

NINE YEARS' EXPERIENCE

—OF—

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING.

WYOMING SPEAKS FOR HERSELF.

The Laramie City (Wyoming) *Daily Sentinel* of December 16, 1878 has the following leading editorial:—

“For about eight years now, the women of Wyoming Territory have enjoyed the same political rights and privileges as the men, and all the novelty of this new departure, all the shock it carried to the sensibilities of the old conservatives, has long since passed away.

“For a long time—even for years past—we have frequently received letters asking for information as to its practical results here, and still more frequently have received copies of Eastern papers with marked articles which purported to be written by persons who resided here, or had visited the Territory and witnessed the awful results or the total failure of the experiment.

“We have usually paid no attention to these false and anonymous scribblers, who took this method to display their shallow wit at the sacrifice of truth and decency. But recently we have received more than the usual number of such missives, and more letters, and from a more respectable source than common, and we take this occasion and method to answer them all at once and once for always, and do it through the columns of the *Sentinel*, one of the oldest and most widely circulated papers in the Territory, because it will readily be conceded that we would not publish, here at home, false statements and misrepresentations upon a matter with which all our readers are familiar, and which, if false, could be easily refuted.

“We assert here, then, that Woman Suffrage in Wyoming has been in every particular a complete success.

“That the women of Wyoming value as highly the political franchise, and as generally exercise it, as do the men of the Territory.

“That being more helpless, more dependent, and more in need of the protection of good laws and good government than are men, they naturally use the power put into their hands, to secure these results.

“That they are controlled more by principle and less by party ties than men, and generally cast their votes for the best men and best measures.

“That while women in this Territory frequently vote contrary to their husbands, we have never heard of a case where the family ties or domestic relations were disturbed by it, and we believe that among the pioneers of the West there is more honor and manhood than to abuse a wife because she does not think as we do about politics or religion.

“We have never seen any of the evil results growing out of Woman Suffrage which we have heard predicted for it by its opponents.

“On the contrary, its results have been only good, and that continually. Our elections have come to be conducted as quietly, orderly and civilly as our religious meetings or any of our social gatherings, and the best men are generally selected to make and enforce our laws.

“We have long ago generally come to the conclusion that Woman's influence is as wholesome and as much needed in the government of the State as in the government of the family. We do not know of a respectable woman in the Territory who objects to or neglects to use her political power, and we do not know of a decent man in the Territory who wishes it abolished, or who is not even glad to have Woman's help in our government.

“Our laws were never respected or enforced, and crime was never punished, or life or property protected until we had Woman's help in the jury box and at the polls, and we unhesitatingly say here at home that we do not believe a man can be found who wishes to see them deprived of their voice and power, unless it is one ‘who fears not God nor regards man,’ who wants to pursue a life of vice or crime and consequently fears Woman's influence and power in the government. We assert further that the anonymous scribblers who write these slanders on our women and on our Territory to the Eastern press, are either fools, who know nothing about what they write, or

else belong to that class of whom the poet says:

"No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law."

We took some pains to track up and find out the author of one of the articles against Woman Suffrage to which our attention was called, and found him working on the streets of Cheyenne with a ball and chain to his leg. We think he was probably an average specimen of these writers.

"And, finally, we challenge or invite any man or woman of Wyoming who disagrees with the foregoing sentiments or who endorses the vile slanders to which we refer, to come out over their own signature and in their own home papers and take issue with us, and our columns shall be freely open to them."—*Laramie Daily Sentinel*.

WYOMING SPEAKS AGAIN.

The Cheyenne (Wyoming) *Daily Leader*, in its most conspicuous editorial of Nov. 22, 1878, positively contradicts the false reports recently circulated in Eastern papers concerning Woman Suffrage in that Territory, and bears explicit testimony to its beneficent effects. We print the article entire.

A FALSE PROPHET.

CAPT. WINSOR ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING. A friend of the *Leader* sends to this office a clipping from a St. Louis paper, which copied the following article from the *Indianapolis Journal*:—

WOMEN IN WYOMING.

The Test of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Pronounced a Failure.

"A representative of the *Journal* yesterday encountered Capt. S. H. Winsor, of this city, who lived several years in Wyoming, and asked for some information concerning the operation of Woman Suffrage in that Territory. Capt. Winsor is an educated and observant gentleman. He was receiver of the public land-office at Cheyenne, and was a resident of the Territory when the Woman Suffrage law took effect, and for several years afterward. The substance of his views is as follows:

"I regard Woman Suffrage in Wyoming as an utter failure, and I think it so regarded by the best men and women of the Territory. So far as can be discovered it has accomplished no good results, while it has certainly worked badly in many respects. For about two years after the law was passed, nearly all the women in the Territory used to vote, my wife among the rest. But after this experience the better class became disgusted with the operation of the law, and quit voting.

"As an instance of the demoralizing influence of politics on women, I remember seeing a lady, the wife of a candidate for office, standing at the counter of a beer saloon drinking beer with a parcel of colored men. I could mention her name, but will not. She was from Ohio, was well-educated, and entirely respectable; but she was so intensely interested in her husband's success that she resorted to this means of getting votes for him. I saw this same lady and a school teacher of Cheyenne in their buggies driving colored men and women, and even known harlots, to and from the polls. In such ways as this I regard the operation of the law as demoralizing to the women. There may be others who differ with me, but I simply

give my views of several years' experience of the law. I may add that my wife, who enjoyed the elective franchise during the period of our residence in Wyoming, entirely accords with these views."

Capt. Winsor's reputation for truth and veracity, while a resident of Wyoming, would make a denial of this story superfluous, if we had only to consider its effects upon the people of this Territory. We are moved, however, to reply to his statement at length, for the reason that similar stories have been repeatedly published abroad and believed by many intelligent readers, who had no other sources of information on this subject.

Capt. Winsor, formerly a resident of this Territory and a government official, is supposed to know whereof he speaks; but we will prove how utterly false are his assertions, and how untenable are his conclusions. We will prove this from the published reports of high government officers, and from the facts as they are found at the present day.

