

Colorado Suffrage Excerpt

In Colorado, the victory for woman suffrage at the polls on November 7, 1893 was hard fought, a great achievement. Colorado suffragists needed the support of male voters to secure the franchise. They had to convince specific men in the state, not just legislators--a smaller and often more elite group of men--that they should share political power with women. Colorado the first state to enfranchise women through popular referendum, and it happened over a quarter of a century before the achievement of national women's suffrage in 1920.

During the territory years, political leaders in the West granted woman suffrage to enhance the image of their states or territories and encourage white women--always in short supply in the frontier West--to come and settle away from family and friends east of the Mississippi.

Colorado woman suffrage was won only after decades of political work and organizing by suffragist activists and occurred within very specific local and historical contexts. The 1877 failed attempt to gain suffrage slowed achieving the final goal, but suffragists were determined to keep trying.

Laying the foundation for Colorado's suffrage success was a provision in the state's 1876 constitution was instrumental in the 1893 success. Article 7, Section 2 allowed woman suffrage to become state law through a simple majority vote on the part of legislators and the electorate rather than through a constitutional amendment, which would have required a two-thirds majority. The suffrage bill that eventually became law in 1893 was written according to this provision. A provision of school suffrage for women was also included in Article 7. Colorado suffragists achieved their goal in 1893 with 55% of the vote; they would have needed 66% with a constitutional amendment.

This political context for Colorado's suffrage victory was reinforced by dramatic economic and social developments in 1893. The combination of the repeal of the 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase Act, the financial Panic of 1893, and subsequent depression sent Colorado's economy into a tailspin. Elected officials needed a wider voter base.

Colorado suffragists used a two-prong argument: equality with men and differences from men. In making the equality argument, suffragists claimed that women were the political equals of men and were entitled to the franchise; woman suffrage also fit within and extended the American political tradition of equality and democracy. In making the difference argument, they focused on how women's difference from men--their roles as mothers and housekeepers--made them deserving of voting rights; woman suffrage would allow women to extend their caretaking responsibilities beyond the home and use their vote to reform society.¹

¹ <http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/colosuff/intro.htm> (accessed 6-8-2019).

Excerpts from the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887:

Section 11

“That the laws enacted by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah which provide for or recognize the capacity of illegitimate children to inherit or to be entitled to any distributive share in the estate of the father of any such illegitimate child are hereby disapproved and annulled; and no illegitimate child shall hereafter be entitled to inherit from his or her father or to receive any distribute share in the estate of his or her father.”

Section 20

“That it shall not be lawful for any female to vote at any election hereafter held in the Territory of Utah for any public purpose whatever, and no such vote shall be received or counted or given effect in any manner whatever; and any and every act of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah providing for or allowing the registration or voting by females is hereby annulled.

Section 22

That the existing election districts and apportionments of representation concerning the members of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah are hereby abolished, and it shall be the duty of the governor, Territorial secretary, and the Board of Commissioners mentioned in section nine of the act of Congress approved March twenty-second, eighteen hundred and eighty two entitled “An act to amend section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two of the Revised Statues of the United States in reference to bigamy, and for other purposes”, in said Territory, forthwith to redistrict said Territory, and apportion representation in the same in such manner as to provide as nearly as may be, for an equal representation of the people (excepting Indians not taxed), being citizens of the United States, according to numbers, in said legislative assembly, and to the number of members of the council and house of representatives, respectively, as now established by law, and a record of the establishment of such new districts and the apportionment of representation thereto shall be made in the office of the secretary of said Territory, and such establishment and representation shall continue until Congress shall otherwise provide; and no persons other than citizens of the United States otherwise qualified shall be entitled to vote at any election in said Territory.

Section 24

That every male person twenty-one years of age resident in the Territory of Utah shall, as a condition precedent to his right to register or vote at any election in said Territory, take, and subscribe an oath or affirmation, before the registration officer of his voting precinct, that he is over twenty-one years of age, and has resided in the Territory of Utah for six months then last passed and in the precinct for one month immediately preceding the date thereof, and that he is a native-born (or naturalized, as the case may be) citizen of the United States, and further state in such oath or affirmation his full name, with his age, place of business, his status, whether single or married, and if married, the name of his lawful wife, and that he will support the Constitution of the United States and will faithfully obey the laws thereof and especially will obey the act of Congress approved March twenty-second eighteen hundred and eighty two, entitled

“An act to amend section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in reference to bigamy, and for other purposes,” and will also obey this act in respect of the crimes in said act defined and forbidden, and that he will not, directly or indirectly, and or abet, counsel or advise, any other person to commit any of said crimes. Such registration officer is authorized to administer said oath or affirmation, and all such oaths or affirmations shall be by him delivered to the clerk of the probate court of the proper county, and shall be deemed public records therein. But if any election shall occur in said Territory before the next revision of the registration lists as required by law, the said oath or affirmation shall be administered by the presiding judge of the election precinct on or before the day of election. As a condition precedent to the right to hold office in or under said Territory, the officer, before entering on the duties of his office, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation declaring his full name, with his age, place of business, his status, whether married or single, and if married, the name of his lawful wife, and that he will support the Constitution of the United States and will faithfully obey the laws thereof, and especially will obey the act of Congress approved March twenty-second, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, entitled “An act to amend section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in reference to bigamy, and for other purposes,” and will also obey this act in respect of the crimes in said act defined and forbidden, and that he will not, directly or in directly, aid or abet, counsel or advise, any other person to commit any of said crimes, which oath or affirmation shall be recorded in the proper office and indorsed on the commission or certificate of appointment. All grand and petit jurors in said Territory shall take the same oath or affirmation, to be administered, in writing or orally, in the proper court. No person shall be entitle to vote in any election in said Territory, or be capable of jury service, or hold any office of trust or emolument in said Territory who shall not have taken this oath or affirmation aforesaid. No person who shall have been convicted of any crime under this act, or under the act of Congress aforesaid approved March twenty second, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, or who shall be a polygamist, or who shall associate or cohabit polygamously with persons of the other sex, shall be entitled to vote in any election in said territory, or be capable of jury service, or to hold any office of trust or emolument in said Territory.

