

A SIGNAL TRIUMPH.

ADOPTION OF A WOMAN SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION BY BOTH BRANCHES OF THE OREGON LEGISLATURE.

THE RESULT DISPUTED IN THE HOUSE BECAUSE A MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS PRESENT WAS NOT A MAJORITY OF THE ENTIRE HOUSE.

SENATE.

Promptly at the appointed hour, 2 o'clock P. M. of October 5th, the Oregon Senate met to consider the resolution for submitting the enfranchisement of women to the decision of the voters of the State. In two minutes after the calling of the roll, Mr. Fulton of Clatsop, who had introduced the resolution, moved that the discussion be postponed until Thursday at 7:30 P. M. The motion prevailed, and the Senate proceeded to other business, thereby disappointing a large gathering of women who had assembled to learn their fate. But they were again out in augmented force on Thursday evening at the hour named, accompanied by such a crowd of interested gentlemen friends, the leading minds of the State as well as the Capital, that they had good reason to be greatly encouraged over the self-evident popularity of their cause.

Mr. Fulton opened the discussion in an able, logical, comprehensive and unanswerable speech of half an hour's duration, confining his remarks principally to the section of the Constitution relative to amending proposed amendments, and proving to every comprehensive thinker present the constitutional fact that "all power is inherent in the people, and they have the right at all times to alter, amend or abolish the government as they shall think proper;" and this being a part of the fundamental law of the Federal as well as the State Constitution, it was clear that there was no intention on the part of the framers of the latter to insert a clause of a nature to conflict with the higher law nor with Article I of the Bill of Rights of the State Constitution, upon which every other section of the same is founded. He concluded with a stirring appeal to the patriotism and liberality of the Senators, urging them to prove by their acts that they were not afraid to submit at all times "to the people" the free use of that "inherent power" which is the foundation of all governments. He believed the voters of Oregon were ready to grant women the right of suffrage. They ought to have the right to the free ballot; it is inalienable; and the right of representation in the Legislature is a right as inestimable to women as to men, and is formidable to tyrants only.

At the close of Mr. Fulton's address, which was listened to with profound attention by the vast assembly that crowded the corridors and doors and lobby, a Senator moved that Mrs. A. S. Dunlway be invited to present the views of the ladies upon the subject under discussion. The motion was unanimously carried, and Mrs. D. was escorted by the Sergeant-at-Arms to the chair of the President of the Senate, Mr. Hirsch, who introduced her with his usual gentlemanly and courteous demeanor.

Mrs. Dunlway expressed her deep appreciation of the high honor the Senate, by its invitation, had conferred upon her as a representative of the great class of otherwise unrepresented though tax-paying citizens of this Commonwealth, "who," she said, "have commissioned me, as their humble servant, to appear before you on their behalf, and urge you to grant to the voters of Oregon the privilege and power to decide whether or not your wives, your mothers, your sisters and your daughters shall be accorded the right to a voice in making the laws of a government which they are taxed to sustain, and to the statutes of which they are held amenable. We are not unmindful that I am here to-night by your courtesy, rather than by acknowledged right, and I confess that I find it a rather difficult task to stand before you and by your consent make a complaint which you have the power—but for your magnanimity—to deprive me of opportunity to make at all. But, if you could read the letters I get from almost every quarter, and by almost every post, written by women who work at the loom, or the churn-dash, or the wash-board, or the cooking stove, and who, through their labor in rearing sons and daughters, are taxed to sustain the government and uphold the laws which you are here to consider, you would not wonder that I, also a mother of men, have the courage to discharge my duty on their behalf to the best of my humble but earnest ability. 'Courage,' these Spartan wives and mothers write to me; 'we are at home, praying for you.' And, Mr. President, I feel the inspiration of their prayers to-night. They bid me to come before you as their standard-bearer and your friend, to assure you that their interests are your interests, and they will do you good and not evil all the days of your lives. They are willing to trust the voice