The law conferring upon women the right of Suffrage, was enacted in 1869, at a time when the people of Wyoming were almost unanimously opposed to it. The situation was accepted with good nature and a general disposition to give the law a fair trial. At the end of two years, Gov. Campbell, in his message to the legislative assembly, expressed himself on the subject, as follows:

"There is upon our statute book 'an act granting to the women of Wyoming Territory the right of Suffrage and to hold office,' which has now been in force two years. Under its liberal provisions women have voted in the Territory, served on juries and held office. It is simple justice to say that the women entering, for the first time in the history of the country, upon these new and untried duties, have conducted themselves in every respect with as much tact, sound judgment, and good sense, as men. While it would be claiming more than the facts justify, to say that this experiment, in a limited field, has demonstrated beyond a doubt the perfect fitness of Woman, at all times and under all circumstances, for taking a part in the government, it furnishes at least presumptive evidence in her favor, and she has a right to claim that, so long as none but good results are made manifest, the law should remain unrepealed."

A two years' trial, therefore, gave the ladies another chance, and while our legislators were disposed to dissent from the governor, the law was permitted to remain on our statute book.

Two more years passed by, and we give here Gov. Campbell's opinion of Woman Suffrage and its effects, after an experience of four years. The Governor says to the legislators:

"The experiment of granting to woman a voice in the government, which was inaugurated for the first time in the history of our country, by the first legislative assembly of Wyoming, has now been tried for four years. I have heretofore taken occasion to express my views in regard to the wisdom and justice of this measure and my conviction that its adoption has been attended only by good results. Two years more of observation of the practical working of the

system have only served to deepen my conviction that what we, in this territory, have done, has been well done, and that our system of impartial suffrage is an unqualified success."

The legislative assembly, coinciding in the Governor's views, wisely refrained from tampering with our election laws, so far as concerned women, and consequently received the commendation of their constituents.

Before the end of the ensuing two years, we had another executive, Gen. J. M. Thayer, formerly a United States senator, a gentleman experienced in public affairs, and familiar with legislative matters. In his message to the Legislature Gov. Thayer pays the following compliment to the people of Wyoming:

"Woman Suffrage has now been in practical operation in our territory for six years, and has during the time, increased in popularity and in the confidence of the people. In my judgment, its results have been beneficial, and its influence favorable to the best interests of the community. A right or privilege, once granted, is not easily surrendered. In this case it is difficult to perceive any good reason why it should be."

At this time Woman Suffrage had become one of our popular institutions, approved by all; even its most bitter enemies had been made to succumb to its beneficent effects, and the boldest politician, of the male persuasion, had ceased to agitate a repeal of the law.

Our present Governor, Prof. John W. Hoyt, a talented and learned gentleman; a scholar who has made the education of the masses a special study for many years; a public man of ripe experience, whose investigations into our affairs have been thorough and penetrating, has been requested to give his opinion of Woman Suffrage in general, and its practical effects in this Territory. His Excellency has made the following statement to the editor of the *Leader*:

"I came to Wyoming without prejudice on this subject. After much inquiry in all sections of the Territory, and careful observation of its practical workings, I have to say that, so far, the facts are almost wholly on the side of Woman Suffrage. The *right* I never questioned. To my mind that is indeed unquestionable. More, it is sure of ultimate, if not early recognition by every enlightened community. Arbitrary dictation of prerogatives by the physically stronger to the weaker sex, is a relic of barbarism. It can have no place in a true civilization."

Here we have the opinions, officially given, by three gentlemen, who consecutively occupied the high position of Governor of Wyoming Territory, and therefore had the best sources of information.

We need no higher or better authority, to disprove the sensational story uttered by Mr. Winsor. We will add, however, that every reasonable man and every woman of sense, with rare exceptions, support the po-

sition assumed by the above-named gentlemen. And how could it well be otherwise? In this Territory women have manifested for its highest interests a devotion, strong, ardent and intelligent. They have brought to their new duties a clearness of understanding and a soundness of judgment, which, considering their former exclusion from public affairs, are worthy of the greatest admiration. The conscience of women, in all things more discriminating and sensitive than that of men, their love of order and good government, have been made to contribute to our general well being. Their sense of justice—not compromising or time-serving, but pure and exacting—has stimulated our law-makers to give us other beneficent and just legislation; as for instance, the law giving to the widow the guardianship of her minor children; the law which permits women to acquire and possess property; another which declares that "in the employment of teachers no discrimination shall be made in the question of pay on account of sex, when the persons are equally qualified," etc., etc.

Ten years' experience has taught us that Woman Suffrage in Wyoming is a success. It has made us a better and a more law-abiding people; it has been an incentive to elevate us and all our pursuits and interests with which our wives, mothers and sisters have identified themselves; it has been the means of bestowing life and health on the whole body politic. The most sanguine anticipations of the most ardent friends of Woman Suffrage have been realized here in Wyoming; and this should hasten the day when the refining and elevating influence of Woman shall be as clearly manifested throughout the Union, as it is at present in this, the youngest of Uncle Sam's dominions.—*Cheyenne Daily Leader*.

OFFICIAL DEMOCRATIC TESTIMONY.

The following correspondence between Hon. J. W. Kingman, late Associate Justice U. S. Court (Republican), and Hon. N. L. Andrews, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Wyoming (Democrat), published in the *Boston Post*, ought to silence all the false witnesses about Woman Suffrage in Wyoming:—

CHEYENNE, W. T., JAN. 6, 1879.

Hon. N. L. Andrews, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Wyoming Territory:

DEAR SIR:—There has been so much misrepresentation concerning the practical working of Woman Suffrage in our Territory that I deem it necessary to publish the truth about it, as it is known and appreciated amongst ourselves. I therefore take the liberty of addressing you, in your official capacity, and of asking you to give me, for publication, the results of your long and intimate acquaintance with its practical operation and effects, and your opinion of it

as a wise, or unwise, innovation upon the politics of our country. I am well assured that no man in our Territory has had a better opportunity for observation, or will give a more candid and reliable judgment than yourself on all the phases which this question has presented. Your prominent and active participation in the politics of the Territory and your high and responsible official position are a guarantee in this respect, and will give authority and weight to all your conclusions. Very respectfully yours,
J. W. KINGMAN.

