

*Women's Suffrage Sites in Colorado:  
A Survey Plan*

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# Women’s Suffrage Sites in Colorado: a Survey Plan

## I. Introduction

### *Purpose*

As the first state where women won the vote by popular referendum, Colorado has a long and extensive history of engagement in the women’s suffrage movement. Although the 1993 centennial celebration of that victory invited new historical scholarship on the progression of the movement in the state, the way in which that history is represented in actual places throughout Colorado has not been comprehensively studied and has tended to be a secondary concern. On the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, now is the time to bring such places to the fore. Since such a study would be a major undertaking, this survey plan has been completed in order to prioritize and direct future work in that effort. As such, in addition to reviewing any existing survey data, this survey plan provides a context statement that reviews the history of the movement in Colorado and identifies property types associated with it and its many eras in order to direct prioritizations for future phases.

### *Participants*

The Colorado Historical Foundation (CHF), a nonprofit organization that works in a spirit of statewide collaboration to enhance and further historic preservation in Colorado through its core programs of Preservation Loans, Fund Stewardship, Project Support Services and Historic Preservation Easements, undertook this survey plan under the direction of Executive Director Catherine Stroh and Director of Preservation Programs Cindy Nasky. With funding from the State Historical Fund, CHF hired Clerestory Preservation, an independent historic preservation consulting firm run by Principal Erika Warzel, to complete the research and writing of the survey plan. The Center for Colorado Women’s History, Director Jillian Allison, and its Advisory Committee composed of leading local scholars on women’s history in the state, provided invaluable feedback and direction for further research, as did Andrea Malcomb, Director of the Molly Brown House Museum, Leah Witherow, Curator of History at the Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum, and State Historical Fund Survey Specialist Jenny Deichman.

### *Funding*

This project was paid for in part by a History Colorado – State Historical Fund grant (#2020-SP-002).

### *Project Area*

Due to the historic development of the Women’s Suffrage Movement, this survey plan covers the entire state of Colorado. Although the earliest activities of the movement were concentrated in a few cities, as the movement developed and recruited new advocates, communities and towns throughout the state lent their efforts to the cause. Care has been taken to represent this large geographic reach as much as possible in the developed context, the selected properties for reconnaissance (windshield) survey, and priorities for future phases.

## *Methodology*

During research of the history of the Women's Suffrage Movement in Colorado (and its connections with national developments), a database was compiled with over 400 entries for women and men identified in primary and secondary sources as having been involved in the movement over the course of its approximately sixty years in the state. As a movement driven by state and local leaders who often worked for the cause out of their homes or workplaces, association with individuals was considered an obvious starting place for identifying possible sites.

Database entries for suffragists vary in the level of information found for a person, ranging from just a name, to employment, role(s) in and associated dates with the movement, and a city or town of residence/work, if known. Selected suffragists were then further researched with readily available sources, such as city directories and censuses available online, to determine if any sites associated with them could be identified.<sup>1</sup> A person's selection for additional research was based on a few different factors: the individual's role in the movement (perhaps prominent or unique); the geographic range across the state that they represented; and/or their cultural/ethnic background (important to recognize in a movement that tended to be considered made up of only white, middle- to upper-class women, but was in fact far from it).

In addition to persons, database entries were also created for sites directly identified in the consulted historical sources, e.g., the location of a suffrage convention. When the location of such an event or activity was not noted, an entry was created for that event /activity as a placeholder, along with salient details that might help identify the associated site with further research.

From this research and categorization of sites, patterns of property types emerged that became the basis of the developed context statement, as well as avenues for future research within those property types that may be the most fruitful in yielding additional sites for identification and survey.

## *Purpose and Value of Survey*

Survey of historic sites provides salient information related to a place's historic background, how it fits within a historic context of similar or related sites or areas, whether it has historic significance according to relevant evaluation criteria, and its level of historic integrity related to that significance. When synthesized, this information allows for an effective evaluation of a site or district's eligibility for historic designation, either through a local preservation program, the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties, and/or the National Register of Historic Places. Findings of eligibility, in turn, can help direct which properties or district should be considered for designation, i.e., official recognition of a place's

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<sup>1</sup>Archival repositories which were expected to be consulted during research, such as the Denver Public Library's Western History and Genealogy Department and the Stephen H. Hart Research Center at History Colorado, experienced closures due to the COVID-19 pandemic and were not accessible for most of the project period. Online sources, such as city directories and census information through Ancestry.com and coloradohistoricnewspapers.com, have been consulted to fill this gap as much as possible.

historic importance. In short, survey is a baseline first step for preserving significant historic places. Without survey, a community cannot know which places are important and worthy of preservation.

To be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, a site, building, structure, district, or object must meet at least one of the following four criteria:

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of person significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

The Colorado State Register of Historic Properties has five criteria, which are similar to the National Register's four, with one additional criterion; of these, at least one criterion must be met in order for the property to be eligible:

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to history.
- B. Property is connected with persons significant in history.
- C. Property has distinctive characteristics of a type, period, method of construction or artisan.
- D. Property is of geographic importance.
- E. Property contains the possibility of important discoveries related to prehistory or history.

The criteria for local designation programs, where in place, depend upon the establishing ordinance or law, but generally tend to be based upon either the National or State registers' criteria. The number of local designation criteria that must be met by the property in question also varies between communities, from at least one to several.

In addition to meeting the applicable significance criteria, a property must also possess a sufficient level of historic *integrity* as related to its significance. Not to be confused with the condition of a property, integrity refers to the level of change the property has undergone since its period of significance (the

time period over which it gained its historic significance) and its impact on understanding or recognizing the property's significance. Integrity is evaluated by considering seven different aspects, as defined by the National Park Service:

*Location*: the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

*Setting*: the physical environment of a historic property.

*Design*: the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

*Materials*: the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

*Workmanship*: the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

*Feeling*: a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

*Association*: the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

### *Types of Survey*

There are two essential types of survey that provide different levels of information on a historic place or area: *Reconnaissance* and *Intensive*. *Reconnaissance* survey records resources with photography and basic information, such as the year of construction, notable features, and likely alterations based on observations in the field. It provides little to no historic background on a site, and cannot provide findings of eligibility related to historic associations that have not been uncovered or evaluated. Reconnaissance survey can, however, provide a general idea of likely integrity, and whether further research is warranted.

*Intensive* survey provides as complete a historic background on a property as possible through archival research on a building's construction, the people or events associated with the site, relevant areas of significance, and the integrity of the building related to those areas of significance. It is usually able to provide a solid evaluation of eligibility for designation based on findings of significance and integrity.

Due to the singular contextual framework of this survey plan for sites of the Women's Suffrage Movement, preliminary survey has occurred in a reverse order from typical survey plans undertaken for a geographical area with multiple contexts. Property types and sites have been identified through research, followed by reconnaissance survey for sites that could be located with a preliminary finding of eligibility based on visible integrity related to the known historic background.

## II. Evaluation of Existing Data

### *Previous Surveys of Suffrage Movement Sites*

To date, a survey of sites associated with the women's suffrage movement across the state has not been undertaken. Furthermore, up until 2020, survey within local communities had also apparently not been completed: a file search with the History Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) for sites or surveys associated with women's suffrage yielded no results, and a questionnaire sent to Certified Local Government preservation programs did not identify any local efforts for such work. The one exception is the City of Fort Collins, which during the winter and spring of 2020 engaged a graduate student in the Department of History at Colorado State University, Leslie Moore, to prepare a context for the local effort in the struggle for equal suffrage.<sup>2</sup> Moore's context revealed several sites, many of which are still extant. Of the ten properties identified by Moore, five are already listed in the National or State Registers; the other five have not been thoroughly surveyed.

Although not a survey in the traditional sense, a list was compiled by OAHP in 2008 of places listed in the State Register of Historic Properties and the National Register of Historic Places that are associated with women's history in general. These sites cover a wide range of women's activities, such as teaching in one-room school houses, being local business leaders, and homesteading.<sup>3</sup> Only the Davis Waite House in Aspen has any association with women's suffrage as the home of the Populist Governor who supported women's suffrage during his election campaign in 1892 and whose party played an important role in bringing the issue before the electorate in 1893. Others, such as the YWCA buildings in Pueblo and Colorado Springs, may have an as-yet unknown association, such as the site of a speech on equal suffrage.

Historic Denver, Inc., the local preservation advocacy non-profit for the Denver area, published a similar compilation of sites in 2002, a guidebook entitled *Denver Women in Their Places: A Guide to Women's History Sites* by Marcia Tremmel Goldstein. This guidebook also presents sites associated with general women's history and does not identify any places directly associated with the movement except for a sidewalk-mounted plaque at 17<sup>th</sup> and California streets commemorating the long-demolished Unity Temple, where the first suffrage convention in the state was held in 1876. Some sites associated with the later accomplishments and activities of suffrage leaders are also presented and discussed.

The 1993 year-long centennial celebration of Colorado women gaining the vote in 1893 may have resulted in participating communities identifying some suffrage sites, but if so, that information has not been recovered to date.

Ultimately, the lack of cultural resource survey focused on the women's suffrage movement in Colorado results in very little to evaluate in terms of previous survey efforts and how future survey projects

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<sup>2</sup> Leslie Moore, *From Parlors to Polling Places: Women's Suffrage in Fort Collins*, prepared for City of Fort Collins Historic Preservation Services (May 2020). Online at <https://www.fcgov.com/historicpreservation/files/suffragehistoriccontextfinal-forweb.pdf?1597706701> (accessed December 3, 2020).

<sup>3</sup> Nicole Makinster, ed., *Directory of Women's History Sites in the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties*, History Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver (2008).

should be mounted – there is simply very little to move forward from. However, Fort Collins’ context presents an example of an excellent starting place in terms of locally associated sites. Furthermore, the developed context statement provided in this survey plan seeks to frame the movement within discrete eras and property types in order to provide further direction on the types and methods of survey that are likely to be successful in identifying such places.

### *Designated Properties*

No sites within Colorado have been designated due to their association with the women’s suffrage movement. The Davis Waite House in Aspen mentioned above was listed as part of the Aspen Multiple Property National Register listing, primarily for its architecture and general association with Waite as a local newspaperman, miner, and State Governor, rather than for his role in the suffrage movement. A few of the sites presented in Goldstein’s guidebook are listed locally or in the National and State Registers, but again, none are recognized for their association with equal suffrage.

### *Results of Windshield Survey*

A list of extant suffrage sites was developed concurrently with the context (beginning on page 7), as sites were identified through the research process.<sup>4</sup> The list for windshield survey was winnowed down to those places that presented as fully as possible the breadth of property types and locales. All of the context’s property types and eras are represented in the list, as are twelve of Colorado’s counties that cover Northern Colorado, Front Range metropolitan areas, Central and San Juan mountain communities, and the Upper San Luis Valley (see Appendix A, Map of Windshield Survey Sites).