Section 25

That the office of Territorial superintendent of district schools created by the laws of Utah is hereby abolished; and it shall be the duty of the supreme court of said Territory to appoint a commissioner of schools, who shall possess and exercise all the powers and duties heretofore imposed by the laws of said Territory upon the Territorial superintendent of district schools, and who shall receive the same salary and compensation, which shall be paid out of the treasury of said Territory; and the laws of the Territory of Utah providing for the method of election and appointment of such Territorial superintendent of district schools are hereby suspended until the further action of Congress shall be held in respect thereto. The said superintendent shall have power to prohibit the use in any district school of any book of a sectarian character or otherwise unsuitable. Said superintendent shall collect and classify statistics and other information respecting the district and other schools in said Territory, showing their progress, the whole number of children of school age, the number who attend school in each year in the respective counties, the average length of time of their attendance, the number of teachers and the

compensation paid to the same, the number of teachers who are Mormons, the number who are so-called gentiles, the number of children of Mormon parents and the number of children of so-called gentile parents, and their respective average attendance at school, all of which statistics and information shall be annually reported to Congress, through the governor of said Territory and the Department of the Interior.

Idaho Suffrage Excerpt

The Territory of Idaho was officially organized on March 4, 1863 by Act of Congress, and signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln.

In 1868, the areas east of the 111th meridian west were made part of the newly created Wyoming Territory. Idaho Territory assumed the boundaries of the modern state at that time.

Although forming a sizeable minority, Mormons in Idaho were held in suspicion by others in Idaho. By 1882 notable and powerful Idahoans successfully disenfranchised Mormon voters in Idaho Territory, citing their illegal practice of polygamy. Idaho was able to achieve statehood some six years before Utah.

In 1887 Idaho Territory was nearly legislated out of existence, but as a favor to Governor Edward A. Stevenson, President Grover Cleveland refused to sign a bill that would have split Idaho Territory between Washington Territory in the north and Nevada in the south. The territory was admitted to the Union as the State of Idaho on July 3, 1890.ⁱ

"Idaho was the fourth state in the nation to give women the right to vote, but that was more the result of a push for prohibition than a bold statement about equal rights. Idaho was only a territory six years. In 1896 Idaho achieved statehood with women given the right to vote. The population changed from bachelor miners, who vehemently opposed prohibition, to gentleman farmers, who favored banning booze created the opportunity for suffrage.

Women's suffrage was "a hot topic" at the 1889 Constitutional Convention held in founding Idaho, Aiken said, "which made Idaho really unusual." State founders also asked two women Northwest suffragette Abigail Scott Dunaway and Women's Christian Temperance Union President Harriet Skelton to address the convention, "which also was highly unusual.'

The women failed to persuade the founding fathers to give women the right to vote that year, but seven years later Idaho followed the lead of Wyoming, Colorado and Utah and franchised the other half of the state population in a statewide vote that included only non-Mormon men.

"By pen, by voice, by vote," was an oft-repeated slogan in earlier years," Francena Kellogg Buck proclaimed. "Women were urged to write to legislators, to sign petitions, to speak out at appropriate times. These rights were guaranteed by the Constitution. But how about voting? How could they vote when the laws would not permit them to vote? So they worked for the Woman Suffrage bill. If they could vote, they could help bring about prohibition in Idaho."ⁱⁱⁱ

Once Idaho women were given the vote, they were instrumental in making Idaho a "dry state." Prohibition was approved in 1916. Despite winning the right to vote early, women's participation in positions of political leadership has been limited in Idaho, at best.

Idaho, however, was the first state in the union to send a woman delegate to a national convention. In April 1900, Susie M. West of Lewiston was elected a delegate to the Nez Perce County Convention and there was chosen as an alternate to the national gathering at Philadelphia. She attended the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1904. West's presence at the Chicago convention in 1904 caused quite a stir."ⁱⁱⁱ

ⁱ <http://www.elmorecountypress.com/Hi-Liting%20Idaho.htm> (accessed 7-8-2019).

ⁱⁱ https://mtrribune.com/feature/women-s-suffrage-right-to-vote-came-early-in-idaho/article_d6e0296a-ba14-59fe-87e4-2789689dcf38.html (accessed 8-7-2019).

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid. https://mtrribune.com/feature/women-s-suffrage-right-to-vote-came-early-in-idaho/article_d6e0296a-ba14-59fe-87e4-2789689dcf38.html (accessed 8-7-2019).

Map Guide to the Federal US Census 1790-1920 by William Thorndale and William Dollarhide
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<https://books.google.com/books?id=pURb5FQ5EH4C&printsec=frontcover&dq=Idaho+1860+census&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjgsHT093jAhUNup4KHYuuD5IQ6AEIOjAD#v=onepage&q=Idaho%201860%20census&f=false> (accessed 7-30-2019).

Introduction * Federal Censuses, History (page xiii)

“The first six censuses were similar in content, being authorized by the federal law of 1 March 1790 as mandated by the U.S. Constitution . . . These censuses all name only head of families at their “usual place of abode” on some early day in June or August, while supposedly enumerating persons without a settled residence wherever they were on the census day. *Head of family* for 1790 as the *master, mistress, steward, overseer, or other principal person* of a residence, including any free person living alone. All other people were noted only by tally marks in categories for age, sex, race, and slavery, except that the Constitution excluded all Indians not paying taxes.”