REPLY OF SPEAKER ANDREWS.

LARAMIE CITY, WYOMING, JAN. 16, 1879.

Hon. J. W. Kingman:

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 6th inst., asking my opinion relative to Woman Suffrage in our Territory, was duly received. Under the rule that converts are always expected to say something, perhaps the time has come when the public have a right to hear from me on the subject-matter of your letter, in accordance with my convictions. I came to the Territory in the fall of 1871, with the strongest prejudice possible against Woman Suffrage, and decidedly opposed to it in all its features. Yet, willing to be fair and candid on the subject, I became a close observer of the practical results of this innovation upon the rights of man. I have for three successive sessions been honored by an election to the Legislature of the Territory and twice as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and my opportunities for seeing and judging of this matter have not been circumscribed; and I can now say that the more I have seen of it the less my objections have been realized, and the more it has commended itself to my judgment and good opinion.

And now I frankly acknowledge that under all my observations it has worked well and been productive of much good in our Territory, and no evil that I have been able to discern. I am thoroughly convinced that it is the only true, consistent and honest method of exercising the right of franchise under our representative form of government; where we boast so much of intelligent freedom for the people. The only wonder to me is why the States of the Union have not adopted it long ago. There has been so much said and written on the corrupt state of politics in all our large cities, and no one of the many political philosophers of the age has yet been able to prescribe the proper antidote for the political degeneracy of the day.

Hon. James R. Doolittle had a foreshadowing of the proper remedy when he stated in a public address in Wisconsin "that the time had come (if good men were to be secured for office in the large cities) when the man of family should have two votes, for the reason that a man of family had more interest in good government than a single man possibly could have, and thereby overcome the influence of the rip-raps and re-

peaters." But this does not, or would not, reach the disease of the body politic, because in most cases it would be used with partisan bias.

In my opinion the real health-giving remedy that would counteract the political degeneracy of the age would be the ballot in the hands of the women of each and every State and Territory of our country. Having arrived at the foregoing conclusions from a close observation of the practical results of Woman Suffrage in our Territory, where we have through their influence more quiet and orderly elections than in any other place on the continent, and because they use the ballot with more independence and discrimination in regard to the qualifications of candidates than men do. They are more interested in good government and its moral influence upon the future sons and daughters of the land; therefore, they look above and beyond mere party dictation or influence in deciding their vote. It has been said that none but the degraded or fallen women exercise the right with us. "This is not true." Of course most of the women who vote live in the towns and villages on the line of the railroad, which include about seven-eighths of our voting population, and of that number about one-third are women. As an instance, Laramie City has a population of about 2500 inhabitants and polled at the last election 1200 votes, over 400 of which were women (many of whom lately came from Eastern towns and cities) having as high an order of intelligence and culture as in any village of its size in our country, and there is no one that would claim that to exceed five per cent of this number could possibly be classed in the lower or degraded class of women, and the same relative proportion would hold good in all the other towns and villages of the Territory. There are times when the women do not all vote, or seem desirous of exercising the right; but when any particular scheme is put on foot by any individuals or party which does not commend itself to them as of good moral inception and uprightness, or when nominations are made which do not commend themselves to their moral sentiment, then, and at such times, you will see the women all vote, and vote as they please, without fear or favor.

In the larger towns, where there are a large number of women, the vote is more divided among the candidates on both tickets than in those precincts where nearly all the voters are men, showing conclusively that there is more independent voting by the women, as a class, than by the men. If the ballot in the hand of woman compels political parties to place their best men in nomination, this, in and of itself, is a sufficient reason for sustaining Woman Suffrage. It has been said that Woman degrades herself by going to the polls, and thereby loses the respect and esteem of Man; but I must say that among all the wild and reckless men of the Territory I have never seen or heard any disrespect

shown to women at the polls, the men never forgetting, in all the excitement of an election, that a woman was their mother. Nor to my knowledge has the exercise of the right of voting by the women created any "domestic troubles" or made them immodest, or made any of us think any the less of woman. My conclusions are that the household or family is more interested in good government than a single man is, or indeed can be, and if good government be the ultimatum sought by civilized people, I see no safer, wiser or better way of securing that object than by the ballot in the hand of woman. Believing that the time must soon come when Woman Suffrage must of necessity become universal throughout our country, I remain,

Very respectfully,

N. L. ANDREWS,

Speaker of the House of Representatives of Wyoming Territory.

ANOTHER WITNESS FROM WYOMING.

The following testimony from Rev. Dr. Crary, Presiding Elder of the M. E. Church of Northern Colorado and Wyoming, settles the question for all candid readers:

To all Whom it may Concern:—

The statement has been made and widely circulated, that at the late election in the Territory of Wyoming "no women voted except those of the baser sort." I, therefore, deem it but just to say, that I am well acquainted in Wyoming, having charge of the Methodist churches of that Territory, and that I know from many conversations held with women of the very highest character; from statements made to me by ministers, and by the highest officers of the Territory, and from my own personal associations with editors, lawyers, teachers, and business men, that all such statements about the women of Wyoming are utterly without foundation. The very best ladies of that Territory vote, and, as they generally vote on the right side of all questions, the lies told to their detriment, originate with men of the "baser sort; with defeated demagogues and disappointed strikers of the meanest kind of politicians, who hate the majority of the women because of their pure lives and independent ballots.

The women of Wyoming are an honor to their sex, and deserve the respect of all who wish good government.

B. F. CRARY,

Presiding Elder of Northern Colorado and Wyoming.

Golden, Col. Dec. 13, 1878.

THE TRUTH ABOUT WYOMING.