Since association with the women’s suffrage movement was a prerequisite for inclusion in the list for survey, a preliminary evaluation of historic integrity was the main goal of the windshield survey.<sup>5</sup> In general, the integrity of the sites surveyed was found to be surprisingly good. This may be because sites that have survived to present day have been preserved due to their obvious age and general historical merit. Indeed, of the twenty-four extant sites selected for the windshield survey, fourteen are listed in the National Register (nine individually listed, and five listed as part of a historic district; see Appendix B, Table of Windshield Survey Results). All of these listed sites are designated for their architecture and other historic associations, such as the development of the communities in which they stand. A few of the surveyed sites displayed low integrity for their association with the suffrage movement, usually because they underwent a later restyling that is itself historic.

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<sup>4</sup> The database created as part of this survey plan includes a worksheet of sites that are categorized as following: extant, no longer extant or unable to be located, sites that have not been specifically identified (such as the exact location of a known historic event), and sites needing further verification of association.

<sup>5</sup> Due to the statewide geographic reach of the windshield survey properties, in-person site visits were not possible for each one. Sites visited in person had photographs taken by either Erika Warzel or Cindy Nasky. Street-view images from Google Earth were collected for sites not visited in person and are indicated as such in Appendix B.

### III. Context Statement – Women’s Suffrage Movement in Colorado

#### Context Introduction

As many scholars and historians of women’s history have noted, the struggle for equal voting rights did not begin with the iconic Seneca Falls, New York convention of 1848, nor did it end with the ratification of the U.S. Constitution’s Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Consider, for example, that American Indian women and their male counterparts were not considered U.S. citizens until 1924 and continued to be disenfranchised afterward if they lived on tribal lands; or that Chinese Americans were not guaranteed the vote until 1943; or that restrictive voting practices meant to keep African American women and men from the polls were not struck down until the Voting Rights Act of 1965; or that even today efforts continue to hinder groups of people, such as felons, from voting. Similarly, equal suffrage for Colorado’s women is not on a timeline with clear beginning and ending dates, nor did it stand alone as its own historical movement. Women’s suffrage often intersected with various groups advocating for other goals, such as temperance, early feminism, child welfare, the labor rights movement, and other Progressive- or proto-Progressive-era causes. Sometimes, female suffrage was an integral measure of the progress of these causes; at other times, women’s votes promised the ability to achieve them. As such, following the innumerable threads that make up the tapestry of women’s suffrage history would inevitably require exhaustive study, which have been better served by the focus that scholarly books and other publications can convey.

This context statement identifies the types of sites associated with the events and people of the women’s suffrage movement in Colorado and folds these places into the greater historical record. As a territory, Colorado was caught up in the drive to grant women the right to vote in the American West, and equal suffrage was an important question during the formation of the state constitution and the bid for statehood in 1876. When statehood was obtained without equal suffrage included in the state constitution, women’s voting rights could only be achieved by popular referendum, a struggle that took nearly two decades. Colorado became the first state to do so in 1893. Afterward, Colorado’s suffragists became advocates on the national stage, lending their support, acquired experience, and political and organizational expertise to the cause for all American women to have the vote. Generally, this context describes the women’s suffrage movement in Colorado as being active from ca. 1860s, in Colorado’s earliest years as a territory, to 1920, with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The context discusses the movement’s history by dividing it into five eras:

- ❖ Territorial Period, ca. 1860s-1876
- ❖ State Constitutional Convention and the First Referendum, 1876-1877
- ❖ In the Wake of Defeat: Reorganization, 1878-1892
- ❖ Another Chance: The Referendum of 1893
- ❖ Colorado as an Example for the Nation, 1894-1920

The summary of each era is concluded with preliminary information on selected sites associated with it that have been identified to date. Following this historical overview, a thorough description of the six

property types associated with the movement is presented, with a more thorough discussion of the property research that has occurred to date as well as research avenues to pursue in future phases.

The women's suffrage movement in Colorado and the U.S. was only possible due to the work of thousands of women and men, over the course of decades, who organized to change public opinion and lead political action. This context has been compiled in no small part with the help of historical accounts that list suffragists of different eras. Many of the property types associated with the movement rely upon their association with these documented individuals. One prominent source of research for these properties is the compilation of suffragist biographical sketches, *Women's Suffrage Insights Guide*, collected and written by Shaun Boyd, Curator of Archives at History Colorado.<sup>6</sup>

The organizations that formed to advocate and fight for women's suffrage created a fairly complex environment of complementary, and sometimes competing, stances and methodologies. Furthermore, the names used by these organizations, referenced throughout this context, overlapped and were often confused with one another by a press corps unconcerned with the differences and nuances within the movement. A glossary of these state and national organizations, including their acronyms, is provided in Appendix C.

A few notes on terminology: *Equal suffrage* was often referred to in contemporaneous sources, and by suffrage advocates and organizations themselves, as *Woman Suffrage*, with the "woman" describing the type of person voting. Today's inclinations of grammar tend to refer to it as *Women's Suffrage*, which emphasizes to whom the voting belongs. This context statement uses the modern term unless referring to proper organizational names or quoting historical sources. However, with the historic exclusion of women from non-white backgrounds within the movement, the accuracy of the term *equal* is questionable; this context uses the phrase while acknowledging the incompleteness of that equality. Another point of terminology is how to refer to the advocates for women's suffrage; this context uses the term *suffragist*, eschewing the common term of *suffragette*. The latter was not coined until about 1908 as a derogatory name to describe militant British activists. As noted by historian Susan Ware, "[w]henver the term was used in [the United States], it was almost always a term of derision or disrespect or, at the very least, skepticism."<sup>7</sup>

## Territorial Period, ca. 1860s-1876

Organized as a territory of the U.S. in 1861 on the heels of the initial gold rush, Colorado quickly attracted a growing European-American population, generally from the Eastern states and Europe. Women were of course part of that settlement, and brought a desire to participate more fully in the democratic process, which had become a declared goal over a decade earlier at such gatherings as the 1848 National Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Women's rights historian Eleanor

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<sup>6</sup> *Women's Suffrage Insights Guide* has not yet been published as of this writing, but is expected to be made available to the public by mid-2021.

<sup>7</sup> Susan Ware, *Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (2019), 147.

Flexner argues that “the realities of frontier life where the demands for survival made on both sexes did not encourage the idea that women should be sheltered or dominated” was a significant factor in the American West’s more tolerant views on equal suffrage, as was women’s scarcity in the territories.<sup>8</sup>

Though not provided for by the Colorado territorial government (which granted suffrage to males 21 years or older who were not Black or of mixed race), women did have the occasional ability to vote on the frontier. As historian Billie Barnes Jensen has noted, extra-legal governments such as farming and mining districts had female claim holders who were often allowed to vote in district elections, either by virtue of districts specifically providing for women to vote, or by not prohibiting a vote on the basis of gender.<sup>9</sup>

Women’s suffrage in the western territories became a popular topic for debate in the late 1860s. Former Territorial Governor John Evans (1862-65) and Territorial Legislator David M. Richards were proponents of female suffrage and encouraged the legislature to pass a bill for equal suffrage in 1868, which was unsuccessful.<sup>10</sup> As Colorado’s neighbors Wyoming and Utah passed territorial laws for women’s suffrage in 1869 and 1870 respectively, Governor Edward McCook (1869-73) put the question to the legislature again in January 1870, followed by several months during which women’s suffrage was “one of the most frequently discussed issues in the legislative session...”<sup>11</sup> According to historian Stephen Leonard, had the territorial legislature approved and Congress concurred, McCook’s proposal could have become law “since a territory could broaden the voting franchise without an election among the people.”<sup>12</sup> However, women’s suffrage was again defeated in the territorial legislature. Newspapers, including the influential *Rocky Mountain News* and others, had expressed dismay that McCook’s support of equal suffrage had been taken up by a small group of women believed to have an outsized influence over legislators and whose advocacy did not reflect support by the general population.<sup>13</sup>

Within the political sphere, women’s suffrage was not raised again in Colorado until the bid for statehood in 1876; however, it remained a popular public topic, prompting leaders in the national suffrage movement to target Colorado, as well as other Western states and territories. On their tour of the American West in 1871, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton included stops in Colorado beginning in Denver on 23 June 1871 at the Denver Theater, followed by two more engagements in Greeley.<sup>14</sup> According to an 1898 history of Colorado’s progression toward equal suffrage, commissioned by the state’s suffrage association, “[w]hile the city of Denver was from first to last the central source of activity in the suffrage cause, many active advocates of equal rights were found among the leading men

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<sup>8</sup> Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (Enlarged ed., 1996), 150.

<sup>9</sup> Billie Barnes Jensen, “The Woman Suffrage Movement in Colorado.” M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado (1959), 9-10.

<sup>10</sup> Jensen, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Jensen, 15.

<sup>12</sup> Stephen J. Leonard, “Bristling for Their Rights: Colorado’s Women and the Mandate of 1893,” *Colorado Heritage*. Colorado Historical Society, (Spring 1993), 7.

<sup>13</sup> Jensen, 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 June 1871. The Denver Theater was demolished at an unknown date.

and women in other sections of the state. In the earlier stages of the movement, people of the pioneer town of Greeley were among the more advanced co-workers in the cause.”<sup>15</sup>

Beginning in 1869, national advocates for women’s suffrage alighted upon a legal strategy that argued women already had the right to vote as provided for in the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (ratified in 1868), which defined citizens as a person born or naturalized in the U.S. and forbade states from curbing a citizen’s privileges. Women, the argument went, were undoubtedly citizens and therefore were entitled to vote as one of a citizen’s rights. Led by Virginia Minor and her lawyer husband Francis Minor of Missouri, this legal argument was printed as one of a set of resolutions from a National Women’s Suffrage Association (NWSA) convention in St. Louis in October 1869 and distributed nationally in a pamphlet.<sup>16</sup> As such, women across the country, encouraged by the NWSA, attempted to register to vote in elections held in the early 1870s, particularly the presidential election of 1872, when most famously Susan B. Anthony in New York did so and as a result was tried and convicted of voter fraud. Albina Washburn, who helped to settle the Big Thompson area of Northern Colorado with her husband in the 1860s, attempted to vote in Loveland in the 1872 election, Colorado’s only known example of this form of political action.<sup>17</sup> Ultimately, a case originating in Missouri involving Virginia Minor’s attempt to register, *Minor v. Happersett*, brought this constitutional argument before the Supreme Court, who ruled in 1874 that the Fourteenth Amendment did indeed confirm the citizenship of women, but that voting was not a guaranteed right or attribute of citizenship, leaving to define who were enfranchised up to the States and closing the door on further court-centered actions.<sup>18</sup>

### *Notable Identified Properties*

As the earliest period of the suffrage cause in Colorado, the Territorial Period has limited types of properties associated with the movement due to its nascent stage at this time. Specific locations were not commonly reported in histories or even contemporaneous accounts, such as in newspapers. Furthermore, having rarely survived to the twenty-first century, extant buildings of the period are commonly altered and unrecognizable to the period. The table below provides an overview of extant sites identified with this era to date (see Property Types section for further discussion of non-extant sites and possible avenues for further research and site identification). Assessments of integrity related to association with the movement are preliminary and may require further evaluation.

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<sup>15</sup> J.G. Brown, “The History of Equal Suffrage in Colorado, 1868-1898.” Denver, Colorado: News Job Printing Co. (1898), 13.

<sup>16</sup> Francis Minor, “The St. Louis Resolutions,” in Sally Roesch Wagner, ed., *The Women’s Suffrage Movement*, Penguin Books (2011), 261-262.