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“The U.S. marshals oversaw their last census in 1870, a census considered the worst ever taken. The marshals were presidential appointees confirmed by the Senate, so the Census Office had no direct authority over them and little hope of instilling professionalism into the marshal’s assistance who in 1870 were too few in number to take an accurate census. Such census takers were usually chosen for their party affiliations under the spoils system. . . . Not surprisingly, the 1880 census brought major reforms, most notably using five times as many local enumerators as in 1870 and in giving the Census Officer direct control over their hiring.”

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“In the last decades of the nineteenth century the census became a tool of the era’s expansionism . . . in counting Indians living on land the whites might desire.”

“The 1880 census was also the first to authorize a census of Indians, at the discretion of the Superintendent of the Census. The constitutional prohibition against counting untaxed Indians was not violated by this or the 1890 Indian census since these counts were done on special schedules and kept separate from the population totals used to apportion the U. S. House of Representatives. Starting with 1900 Indians were enumerated in the regular census.”

Reader's Theatre

Mass Meetings called "The Great Indignation" held in response to the passage of the Cullom Bill to enforce the 1862 Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act. All speeches, and resolutions included in this presentation can be found at <https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-12?lang=eng> (accessed 8-7-2019).

Narrator: Thank you to those willing to read portions of Readers' Theater. This Readers' Theatre will be presented to show how the women of the Utah Territory responded to the Cullom Bill written to enforce the 1862 Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act. The text comes from a series of meetings on the issue by women who addressed those who attended between January 6 and January 13, 1870. We first hear a speech by Sarah Kimball recorded in the minutes of the January 6, 1870 meeting (original spelling retained).

Thank you for your attention.

Sarah Russell, Secretary: "Pres Mrs Kimball said we had met to express our feelings in relation to the Cullum bill, now before Congress. She spoke of the part our forefathers had taken in the Struggle for freedom, how they had suffered and bled for the principals of civil and religious liberty, and she felt that we would be unworthy of the names we bear and of the Blood in our vains, should we longer remain silent, while such an infamous bill was before the House, a bill whose object if attained would make of our men menial serfs, and if they make serfs of them what do they make of us.⁹ She then called for the vote of all who were in favor of entering a protest against said bill.

The Vote was unanimous."

Narrator: A selection of resolutions approved at the January 7, 1870 meeting follows:

Resolution Reader:

Resolutions adopted (original spelling included)

- 1st Resolved that we the Ladies of the 15 Ward S L City, in Mass Meeting assembled do solely protest against the Bill now before Congress (Known as the Cullum Bill) becoming a law on the Statute Book of the United States Government of America,
- 2nd Resolved that we use all the moral influence vested in us to prevent the national disgrace, that would accrue to our country

- were such an infamous bill to receive the approval of both Houses of Congress,
- 3rd Resolved that the passage of the aforesaid Bill would stamp disgrace on the Ensignia of our glorious Republic and that we disapprove each and every attempt made by those intrusted with the Reigns of Government to destroy the Sacred Constitution bequeathed to us by our forefathers,¹⁷ [p. 141]
- 4th Resolved, that we express our indignation against the originators of the Bill, which is calculated in its nature, to uproot every vestige of civil and religious liberty; destroy the rights of conscience; and reduce our Fathers, husbands, and brethren to the lowest degree of menial Servitude.

Narrator: We will now hear a speech given at “The Great Indignation Meeting” January 13, 1870 by Mrs. Wilmarth East.

MRS. WILMARTH EAST:

It is with feelings of pleasure, mingled with indignation and disgust, that I appear before you my sisters, to express my feelings in regard to the Cullom Bill now before the Congress of this once happy and Republican government. The Constitution for which our forefathers fought and bled and died, bequeathes to us the right of religious liberty,—the right to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences! Does the Cullom Bill give us this right? Compare it with the Constitution if you please, and see what a disgrace has come upon this once happy and Republican government! Where, O, where is that liberty, bequeathed to us by our forefathers, the richest boon ever given to man or woman, except eternal life or the gospel of the Son of God? I am an American citizen by birthright and, having lived above the laws of the land I claim the right to worship God according to the dictates of my own conscience and the commandments that God shall give unto me. Our Constitution guarantees “Life liberty and the pursuit of happiness to all who live beneath it.” What is life to me if I see the galling yoke of oppression placed upon the necks of my husband, sons and brothers as Mr. Cullom would have it! I am proud to say to you that I am not only a citizen of the United States of America, but a citizen of the kingdom of God, and the laws of this kingdom I am willing to sustain and defend both by example and precept. I am thankful to-day that I have the privilege of living the religion of Jesus our Savior. I am thankful to-day that I have the honored privilege of being the happy recipient of one of the greatest principles ever revealed to man for his redemption and

exaltation in the kingdom of God, namely plurality of wives; and I am thankful to-day that I know God is at the helm and will defend his people.

Narrator: We will now hear an excerpt of the speech given at “The Great Indignation Meeting” January 13, 1870 by Eliza R. Snow. There will be three readers for this speech.

ELIZA R. SNOW

Reader 1) “My sisters:—In addressing you at this time I realize that the occasion is a peculiar and an interesting one. We are living in a land of freedom—under a Constitution that guarantees civil and religious liberty to all; black and white, Christians, Jews, Mahometans and Pagans; and how strange it is that such considerations should exist as those which have called us together this afternoon.

Under the proud banner which now waves from ocean to ocean, strange as it may seem, we, who have ever been loyal citizens, have been persecuted from time to time and driven from place to place, until at last, beyond the bounds of civilization, under the guidance of President Young, we found an asylum of peace in the midst of these mountains.