The Boston *Sunday Herald* publishes with favorable editorial comment the following admirable letter from Hon. J. W. Kingman, of Wyoming:

EDITORS HERALD:—My attention has been called to an article recently published in the St. Louis *Republican*, giving some account of the practical operation of Woman Suffrage in this Territory, which is so entirely devoid of truth and fairness that I feel called on to give you a few facts and figures, as an answer to such gross misrepresentations concerning us. We have in this city, as near as we can judge, about 1800 legal voters. In the fall of 1876 we threw 1625 votes for delegate to Congress, and, at the election this year, 1641. A careful inquiry, as well as an actual inspection of the poll books, shows that we have about twice as many legal male voters as we have female voters. This would give 600 women and 1200 men who are entitled to vote at any election in Cheyenne. There are two voting places or precincts in the city, and the judges of election, at our recent election, inform me that at least one-fourth of the voters at Precinct No. 1 were women, and nearly one-half of the voters at Precinct No. 2 were women; and the poll books seem to confirm this statement. Absolute accuracy, however, is not attainable, because many of the voters' names are entered with the initial letter of the first name only. Taking both methods of computation together, we find that between 500 and 600 women voted at our late election in Cheyenne. This is confirmed by the observation of our judges of election, and by the observation of many of our best citizens, who have carefully noted the facts. I have inquired of very many people in different parts of our city, as to the number of women who voted at our election this year, and two years ago, and no one has estimated the number at less than 500, while the general opinion is that the number was nearer 600.

The vote of Laramie City, the next largest town in the Territory, is not quite equal to the vote of Cheyenne in point of numbers, but the relative proportions, as given above, will apply strictly to the vote of that town, and, so far as I can learn, to every town in the Territory, showing that quite as large a number of the legal voters among the women do actually vote at each election, as among the men; and that nearly all the women in the Territory, who are legal voters, do actually vote.

The impression sought to be conveyed by the writer in the St. Louis *Republican*, and by many others who have sought to give their impressions of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Territory, is that only "disreputable women" vote; and that "they always vote, and always vote for the "worst men." I have made inquiry at our police courts and of our constables, and of others likely to know, as to the number of "disreputable women" in our city; and I am informed that there are not over forty such characters here, and that less than thirty of them are voters; and I am quite sure that no other town in the Territory has a larger propor-

tion. What a blessing it would be to us, if the records of our courts would show as small a proportion of vice, and crime, and folly for the other sex, whose prerogative of voting for the "worst men" is never questioned!

But it is not true, that the influence of the women's vote is either insignificant in itself, or is given "to further projects and men of the worst character." There is not a county in the Territory where there were not some men elected by each of the political parties; and some men, quite prominent in the political circles of each party, were defeated at our recent election. I say positively, without any fear of contradiction, that, almost without exception, the "worst men" were defeated, and the best men were elected, and that a careful inspection of the returns will show conclusively that this result was brought about by the women's vote. I ask a candid examination of the figures given below, in proof of these assertions. It is very unpleasant to mention names or refer to individuals in this connection, but I may say that the candidate of the Republicans for delegate in Congress was a man of irreproachable private character, while his opponent was by no means fortunate in that respect.

In Cheyenne, at the poll where nearly half of the voters were women, the Republican received 577 votes, and the Democrat 314 votes for delegate in Congress, while at the poll where three-fourths of the voters were men, the Republican received 345 votes, and the Democrat 405 votes. At the same election, and at the same two polls, the Republican candidate for County Treasurer received 682 votes, and the Democrat 953 votes; the Republican candidate for Superintendent of Schools—who was a lawyer with an extensive practice at every bar in town—received 797 votes, and the Democrat—a very worthy clergyman—received 825 votes; the first name on the Republican ticket for County Commissioner received 967 votes, and the first name on the Democratic ticket for the same office received 663 votes. As between these two men, the Mormon proclivities of one of them and the virtuous domestic life of the other were in very marked contrast. At the poll where nearly half of the voters were women, the vote cast for this Republican was 608, and for his opponent 283; while at the poll where only one-fourth of the voters were women, this Republican received 359 votes, and his Democratic opponent 380.

The Republican candidate for County Clerk received, at the two polls in Cheyenne, 979 votes, and the Democratic candidate received 662 votes; while at the same time the Republican candidate for Assessor received but 717 votes, and the Democrat 926 votes.

These figures are all taken from the returns of the late election in Cheyenne. I might give more of the same character, but these are sufficient to prove that a party

nomination out here is not "equivalent to an election," and that these women voters as partisan electors are as "mighty onstartin" as white men. But they prove, also, to those who know the several candidates, that the "worst men" have not been elected, and that, as a rule, the best men have been.

The vote at Laramie City was even more pronounced and decided than in Cheyenne. The Republican candidate for delegate in Congress resided there, it is true, and was well-known to every voter; but the Democratic candidate, unfortunately for him, formerly resided there, and was also well-known. The vote in that city was 820 for the Republican delegate and 306 for the Democratic, and yet some of the Democratic candidates for county offices on the same ticket were elected, and several came within a few votes of an election. The same facts are observable in every large town in the Territory where there are any considerable number of women voters; while in those precincts where there are but few voters, and those nearly all men, the vote was largely the other way, as a general rule. The Republican candidate for delegate in Congress was elected by a majority of 1079 votes in the whole Territory, yet it is very certain that there are more Democratic voters in the Territory than there are Republican, and with an unexceptionable candidate and a fair election the Democratic candidate would certainly be elected.

One of the leading men in that party recently said to me, "It is clear that we were beaten by the women's vote; and we shall learn, by and by, not to put up men whose characters will not stand the scrutiny of the good women of the territory."

When the women voters of Wyoming are quietly making such records as these, it is hardly worth while for the enemies of Woman Suffrage to misrepresent the facts, or to publish their cheap libels against our entire community. Our women do vote; and they appreciate the privilege as highly as the men do. Our best and most cultivated women vote; and vote understandingly and independently, and they cannot be bought with whiskey, or blinded by party prejudice, or wheedled by social influence. They are making themselves felt at the polls, as they do everywhere else in society, by a quiet but effectual discountenancing of the bad, and a helping hand for the good and the true. We are all beginning to feel and appreciate their power, and the direction in which it is sure to be exerted. It will not be long before our caucuses and our candidates will understand that the nomination of a debauchee or a gambler or a drunkard means defeat; and that a man who expects to be elected to any office in Wyoming Territory must have a good private character and a clean record.

