was tried engaged in a free fight in the jury room. Upon inquiry, the Mayor of Weiser, Hon. A. B. Anderson, replied: "There is not a word of truth in the report. Our city election passed off harmoniously, the ladies exercising their right of franchise as intelligently as their sterner fellow-citizens who have had the right for years."

**KANSAS.**

Municipal suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas in 1887. Several years ago a letter of inquiry as to the results was addressed to the Chief Justice and all the Judges of the State Supreme Court. All of them concurred in substance with Judge W. A. Johnson, who wrote: "In consequence our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and we have cleaner and stronger city governments."

At any time during the last thirteen years municipal woman suffrage in Kansas could have been repealed without fear of political opposition, since the Legislature is elected by men alone; but no effort to repeal it has been made—a clear proof that it has been satisfactory to the majority of men as well as of women.

Mrs. Laura M. Johns, of Salina, Kansas, in a hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, February 13th, 1900, gave the following testimony:

"Municipal woman suffrage has proven as much of a success as has manhood suffrage; it serves the highest governmental needs as fully. It is no longer an 'experiment,' but has passed into a matter of course. It has lost its novelty. The press oftenest mentions the vote in the city elections without making any distinctions as to the male or female vote. We no longer tabulate statistics of the woman vote. During the first half dozen years after we came into this fraction of our rightful heritage, the State Historical Society and the State Equal Suffrage Association sent to the city clerks to find out what number of women registered and voted. We found several things to be true: (1) That women voted when they got the chance, whether they had ever asked for the privilege or not; (2) that women came nearer voting their full registration than men did; (3) that the women voters gained steadily in numbers, notwithstanding that the 'novelty' wore off in the same ratio; (4) that the most representative women, viz., the church, club, school, society and home women, were in the lead in the movement to the polls and constituted the major part of the body of women voters; (5) that not even those most opposed to the principle per se have been able to point to any damage done to the family, to womanliness, or to the city government; (6) that women have not found the duty burdensome, and have no mind to relinquish the privilege of exercising their modicum of the suffrage.

"These thirteen years of experience of woman's vote in municipal elections have brought to this measure new friends and new enemies. Its old friends love it more, and its old enemies, of the baser sort, hate it harder for what women voters have done and have sought to do. Curiously enough, woman's ballot is not hated most for the reasons so long exploited—namely, neglect of home and children, loss of moral influence, damage to womanliness, incapacity, bad women to the fore, et al.—but for reasons far different. They are, in the main, these three: (1) The expression at the ballot box of woman's uncompromising enmity to those city institutions built up and maintained by vice; (2) woman's steady opposition to city revenue from institutions that degrade humanity, and (3) the bitterness of defeat at the hands of women. These characteristics of woman suffrage in operation are irritating to many classes of men, and bring down their anathema upon woman's enfranchisement."

**FACTS VS. THEORY.**

It is said that equal suffrage would make family quarrels. Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1869. According to the Census, during the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States at large increased about three times as fast as the population. In the group of Western States, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the population.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**

In South Australia women vote upon the same terms as men. Hon. J. A. Cockburn, Agent General of South Australia, in an address in London, said:

"I come from a country where the women have enjoyed the franchise for some years, and we have got so used to it that it is quite strange to come to a country where one's wife has not a vote. One feels like the man in one of Hans Andersen's stories, suddenly transported back into mediæval ages, who found himself deprived of the advantages of civilization to which he had grown accustomed. We had to encounter bitter opposition, but the whole community is converted now, and there is not a man or woman in South Australia who would advocate a return to the old state of things. The women have exercised their franchise now on many occasions. Just about the same percentage—66 per cent. of the women on the rolls—vote as of the men on the rolls." Then follows a recital of good results, to the laws, society and general conditions of South Australia.

Mr. Kingston, ex-Premier of South Australia, in an interview in the "London Daily News," April 19th, 1900, expressed himself thus:

"I think that the results of female franchise in South Australia are eminently satisfactory. The women exercise their vote freely, and in the same proportion as the men. None of the predicted difficulties have been experienced. By the granting of the franchise women have been

given a new interest in life, which in no wise interferes with their ordinary duties; and I am quite sure that Prof. Goldwin Smith was wrong when he told you it would make women less womanly."