<sup>17</sup> Review of U.S. Census records from 1870 confirm Washburn’s residence in the Big Thompson area, but did not provide an exact location. Polling places in this era were held in many different types of locations, such as saloons, tents, and post offices. It is unknown whether legal proceedings were ever brought against Washburn.

<sup>18</sup> Jensen, 29-30; National Park Service, “Virginia Minor and Women’s Right to Vote,” *Gateway Arch National Park* website (<https://www.nps.gov/jeff/learn/historyculture/the-virginia-minor-case.htm>, retrieved 13 July 2020). Note that by leaving it to the States to define who could vote, the Supreme Court decision also confirmed the States’ ability to provide women’s enfranchisement should they choose to.

**Table 1. Identified Properties: Territorial Period**

<i>Site Name (Year of Construction)</i>	<i>Address, City</i>	<i>Site #</i>	<i>Integrity/Listing info</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Loveland Block Building (ca. 1863)	1122 Washington Avenue, Golden	5JF.411	Integrity related to restyling in 1905; National Register listed	Both houses of Territorial Legislature met in upper rooms in 1866-68 before Territorial Capital relocated to Denver in 1869; women's suffrage may have been debated here.
Meeker Residence	1324 9 <sup>th</sup> Avenue, Greeley	5WL.566	Good integrity; National Register listed	The Meeker family were prominent members of Greeley's suffrage movement. Daughter Rosine (or Rozene) is credited with circulating a petition for equal suffrage that was presented to the Territorial Legislature in 1870. <sup>19</sup>

### State Constitutional Convention and the First Referendum, 1876-1877

Women's suffrage was taken up again politically as the Territory prepared its third bid for statehood in late 1875 through early 1876, when the State Constitutional Convention met in Denver's Odd Fellows Hall to draft a state constitution in the hopes it would be accepted by the U.S. Congress.<sup>20</sup> Petitions from all over the Colorado Territory and the United States and territories came in to the convention in hopes that delegates could be persuaded to include women's suffrage in the constitution they were drafting.<sup>21</sup>

Suffragist Margaret W. Campbell of Massachusetts arrived in Colorado in November 1875 as the convention began, giving pro-suffrage addresses in Greeley, Fort Collins, and throughout the mountains. Campbell is credited with organizing the first women's suffrage convention in Colorado, held 10 January 1876 at the Unity (Unitarian) Church at 17<sup>th</sup> and California streets in Denver, with many traveling from cities and towns across Colorado to attend.<sup>22</sup> The one-day convention opened with a prayer by Rev. Eliza Tupper Wilkes of Colorado Springs and was followed by a business meeting the next day at which a new suffrage organization, the Colorado Woman Suffrage Association (CWSA), was formed, with Dr. Alida C.

<sup>19</sup> Brown, 14. According to Brown, Nathan C. Meeker and his wife Arvilla (parents of Rosine) were also active in the suffrage movement. Nathan Meeker is best known for his role in establishing the Union Colony in present-day Greeley, as well as his later appointment in 1878 as the Indian Agent of the White River Indian Agency in northwest Colorado, where his actions and attitudes towards the Ute people set off the Battle of Milk Creek and the Meeker Incident, in which he was killed in 1879.

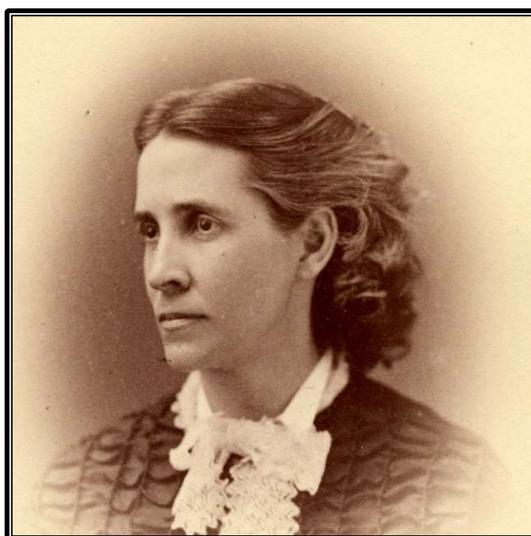
<sup>20</sup> The Odd Fellows Hall has been long-since demolished. However, it is possible that delegates and convention committees may have met away from the general proceedings to discuss individual issues such as women's suffrage.

<sup>21</sup> Jensen, 33.

<sup>22</sup> The 1873 Unity Church at 17<sup>th</sup> and California was demolished at an unknown date and replaced with a second Unity Church at 19<sup>th</sup> St. and Broadway in 1887 (demolished 1959).

Avery of Denver (Fig. 1) appointed as President.<sup>23</sup> Prior to moving to Colorado in 1874, Avery was a professor and resident physician at Vassar College. Personally acquainted with national suffrage leaders such as Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and Henry Blackwell, Avery served as a Vice-President in the NWSA representing Colorado.<sup>24</sup> As an active member of the Unitarian Church, Avery may have influenced the decision to hold the first suffrage convention of 1876 at Unity Church.<sup>25</sup>

Members of the new group met at Avery's home and quickly began maintaining a presence at state constitutional convention proceedings and advocating for equal suffrage with delegates.<sup>26</sup> The suffrage association quickly secured a regular page in the *Colorado Farmer* newspaper, and sent a committee to the State Constitutional Convention, where the Committee on Suffrage and Elections granted an audience to suffragists Albina Washburn of Big Thompson, Mary F. Shields of Colorado Springs, Ione Hanna of Denver, and Margaret Campbell.<sup>27</sup> CWSA circulated petitions, held meetings, and printed and distributed several hundred copies of an address by Dr. J.H. Hayford of Laramie at Maennerchor Hall in Denver entitled "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming."<sup>28</sup>



**FIGURE 1. DR. ALIDA C. AVERY, UNDATED PHOTO.**  
COURTESY COLORADO WOMEN'S HALL OF FAME,  
[HTTPS://WWW.COGREATWOMEN.ORG/PROJECT/DR-ALIDA-CORNELIA-AVERY/](https://www.cogreatwomen.org/project/dr-alida-cornelia-avery/) (RETRIEVED 24 JULY 2020)

The suffragists' cause was taken up by convention delegates and Committee on Suffrage and Elections members Agapito Vigil and Henry Bromwell, who were the only two members of the Committee in favor

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<sup>23</sup> Jensen, 34. Tupper Wilkes was Colorado's first female ordained minister who organized the Unitarian church in Colorado Springs in 1874; by 1879 she had left the state. Unity Hall in Colorado Springs was replaced by All Souls Unitarian Church in 1892.

<sup>24</sup> NWSA was considered the more radical counterpart to the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), a group it originally competed with over argument whether to support the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution of 1870, which granted African American men the right to vote. NWSA opposed the amendment, arguing that it should be more sweeping and extend suffrage to women as well, whereas AWSA supported it. After two decades of infighting, in 1890 the groups joined forces to become one organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

<sup>25</sup> Avery's residence in the 1877 city directory for Denver is 339 20th Street, an area now dominated by high-rises and parking lots. Avery moved to California in 1887, where she continued work in the suffrage movement until her death in 1908.

<sup>26</sup> Jensen, 34-35; Brown, 13.

<sup>27</sup> Jensen, 41; Alida Avery, opening address to the 1877 suffrage convention as reproduced in "Woman's War: Her Great Battle for the Right of Suffrage," *Denver Daily Tribune*, 16 January 1877, 4.

<sup>28</sup> J.H. Hayford, "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming: An Address Delivered by Dr. J.H. Hayford Before the Colorado Woman Suffrage Association, Maennerchor Hall, Denver, January 14, 1876," Colorado Woman Suffrage Association (1876). On Google Books at [https://books.google.com/books/about/Woman\\_Suffrage\\_in\\_Wyoming.html?id=owGfYgEACAAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/Woman_Suffrage_in_Wyoming.html?id=owGfYgEACAAJ) (accessed 16 October 2020). Maennerchor Hall has not been located to date and is assumed to be non-extant.

of equal suffrage for women. Vigil (b. 1833) was a Spanish-speaking farmer and stock-raiser originally from Taos, New Mexico who represented Las Animas and Huerfano counties at the convention and would later serve in the First Session of the Colorado General Assembly. He was also a member of CWSA's Executive Committee in 1877. To date, sites associated with Vigil have not been discovered through preliminary research. Bromwell (b. 1823, Baltimore, Maryland, d. 1903, Denver) was a lawyer and former U.S. Representative for Illinois who arrived in Colorado in 1870 and served in the state's first legislative assembly. Denver city directories and U.S. Census records from 1877-1886 show Bromwell as residing at 319 8<sup>th</sup> Street, having a law office at the corner of 15<sup>th</sup> and Larimer in 1879, and residing at 1117 8<sup>th</sup> Street from 1888-1900.<sup>29</sup>

Together Vigil and Bromwell prepared a minority report with strongly worded arguments for establishing voting equality for women at the outset of Colorado's statehood.<sup>30</sup> Many delegates and observers, including newspaper editorials, feared that including equal suffrage in the constitution would result in rejection of statehood by the federal government.<sup>31</sup> At a meeting on 13 February 1876, the constitutional convention considered the question of including women's right to vote following a speech by Boulder delegate A.K. Yount, who made a motion to strike the word "male" from describing those eligible for voting.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, by a vote of 24 to 8, a state constitution limiting suffrage to male citizens of 21 years of age or older was approved by the convention; women were only granted the right to vote in school board elections and "upon issues affecting schools."<sup>33</sup> However, the public petitions and Bromwell and Vigil's minority report were persuasive enough to prompt the state convention to include a provision allowing for equal suffrage at any time in the future when voted upon in a general election. The convention membership explained itself thusly:

The question of female suffrage having been strongly urged upon the convention by petitions numerous signed and otherwise, and the convention thinking it unwise to hazard the adoption of the constitution upon the decision of this question, but recognizing the right of the people to express their will thereon, have required the General Assembly at their first session to submit the question to a direct vote of the people at the next general election thereafter.<sup>34</sup>

Consequently, the referendum of 1877 was arranged and the campaign to sway votes was begun, before statehood had even been officially achieved. By 12 March 1876, a regular "Woman's Column" began to appear in the *Rocky Mountain News*, written by suffrage association member Mary Grafton

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<sup>29</sup> None of these Denver locations associated with Bromwell appear to be extant: 8<sup>th</sup> Street was redeveloped for the Auraria Higher Education Campus in the 1970s, and the buildings at the corners of 15<sup>th</sup> and Larimer date to 1882 and later.

<sup>30</sup> Jensen, 107 – quoting Bromwell and Vigil's statement as produced in Territory of Colorado, *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention* (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1907), 267-271.

<sup>31</sup> Jensen, 38.

<sup>32</sup> Jensen, 36. A member of CWSA, Yount is listed in CWSA's records as having resided in Fort Collins, Larimer County. It is unclear if accounts by Jensen, Brown, and Stanton placing him in Boulder County repeat an error. Yount died in 1876.

<sup>33</sup> Leonard, 7.

<sup>34</sup> Jensen, 38 – quoting unknown source left out of footnote.