There is hardly a single assertion in this article from the *St. Louis Republican*, so widely copied into Eastern newspapers, that bears even the semblance, of truth; and I

challenge the writer, or any one else, to find in the returns of our elections, or in the opinions of our best people, anything to sustain or corroborate any one of the statements contained in it.

Respectfully,
J. W. KINGMAN.
Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, Dec. 18, 1878.

TESTIMONY OF MISS HINDMAN.

Miss Matilda J Hindman, of Pittsburg, Pa., went to Cheyenne on the day of the last election to see for herself the actual voting of women. The following extracts from her correspondence with the *Denver Mirror*, were copied entire by the *London Times*, and cover the substance of her testimony:—

Arriving in Cheyenne the day before election, we made inquiries of those whose intelligence, position, occupation and business best fitted them to give the desired information.

Seven of the eight, (four gentlemen and four ladies,) with whom we talked, spoke in the highest terms of the beneficial results of the measure. The eighth, though declaring himself in favor of Equal Rights because "he believed a cultivated, educated woman was as good as an ignorant negro, or a drunken white man," yet he must say "Female Suffrage is not a success." When asked, after he had asserted that only women who could be bought voted, if he said that respectable women did not vote, he answered that he would not say so. Finally he said he could give no statistical information on the matter.

One gentleman who is considered an opponent to Woman Suffrage said to us that two very beneficial results had come from the enfranchisement of women. One was that both political parties had been compelled to nominate better men for office. Though men would, for the sake of party, vote for immoral men, their wives refused to do so, often voting for the opposing candidate, and their husbands commended them for it.

The other good spoken of was the protection of property owners in their right.

"Most men who own property," said he, "have a wife, sisters and mother whose votes offset the votes of the reckless, worthless renegades who have no property a kind of floating population that believes those who have property are their enemies, and who at every opportunity vote against the moral interests of the town."

"But you will see how many and what class of women vote, if you stand near the poll," said all with whom we talked, except one.

In the town are two polling places. At one of these, a nicely furnished room in the Inter Ocean hotel, the most of the women vote. Some gentlemen who have wives and sisters, accompanied them, with others

who on account of the order, quiet and neatness that prevails, doubtless prefer to cast their votes here.

In this room, the floor of which is covered with a Brussels carpet, sat the judges and clerks of the election—three ladies and two gentlemen. The bright, intelligent and pleasant faces of the ladies, and the dignified and pleasing manners of the gentlemen gave a home-like appearance that was very agreeable, and one could not fail to ask why objections should be made to women participating in a matter of so much importance as the government of their country?

Women voters were coming and going during all hours. Many came in their own carriages, some in carriages sent by the political parties, but many walked, preferring this, rather than to place themselves under the appearance of being influenced, by riding in a carriage provided by any party,—though men do not scruple to ride when they have the opportunity.

The ladies brought their ballots with them. They knew before they came, for whom they were going to vote. Having the tickets before-hand, they knew exactly whose name to scratch, and some at least, did not vote the straight ticket. The ladies do not forget a man's political record. His moral character has much to do in gaining or losing their votes.

There was no electioneering at the voting place; not a word was spoken, occasionally a gentleman in the crowd that stood on the sidewalk would bow to a lady acquaintance, but not one word did we hear during the time we remained.

The dispatch with which they voted was a marvel.

The average time for a lady to walk from her carriage across the sidewalk, deposit her ballot and seat herself in her carriage again was twenty-eight seconds. The longest time taken by any one lady, while we noticed them, was forty-five seconds, the shortest, eighteen seconds.

The verdict of every honest mind as to the character of the majority of these women would undoubtedly be, "respectable, good women."

We were told that it was quite rare for a woman's vote to be challenged, though men were there all day for that purpose.

Ten years of political life have not corrupted the women so that men cannot trust them.

Though large numbers of men stood around the polling place, not a single loud word was to be heard; no smoking and no spitting on the walk, over which the ladies had to pass. The way was always kept free for them to pass through. If these were not gentlemen they were the best counterfeits we have ever seen. The whole appearance and bearing of these men bear testimony of their respectability.

The babies, too, we understood, were well taken care of by lady friends, while the mothers went to the polls. Not unfrequent-

ly their sweet little faces are seen in close proximity to the voting place. The mothers trundling the little carriage, with baby snugly nestling inside, comes up and deposits her vote as though it was the most natural thing in the world. No drunken men were there. No crowding, pushing and jamming, such as may be seen and experienced by women at the theatres, operas, lectures, and even at church when a distinguished divine is to preach.

If any one wishes to take a lesson in quietness, order and politeness, let him attend an election where women vote.

MATILDA HINDMAN.

Denver, November 8, 1878.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN WYOMING.

The following is published in the *New York Observer* from a lady in Wyoming Territory, who is the wife of a U. S. Judge, and a leading member of the Presbyterian Church:

Your letter of the 28th ult., asking my opinion of the practical results of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming, is received. I could have wished you had selected some abler source of information.

I came to Wyoming, some three years ago, from Missouri, and brought with me, both from nature and education, fully the usual amount of conservatism, and I regarded with peculiar suspicion the idea of Woman entering the political arena. My observations have materially modified my views upon this subject. I will not trespass upon your time by any elaborate history of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming, but give you a brief summary of facts and results as they have come under my own observation.

The women of Wyoming, and particularly the better class, as highly prize and as generally exercise the right of Suffrage as do the men. Woman, from her very dependence, and comparative weakness and helplessness, feels more strongly than man does, her need of the protection of good laws faithfully executed, and in her own interest and that of those she loves, she naturally puts her vote where it will do most good for the accomplishment of this end.

The elections here are conducted as quietly and decorously as any other public gathering, and I have finally concluded that if the sexes can associate together with impunity in the home, the school, the church, the social gathering, and in every relation of life from the cradle to the grave, a woman need not be seriously demoralized by her momentary association with her husband, father, lover and brother once a year at the polls.

It is true, women very generally vote as do their husbands. I know several instances however, where the wife votes one way

and the husband the other, but I have never known or heard of its generating any unpleasantness in their family relations. The pioneers of the West, whatever their faults, are not so intolerant as to abuse their wives because of a difference in opinion in politics or even in religion. The fact that husbands and wives usually vote alike seems to me no objection. It is only placing an additional power and influence in the government of the country where it is most needed and will naturally be most wisely used. The more the home influence is felt in the general government the better. It is not from that source, but from the restless, the wandering, the indifferent, not to say the vicious, who have no home or domestic ties and responsibilities that danger is to be apprehended.