Our numbers, small at first, have increased, until now we number one hundred and fifty thousand, and yet, we are allowed only a Territorial Government. Year after year we have petitioned Congress, for what it was our inalienable right to claim,—a State Government; and year after year our petitions have been treated with contempt. Such treatment as we have received from our rulers, has no precedent in the annals of history.

And now, instead of granting us our rights as American citizens, bills are being presented to Congress which are a disgrace to men in responsible stations, professing the least claim to honor and magnanimity—bills, which, if carried into effect, would utterly annihilate us as a people.

My sisters, we have met to-day to manifest our views and feelings concerning the oppressive policy exercised towards us by our Republican Government. Aside from all local and personal feelings, to me it is a source of deep regret that the standard of American liberty should have so far swayed from its original towering position as to have given rise to circumstances which not only rendered such a meeting opportune but absolutely necessary.

Heretofore, while detraction and ridicule have been poured forth in almost every form that malice could invent—while we have been misrepresented by speech and press, and exhibited in every shade but our true light, the

ladies of Utah, as a general thing, have remained silent. Had not our aims been of the most noble and exalted character, and had we not known that we occupied a standpoint far above our traducers, we might have returned volley for volley; but we have, all the time, realized that to contradict such egregious absurdities, would be a great stoop of condescension—far beneath the dignity of those who profess to be Saints of the living God; and we very unassumingly applied to ourselves a saying of an ancient apostle in writing to the Corinthians, “*Ye suffer fools, gladly, seeing that yourselves are wise.*”³³

But there is a point at which silence is no longer a virtue. In my humble opinion we have arrived at this point. Shall we—ought we to be silent when every right of citizenship—every vestige of civil and religious liberty is at stake? When our husbands and sons—our fathers and brothers are threatened, being either restrained in their obedience to the commands of God, or incarcerated year after year in the dreary confines of a prison, will it be thought presumptuous for us to speak? Are not our interests one with our brethren? Ladies, this subject as deeply interests us as them. In the Kingdom of God, woman has no interests separate from those of man—all are mutual.

Reader 2) Our enemies pretend that in Utah, woman is held in a state of vassalage—that she does not act from choice, but by coercion—that we would even prefer life elsewhere, were it possible for us to make our escape. What nonsense! We all know that if we wished, we could leave at any time—either to go singly or we could rise *en masse*, and there is no power here that could or would ever wish to prevent us.

I will now ask this intelligent assembly of ladies: Do you know of any place on the face of the earth, where woman has more liberty, and where she enjoys such high and glorious privileges as she does here, as a Latter-day Saint? “No!” The very idea of women here in a state of slavery is a burlesque on good common sense. The history of this people, with a very little reflection, would instruct outsiders on this point, it would show at once that the part which woman has acted in it, could never have been performed against her will. Amid the many distressing scenes through which we have passed, the privations and hardships consequent on our expulsion from State to State, and our location in an isolated, barren wilderness, the women in this Church have performed and suffered what could never have been borne and accomplished by slaves.

And now, after all that has transpired, can our opponents expect us to look on with silent indifference and see every vestige of that liberty, for which

many of our patriotic grandsires fought and bled, that they might bequeath to us, their children, the precious boon of national freedom, wrested from our grasp? If so, they will learn their mistake, we are ready to inform them. They must be very dull in estimating the energy of female character, who can persuade themselves that women, who, for the sake of their religion, left their homes, crossed the plains with handcarts, or, as many had previously done, drove ox, mule and horse teams from Nauvoo and from other points when their husbands and sons went at their country's call, to fight her battles in Mexico; yes, that very country which had refused us protection and from which we were then struggling to make our escape I say, those who think that such women and the daughters of such women do not possess too much energy of character to remain passive and mute under existing circumstances are "reckoning bills without their host."³⁴ To suppose that we should not be aroused when our brethren are threatened with fines and imprisonment for their faith in and obedience to the laws of God, is an insult to our womanly natures.

Reader 3) Were we the stupid, degraded, heartbroken beings that we have been represented, silence might better become us; but, as women of God,—women filling high and responsible positions—performing sacred duties—women who stand not as dictators, but as counselors to their husbands, and who, in the purest, noblest sense of refined womanhood, being truly their helpmates; we not only speak because we have the right, but justice and humanity demand that we should.

Instead of being lorded over by tyrannical husbands, we, the ladies of Utah, are already in possession of a privilege which many intelligent and high aiming ladies in the States are earnestly seeking i. e., *the right to vote*. Although as yet we have not been admitted to the common ballot box, to us the right of suffrage is extended in matters of far greater importance.³⁵ This we say truthfully not boastingly; and we may say farther, that if those sensitive persons who profess to pity the condition of the women of Utah, will secure unto us those rights and privileges which a just and equitable administration of the laws of the Constitution of the United States guarantees to every loyal citizen, they may reserve their sympathy for objects more appreciative.

My sisters, let us, inasmuch as we are free to do all that love and duty prompt, be brave and unfaltering in sustaining our brethren. Woman's faith can accomplish wonders. Let us, like the devout and steadfast Miriam, assist our brothers in upholding the hands of Moses.³⁶

Narrator: We will now hear a speech given at “The Great Indignation Meeting” January 13, 1870 by Harriet Cook Young. (original spelling intact)

HARRIET COOK YOUNG:

In rising to address this meeting, delicacy prompts me to explain the chief motives which have dictated our present action. We, the ladies of Salt Lake City, have assembled here to-day—not for the purpose of assuming any particular political power, nor to claim any special prerogative which may, or may not belong to our sex; but to express our indignation at the unhallowed efforts of men, who, regardless of every principle of manhood, justice and constitutional liberty, would force upon a religious community, by a direct issue, either the curse of apostacy, or the bitter alternative of fire and sword. Surely the instinct of self-preservation, the love of liberty and happiness and the right to worship God are dear to our sex as well as to the other, and when these most sacred of all rights are thus wickedly assailed, it becomes absolutely our duty to defend them.