**FIGURE 2. LAWRENCE STREET METHODIST CHURCH, DENVER, CA. 1880.** PHOTO BY W.G. CHAMBERLAIN, COURTESY DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY WESTERN HISTORY DEPARTMENT, CALL NUMBER X-25617

Campbell. The column gave advice on establishing women's suffrage clubs across the state in local communities in anticipation of the public vote the following year.<sup>35</sup> Finalized on 14 March 1876, the Colorado State Constitution was approved by the electorate with 15,443 for and 4,062 against, then dispatched to Washington D.C. for approval and formal declaration by President Ulysses Grant on 1 August 1876.<sup>36</sup>

In November 1876, the first Colorado General Assembly convened, taking up the directive from the state constitution to submit the question of women's suffrage to the general electorate. Legislators worked with suffragists to write a bill for consideration by the legislature that could then be referred to the electorate in the fall of 1877, when the first general election was to be held. More than one suffrage bill was under consideration; one introduced by Rep. Kitteredge of El Paso County would have required a two-thirds majority in the popular vote for the referendum to pass, which was vehemently objected to by suffragists who argued that such a requirement was overly burdensome and not required by the state constitution.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, suffragists were beginning to mobilize to bring the issue to the new electorate's attention in hopes of persuading a favorable vote. A second suffrage convention assembled in Denver in January 1877, this time held at the Lawrence Street Methodist Church (Fig. 2).<sup>38</sup> Dr. Avery gave the preliminary address, outlining the failed effort with the constitutional convention but going on to kick-off the new campaign, stating:

The work must begin at home... Husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children, will discuss the question by the fireside, around the table... From the homes the light will radiate though neighborhoods, school districts, townships, counties, until the entire State is reached. The machinery needed for this work is earnest, individual

<sup>35</sup> Jensen, 41. Campbell was the sister of Katherine Grafton Patterson, wife of Thomas M. Patterson, both also suffragists. No sites associated with Campbell have been identified to date.

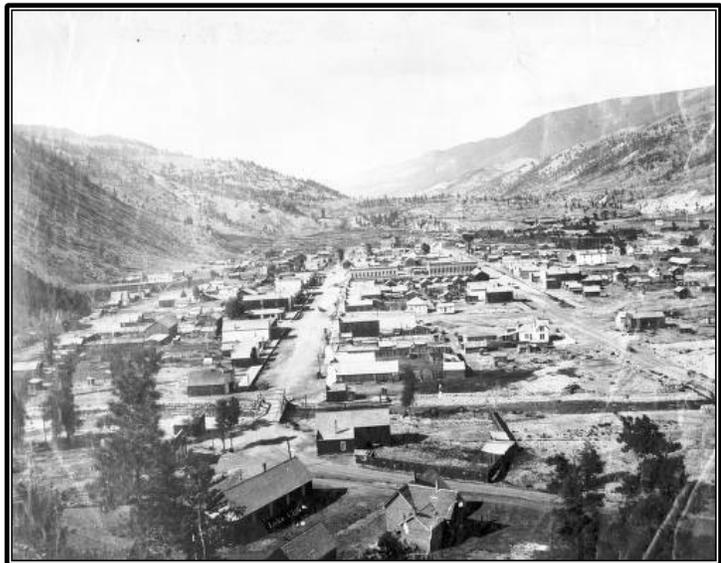
<sup>36</sup> Colorado State Archives, *History of the Colorado State Constitution*, n.d. (online at <https://www.colorado.gov/pacific/archives/constitution>, retrieved 24 July 2020).

<sup>37</sup> Jensen, 42-43.

<sup>38</sup> Jensen, 43 (see also "Woman's War: Her Great Battle for the Right of Suffrage," *Denver Daily Tribune*, 16 January 1877, 4). The Lawrence Street Methodist Church at 14<sup>th</sup> and Lawrence streets, built ca. 1864, was demolished at an unknown date.

effort, debating societies, books and newspapers – all to be used to arouse thought and interest... We shall have some help from the East, from friends who are willing to give their time if their expenses can be paid; but we are too far away, and too big, railway carriages cost too much, and we are too poor to make the longed-for Eastern aid possible to any great extent; we must depend upon ourselves...<sup>39</sup>

Following upon Avery's advice, the suffrage association went on to organize an extensive speaking campaign for its most well-spoken members during the fall of 1877 ahead of the October election day, including Shields and Campbell, as well as visiting NWSA leaders Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and Henry Blackwell from the East, and prominent men from Wyoming who could convey the positive effects of female suffrage in that Territory.<sup>40</sup> Anthony spoke in a different town nearly every day from 11 September to election day on 2 October, concentrating on the state's central and southern towns such as Pueblo, Walsenburg, Trinidad, Del Norte, Lake City, Saguache, Granite, Leadville, Cañon City, and Fairplay. Stone and Blackwell visited many of the same towns at different dates, adding Georgetown, Empire, Silver Plume, Idaho Springs, and Greeley to the list. Anthony, Stone, and Blackwell attracted much attention in various local newspapers, who reported on their speaking engagements regularly, some with an appreciative tone, and others very condescendingly. Anthony's speech in Lake City at the Hinsdale County Courthouse was so well attended that she had to address the crowd from the front steps (Fig. 3). The next day, inspired by her arguments, local women and men formed a local suffrage association.<sup>41</sup>



**FIGURE 3. LAKE CITY, CA. 1880. HINSDALE COUNTY COURTHOUSE IS THE TWO-STORY WHITE BUILDING AT CENTER RIGHT.**

COURTESY DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY WESTERN HISTORY DEPARTMENT, CALL NUMBER X-64.

Mary F. Shields of Colorado Springs was noted as a particularly gifted speaker and was "well received in the south [of the state], even being asked to repeat speeches so that they might be translated into Spanish."<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the language barrier with native Spanish-speakers was a particular challenge for the suffragists. When Stone and Blackwell spoke in Trinidad, two-thirds of their audience were reported as "not understand[ing] a word said by the speakers."<sup>43</sup> No indication that the suffragists strived to translate their speeches for non-English listeners has been found, revealing at best an apathy towards non-white communities which

<sup>39</sup> Avery, "Woman's War: Her Great Battle for the Right of Suffrage," *Denver Daily Tribune*, 16 January 1877, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Jensen, 48.

<sup>41</sup> *Lake City World*, 22 September 1877.

<sup>42</sup> Jensen, 47-48. Specific locations of Shields' speaking engagements have not been found to date.

<sup>43</sup> "Trinidadians," *Colorado Daily Chieftain*, 13 September 1877, 2.

was a fairly common theme throughout the movement in Colorado and nationally. To date, no evidence of Hispana women's involvement in the suffrage movement has been uncovered; however, given the ability of women to own land in the state's southern counties and the support of Hispano suffragists such as Agapito Vigil and Casimiro Barela, both of whom served as representatives in the first General Assembly and were influential in their communities, further research is warranted.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the work of the CWSA and its supporters, the favorable press in many local newspapers, and the ambitious speaking itinerary, the result of Election Day on 2 October 1877 was an overwhelming defeat; only Boulder County voted in favor of women having the vote, and of 20,665 votes cast statewide, only 6,612 supported equal suffrage.<sup>45</sup> The reasons for defeat in 1877 attributed by contemporaries and historians of the campaign vary, but include a lack of official support by any political party (despite support by individual politicians); the lack of coalitions with other groups; a reliance on national suffrage leaders (despite Avery's statement at the beginning of the campaign) who were seen as outsiders interfering in Colorado politics; anti-suffrage coverage by most newspapers (with some notable exceptions); and fears that women gaining the vote would result in prohibition. Although several community leaders were vehemently opposed to women's suffrage and publicly encouraged their constituents to vote against it, no organized anti-suffrage efforts appear to have arisen during the 1877 campaign. Anthony and Blackwell would later accuse "Mexicans" in the state's south as being the reason why the 1877 campaign failed, exposing an underlying racism within the movement, while others have pointed out that the total vote in the southern counties was less than the majority by which the referendum failed throughout the entire state. Still others, both in favor of and against equal suffrage, would maintain that women themselves neither wanted nor were ready for the vote.<sup>46</sup>

### *Notable Identified Properties*

The period for the effort to include equal suffrage in the state constitution and the campaign for the 1877 referendum is relatively short, spanning from December 1875 to October 1877. As with the Territorial Period of the suffrage movement, this early period at the beginning of statehood appears to have a low likelihood of extant or unaltered sites related to the movement. The table below provides an overview of extant sites identified with this era to date (see Property Types section for further discussion of non-extant sites and possible avenues for further research and site identification). Assessments of integrity related to association with the movement are preliminary and may require further evaluation.

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<sup>44</sup> Spanish and Mexican law allowed women to own land even when married (as opposed to U.S law which subsumed a woman's property to her husband). Colorado's southern counties had many women landowners when the area, formerly part of Mexico, became part of the U.S. after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The differences in law left such women and their holdings in a legal quandary.

<sup>45</sup> Leonard, 9.

<sup>46</sup> Jensen, 59.

**Table 2. Identified Properties: State Constitutional Convention and First Referendum**

<i>Site Name (Year of Construction)</i>	<i>Address, City</i>	<i>Site #</i>	<i>Integrity/Listing info</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Hinsdale County Courthouse (1877)	317 Henson Street, Lake City	5HN.68.27	Good integrity; within Lake City National Register HD	Location of 1877 campaign speech by Susan B. Anthony (20 Sept.); local suffrage association formed next day in courthouse
Methodist Church of Del Norte (1877)	520 7 <sup>th</sup> Street, Del Norte	5RN.381	Fair integrity; ca. 1970s large rear addition	Location of 1877 campaign speech by Susan B. Anthony (18 Sept.)
Saguache County Courthouse (now County Museum) (1874)	405 8 <sup>th</sup> St., Saguache	5SH.124	Fair integrity with historic additions from later eras; National Register listed	Location of 1877 campaign speeches by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell (12 Sept.) and Susan B. Anthony (24 Sept.)

## In the Wake of Defeat: Reorganization, 1878-1892

Following the defeat of equal suffrage by the popular vote in 1877, much of the structure of the movement in Colorado was dismantled. As Jensen notes, “Most of the organizations that had been formed to campaign for suffrage rights were abandoned, and newspaper agitation decreased or ended entirely in the various parts of the state.”<sup>47</sup> A bill introduced in the state’s General Assembly by a General Brush (first name unknown) in 1881 that would have allowed women to vote in municipal elections failed, possibly because it lacked support from both anti-suffragists and suffragists who were not appeased by the piecemeal offering.<sup>48</sup>

Suffrage activists did occasionally raise the subject of women’s suffrage in public speeches. Matilda Hindman, a well-known suffragist from Pennsylvania who wrote and traveled extensively on behalf of the cause, appears to have made frequent appearances in Colorado during this time. Her speech at the Methodist Church in Golden on 14 May 1878 prompted a local organization to form.<sup>49</sup> A month later another statewide convention in Denver (location unknown) was held on 19 June 1878, which resulted in the formation of the Colorado Equal Rights League, with former Territorial Governor John Evans as President and Alida Avery as Vice President.<sup>50</sup> This organization apparently did not last long, as another attempt to form an effective suffrage organization was made in 1881 when Albina Washburn published a letter in the *Rocky Mountain News* asking anyone interested in the cause to correspond with her.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Jensen, 60.