Almost every lady here is not only reconciled to, but highly gratified with the practical results of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming.

The only element that would desire its repeal are the vicious and corrupt—those who fear not God nor regard man—who fear its power and are restless under the restraint it helps to impose.

The women are more generally Republicans, but they are less governed by party considerations than men, and both political parties have come to recognize the necessity of selecting their best men, or at least not nominating bad men, if they desire to succeed.

The women hold the balance of power and the politicians know it. Since my residence here, more than one instance has come under my own observation, where corrupt or immoral men have been defeated in their efforts to secure positions of high public trust, and it has been generally conceded that their defeat is attributable to the direct influence of Woman Suffrage.

If I had the time to write and you the patience to read it, I should like to draw for you a true picture of the result of Woman's influence (backed by the ballot) upon our schools, in the jury box, and in all the relations of life, social and political, but I have already written more than you asked. I am not a woman's rightist. We have not one in the Territory, I believe. I do not endorse the ultra ideas which its champions advocate. I do not think women will derive any special personal benefits from its exercise, outside of their general interest, as other members of the community, in good laws and good government, but I believe the results of the experiment in Wyoming have demonstrated that Woman's influence in the government of the State is just as beneficial as in the government of the family.

You are at liberty to make such use of this hastily-written letter as you may deem proper.

Very respectfully yours,

MRS. I. P. C.,

Correspondence *N. Y. Observer*.

MORE TESTIMONY FROM WYOMING.

A person known to the *Boston Daily Herald* has written a letter signed "GONZALO," testifying of his own knowledge to the good results of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming. We make the following extracts:

In justice to the readers of your widely circulated paper, will you publish the following irrefutable facts in relation to the working of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Territory, as well as in Colorado, where women are permitted to vote at district school elections. I have seen the practical working of Woman Suffrage in Cheyenne after a six years' trial, and I know women vote there, whenever in their judgment their vote is requisite, and at some elections more frequently than men, and they generally vote for such candidates as are qualified to represent the better class of citizens, the virtue, intelligence and sobriety. I also know the result, has been to so purify the polling places as to make their approach safe, easy, and often inviting. Women are treated with as much respect, and greeted with as much politeness on election day by the people of Wyoming, as they are by the best trained male citizens of Boston, Cambridge, or any other well-bred city or town in Massachusetts any day in the year, no matter what the occasion might be. Men do not insult women on public occasions out there, by smoking tobacco in their faces, as they do in Boston, or anywhere in Massachusetts. Governor Thayer said to me, in 1875, "'Tis the greatest moralizing institution we have (which of course includes the churches) and we all like it, and it can't be repealed." Hon. John W. Kingman says women manifest a great deal of independence in their preference of candidates, and have frequently defeated bad nominations. They are becoming every year more and more interested in public affairs, and are less subject to the temptations which bias the political action of men. In the Legislature of 1875 only one man was opposed to Woman Suffrage. He was an intemperate man, formally postmaster at Cheyenne, who had been a defaulter and had drifted off to another part of the Territory, and was there elected. This man made a motion to repeal the act, but no one would second it, and he was actually hooted down; and, when he returned home, his constituents threatened to lynch him. Intelligent women are generally in favor of it, and I do not believe you can find a dozen respectable men in any locality to oppose it. Women sometimes hold office, not very often; they very often serve on school committees; in some cases have been elected county clerks, and in several cases have been acting justices of the peace. As jurors, women have done excellent service. On petit juries, the women hold the men up to a higher sense of honesty and morality than they would exercise if left to themselves. We

have had no trouble from the appearance of "bad women" at the polls. If they go there they conceal their character and make no disturbance. Before women voted, the polling place was a perfect pandemonium. Whiskey was dealt out freely by the candidates, the streets were filled by men in all stages of intoxication, knives and pistols were used freely, bullets were flying at random, and it was dangerous to pass. All has now changed, and perfect order prevails, and if there is any fighting done it is done at the saloons, not at the polls. Our saloons are all kept by men; I do not know of a single one kept by women. The general influence of Woman Suffrage has been to elevate the tone of society, and to secure the election of better men for office.

Miss Matilda Hindman recently made the following statements. She was at Cheyenne on election day. She says: "If I am any judge of human nature, the countenances of the voting ladies indicated a high degree of cultivation and refinement. Each lady had her ticket ready when she reached the polls, and, after depositing it, went away without any disturbance. The testimony of the best people in the city was that the best women voted. The greatest objection one politician had was, that they scratched their tickets, as he expressed it, in a most disgusting manner, and would not stick to the party; consequently one man ran ahead of his ticket, in a closely contested district, 900 votes, on account of his good reputation for morality. Cheyenne has been, and is sometimes now called the worst city in the country, and this orderly voting and almost entire freedom from corruption is due to Woman Suffrage. Instead of roughs at the polls, they were surrounded by gentlemen. Not an oath was uttered, no tobacco was used, and the gathering was most orderly. Friends of the press, can this be said of any town in Massachusetts?"

The following, from Mrs. Anna J. Whitney, of Keokuk, Ia., was given Nov. 26, 1878. She says: "I witnessed Woman's Suffrage yesterday, and the women turned out largely to vote. They usually drove up in carriages, voted and drove away, none remaining around the polls. There were all classes of women. I never saw an election pass off so orderly and quietly. There was no loud, boisterous conduct on the part of the men who gathered at the polls, and when a lady came up to vote, the crowd separated, and some gentleman would escort her to the ballot box and back again to her carriage. I saw colored women go up alone and vote; they were treated with the utmost respect; that is, they were in no way molested or ridiculed."