**NEW ZEALAND.**

In New Zealand women vote on equal terms with men. In 1897 Hon. W. P. Reeves, Agent General of New Zealand, in an address in London upon the "Working of Woman Suffrage" in that country, said:

"Female suffrage in New Zealand has come to stay. It is an Anglo-Saxon institution of to-day. It proves a great deal, but it disproves a good deal more. I do not think there is a single argument urged against female suffrage here that was not urged almost as monotonously and drearily against it at the other end of the world. The complaint of the old prophets of evil now is, not that the skies have fallen or that the country is upside down, but that there is so little change. . . . Well, if female suffrage had only proved that so important a constitutional change could have come into being so smoothly that the only complaint of its opponents was that it had not revolutionized the country, it would have proved a great deal. . . . But it has proved more than that. It has distinctly affected legislation. The people are beginning to look at customs and institutions with different eyes. I do not think any politician or public worker would try now in his daily life to outrage the finer feelings of women."

The most Rev. William Gordon Cowie, D.D., Bishop of Auckland and Primate of New Zealand, read at a recent church congress in Nottingham, England, a paper on the "Colonial Clergy," in which he said:

"Our young New Zealand clergy would also be able to show, from personal experience, how the conferring of the Parliamentary franchise on all our women of the age of twenty-one years had led to no harm or inconvenience, but that the men of New Zealand were wondering why the women of the colony had remained so long without the right to vote at Parliamentary elections."

Hon. H. J. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, who voted against woman suffrage in past years, now acknowledges that it has proved "a complete success." His wife is reported, in an interview in the London "Woman's Signal," as saying: "I was opposed to woman suffrage before it was granted, because I believed that women should not mix in anything so rough as contested elections used to be. I thought that they were better out of the turmoil of politics. But there has been no disturbance and no unpleasantness of any sort connected with it, and it has done the women a great deal of good to take an interest in public affairs."

Mr. P. J. O'Regan, a member of the New Zealand Parliament, in a letter published in the Toronto "Globe" of July 17th, 1897, says of woman suffrage: "It has proved to be all its friends expected here."

Hon. Hugh H. Lusk, ex-member of the New Zealand Parliament, says: "We see the effect of woman suffrage in the changed character of the men who are elected. The men who are successful now are not just

the same sort that were successful before. Character is more regarded than cleverness. It is asked about every candidate: 'Has he a good record? Is he above suspicion, an honorable man, a useful citizen, pure of any suspicion of complicity with corrupt politics?' That is the sort of man who, under the combined suffrage of men and women, gets the largest number of votes and is elected."

**IRELAND.**

Hon. Daniel Tallon, Lord Mayor of Dublin, Ireland, in a letter published in the "Woman's Journal," November 4th, 1899, said:

"The Irish Local Government Act of 1898 gave the suffrage to women equally with men on all questions of local government in Ireland; that is, on every question on which the Irish people vote, except that of sending Parliamentary representatives to the British House of Commons.

"In Dublin, previous to the Local Government Act, we had only about 8,000 voters, none of whom were women. Now our voters' list numbers about 45,000, of whom about 15,000 are women.

"Women in very large numbers availed themselves of their new privilege in January, and their votes helped to secure the election of candidates pledged to important social reforms.

"As regards the manner and conduct of the elections, not alone in Dublin, but also in Ireland, they were most orderly and well conducted; no disorder of any kind took place at any of them. This was certainly unique, as it was the first occasion on which the masses of the people exercised the franchise, and the sudden enfranchisement of an entire people might not have been expected to work smoothly on the first occasion it was exercised.

"In conclusion, I have no reason to think that the women who voted or were elected Councillors and Guardians in any way suffered a loss of dignity or domesticity; but, on the contrary, I think the entire community is better and richer by the new powers accorded to women, who are so devoted to the social amelioration of the human race."