<sup>48</sup> Brown, 16.

<sup>49</sup> The Golden Methodist Church was demolished at an unknown date.

<sup>50</sup> Jensen, 60-61.

<sup>51</sup> Jensen, 61. Washburn’s letter was apparently featured in the 2 January 1881 issue of the *News* and may include an address for her; as of this writing, access to a copy of that day’s paper in archives has been hindered by the 2019-20 coronavirus pandemic.

Another convention was soon held on 20 January, at which the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association was formed, with Avery again elected as an officer.<sup>52</sup>

The arrival of Caroline M. Churchill on the scene of the suffrage movement had a notable impact. Settling in Denver in 1879 after nearly a decade of travel through the West writing books and essays, Churchill began publication of her suffrage newspaper *The Colorado Antelope*, which changed its name to *The Queen Bee* in 1892. The paper advertised on its masthead that it was “the only paper in the State advocating Women’s Political Equality and Individuality” and featured articles on the women’s suffrage movement nationally and in Colorado and Nebraska.<sup>53</sup> Among her many strong opinions on a myriad of topics, Churchill encouraged women to make their presence known at the polls.<sup>54</sup>

Another important influence on the suffrage movement in Colorado, and across the nation, was the emergence of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The WCTU formed in 1874 in Ohio as a women’s organization devoted to the prohibition of alcohol, which its members saw as a primary cause of domestic abuse, poverty, and the disintegration of the family. With the election of noted feminist Frances Willard as its president in 1879, the WCTU aligned itself with causes like women’s suffrage, which was seen as the only means by which prohibition could be obtained. Many communities in Colorado formed local WCTU chapters in the 1880s, such as Fort Collins, where advocacy for the two causes went hand-in-hand.<sup>55</sup> Lucy McIntyre (b. 1844, Erie, Pennsylvania) moved to Fort Collins with her husband Josiah in 1878 and co-founded the city’s WCTU chapter in 1881. A dedicated suffragist, McIntyre held both WCTU and suffrage chapter meetings at her home.<sup>56</sup>

In 1890, Matilda Hindman visited Colorado again, this time on behalf of campaigning for equal suffrage to be included in South Dakota’s bid for statehood, just as Colorado had attempted over a decade earlier. Her arrival in Denver that year is credited with reviving interest and commitment to the cause that had waned since the 1877 defeat. According to Brown’s account, Hindman successfully helped a group of six local women form a new suffrage association while meeting at her rooms in the Richelieu Hotel; the group also pledged \$100 for the South Dakota effort.<sup>57</sup> The group of six went on to become a chapter of the NAWSA at the behest of Lucy Stone, who sent encouragement through Louise M. Tyler, a recent arrival in Denver from Boston. Tyler was soon joined by other advocates who would become leaders in the 1893 campaign, including Elizabeth P. Ensley, a Black educator from Massachusetts, also recently arrived (Fig. 4); Ellis Meredith (also referred to by her married name Mrs. H.S. Stansbury) and

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid. Location of the convention is unknown but may be mentioned in coverage by the *News* on 15, 20, and 21 January 1881.

<sup>53</sup> Jensen, 62.

<sup>54</sup> *Queen Bee*, 8 November 1882.

<sup>55</sup> Moore, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>57</sup> Brown, 15.



**FIGURE 4. ELIZABETH P. ENSLEY, 1904.**

COURTESY DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY; REPRODUCED BY HISTORY COLORADO ONLINE AT

[HTTPS://WWW.HISTORYCOLORADO.ORG/STORY/WOMENS-HISTORY/2020/02/18/ELIZABETH-PIPER-ENSLEY-AND-100TH-ANNIVERSARY-19TH-AMENDMENT](https://www.historycolorado.org/story/womens-history/2020/02/18/elizabeth-piper-ensley-and-100th-anniversary-19th-amendment) (RETRIEVED 9 FEBRUARY 2021)

her mother Emily Meredith; and Ella C. Adams.<sup>58</sup> As a state chapter to the NAWSA, the group took the name Colorado Woman Suffrage Association (CWSA).

In the early 1890s, the growing CWSA took several steps to further the cause and garner public attention. In particular, by making use of the one avenue of political participation open to women (school board elections), the suffragists hoped to counter the earlier argument that women did not want the vote or political agency. Accordingly, in 1891, the group endorsed Harriett Scott Sexton (or Saxton) for a seat on the East Denver School Board; due to entering the campaign late, Sexton won only a small portion of the vote. In 1892, CWSA member lone T. Hanna ran for another seat on the East Denver School Board and won. Jensen notes that Hanna's success became an influential example that women did want the vote; quoting Ellis Meredith's account of the 1892 school board election, "On election day, hundreds of women could be seen standing in line to vote in the school election in Denver, and the women in other parts

of the state followed the Denver example."<sup>59</sup> The association also attempted to pass a constitutional amendment in the State General Assembly, but were ultimately unsuccessful, and the effort gained little attention in the press.<sup>60</sup>

In 1892, another development contributed to the revitalized movement: the rise of the People's Party (or Populist Party), a growing political party critical of capitalism and which allied itself with the labor movement. Colorado's farmers and miners were particularly receptive to the party's advances in the 1892 election, carrying the Populist presidential ticket and electing Populist David Waite as governor. Suffragists who also supported the labor movement, such as Albina Washburn, encouraged the Party to back the suffrage movement. Though the party chose not to give women's suffrage a specific plank in its platform and instead implied its inclusion in their plank of "equal rights for all," their implicit support was still considered vital to what was on the horizon for women's suffrage in the state, namely the successful passage of a second referendum in 1893.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See Table 3 and Property Types for further discussion of properties identified as being associated with these individual suffragists during this era, none of which are extant.

<sup>59</sup> Jensen, 75; quoting Meredith, *Great Divide*, (February 1894), 53.

<sup>60</sup> Jensen, 63-64.

<sup>61</sup> Carolyn J. Stefanco, "Harvest of Discontent: The Depression of 1893 and the Women's Vote," *Colorado Heritage*. Colorado Historical Society, (Spring 1993), 17.

### *Notable Identified Properties*

Although activity in the suffrage movement was greatly reduced during this interstitial period between the 1877 and 1893 campaigns, a number of associated sites may be able to be deduced from primary source materials. Research to date indicates that the majority of suffrage activities during this era occurred in Colorado's larger, more established cities. Whether these sites remain extant or relatively unaltered 125 years or more after the period is another question – many have likely been lost or substantially altered, especially in cities such as Denver that have had tremendous growth and redevelopment. The table below provides an overview of extant sites identified within this era to date (see Property Types section for further discussion of non-extant sites and possible avenues for further research and site identification). Assessments of integrity related to association with the movement are preliminary and may require further evaluation.

**Table 3. Identified Properties: In the Wake of Defeat: Reorganization**

<i>Site Name (Year of Construction)</i>	<i>Address, City</i>	<i>Site #</i>	<i>Integrity/ Listing info</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Lucy McIntyre House (1881)	137 Mathews St., Fort Collins	5LR.1702	Good integrity	McIntyre was founder of Fort Collins Chautauquan Circle, leader in WCTU and active in local politics for suffrage and temperance; wrote letters to local newspapers advocating for equal suffrage. Held meetings at her residence through 1920.
Davis Waite House (1880)	234 W. Francis St., Aspen	5PT.528.7	Good integrity; National Register listed 1987	Waite was elected Governor in 1892 on the Populist ticket, supported women's suffrage. Lived here before and after term as Governor; site most associated with Waite in Colorado.

### Another Chance: The Referendum of 1893

With the 1892 election resulting in the governorship and state house controlled by the People's Party, a new opportunity to achieve women's suffrage presented itself. The Populists appear to have been influential in getting a bill for women's suffrage through the state's General Assembly in early 1893.<sup>62</sup> In January of that year, at least four different bills for women's suffrage were introduced in the House of Representatives, though only one of these was supported by the fledgling Colorado Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>63</sup> Eventually the other three were held in abeyance during the progress of CWSA's bill, written by attorney J. Warner Mills and sponsored by Representative J.T. Heath of Montrose (Populist).<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Jensen, 66.

<sup>63</sup> Brown, 18.

<sup>64</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al., *The Complete History of Women's Suffrage*, Vol IV, Chapter XXIX, 3329. Reprinted by e-artnow (2017), on Google Books at

During debates and discussion of the bill in both the House and Senate, representatives from CWSA (Louise Tyler in the House and Minnie J. Reynolds in the Senate) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) as well as other suffrage advocates were in the audience to observe.<sup>65</sup> Though the bill passed the Republican-dominated House with a small majority of 34 to 27, it passed the Senate, controlled by a coalition of the People's Party and Silver Democrats, by a two-thirds majority. On 7 April 1893 the slightly modified bill was signed by Governor Waite, thereby leaving it to be ratified by the general electorate in the November election in order to become an amendment to the State's constitution. The 1893 campaign was underway.

### *Statewide Association and Local Chapters*

According to J.G. Brown's 1898 account of the campaign, CWSA entered the race to sway voters' minds on the issue of equal suffrage with only twenty-eight members and \$25 in funds.<sup>66</sup> At its annual meeting in the spring of 1893, Martha Pease was elected President, Ellis Meredith Vice President, Elizabeth Ensley Treasurer, Mrs. C.S. Bradley Secretary, and Louise Tyler Chairman of the Executive Committee. In keeping with her professional trade, journalist Meredith made a successful motion to change the group's name to the Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association (NPESA) to avoid using the word "Woman;" though suffrage for women was the obvious goal of the group, the thinking was that an emphasis on "Equal" would be more persuasive in "an appeal to justice."<sup>67</sup> Meredith also volunteered, along with a few other members including Lone Hanna, to attend the Woman's Congress meeting in Chicago during the World's Fair in May of that year, where NAWSA leaders would be gathering and whom NPESA hoped to persuade in joining the campaign as they had in 1877. However, Kansas and New York had also sent requests for help in their campaigns, which were considered more "hopeful" than Colorado's. Meredith made the case that victory was a real possibility this time, arguing among other points that with women allowed to vote in Colorado's labor unions, organized labor was "now inclined to approve women's suffrage on a wider scale;" that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was now well organized in the state and backing equal suffrage; and that the controlling political party (the Populists) were in favor. The bitter defeat of 1877 was apparently much on the minds of those who had participated in that effort, including Susan B. Anthony, who declined to contribute her time again and made disparaging remarks about the Hispano men of the southern counties.<sup>68</sup> Though NAWSA would not provide funds for the campaign (other than through individual donations from the likes of Lucy Stone), it did commit to sending Carrie Lane Chapman (later known as Carrie Chapman Catt) as a speaker and advocate, whom Meredith would later describe as "better than silver or gold."<sup>69</sup>

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<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=IWdODwAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PT2887>, accessed October-December 2020). Mills' legal services for the cause were apparently pro bono. Mills lived in Lake City in 1877 and attended Susan B. Anthony's speech there; he later moved to Denver at an unknown date. The 1893 Denver city directory lists his office in the Club Building at 1733 Arapahoe (not extant), and his residence at 2350 Gilpin St.

<sup>65</sup> Stefanco, 18-19.