My object is, and I doubt not those other witnesses have the same object in view, to spread the truth, destroy error, and do what I can to make the world better. The article quoted says not one-half the women in Cheyenne have cast a vote since the first two elections. This may be true, and still

it was evidently calculated to mislead the mind. How many elections do we have here when half the men in Boston vote? I think not one. When you come to consider the large floating population always to be found in the new Western cities, as well as the fact that every female by the time she is fifteen is called a woman, it would be exceedingly strange if one-half should get out to the polls at any one election. But, let it be whichever way it will, this is the truth, that enough women have voted, and will continue to vote, to put men and keep them on their best behavior, and break up the rings, which are the very curse of New England politics to day.—*Boston Daily Herald.*

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MRS. WOOLSON ON WYOMING.

EDITORS JOURNAL:—I see by your last paper that you are desirous of collecting testimony in regard to the practical working of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming. I have seen, among your list of those who have observed its effects in that Territory and borne unequivocal testimony in its favor, the name of Governor Campbell, the first Governor of the Territory, and the one whose approval of the Woman Suffrage Bill made it a law. More testimony I send you in the enclosed newspaper articles, which appeared in the *Boston Journal* in the summer of 1871. At that time I made a pleasure-trip to the Pacific Coast, by way of the Pacific Railroad, going and returning, of course, through the whole length of Wyoming. As I was at the time connected with the *Boston Journal*, and was writing weekly letters for that paper, giving a connected account of the journey, I was desirous of obtaining all the information I could from the most reliable sources in regard to the regions I passed through. Wyoming and Utah interested me particularly, because in those two territories, and those only, women exercised the right of Suffrage. So many conflicting accounts had appeared in the press in regard to the peculiar state of things said to result from the laws of those territories, that I was very intent to observe for myself the condition of society there, as it had been affected by Woman Suffrage.

I had little opportunity, on going out, to learn anything concerning this matter. The conversation which I had at Laramie with two not very intelligent men, and which you will find verbatim in my *Journal* letter marked, gives the greater part of the information gathered at that time.

CONVERSATION ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Here, as at Cheyenne, we are served at table by men, and not a woman is to be seen. We might fear that voting had proved fatal to the Gertrudes of Wyoming and swept them all off, had we not espied, as we entered, a couple of well-dressed and apparently well-mannered dames peeping from an upper window, where glimpses, also, of brocaded sofas and rich curtains showed us that we had not yet reached the realms of barbarism. Supper ended, we discover two of the resident gentry, rough, honest-looking men, lounging beside the doorway, and we venture upon the theme that has been uppermost in our thoughts, even while discussing the antelope steak and marvelous roast potatoes within doors—for was it not here, in this very Laramie City, that the first woman jury in the world held its sitting?

A conversation ensues, which we will give verbatim.

(Massachusetts woman, pausing in her promenade, and addressing the resident gentry before her:) "This is the Territory, I believe, where the women vote. I have just come from the East, and our papers there declare that this new regulation of yours does not work well and you propose to repeal it. Can you tell me if this is so?"

(First citizen, leaning back defiantly upon the rail fence:) "Your Eastern papers say that, do they? Well, we hain't heard anything about it here. This was a wild country, I can tell yer, till the women took hold of it, and they have made it what it is."

(Second citizen:) "Trouble? There is no trouble at all. I have been down to the polls and seen 'em vote, myself, all as regular as can be."

(First citizen continues:) "Didn't you meet the woman jury down at Cheyenne? They passed through here last week, and are sitting there now."

(Third listener expresses her sorrow at not having beheld them, and asks:) "How came you to decide here that women should vote? The women themselves did not demand it, did they?"

(First citizen, evidently not posted.) "No, but I suppose the General Government thought they would try it here first, and see how it worked."

"Did they all vote at first?"

"No, not at first, but they all do now, pretty much, I guess."

(Hereupon second citizen chimes in:) "Well, I've got a wife, but she don't vote."

"Why not?"

"Coz, I won't let her, for she will get on the jury, and then I shan't have anybody to cook for me." First citizen forbears comment on this declaration, but it is too much for their female questioner. Indignation seizes her, and she rejoins: "Well, if I were your wife, I would not let you vote either." "Well I don't," was the reply,

made with the sublime assurance of one who feels that he is the jewel of consistency.

Thereupon, with civil adieu and further assurances from both citizens that Woman Suffrage in Wyoming is an undoubted success, their questioner resumes her promenade, debating in her mind whether it can be that this domestic hero has never heard of certain pains and penalties that may be visited upon those who intimidate voters and interfere with the right of Suffrage belonging to any free-born citizen, man or woman.

But on my return, having expressed to a fellow passenger my great regret at hearing so little about the women voters of Wyoming, while passing over its soil, he did me the great favor of bringing to my seat in the car and introducing to me the Governor of the Territory, who had just boarded the train at Laramie City, with the intention of going to Cheyenne, the Capital. The courteous Governor took the proffered seat beside me, and for the space of two hours, while we sped on without interruption toward Cheyenne, he answered freely and frankly all the questions which my eager interest led me to ask. His answers, as written out by me directly after, are given in another letter, and you will see how cordially he bore testimony to the beneficial results of Woman Suffrage, as he had observed its working for two years. Nearly all the information given in that letter concerning the interests of the territory, I obtained from his lips. At Cheyenne he invited me to accompany him to a jeweller's establishment near the depot, to see the famous moss-agates of the region; and while making our way across the platform at the station he was stopped by a lady, who held a brief and earnest conversation with him on public affairs. He remarked to me, on resuming our walk, that she was a member of the Territorial Republican Committee, that she was there to consult with him concerning the approaching election, and that her husband, moreover, was a nominee of the Democrats for some prominent office. He assured me that this novel state of things occasioned no unpleasantness in the family, so far as he had heard.

Woman Suffrage in Wyoming had proved so successful, that its Governor avowed himself a Woman Suffragist, although when he signed the bill granting this right he had little belief in its public expediency.

A year or two after this interview, Gov. Campbell called upon me in Boston, and at his request I called with him upon Mrs. Howe, of whose labors in the cause of Wo-

man Suffrage he had been cognizant. He had not then changed his belief. Here is the account of my interview in Wyoming, written at the time:

THE GOVERNOR OF WYOMING.