It is true that a corrupt press, and an equally corrupt priestcraft are leagued against us—that they have pandered to the ignorance of the masses and vilified our institutions to that degree, that it has become popular to believe that the Latter-day Saints are unworthy to live; but it is also true that there are many, very many, right thinking men who are not without influence in the nation, and to such do we now solemnly and earnestly appeal. Let the United voice of this assembly give the lie to the popular clamour that the women of Utah are oppressed and held in bondage. Let the world know that the women of Utah prefer virtue to vice, and the home of an honorable wife to the gilded pageantry of fashionable temples of sin. Transitory allurements, glaring to the senses, as the flame is to the moth, but short lived and cruel in their results possess no charms for us. Every woman in Utah may have her husband, the husband of her choice. Here we are taught, not to destroy our children, but to preserve them, for they, reared in the path of virtue and trained to righteousness, constitute our true glory. It is with no wish to accuse our sisters who are not of our faith, but we are dealing with facts as they exist. Wherever monogamy reigns, adultery, prostitution, free-love and foeticide,³⁹ directly or indirectly, are its concomitants. It is not enough to say that the virtuous and the high-minded frown upon these evils, we believe they do, but frowning does not cure them, it does not even check their rapid growth; either the remedy is too weak, or the disease is too strong. The women of Utah comprehend this and they see in the principle of a plurality of wives, the only safeguard,

against adultery, prostitution, free-love and the reckless waste of pre-natal life practised throughout the land.

It is as co-workers in the great mission of universal reform, not only in our own behalf, but also, by precept and example, to aid in the emancipation of our sex generally, that we accept in our heart of hearts, what we know to be a divine commandment; and here, and now, boldly and publicly we do assert our right, not only to believe in this holy commandment, but to practise what we believe.

While these are our views, every attempt to force that obnoxious measure upon us, must of necessity, be an attempt to coerce us in our religious and moral convictions, against which did we not most solemnly protest, we would be unworthy the name of American women.

Narrator: We will now hear an excerpt of the speech given at “The Great Indignation Meeting” January 13, 1870 by Mrs. Hannah T. King. (original spelling intact)

MRS.H. [HANNAH] T. KING:

My Dear Sisters:—I wish I had the language I feel to need at the present moment, to truly represent the indignant feelings of my heart and brain on reading last evening a string of thirty “Sections” headed by the words “A Bill in aid of the execution of the laws in the Territory of Utah, and other purposes.”! The “other purposes” contain the pith of the matter, and the adamant chains the compilers of the said “Bill” seek to bind this people with, exceed any thing the feudal times of England, or the serfdom of Russia ever laid upon human beings. My Sisters! are we really in America the world renowned land of liberty, freedom, and equal rights? the land of which I dreamed in my youth as almost an earthly elysium, where freedom of thought and religious liberty were open to all?

The land of Washington, “The Father of his Country”—and of a host of noble spirits too numerous to mention? the land to which “The Mayflower” bore the Pilgrim Fathers, who rose up and left their homes, and bade their native land “good night”, simply that they might worship God by a purer and holier faith in a land of freedom and liberty, of which America has long been synonymous? Yes, my sisters, this *is* America; but oh! how are the mighty fallen! Who or what is the creature who framed this incomparable document? Is he an Esquimaux or a Chimpanzee, or what isolated land’s end spot produced him? What ideas he must have of women! Had he ever a mother, a wife, or a sister? In what academy was he tutored, or to what

school does he belong, that he should so coolly and systematically *command* the *women* of this people to turn traitors to their husbands, their brothers, and their sons! Short-sighted man of sections and *the* Bill! Let *us* the women of this people—the sisterhood of Utah, rise *en masse* and tell this nondescript to defer “the Bill” until he has studied the character of *woman* such as *God* intended she should be, *then* he will discover that *devotion*, *veneration*, and faithfulness are her peculiar attributes; that *God* is her refuge—and *His* servants her oracles, and that especially the women of Utah have paid too high a price for their present position, their present light and knowledge—and their noble *future* to succumb to so mean and foul a thing as the Baskin, Cullum & Co’s Bill.⁴⁰

Narrator: We will now hear the speech given at “The Great Indignation Meeting” January 13, 1870 by Phoebe Woodruff.

PHOEBE WOODRUFF:

Ladies of Utah, as I have been called upon to express my views upon the important subject, which has called us together this day, I will say that I am happy to be one of your number in this association. I am proud that I am a citizen of Utah, and a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I have been a member of this Church for thirty-six years, and had the privilege of living in the days of the Prophet Joseph and heard his teachings for many years. He ever counseled us to honor, obey, and maintain the principles of our noble Constitution, for which our fathers fought, and many of them sacrificed their lives to establish. President Brigham Young has always taught the same principle. This glorious legacy of our fathers, the Constitution of the United States, guarantees unto all the citizens of this great Republic the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, as it expressly says, “Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” Cullom’s bill is in direct violation of this declaration of the Constitution, and, I think it is our duty to do all in our power by our voices and influence to thwart the passage of this bill, which commits a violent outrage upon our rights, and the rights of our fathers, husband and sons; and whatever may be the final result of the action of Congress in passing or enforcing oppressive laws for the sake of our religion, upon the noble men who have subdued these deserts, it is our duty to stand by them and support them by our faith, prayers and works through every dark hour unto the end, and trust in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to defend us,

and all who are called to suffer for keeping the commandments of God. Shall we as wives and mothers sit still and see our husbands, and sons, whom we know are obeying the highest behest of heaven, suffer for their religion without exerting ourselves to the extent of our power for their deliverance? No! verily, no!! God has revealed unto us the law of the Patriarchal order of marriage, and commanded us to obey it. We are sealed to our husbands for time and eternity, that we may dwell with them and our children in the world to come, which guarantees unto us the greatest blessing for which we are created. If the rulers of our nation will so far depart from the spirit and the letter of our glorious Constitution as to deprive our Prophets, Apostles and Elders of citizenship, and imprison them for obeying this law, let them grant us this our last request, to make their prisons large enough to hold their wives, for where they go we will go also.