<sup>66</sup> Brown, 18.

<sup>67</sup> Jensen, 71. Note that "Non-Partisan" was often replaced with "Colorado Equal Suffrage Association" in contemporary accounts of the organization.

<sup>68</sup> Jensen, 71 and Brown, 20.

<sup>69</sup> Jensen, 71 – quoting Ellis Meredith from February 1894 issue of *Great Divide*, 53.

When Chapman Catt arrived in Colorado later that year, several local active suffrage clubs had already formed, notably in Fort Collins, Longmont, Greeley, Colorado Springs, Durango, and Breckenridge.<sup>70</sup> Her speaking engagements across the state that September and October often led to the formation of local clubs in the towns she visited, which included Rocky Ford, Castle Rock, Gunnison, Salida, Buena Vista, Aspen, Villa Grove, and Idaho Springs. Some historians maintain that by not being able to rely on the national association other than Chapman Catt's speaking campaign, thereby requiring greater participation and leadership from local advocates, the state association avoided the mistake of the 1877 campaign, in which many voters saw the issue of women's suffrage as one being forced upon them by outside influences.<sup>71</sup> However, Chapman Catt was not the only visiting suffragist; Laura Ormiston Chant of London and Therese Jenkins of Wyoming are known to have made at least a few pro-suffrage speeches in the state during the 1893 campaign, in addition to prominent men and women in the local movement.<sup>72</sup>

Colorado's larger population in 1893 than in 1877, along with a growing group of determined and organized women in the 1893 campaign, were also major factors in the difference of results between the two efforts.<sup>73</sup> While many of the suffragists from the 1877 campaign remained involved in the cause throughout the intervening years, a new wave of suffragists, many of whom had moved to Colorado from other states, were key in diversifying the strategies of the state association. One of these strategies, outreach to and through the press, has been recognized by scholars of Colorado's movement as being particularly influential in the success of the 1893 campaign. Minnie J. Reynolds, a journalist for the *Rocky Mountain News* and the chairman of press work for the NPESA, contacted editors throughout the state and was able to convince thirty-three of the state's forty-four papers to officially endorse equal suffrage and support the cause by granting space for pro-suffrage columns or providing pro-suffrage editorials.<sup>74</sup> NPESA member Patience Stapleton wrote a regular column for the *Denver Republican*, while Ellis Meredith did the same for the *Rocky Mountain News*.<sup>75</sup> In addition to Churchill's *Queen Bee* publication, a number of other papers locally published by women contributed to the effort, such as Emily Ghent Curtis's *The Royal Gorge* of Cañon City.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Research into sites associated with known suffragists from these towns during this era has yielded no results in extant properties.

<sup>71</sup> Leah Davis Witherow, "Colorado Women Led the Way: The Battle for Women's Suffrage," lecture presented by Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum on youtube.com ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pjIOiLUY\\_00&list=PLfWz4bvr713zmoscNQISwfMF9o1UXlq&index=3](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pjIOiLUY_00&list=PLfWz4bvr713zmoscNQISwfMF9o1UXlq&index=3), accessed August 2020).

<sup>72</sup> Brown, 22. The names of these Colorado men and women are not always listed in historical accounts; however, those that are would be ripe for further investigation.

<sup>73</sup> The 1880 U.S Census enumerated Colorado's population as 194,327 (which was likely much less in 1877 when Colorado was in its first year of statehood), while the 1890 census determined the population to have grown to 413,249.

<sup>74</sup> Chris Enss, *No Place for a Woman: The Struggle for Suffrage in the Wild West*. Helena, Montana: Twodot Press (2020), 46. Reynolds' home in Denver during the 1890s, which she shared with her sister, Helen, was located at 1220 Champa Street and is no longer extant.

<sup>75</sup> Brown, 22.

<sup>76</sup> No surviving copies of *The Royal Gorge* have been located as of this writing. Curtis and her husband, James, are known to have lived on Cyanide Avenue in Cañon City up until the 1910s, but an exact house number has not been found.

Additional means of communication to the public included the publishing and distribution of leaflets and other literature; Stanton's history of the suffrage movement states that most of the 150,000 printed leaflets were sent from NPESA's Denver headquarters.<sup>77</sup> In the early months of the campaign, NPESA's headquarters were run out of the Denver home of Dr. Minnie C.T. Love.<sup>78</sup> When NPESA's membership and operation soon outgrew Love's house, mining and real estate magnate Horace Tabor, at the behest of his second wife Elizabeth, donated space in his Tabor Opera House in downtown Denver (Fig. 5, since demolished), where NPESA's space consisted of an office for the corresponding secretary and a large meeting space capable of hosting several hundred people.<sup>79</sup>

Local suffrage chapters (sometimes called "leagues" or "associations," but most affiliated with the statewide suffrage organization NPESA) continued to proliferate during the course of the 1893 campaign. Examples often cited in historical accounts of the movement focus on those in Denver, such as the City League of Denver formed by Eliza Routt and its auxiliary Young Women's League, formed by sisters Mary and Margaret Patterson and Isabel Hill. However, cities and small towns across the state had formed their own leagues as well, including Parachute, Buena Vista, Pueblo, Manitou Springs, Fruita, Mancos, and Villa Grove.<sup>80</sup> By November, at least 60 different chapters had been formed and 10,000 Colorado women were working for the cause.<sup>81</sup>



**FIGURE 5. TABOR OPERA HOUSE, DENVER, CA. 1885.**

PHOTO BY WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON, COURTESY DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY WESTERN HISTORY DEPARTMENT, CALL NUMBER CHS.J2548.

### *The Silver Panic of 1893*

The financial downturn and panic associated with the devaluation of silver in the spring and early summer of 1893 led to Colorado's most severe economic depression to date and a backlash from the

<sup>77</sup> Stanton et al., IV, 515.

<sup>78</sup> Love's listing in the 1893 Denver city directory gives 1670 Broadway as her address, which is no longer extant. Love is a particularly complicated figure within the movement: a graduate of Howard University, a historically Black college, Love later went on to lead the Women of the Ku Klux Klan in Denver.

<sup>79</sup> Brown, 21 and Jensen, 76.

<sup>80</sup> Although the towns in which these clubs formed are known, only a few names of suffragists who founded and led them have been identified, which has not yet yielded known associated sites. Future research should attempt to identify additional local suffragists and the properties in which they lived and/or worked.

<sup>81</sup> Leonard, 13.

state's workers. Witherow notes that 50 percent of the state's mines shut down as a result, with 45,000 people finding themselves out of work.<sup>82</sup> As historian Carolyn Stefanco has noted, "the suffragists tied their fight to Colorado's economic recovery," going on to explain:

Because many women administering to the poor [affected by the economic crash] during that summer also advocated for their right to vote, they found new opportunities to engage others in the suffrage movement. The specter of women victimized by unemployment and poverty alongside men also allowed suffragists to claim that *all* citizens deserved the right to defend themselves against the cause of financial calamity. Finally, workers at social gospel missions were able to use the economic depression to link financial justice for the poor to the battle for women's equality.<sup>83</sup>

On 11 July 1893, a "Monster Mass Meeting" was held in Denver at Coliseum Hall by the Colorado State Silver League to protest the devaluation of silver, and in attendance were many women who used the opportunity to demonstrate their devotion to both causes.<sup>84</sup> The WCTU was particularly adept at combining aid to those in need with advocacy for women's suffrage, as well as the promise that if women were to vote, they too would champion the growing demand for the unlimited (or "free") coinage of silver in order to restore the value of silver and the demand for mining jobs. In October 1893, just a few weeks before election day, Colorado's WCTU passed a resolution that "A vote for equal suffrage is a vote for free silver... A man [who votes against women's suffrage in the November election] is a traitor to the white metal and the best interests of the state."<sup>85</sup> The upheaval caused by the depression appears to have caused many more voters to question the status quo and reject previously-held social conventions, thereby opening a door for women's suffrage.

### *Forming Coalitions*

While the 1877 campaign treated women's suffrage as a stand-alone issue, with little-to-no-effort to consciously connect equal suffrage with other social and political efforts, the 1893 campaign took advantage of multiple opportunities to ally with similar-minded movements. Many of these stemmed from the growing unrest of everyday people who felt their needs disregarded by those in economic and political power, leading to an embrace of the labor movement, anti-monopolization sentiments, rise of the People's Party, and demands for silver coinage, as discussed above. The National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry (commonly referred to as just "the Grange"), a movement founded in 1873 to advocate for the social and economic needs of farmers, encouraged the participation of women and gave them equal status in its membership ranks. As such, many local granges in Colorado officially adopted pro-women's suffrage resolutions at the directive of prominent suffragists who were also Grange members, such as Albina Washburn. Emily Ghent Curtis of Cañon City epitomized the suffragist

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<sup>82</sup> Witherow.

<sup>83</sup> Stefanco, 16.

<sup>84</sup> Stefanco, 19 and *Colorado Farmer*, Denver: Vol. 43, No. 2 (13 July 1893), 1. Note that Stefanco and other historians give the date of the meeting as 12 July, but contemporary newspaper accounts confirm 11 July as the correct date. As of this writing, the location of Coliseum Hall has not been determined.

<sup>85</sup> Stefanco, 20.

who embraced many causes at once, using her newspaper, *The Royal Gorge*, to advocate for equal suffrage and farm laborers' and coal miners' rights; indeed, she is credited by Brown as having "conducted a [suffrage] campaign among people mainly of foreign tongue in a coal mining district and secured a majority of 200."<sup>86</sup>

Another coalition formed between suffragists and the labor movement. In 1886, Washington, D.C. suffragist and publisher Clara Bewick Colby spoke to the NWSA convention about the importance of aligning the enfranchisement of women with other movements, particularly those seeking to better conditions and pay for working women.<sup>87</sup> Colby noted in her speech the endorsement of women's suffrage by the national assembly of the Knights of Labor, a labor federation that demanded the eight-hour workday among other labor advocacy issues. Leonora Barry Lake of St. Louis, the only woman to hold national office within the Knights of Labor, came to campaign in Colorado in 1893 on behalf of the referendum.<sup>88</sup>

Voluntary women's associations, such as the WCTU, women's clubs, and social gospel missions have been identified by Stefanco and other scholars as also having played a key role in the success of the 1893 campaign. As Stefanco notes, a woman's class status tended to influence the association through



**FIGURE 6. PEOPLE'S TABERNACLE, DENVER, CA. 1905.**

PHOTO BY LOUIS CHARLES McCCLURE, COURTESY DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY WESTERN HISTORY DEPARTMENT, CALL NUMBER MCC-3955.

which she became involved in the movement: suffrage leagues devoted solely to the issue of women's suffrage tended to attract more socially prominent and wealthier members, while organizations such as the WCTU and social gospel missions dedicated to improving the lives of women through various issues attracted more middle-class and working women.<sup>89</sup> WCTU held meetings at Denver's People's Tabernacle (Fig. 6), where the group also simultaneously provided relief programs for those

<sup>86</sup> Brown, 56; see also Leonard, 9, and Goldstein and Hunt, 41.

<sup>87</sup> Clara Bewick Colby, "The Relation of the Woman Suffrage Movement to the Labor Question," in Wagner, 332-333.