**WAGES AND THE BALLOT.**

It is said that the ballot could have no effect on women's wages. In Massachusetts the average pay of male teachers is \$144.80 per month; of female teachers, \$52.20 per month. In Wyoming it has for many years been the law that men and women in the employ of the State shall receive equal pay for equal work. In Utah the news that full suffrage had been granted to women was soon followed by the announcement that the State Legislature had passed a bill, whereby female teachers in the public schools were to receive the same pay as male teachers, provided they held certificates of the same grade. When Theodore Roosevelt was asked his reasons for favoring equal suffrage he answered, among other things, that many wage-earning women now had a very hard time, and that if the ballot would help them, even a little, he was willing to see it tried.

Luce Stone. Anniversary.

August 1905.

No such page has <sup>ever</sup> been given  
to the history of <sup>work in behalf of</sup> woman, by  
any country or any age or  
by any people as that  
contributed by America in  
the 19<sup>th</sup>. Century.

It is today difficult to  
fully appreciate or realize  
the dark and almost hope-  
less conditions which  
surrounded women in  
the early half of the last  
century — conditions  
which fettered their lives,  
prevented their activity  
in matters of ~~great~~ vital  
importance to their well-  
being, <sup>and</sup> which retarded their  
natural progress as responsi-  
ble, moral, intelligent individuals.

The world had long been  
 enchained by superstitious  
 beliefs, <sup>resulting in</sup> narrow creeds  
 and doctrines, and the  
 influence of a bigoted  
 clergy upon the domestic  
 and social life of the people  
 was almost absolute.

Especially did this affect every  
 circumstance of a woman's  
 life. Tradition was firmly  
 adhered to, and any change  
 in her condition was  
 met by a prejudice difficult  
 to conquer.

3. As a girl a liberal education, especially along competitive lines with boys, was denied her; as a daughter her legal inheritance was affected by later restrictive property rights, as a wife her identity was merged in that of her husband, she had no legal right to herself; as a married woman she had no legal right to property, as a mother no legal right to her children.

She could not enter certain fields of labor even as a means of self support, tho' she might be eminently fitted for it; neither could she plead her own cause in public places, or "speak out in meeting", and to be seen <sup>with men</sup> upon a public platform was considered degrading to her womanhood.

4. Such were the conditions  
into which Lucy Stone was  
born on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 1818.  
Living in a farming district  
in Massachusetts, she was  
denied by her father the  
educational advantages  
given to her brothers and  
for which she greatly  
yearned. To secure them  
she taught school, saving  
money enough to reach <sup>+</sup>Enter  
Oberlin College at the <sup>^</sup>age  
of 25. Here she  
defrayed her college ex-  
penses by teaching and  
housework.

Her scholarship was so  
good she was asked  
to write the Commence-

5  
-ment Essay, but was  
told at the same time  
that, "being a woman,"  
she would not be  
allowed to read it.  
She declined to write  
it.

Her history is well known  
to all who have been  
interested in woman's  
Suffrage — her first  
lecture having been given  
in 1849; from then on  
lecturing on Suffrage &  
anti-slavery subjects,  
meeting with the antagon-  
ism and approbrium  
usually meted out <sup>to</sup> all  
noble souls in pioneer  
work.

6 - gain to having once seen  
- mobbed ~~over~~ while lect-  
uring at Cape Cod; ~~and~~ to  
having  
a lecture to be given by  
her in Boston announ-  
ced by a clergyman in  
the following fashion:  
"I am asked to give notice  
that a hen will attempt  
to crow like a cock in the  
Town Hall at 5 o'clock  
tomorrow night. Those who  
like such music will, of  
course, attend."

In 1869 with Wm. Lloyd  
Garrison, G. W. Curtis, Julia  
Ward Howe, Mrs. Livermore  
and others Lucy Stone organ-  
ized the American Woman's  
Suffrage Association, and  
was Chairman of its

The Executive Committee for  
twenty years. She took part  
in the Campaigns for Suff.  
amendments in Kansas in  
1867, in Vermont in 1870, Colorado  
in 1877 and in Nebraska in 1882.  
Lucy Stone founded the Woman's  
Journal in Boston - the best  
paper of its kind ever pub-  
lished and the continuance  
today of its long and useful  
life is proof of its success.

In 1855 she had  
become the wife of Mr. H. B.  
Blackwell, retaining the  
name of Lucy Stone; ~~and~~  
husband and wife regis-  
tering a protest against the  
code which made the wife  
a nonentity in marriage.