Narrator: The resolutions drafted by the committee chosen at the January 13, 1870 meeting were presented, voted on unanimously, being greeted with cheers. The resolutions presented differing from the January 6, 1870 meeting follow:

Resolution Reader:

1. Resolved – That we do hold sacred the Constitution bequeathed us by our forefathers, and ignore, with laudable womanly jealousy, every act of those men to whom the responsibilities of government have been entrusted, which is calculated to destroy its efficacy.
2. Resolved – That we unitedly exercise every moral power and every right which we inherit as the daughters of American citizens, to prevent the passage of such bills; knowing that they would inevitably cast a stigma on our Republican Government by jeopardizing the liberty and lives of its most loyal and peaceable citizens.
3. Resolved – That, in our candid opinion, the presentation of the aforesaid bills indicates a manifest degeneracy of the great men of our nation; and their adoption would presage a speedy downfall and ultimate extinction of the glorious pedestal of Freedom, Protection and Equal Rights established by our noble ancestors.
4. Resolved – That we acknowledge the Institutions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as the only reliable safeguard of female virtue and innocence; and the only sure protection against the fearful sin of prostitution and its attendant evils, now prevalent

abroad, and, as such, we are and shall be united with our brethren in sustaining them against each and every encroachment.

Narrator: The attempt to use voting rights for women in the Utah Territory offered as a way to abolish polygamy did not bring the desired outcome. The support for women's suffrage by Utah leaders did not please those who first offered suffrage. "Following effective public demonstrations organized and staged by Utah women in protest of national legislation, the territorial legislature began discussion of female suffrage. Latter-day Saint leaders responded favorably to the idea, as did the national press."¹ The positive national interest changed when proposals to disenfranchise women and men in the Utah Territory were proposed, and passed.

¹ <https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-14?lang=eng> (accessed 8-7-2019).

Strategies to win women's suffrage - Compiled by Helen Elaine Jones

Wyoming –Suffrage Legislation Passed Article Excerptⁱ

Younger states and territories like Wyoming were more willing to consider fresh ideas about who could vote. Still, people were a little surprised. Wyoming passed the first woman suffrage law in the United States, with almost no discussion or controversy.

Many legislators voted for the bill hoping to increase the territory's population. Women were scarce out west, and perhaps men were acting desperately to entice them. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 said territories could apply for statehood once the population reached 60,000. "We now expect at once quite an immigration of ladies to Wyoming," wrote *The Cheyenne Leader*, a local newspaper.

One politician claimed women's suffrage started as a joke. Edward M. Lee, a secretary in the Territory in 1869, wrote, "Once, during the session, amid the greatest hilarity, and after the presentation of various funny amendments and in the full expectation of a gubernatorial veto, an act was passed Enfranchising the Women of Wyoming. The bill, however, was approved, became a law, and the youngest territory placed in the van of progress.

William Bright cleverly played both sides against each other:

"He said to the Democrats: 'We have a Republican Governor and a Democratic Assembly. Now, then, if we can carry this bill through the Assembly and the Governor vetoes it, we shall have made a point, you know; we shall have shown our liberality and lost nothing. But keep still; don't say anything about it.' They promised. He then went to the Republicans and told them that the Democrats were going to support his measure, and that if they did not want to lose capital they had better vote for it too. He didn't think there would be enough of them to carry it, but the vote would be on record and thus defeat the game of the other party. And they likewise agreed to vote for it. So, when the bill came to a vote, it went right through! The members looked at each other in astonishment, for they hadn't intended to do it, quite. Then they laughed, and said it was a good joke, but they had 'got the Governor in a fix.' So the bill went, in the course of time, to John A. Campbell, who was then Governor—and he promptly signed it!"

Wyoming women got to vote for the first time in September 1870. Approximately one thousand women were eligible to vote in Wyoming, and most of them turned out to vote.

<https://www.nationalgeographic.org/news/woman-suffrage/> (accessed 8-1-2019).

Utah Women Offered Vote

Some suffragists proposed that experimenting with woman suffrage in Utah might prove the desirability of suffrage elsewhere.² In 1867 and 1868 Congressman George W. Julian, a Republican from Indiana, proposed three bills, one granting the vote to women

in Utah and two extending the franchise to women in all territories. Julian and others mistakenly believed that giving the women an official political voice would relieve the nation of the stain of polygamy as the women would surely vote to relieve themselves of the burden.³ The *New York Times* opined that women's numerical superiority in Utah rendered it the ideal location for an experiment in woman suffrage: "Perhaps it would result in casting out polygamy and Mormonism in general. . . . Here would be a capital field for women suffrage to make a start, and we presume nobody would object to the experiment."⁴ Ignoring these arguments, Latter-day Saint leaders endorsed the proposal. The *Deseret News* stated in March 1869, "Utah is giving examples to the world on many points, and if the wish is to try the experiment of giving females the right to vote in the Republic, we know of no place where the experiment can be so safely tried as in this Territory. Our ladies can prove to the world that in a society where men are worthy of the name, women can be enfranchised without running wild or becoming unsexed."⁵ Congress abandoned Julian's bill after finding that both the Mormon press and Utah territorial representative William Hooper supported it.⁶
<https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-14?lang=eng>
(accessed 8-7-2019) The quote references in article left in place.ⁱⁱ