<sup>88</sup> Brown, 22. Barry Lake's itinerary in Colorado is a potential avenue of research.

<sup>89</sup> Stefanco, 19.

stricken by the economic crash and advocated for women's suffrage.<sup>90</sup> Demonstrating the WCTU's commitment to the cause, Mary Jewett Telford, President of Colorado's statewide chapter, undertook a five-month speaking tour through the state on behalf of the campaign.<sup>91</sup>

The pulpit also proved an important place through which to persuade and influence the public's perception of equal suffrage. Many church congregations, such as the Unitarians in Colorado Springs and Denver, were early and outspoken proponents, but others were drawn into the effort. Witherow notes that NPESA and local chapter members would seek out clergymen to gain their support in the pulpit, or barring their active support, request that they not preach against women's suffrage.<sup>92</sup> The WCTU often held suffrage meetings at churches. Pueblo's Eighth Street Baptist Church, a Black congregation, appears to have been particularly active in suffrage events in that city. Of course, not all clergymen or churches were supportive; one of the movement's earliest and most vociferous opponents was Catholic Bishop Joseph P. Machebeuf (d. 1889).

Women's clubs, a movement in its own right that provided women the ability to broaden their cultural and intellectual knowledge while increasing their social connections, were gaining momentum at the end of the nineteenth century. Some historians have found that such clubs were too conservative to embrace the suffrage movement, favoring domestic issues over the political; however, in Colorado, women's clubs such as the Fortnightly, Tuesday Musical, Clio, and Sphinx clubs, along with neighborhood clubs like the Northside Women's Club, strongly supported equal suffrage and provided a "powerful network" for the movement.<sup>93</sup> Although clubs specifically for African-American women were an important influence within their own community in advocating for women's suffrage, it is important to note that many Black women were directly involved in the statewide suffrage association and local chapters themselves, but were often not identified as such in the historical accounts of those like Stanton and Brown.<sup>94</sup> In the last few weeks of the campaign, Black men were openly appealed to for their support of equal suffrage, which had been previously denied them until the ratification of the U.S. Constitution's Fifteenth Amendment.<sup>95</sup>

### *Referendum Result*

Historians of the 1893 campaign have found that the opponents of the referendum were not well-organized and did not take the possibility of its success seriously, perhaps a result of the overwhelming

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<sup>90</sup> People's Tabernacle, located at 20<sup>th</sup> and Lawrence streets in downtown Denver, was demolished at an unknown date.

<sup>91</sup> Jensen, 75-76.

<sup>92</sup> Witherow.

<sup>93</sup> Goldstein and Hunt, 47; Leonard, 9.

<sup>94</sup> The numerous Black suffragists named in accounts by Brown, Stanton, and others, but not identified as non-white, include Ida De Priest, Lois Allison, Alberta Battles, and Elizabeth Ensley. Eliding the racial background of these women assumes them to be from the culturally-dominant world of white women, thereby diminishing or even erasing the contribution of Black and non-white suffragists to the movement. Due to the closure of archives during the COVID-19 pandemic, several sources on the role of Black women in the suffrage movement were not able to be consulted for this survey plan. See Bibliography for a list of these resources that should be consulted during future phases.

<sup>95</sup> Jensen, 78-79.

defeat of 1877.<sup>96</sup> A last-ditch effort to discredit women’s suffrage was the publication of a disparaging handbill, revealed to have been issued by the Denver Brewers’ Association who feared that prohibition would be a likely result of women gaining the vote.

On election day, 7 November 1893, suffragists went to the polls to distribute literature and make personal appeals to voters, even though they had been criticized for doing so in 1877.<sup>97</sup> Late in the day, early, incomplete vote tallies made clear that equal suffrage had won, and a spontaneous celebration was held at the NPESA headquarters in downtown Denver, with another held the evening after the election when the vote was confirmed: of 65,159 votes cast, a solid majority of 35,698 were in favor, confirming the struggle and hard work of Colorado’s women to gain the ability to vote.<sup>98</sup> Governor Waite proclaimed the referendum bill Colorado law on 2 December 1893: “That every female person shall be entitled to vote at all elections in the same manner in all respects as male persons are...”<sup>99</sup>

*Notable Identified Properties*

The year 1893 not only brought women’s enfranchisement to Colorado, but also concluded a period of growth and development across the state that was interrupted only by the Silver Panic. This period is probably the most fruitful for identifying associated sites that are extant and reflect the broad geographical distribution of the movement, due to both the expansiveness of the movement at that time as well as the more permanent development of local communities. Buildings from this era tended to have been constructed in more durable materials, such as brick, and have suffered less demolition over time. The table below provides an overview of extant sites identified with this era to date (see Property Types section for further discussion of non-extant sites and possible avenues for further research and site identification). Assessments of integrity related to association with the movement are preliminary and may require further evaluation.

**Table 4. Another Chance: The Referendum of 1893**

<i>Site Name (Year of Construction)</i>	<i>Address, City</i>	<i>Site #</i>	<i>Integrity/ Listing info</i>	<i>Notes</i>
J. Warner Mills House (1890)	2350 Gilpin St., Denver	n/a	Good integrity	Mills authored the suffrage bill that became the 1893 referendum. His offices from this time are no longer extant; this is the only building associated with him identified to date.
First Baptist Church of Salida (1885)	419 D Street, Salida	5CF.345	Good integrity	Site of speech on 13 Sept 1893 by Chapman Catt

<sup>96</sup> Jensen, 77.

<sup>97</sup> Brown, 23.

<sup>98</sup> Jensen, 80; Brown, 23.

<sup>99</sup> Brown, 24.

First Presbyterian Church (1889)	801 Harrison Ave., Leadville	5LK.40.16	Good integrity; within Leadville National Register HD	Site of speech on 16 Sept 1893 by Chapman Catt
Wheeler Opera House (1889)	328-330 E. Hyman Ave., Aspen	5PT.35	Good integrity; National Register listed	Site of speech on 20 Sept 1893 by Chapman Catt
Opera House (1881)	117-131 N. College Ave., Fort Collins	5LR.742	Integrity dates to when restyled in 1917; National Register listed	Site of speech on 30 or 31 Oct. 1893 by Chapman Catt
Bartholf Opera House (ca. 1884)	136-138 E. 4 <sup>th</sup> St., Loveland	5LR.1056	Restyled in 1925 & 1938; within Loveland National Register HD; unclear if integrity dates to suffrage association	Farmers Institute (Grange) program held here from 15-17 Feb. 1893; speakers included Albina Washburn ("Have our Institutes Been of any Benefit to the Farmer?") and Rev. J.A. Ferguson ("Universal Suffrage").
Eighth Street Baptist Church (ca. 1891)	600 W. 8 <sup>th</sup> St., Pueblo	5PE.1228	Good integrity	African-American women of Pueblo worked for the suffrage movement from this African-American Church.
Mrs. M. J. Suter Home (unknown)	905 E. 5 <sup>th</sup> St., Pueblo	n/a	Fair integrity	Residence of President of local NPESA chapter East Pueblo Suffrage League; likely used as meeting place for group
Croke-Patterson-Campbell Mansion (1890)	420 E. 11 <sup>th</sup> Ave., Denver	5DV.172	Good integrity; National Register listed	Home of Thomas M. and Katharine Patterson and daughters Mary and Margaret, all suffragists. Location of Young Women's League formation and meetings

## Colorado as an Example for the Nation, 1894-1920

When the male electorate voted in 1893 for women to join them in the political process, Colorado became the first state to provide women equal suffrage by popular vote, and the second state to provide it at all.<sup>100</sup> Colorado and its new pool of voters, and the women who successfully fought for that right, immediately became a focus of interest and an example for the rest of the United States, not only in how to replicate that success, but in understanding what female suffrage would bring. However, just as the struggle to win the vote was hard fought, the work to join the political process and to carry the movement to other states was just beginning.

<sup>100</sup> Wyoming included women's suffrage in its 1890 state constitution (extending the same provision from its territorial constitution of 1869), thereby becoming the first state to afford women the right to vote.

### *Women Join the Political Process*

Within days of female suffrage becoming state law, women across the state registered to vote. Many of these were prominent suffragists, such as Eliza Routt, the first woman to register in the state, but others, like saleswoman Julia V. Sisson and Black schoolteacher Lulu Lincoln of Pueblo, were everyday citizens who were not necessarily involved in the movement.<sup>101</sup> Local newspapers regularly reported on women registering as new electors.

Women also immediately began organizing to educate themselves on the workings of government. A reprinted article from the *Denver Republican* in the *Queen Bee* a week after the election confirmed the imminent need for this education:

Except in some smaller cities and towns there will be no election until the state election in November, 1894; hence most of the women will be given their first opportunity to exercise the elective franchise at that time. It will be their duty in the meanwhile to familiarize themselves as fully as possible with the laws relating to elections and especially with the public affairs of the state.<sup>102</sup>

Two weeks later in an article entitled “Will Be Intelligent Voters,” the *Queen Bee* reported on a series of meetings to be held by Denver’s Equal Suffrage League that would cover parliamentary law, political economy, civil government, and debate.<sup>103</sup> In January 1894, the first issue of *The Woman Voter*, a Denver-based newspaper serving as the official organ of the Colorado Women’s Political Club, a politically independent organization, was published. The weekly newspaper aimed “to present matter of general interest to women voters throughout the city and State” and in its first issue presented calls to “Register at Once,” “Political Pointers,” and articles on such issues as child labor.<sup>104</sup> Local suffrage chapters and/or women’s clubs affiliated with the recent campaign may have fulfilled this educational role for women in other communities across the state.

As hoped for by women’s suffrage supporters, women also ran for office directly following the 1893 victory. In the 1894 election, three women were elected to Colorado’s House of Representatives: Carrie Clyde Holly of Pueblo, and Clara Cressingham and Frances Klock, both of Denver.<sup>105</sup> Their respective campaigns were unprecedented in Colorado. As Clare D. Olin, president of the Bowen Bell-wringers

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<sup>101</sup> Brown, 25 and Women Suffrage Centennial, Southern Colorado, “1894 Pueblo Chieftain Research” online at [http://womensuffragecentennialssoutherncolorado.org/about-us/research/1894\\_pueblochieftain/](http://womensuffragecentennialssoutherncolorado.org/about-us/research/1894_pueblochieftain/) (accessed 10 September 2020).

<sup>102</sup> *Queen Bee*, “Equal Suffrage Law,” Vol. 15, No. 22 (15 November 1893), 1. Note that the article also confirmed that since states were given the authority by the federal government to determine who could vote in elections, Colorado’s law allowed women to vote in all elections, including those for federal officers.

<sup>103</sup> *Queen Bee*, “Will Be Intelligent Voters,” Vol. 15 No. 24 (29 November 1893), 2.

<sup>104</sup> *Woman Voter* (Denver), Vol. 1, No. 1 (18 January 1894). The newspaper appears to have moved offices often; e.g., in January 1894 its address was given as Room 13 in the Sheridan Building (1635 17<sup>th</sup> Street, 5DV.882, National Register listed 1984), while in October that same year it was located in the Charles Building at the corner of Curtis and 15<sup>th</sup> streets (demolished at an unknown date).