of the voters, if you will but grant them—their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons—the power to decide that their wives and mothers shall have the same right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness that you claim for yourselves. I do not believe that the Senators will feel that they can afford to establish the dangerous precedent that would result from the proposed decision that it would not be possible to submit another amendment to any part of the State Constitution while two or more amendments are pending. It was wisdom on the part of the framers of the Constitution to provide that no amendment to a pending amendment could be offered by the Legislature before which such amendment, while pending, must go for ratification. The man who, in crossing a stream, used the handle of a scythe for a bridge, but failed to see, till it was too late, that in so doing the blade of the instrument must swing round and cut off his head, was not one whit more short-sighted than the Senator who would be willing to so construe a single clause of the Constitution as to make the Constitution itself inoperative as a whole, or even in part. Mr. President, I learned, while yet a little child, when attending school in a little log cabin in the heart of a frontier wilderness, to revere the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson, 'All men are created equal; endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.' I believe the inspiration of Liberty was born with every wise woman's existence. Certain am I that it has grown with her growth and strengthened with her strength; and I well remember the electric thrills that stirred me in every sentient fiber of my nature, when, as a child, the heroic struggles of the revolutionary fathers and mothers, who freely pledged and freely gave their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor that Columbia might be free, were taught in our schools. The Constitution expressly provides that every citizen shall be guaranteed the equal protection of the laws. And yet, Mr. President, one-half of the people are taxed without representation and governed without consent. This government is not a democracy, nor a republic. It is a government of one-half of the people by the other half, instead. It is an aristocracy of sex, wherein one-half of the citizens enjoy a monopoly of the rights and immunities which are denied to the other half. It is not necessary for me to insult the intelligence of an august Senate like this to make the explanation that the generic term *men*, as applied to the inalienable rights of the human family, includes women. Men are always willing to admit this fact when women's taxes are due, or when a woman breaks a law that all persons of her sex are denied a voice in making. The man has never yet lived who has said of a woman convicted of crime, 'May it please the Court and the jury, I represent this woman. Punish me!' Women complain that they are rated in law with idiots, insane persons, criminals and Chinamen. Time was when they had the negro for company; but modern legislation has reached out its hand and lifted the colored citizen upon the high pedestal of equality before the law; and to-day he is a United States Marshal, a Senator or a Representative in Congress; a law-maker, before whose mandate your wives and mothers must bow while they proclaim the lesson taught by your government—that taxation without representation is tyranny. We ask you, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Senate, to take the necessary steps to submit this resolution for amending the Constitution to the votes of the sons of women. We believe that you will do your duty. The eyes of the world are upon you. Oregon has already written her name higher than that of any other State in the Union in her recognition of equal rights for the mothers of men. Her legislation has been liberal because her sons have been free. Let the grand picture of the Father of his Country beam upon you to-night with an inspiration of irresistible power. You are making history. The same spirit of liberty that presided over the destinies of Washington a hundred years ago is presiding over the destinies of the people of Oregon to-day. It is in your power to write the name of your young and growing Commonwealth yet higher—aye, the highest of all in the mighty constellation of the United States of America. It is in your power to place the honor upon the brow of Oregon that alone can accrue to the State which shall take the lead in this grand movement for the enfranchisement of the mothers of men. The blue air of the hoary mountains has answered back to the pellucid atmosphere of the billowy ocean, and filled the men and women of this grand young State with the electric fires of an exalted patriotism. Our people have inhaled the spirit of liberty with their very breath. Let them give Oregon an op-

portunity to lead the van in the great galaxy of States that will surely fall into line when you shall have set the grand example, and your descendants shall see her shine in the history of the centuries to come with a luster that shall dim the glory of a Massachusetts, a North Carolina or an Old Virginia. Mr. President, I know that this is not the time or place for discussing the *pros* and *cons* of this woman movement. These will be considered in their proper place before the people after the action of this Honorable Body, for which we now pray, shall have made it possible for them to give or withhold their votes upon it. Thanking you, gentlemen of the Senate, for the high honor you have conferred upon me in the name of womanhood, in listening thus profoundly to my feeble utterances, I rest my case in your hands."

The President did not attempt to check the hearty applause that followed Mrs. Dunlway's address. When it died away, a strange silence fell upon the assembled multitude and continued for fully half a minute. It was finally broken by a voice from the lobby.

"Say, Mr. President!" it exclaimed in excited tones, "is this a free fight?"

This brought to his feet the Senator from Polk, the Right Hon. J. D. Cox, who stated that if the question of Woman Suffrage was to be debated on political grounds, he had no objection to make; that politically woman should be entitled to all the rights that belong to man; but that there is another side to the question; that the spheres of the sexes are not the same; that this change would bring about a revolution in natural laws; that it would cause woman to forget the high duties of maternity, and impose her duties upon man; that woman should be the wife and mother, man the husband and father, and that he was opposed to changing these relations of the sexes. "It has been argued," he said, "that women are rated with Chinamen. I object to that. My wife is better than a Chinaman. I have no patience with any man who says his wife makes half the living. I support my wife. Women would lose the high regard men have for them if they should vote. No, Mr. President, we will not allow them to vote. We prefer them as they are. We want them to teach their growing sons how to vote. We don't want women to be men."

The Right Honorable Senator took his seat amid demonstrations of applause from a few roughs in the lobby, which the President promptly suppressed.