Idaho: A Three-prong Approach - Francena Kellogg Buck

In 1883, Francena Kellogg Buck was elected president of the North Idaho Territory during the 1883 North Idaho Territorial Convention. "By pen, by voice, by vote," was an oft-repeated slogan in earlier years," Hagedorn wrote. "Women were urged to write to legislators, to sign petitions, to speak out at appropriate times. These rights were guaranteed by the Constitution. But how about voting? How could they vote when the laws would not permit them to vote?"ⁱⁱⁱ

A Four-prong Approach - Emmeline B. Wells,

"No Utahn fought more for the suffrage than Wells. An early advocate of women's rights, from 1877 to 1914 she was the editor of the *Woman's Exponent*, a twice-monthly periodical produced by Mormon women. The *Exponent* championed women's economic, educational, and suffrage rights. She wielded great power through her pen, writing many articles that spoke for women's rights, especially a woman's right to vote and run for public office.

Emmeline became one of the early women in the nation to vote when Utah Territory granted women's suffrage in 1870. She then joined the fight for women to be able to vote throughout the United States. After she led Utah women in sending long petitions to Washington D.C. demanding a Constitutional amendment granting national women's suffrage, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony invited Wells to represent Utah at their 1879 National Woman's Suffrage Association convention in Washington. There Wells addressed the convention and joined others in speaking before Congressional committees and President and First Lady Rutherford B. and Lucy Hayes.

Outraged after losing the voting franchise they had exercised for seventeen years, Wells led Utah's suffragists in battling to regain the ballot. Through their

tireless lobbying efforts, they ensured that equal suffrage was included in Utah's Constitution when Utah became a state in 1896." ^{iv}

Political Involvement – Susie M. West

Once women in western territories or states were granted the vote, they used their political opportunity to promote voting rights nationally. Idaho, was the first state in the union to send a woman delegate to a national convention. Susie M. West of Lewiston became an elected delegate to the Nez Perce County Convention as an alternate to the national gathering in 1900. She attended the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1904. Susie West's mere "presence at the Chicago convention caused quite a stir."^v

Colorado Suffrage through Political Means

In Colorado, “woman suffrage was won only after decades of political work and organizing by suffragist activists and occurred within very specific local and historical contexts. Laying the foundation for Colorado’s suffrage success was a provision in the state’s 1876 constitution. Article 7, Section 2 allowed woman suffrage to become state law through a simple majority vote on the part of legislators and the electorate rather than through a constitutional amendment, which would have required a two-thirds majority. The inclusion of this provision in the Colorado Constitution was due to the efforts of suffrage advocates in 1876. Although they failed to secure their ultimate goal--full female enfranchisement--they did get Article 7, Section 2, as well as school suffrage for women. As it turned out, Colorado suffragists achieved their goal in 1893 with 55% of the vote; they would have needed 66% with a constitutional amendment.”^{vi}

ⁱ <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/news/woman-suffrage/> (accessed 8-1-2019). Based on an article by Mary Schons, “Women’s Suffrage,” January 21, 2011

ⁱⁱ <https://www.churchhistorianspress.org/the-first-fifty-years-of-relief-society/part-3/3-14?lang=eng> (accessed 8-7-2019). The quote references in article left in place.

ⁱⁱⁱ https://mtribune.com/feature/women-s-suffrage-right-to-vote-came-early-in-idaho/article_d6e0296a-ba14-59fe-87e4-2789689dcf38.html (accessed 8-7-2019). Article written by Kathy Barnard, July 3, 1990.

^{iv} <https://www.utahwomenshistory.org/bios/emmelinebwells/> (accessed 8-7-2019). Article author Barbara Jones Brown.

^v https://mtribune.com/feature/women-s-suffrage-right-to-vote-came-early-in-idaho/article_d6e0296a-ba14-59fe-87e4-2789689dcf38.html (accessed 8-7-2019). Article written by Kathy Barnard, July 3, 1990.

^{vi} <http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/colosuff/intro.htm> (accessed 6-8-2019).

Utah Suffrage Excerpt

When the Utah Territory appeared on maps in 1850, voters were free white male over age twenty-one with citizenship. Women were not included on the voting rolls. As news of at members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints accepted polygamy in 1852, newspapers printed opinions concerning the practice. The Republican Party added a position on polygamy to their party platform in 1856.

An idea about women in the Utah Territory appeared in a newspaper. "It was believed at one time that if the ballot were placed in the hands of the Mormon women they would seek their own redemption by voting with the Gentiles. An interview with former senator and Utah Commissioner Algernon S. Paddock claimed: "What may be said in favor of female suffrage elsewhere cannot be applied here. It is certainly odious as practiced here. The women are completely controlled in their action by the church authorities."ⁱ

"Latter-day Saints, on the other hand, believed that Mormon women would use their vote to show their support for polygamy. They also thought giving women the vote would change negative perceptions about the LDS Church and its treatment of women. They wanted to show that Utah women were not oppressed, helpless, and enslaved as many anti-polygamists believed."ⁱⁱ

The Utah Territorial Legislature was willing to make voting for women happen. A bill proposed passed unanimously. It was ready for Governor Stephen S. Mann's signature. Governor Mann signed the bill February 10, 1870. This law granted voting rights in local and territorial elections, but not the right to run for or hold public office, to "every woman of the age of twenty-one years who has resided in this Territory six months next preceding any general or special election, born or naturalized in the United States, or who is the wife, widow or the daughter of a native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States."ⁱⁱⁱ

The speaker of the house when the voting bill was discussed, John Taylor, attended the meeting organizing women with membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on March 17, 1842. He recorded the event at the request of Joseph Smith. "At that meeting, "The women voted to acknowledge those present plus seven other as members 'in full fellowship, and admit them to the privileges of the Institution about to be formed. He propos'd that the Sisters elect a presiding officer to preside over them, and let that presiding officer choose two Counsellors to assist in the duties of her Office."^{iv} John Taylor knew giving women suffrage would benefit the Utah Territory from his experience observing women leading the Relief Society.