Before leaving Wyoming, we had, by chance, the pleasure of a long interview with the Governor of the Territory, and to him we are indebted for many of the facts we have given in reference to this new and promising portion of our republic. Gov. Campbell—for thus appropriately is the Governor of Wyoming named, is a young man, a native of Ohio, and an ex-army officer. In bearing he is quiet and dignified, and very frank and courteous in speech. The interest we felt in so peculiar and delightful a region as Eastern Wyoming presented, led us to inquire particularly concerning it, and especially were we desirous to learn what had been the practical working of Woman Suffrage in their midst; that measure for which a few reformers had battled so long in New England, and which many of their hearers still regard as an experiment so dangerous or all-important to the home and State. In common with the curious world, we had read sundry statements, purporting to come from the judges of this remote land, in praise of the lovely state of thing which the new *régime* had brought to pass, and as many others depicting in moving terms the disturbance of peace and order, the wrath of husbands and the wailing of infants that ensued when wives and mothers went to the polls and were shut up in jury boxes beyond the reach of their agonized families. We will not disguise the belief we had held that the former version was too good and rosy to be strictly true, and that the latter had the unmistakable air of an artistic and slanderous falsehood.

Probabilities can never be as potent as facts, and whatever the testimony, nobody's eyes and ears are quite as good as our own, and so we were very glad to learn for ourselves what was the true state of the case in Wyoming. When upon its soil, we asked its quiet, undemonstrative Governor what had been the practical working of Woman Suffrage there? he replied at once: "Excellent; it has worked well. I approved the bill giving Suffrage to Woman, without looking favorably upon it, owing to my early prejudices; but have seen no reason to regret the step, and am rather forced by the results to become an advocate of it." Then we began to hope that after all the rosy view might be the true one, and so it proved. His testimony was most unequivocally in its favor, and so was that of every person whom we met in the Territory. Those who are anxious to demonstrate that Woman Suffrage is in its nature a sort of political and moral nitro-glycerine, sure at some inopportune moment to explode and blow up the pillars and foundations of the social state, would find little comfort in observing

the new phase of society in Wyoming.

So quietly has this question of Suffrage been accepted by the people, and so little change has it made in the manners and the employments of women, that the possibility of that general disturbance and upheaval of all things which our Eastern prophets foretell, seems never to have been entertained. When we started the usual objections, to hear how they would be answered, we were met with a surprised stare, as if they were wholly new and unexpected. This is accounted for by the fact that no public discussions preceded the passage of the bill, and that the people in making it law, seemed in no wise to suspect that they were doing a great or singular thing, and one that was to draw upon them the eyes of the world.

The women number two thousand, and not the least surprising thing is that no one of them, at present, holds any office in the Territory, not even that of a Justice of the Peace. There is no prejudice against it, but they do not seek public life. We did not hear mention of a female orator while we were there. It appeared that the matrons keep to their housework and their firesides, as of old, save on election days, and that then they all go forth and vote as it seemeth unto them good. The tickets they carry are by no means sure of being the same that their husbands support, for it was the votes of the women that swung the Territory round into the Republican ranks, where, however, it has not always since remained. When we asked if the husbands did not give their wives terrible talkings-to, for daring thus to differ with them on grave questions, we were met with the reply that it was quite as likely to be the wives who administered the talkings-to, if any were given. Caudle lectures and family feuds may be the heralds of election day in Wyoming, but we could find no evidence of such a fact. And yet it is apparent that the women do their own thinking, and that the husbands no longer claim the intellectual ownership of their wives. Unhappy Wyoming! Let no lord and master emigrate thither who is not willing to see the sceptre depart from Israel, and his own undisputed authority vanish before his eyes.

Since a territory claiming admission to the Union as a State, is rated according to its population and not its voters, this was no measure for political gain; nor was it a scheme devised to outvote an alien population, as was the voting of women in Utah. The measure is said to owe its origin to the wife of the president of the council, which answers to our Senate, and when it was first introduced into the House, then wholly Democratic in politics, it was first defeated and subsequently passed.

When we asked if there was any disturbance at the polls, the Governor replied:

"There is no more jostling nor crowding at the polls than there is at a church door, nor so much. If a group of men are around a door and women come up in carriages or on foot, the men instantly give way and allow them to pass in and deposit their votes." It was his opinion that nearly all voted, even those who were opposed to it at first.

Equally unequivocal was the testimony in regard to the excellent service that women had rendered as jurors. Their names are drawn with those of other registered voters, the proportion of women to men being determined wholly by accident. Twice it has stood six to six; again two women were called upon to serve, and at another time only one. Their verdicts have been satisfactory to all save the culprits. In one case the "forewoman" of a jury, who rendered the verdict of Guilty of Manslaughter, called the same evening upon the Governor and asked for a pardon for the prisoner, thus showing that while as a public officer she administered strict justice, as a woman she could not forget what it was to be merciful and tender-hearted. This same lady we were privileged to see, and when we beheld her, she was acting as a member of the Central Republican Committee, and holding a conversation with the Executive in reference to the work of the coming campaign. Her husband, moreover, was a candidate of the opposite party. Could there be a more aggravated case? Well, what was she like? It is contrary to all probability, I know, but as a chronicler of facts I must avow that she had a very subdued and pleasant manner, and a winning smile, and was arrayed in the usual female paraphernalia of ribbons, necklace and jaunty hat, and looked as if she might be on her way to the sewing circle. She was dreadfully out of her sphere, no doubt, but it was a place that she filled charmingly.

We left Wyoming glad of one thing, that we had at length stepped foot in a republic. We call all our States by that pleasant name, it is true, but it is only a figure of speech. So long as a majority of the adult citizens of Massachusetts, sixty thousand strong, are ruled by a minority, and only by a majority of that minority, too, we must be excused if we do not see how its government can be said to rest upon the will of its citizens. A republic for men, an absolute despotism for women, would be the more exact terms. Our present system of elections has one defect, greater than the failure to represent minorities, about which we find ourselves so much concerned, and that is, its failure to represent majorities.

ABBA GOULD WOOLSON.

Concord, N. H., Jan. 2, 1879.

BOSTON, 1879.

W. K. MOODY, PRINTER.