The next speaker was Senator Humphrey, from Linn, who said: "Mr. President, I have been thinking that, if it were really true that no amendment to any other part of the Constitution could be submitted to the people while an amendment upon one part was pending, it would take one hundred and six years for a suffering people to amend the entire instrument. This, to my mind, is proof enough that Senators who claim that we cannot at this time amend the Constitution are laboring under a mistake. I am in favor of granting the right of suffrage to the women of Oregon. They have earned it, and are entitled to it. The gentleman from Polk assures us that his wife is better than a Chinaman. I cordially agree with him in that. She is not only better than a Chinaman, but she is better than he is. He says that women ought to raise the voters and teach them how to vote. This they do already; and they have been at work at it for the past hundred years. And it is folly to say that a woman who is capable of instructing and influencing voters is not fit to vote herself. Many of them are much wiser than we are, Mr. President; and all of them have the same physical and mental necessities that we possess, and the same inherent, inalienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Women are not complaining about natural laws. So far as I know, no woman who wants the ballot wishes to be a man; and, even should they wish to be men in our stead, the Senator from Polk needn't be afraid of the consequences, for there is a higher law than man can make or woman can break that settles that question. The Senator isn't very good-looking, and it is just possible that he may not get the votes of women to return him to office; but I have no fear on that score. I shall vote for the resolution."

Mr. Haines, Senator from Baker, next spoke in favor of the resolution, substantially as follows: "Mr. President, the Earl of Airlie, from the kingdom of Great Britain, is making Oregon a visit. You are aware that a vast amount of Scotch capital is being invested among us, and that many of our greatest enterprises for transportation are in the hands of England's subjects. There is now a project in progress for cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and it is to be backed principally by English capital. And it does seem to me that if Queen Victoria can manage, with unparalleled success, the greatest financial schemes of the world, and preside with becoming wisdom and proper dignity over the kingdom that controls a Gladstone or a Beaconsfield, the women of Oregon

ought to be allowed to vote. Sir, the day is not far distant when a woman—probably the lady who has addressed us to-night—will occupy your seat as President of this Senate Chamber. And why not? May not a woman of Oregon occupy a chair like that if Queen Victoria can occupy a throne? We shall be spared the disgraceful scenes that mar the good name of the Federal Congress when women take their proper place as co-workers with men in making laws. I shall vote for the resolution."

Mr. Starkweather, Senator from Clackamas, expressed his fear that the Constitution could not be amended at this time. His argument sounded too much like a relash of the Dred Scott decision to carry weight, and was a disappointment to his friends, who expected something better from so able a source.

Mr. Bilyeu, of Linn, was the next speaker. He said the provision in the Constitution to prevent multiplying amendments to pending amendments had no reference to any other amendments than such as might already be pending. The section did not limit the number of proposed amendments. It plainly said "if two or more" should be pending, the word *more* evidently referring to an indefinite number. He believed in the enfranchisement of woman. He was ready to submit the question to the people. He believed they were ready for it. He was sure it would carry, and he was ready to defend the constitutionality of the people's decision before the Supreme Court if anybody should attempt to contest it. The Senator's speech throughout evinced a clear understanding of logic, law and ethics, and created a profoundly favorable impression upon the silently thoughtful multitude.

Mr. Siglin, of Curry, said he was willing to submit the question to a vote of the people, but that he did not understand the question himself, and did not know how he should vote if it were submitted. He thought "women have more rights already than men have; they have no poll-tax to pay, and always win their cases in the courts. Women are cruel to each other; Men are women's friends," etc., etc. He continued in this strain for half an hour, and it was a pity to see so sensible a man on some subjects so willing to be silly on this one.

When Mr. Siglin took his seat, Mr. Ross, of Jackson, moved the previous question; lost. A motion to adjourn was carried.

The question was again taken up at the opening session on the 8th inst. Mr. Ross again moved the previous question; carried.

The resolution was then adopted by the following vote:

Ayes—Apperson, Bilyeu, Burch, Colvig, Fulton, Grim, Haines, Humphrey, Knight, McConnell, Ross, Siglin, Smith, Starkweather, Stearns, Tyson, Waldo, Waters, Woodward, Wright, Mr. President—21.

Noes—Cox, Cochran, Davidson, Gates, Hendricks, Lee, Pennington, Simon, Silvers—3.

HOUSE.

Last (Wednesday) evening the House met at 7:30 o'clock.

The Speaker stated that the special order before the House was the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 13, for the submission of a constitutional amendment allowing the right of suffrage to citizens irrespective of sex.

Senate Joint Resolution 2, being identical with House Concurrent Resolution 13, was substituted therefor.

Mrs. A. S. Dunlway, on motion of Lawrence, was invited to address the House. She briefly stated that she felt that she was in the presence of her friends, and believing that the House was not afraid to trust the voice of the people on this measure, she would make no argument, deeming none necessary.

The question was then discussed in an animated and spirited manner and at great length, nearly all the members taking part.

When the question was ordered, Mr. Lawrence moved to call the House to order and put every member on record.

The Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to close the doors and bring in the absentees.

A motion to adjourn was lost.

A further call of the House was dispensed with, and the resolution received the following vote: 28 to 25; absent, 7.

The resolution was then announced by the Speaker as concurred in, but is disputed on the claim that it requires a majority of all the members to pass the resolution.

The latest in regard to Hancock as the "hero of Gettysburg," is that General Howard selected the battlefield, located the positions of troops, and placed the batteries of artillery. He should be given the credit for the result. Neither Hancock nor Slocum arrived till late in the afternoon after the preparations were made.