A municipal election held February 14, 1870 gave Utah women the distinction of being the first women in the United States to vote. Seraph Young, a school teacher, was the first women to cast a vote under the new law. This new opportunity opened doors for political office to Martha Hughes Cannon, the first state senator in the United States.

Utah women did not use their votes to remove polygamy. The frustration of this fact influenced an anti-polygamy law proposed seventeen years after Seraph Young's first vote. The passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 removed voting rights from

all women in the Utah Territory. It also removed all voting rights, jury duty, and political office positions for men in the territory as well. In 1890, polygamy ended with the document called the Manifesto proposed by Wilford Woodruff at the October 1890 general conference. The Manifesto was accepted by church membership in attendance that day.

In 1895, Utah leaders tried for statehood. Congress accepted the seventh request for statehood made by Utah political leaders. As the constitution committee met at the City County Building in Salt Lake City, a proposal to add the same language on women's suffrage Wyoming used when their state constitution was accepted was presented. B.H. Roberts spoke in opposition of the idea. He didn't want the state constitution document denied because women's suffrage was included. B. H. Roberts "spoke for two days against including women's suffrage in the constitution. On the other side, Franklin S. Richards stated that he would "rather remain in territorial vassalage" than deny women equal political standing."^v

Utah women used the petition strategy they knew to gather signatures on the matter. There were 24,801 signatures favoring a constitution guaranteeing women's suffrage, and a petition requesting a separate election on the issue with 15,366 signatures. The vote on the question of keeping a women's suffrage statute in the Utah Constitution on April 18, 1895 was unanimous for suffrage.^{vi}

The final wording of the Utah Constitution Article 4, Section 1 accepted on April 18, 1895, inspired by the Wyoming State Constitution states: "The rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall enjoy equally all civil, political and religious rights and privileges." A few months later, Utah's male electorate voted overwhelmingly to approve the proposed constitution. Utah women were given back the vote, or re-enfranchised, when Congress accepted Utah's constitution and granted Utah statehood in 1896.^{vii}

ⁱ <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/700008024/Utah-women-voted-earlier-than-most-in-US.html> (accessed 8-3-2109).

ⁱⁱ <https://www.utahwomenshistory.org/2018/02/receiving-losing-and-winning-back-the-vote-the-story-of-utah-womens-suffrage/> (accessed 7/8/2019).

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} Jill Mulvey Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Women of the Covenant, The Story of Relief Society, Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City, 1992, pg.28.

^v <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/700008024/Utah-women-voted-earlier-than-most-in-US.html> (accessed 8-3-219).

^{vi} Ibid.

^{vii} <https://www.utahwomenshistory.org/2018/02/receiving-losing-and-winning-back-the-vote-the-story-of-utah-womens-suffrage/> (accessed 7/8/2019).

Wyoming Women's Suffrage Excerpt

The proposal to include women's suffrage in the territory constitution was discussed as a way to encourage women to relocate to Wyoming. The document passed by the Wyoming Territorial Legislature and signed by Governor John A. Campbell on December 10, 1869 was the first document granting women's suffrage in the United States. It read:

*An Act to Grant to the Women of Wyoming Territory the Right of Suffrage, and to Hold Office
Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:*

Sec. 1. That every woman of the age of twenty-one years, residing in this territory, may at every election to be holden under the laws thereof, cast her vote. And her rights to the elective franchise and to hold office shall be the same under the election laws of the territory, as those of electors.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, December 10, 1869.

William Bright, a Cheyenne saloon keeper, was elected a member of the territorial legislature discussing a few issues concerning women in 1869. He introduced a bill to give Wyoming women the right to vote late in the 1869 session. Lawmakers wanted some positive Wyoming publicity. Changes in Wyoming's economy after railroad completion meant more people left Wyoming than moved in. Lawmakers thought giving women suffrage would bring more women to the state. There were six men to every woman and few children when the suffrage idea was proposed. Maybe women who could vote would support the party that proposed the suffrage idea. Would the bill embarrass Governor Campbell if he vetoed the bill? There were attempts to amend the voting bill, but in the end the only change was the age women could vote. It went from eighteen to twenty-one. "The House then passed the woman suffrage bill seven votes to four, with one abstention. Governor Campbell took several days deciding what to do. He finally signed the bill into law Dec. 10, 1869."ⁱ

When Wyoming went to the polls after Governor Campbell signed the suffrage bill, over 1,000 women voted. Democrats became unhappy when women voted for candidates that had not supported the suffrage bill. An attempt to remove voting rights from women in Wyoming, but the measure failed by one vote.ⁱⁱ

The original voting bill passed by the territorial legislature was added to the state constitution when Congress granted statehood July 10, 1890.ⁱⁱⁱ The suffrage bill became a pattern used by other states nearby.

"Stories also circulated in later years that the whole thing had been a joke, that the lawmakers were mostly kidding and the entire idea went further than anyone had expected. That may be partly, or slightly true, but it goes against the fact that they spent a great deal of time debating the issue—hardly something the legislators would have done if they hadn't taken it seriously."^{iv}

ⁱ <https://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/right-choice-wrong-reasons-wyoming-women-win-right-vote> (accessed 7-8-2019).

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ <https://www.history.com/topics/us-states/wyoming> (accessed 8-9-2019).

^{iv} <https://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/right-choice-wrong-reasons-wyoming-women-win-right-vote> (accessed 7-8-2019).