<sup>105</sup> Beaton, 104 and Brown, 31. All three ran on the Republican Party’s ticket. Of them only Holly is known to have been directly involved in the previous suffrage campaigns.

Republican Club remarked at a large rally for Holly and other Republican candidates on 19 October 1894 in Pueblo's Columbia Theater: "I welcome you to-day [sic] to the first political rally and mass-meeting ever held in Pueblo under the auspices of the woman voter."<sup>106</sup>

This first class of legislators would be followed by a number of women elected as state representatives, with a small handful elected each subsequent election through

1898, after which the number tapered off until 1910, when four women were again elected.<sup>107</sup> Women were also elected to the position of State Superintendent of Public Instruction (one member out of three on the State Board of Education, with the other two positions occupied by the State Attorney General and the Secretary of State). However, no women held office in the State Senate until Helen Ring Robinson, a former Colorado College instructor and a writer, would become Colorado's first female state senator in 1912. Margaret Brown, the Denver-based champion of progressive causes and wife of mining engineer J.J. Brown, ran for state senator in 1901, but dropped out of the race, apparently due to pressure from her husband. In 1914, Brown would again consider running for public office, this time as an NWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Colorado. Though she was projected to win that race against the incumbent Charles Thomas, many local and national suffragists felt it unwise and ungrateful to try to unseat Thomas, who had been an early suffrage supporter. Brown eventually declined to run, choosing to focus on World War I relief efforts in Europe instead. Agnes Riddle of Glendale (then a rural area, now a city surrounded by the City and County of Denver) was elected as the second female senator in 1916 after serving as a representative; no other women would hold office in the State Senate until 1940.<sup>108</sup>

Once elected, female representatives worked to bring issues that women cared about to the General Assembly. Carrie Clyde Holly, for example, successfully raised the age of consent to 18; later, Progressive-era laws such as compulsory education for children ages 8-14; establishment of kindergarten and county high schools; prohibition of children under 16 to be employed in dangerous or unhealthy occupations; and compulsion of men to support their children, were all enacted, and though



**FIGURE 7. DENVER POLLING PLACE, NOVEMBER 1894 ELECTION.**  
COURTESY DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY WESTERN HISTORY DEPARTMENT, OBJECT ID 89.451.3168.

<sup>106</sup> *Colorado Daily Chieftain*, "First Woman's Rally Here," (20 October 1894), 3. The location of the Columbia Theater has not been confirmed; it is believed to no longer be standing.

<sup>107</sup> The names of and districts represented by these women have not been comprehensively researched to date.

<sup>108</sup> Pat Pascoe, *Helen Ring Robinson: Colorado Senator and Suffragist*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press (2011), 34-35.

none could have been passed without the support of male legislators, it's clear that many would not have been brought to the floor without women's representation in the General Assembly and the electorate. However, women legislators faced the same obstacles as suffragists did to acquire the vote: dismissal and derision by their male colleagues. This would prove disappointing to a number of suffragists who perhaps over-optimistically assumed that women voting and holding elected office would effect sweeping and immediate political and legal change.<sup>109</sup>

In addition to their growing participation in public political arenas, women also remained involved in the movement through various women's clubs, which continued to grow in activity and influence. Notable examples include the Woman's Club of Denver, the Twenty-Second Avenue Study Club, and the North Side Women's Club, all of Denver. Particularly influential was the Colorado State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, led by Elizabeth Ensley, which encouraged Black women "to be educated voters and to seek candidates who supported justice for Black people."<sup>110</sup>

### *Joining the National Stage*

While Colorado women were finding their new roles in the state's political process and establishments, many key suffragists from 1893 and earlier continued to champion the suffrage movement at the national level. As J.G. Brown notes in his history of the movement, the NPESA, still affiliated with NAWSA, continued its work in recognition of the need for "correcting false reports of the results of suffrage in Colorado persistently circulated in other states by the enemies of the measure, and the reasonable expectation of the National Association, that Colorado should continue to send authorized delegates to represent the state and assist in the yearly National conventions."<sup>111</sup> Though Utah and Idaho followed Colorado and Wyoming's lead in 1896, the suffrage cause hit a standstill in the following decade, with little progress in the first years of the twentieth century.

After the success of the 1893 Colorado campaign, Carrie Chapman Catt would go on to assist other states in their quest for equal suffrage, eventually taking over for Anthony as President of NAWSA from 1900-1904, and then again from 1915-1920. In addition to Colorado women reaching out to further the national movement, leaders from NAWSA and other states often sent representatives to Colorado to learn and observe. For example, in November 1908, Reverend Anna Howard Shaw, then president of NAWSA and accompanied by a contingent that included two English suffragists, traveled to Denver to observe women participating in that year's presidential election. Apparently, the *Denver Post* provided the party with an automobile in order to travel from polling place to polling place, where, among many anecdotes:

[T]hey saw the oldest woman voter in the city – Mrs. Richard Sophris, aged 97 – walk proudly in with head erect and give her name in a clear voice. In one of the most fashionable precincts where women comprise 55 per cent of the total registration, one

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1998), 98.

<sup>111</sup> Brown, 48-49

of the judges said: “The women always turn in a heavy vote here and we have no trouble trying to get them to do it. They come early, as a rule, and they have their own ideas about what they are doing.”<sup>112</sup>

In 1909, the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State published a report written by Dr. Helen L. Summer based on her time spent in Colorado from 1906-1907 observing the state’s political and voting process after the state had over a decade of women’s suffrage. Dr. Summer extensively analyzed the effect of equal suffrage in Colorado on, among other topics, public opinion of equal suffrage; women delegates and candidates; campaigns and elections; the occupations of women voters; women in public office, from the local to state levels of government; economic aspects of equal suffrage; and the influence on legislation.<sup>113</sup>

Colorado’s national representatives, all male, would also extoll the need for equal suffrage to their colleagues. For example, Rep. Edward T. Taylor declared in a 1912 speech to the House of Representatives that “Women never have maintained and never will maintain either their moral, natural, or legal rights save by possession of political rights...” and “The 7,000,000 working women of this country are that many reasons for the enfranchisement of women.”<sup>114</sup>

Toward the end of the first decade, the women’s suffrage movement became energized with “[n]ew tactics, new recruits, [and] new strategies...” according to historian Susan B. Ware. As Ware points out, by this time the “founding mothers” of the movement, such as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone, had “all passed from the scene” and were supplanted by the second generation consisting of leaders such as Carrie Chapman Catt, Harriet Stanton Blatch (Cady Stanton’s daughter), and Anna Howard Shaw, who continued their work through NAWSA. A younger, third generation, led by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, Americans who had been radicalized by their experience in Britain’s suffrage movement, favored public spectacle such as pageants and parades, which were just becoming a cultural phenomenon. Though they first worked within NAWSA, Paul and Burns broke away in 1913 to organize a separate organization, first known as the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (CUWS) and then later as the National Women’s Party (NWP).<sup>115</sup> Rather than NAWSA’s focus on state-by-state progress, the NWP advocated for an all-out national victory in the form of a U.S. Constitutional amendment. Though at odds with one another, the two approaches of NAWSA and NWP actually

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<sup>112</sup> Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897-1897, Library of Congress: Scrapbook 7 (1908-1909), Digital ID <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbcmil.scrp5013502> (accessed 2 October 2020).

<sup>113</sup> Helen L. Summer, Ph.D., *Equal Suffrage: the Results of an Investigation in Colorado Made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State*, Harper & Brothers (November 1909).

<sup>114</sup> Edward T. Taylor, “Equal Suffrage in Colorado,” speech in the House of Representatives, 24 April 1912. Government Printing Office (1912). Online at [https://archive.org/details/equalsuffrageinc00tayl\\_0](https://archive.org/details/equalsuffrageinc00tayl_0) (accessed 10 February 2021).

<sup>115</sup> NWP’s origins within NAWSA are given in greater detail in other sources; see, for example, the Library of Congress’s “Historical Overview of the National Woman’s Party” at <https://www.loc.gov/static/collections/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf> (accessed 13 October 2020).

complemented one another and attracted more and more women (and men) to the cause, and “[f]or the first time, it was possible to speak of suffrage as a mass movement.”<sup>116</sup>



**FIGURE 8. CUWS COLORADO HEADQUARTERS, COLORADO SPRINGS, 1914.**

COURTESY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, DIGITAL ID: [HTTP://HDL.LOC.GOV/LOC.MSS/MNWP.159013](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/mss/mnwp.159013) (RETRIEVED 10 DECEMBER 2020).

In 1914, Colorado Springs became the state’s headquarters for the CUWS, with offices located at 222 North Tejon Street (Fig. 8). As CUWS experimented with new ways in which to catch the public’s attention, Colorado Springs became the state’s epicenter for such activity. For example, the Congressional Union’s 1916 tour of suffragists by train across the country from Washington, D.C. to the enfranchised Western states, known as the “Suffrage Special” (also referred to as the “Flying Squadron”), made a stop in Colorado Springs at the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Depot, where the suffragists collected signatures on a petition for a national amendment for women’s right to vote (Fig. 9). As the 1910s carried on with little progress, protests became more pointed, and many Colorado Springs women enthusiastically participated. In 1916, Dr. Caroline Spencer, a physician who moved to Colorado from Pennsylvania in 1893,

interrupted a Colorado Springs speech given by William Jennings Bryan on behalf of the re-election campaign for President Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat.<sup>117</sup> As the party in charge of the White House, the Democratic Party was a favorite target of the NWP, who insisted that Wilson support a national suffrage amendment. In Denver (and possibly elsewhere in the state), NWP erected billboards calling upon Colorado women to vote against the Democratic Party for its refusal to support a constitutional amendment.

Colorado Springs women also participated in NWP protests in Washington, D.C., such as the “Silent Sentinels,” women who silently picketed outside the gates of the White House in 1917 while holding pro-suffrage (and anti-Wilson) banners, and who were eventually arrested and imprisoned. Spencer was one of these protestors, as was Natalie Hoyt Gray, a Colorado College graduate raised in Colorado Springs by her mother Susan Gray, a co-founder of the local NWP chapter. Both women were arrested and imprisoned in the notorious Occuquan Workhouse.

<sup>116</sup> Ware, 179.

<sup>117</sup> The location of Jennings Bryan’s speech in Colorado Springs, and Spencer’s protest of it, has not been identified to date.

NWP continued such protests despite (or even because of) the U.S. involvement in World War I, arguing that American troops were fighting for democracy when democratic rights were denied to U.S. citizens. Though NWP's critics would paint its tactics as unpatriotic (a description even lobbed by Chapman Catt of NAWSA), ultimately public favor for national women's suffrage increased greatly during the War.

### *The Nineteenth Amendment*

With U.S. women providing substantial support for the war effort while simultaneously being denied the right to vote and roughly treated when they protested for that right, it became increasingly difficult to reconcile an anti-suffrage stance in the public mind. NWP's high-profile public demonstrations were girded by NAWSA's consistent lobbying of state and national officials. Furthermore, from 1910-18, eleven more states joined the four Western states where women had won the vote, with New York a particularly

influential win in 1917. As a result of increasing societal and political pressure, President Wilson endorsed the Susan B. Anthony Federal Suffrage (or Nineteenth) Amendment on 9 January 1918, followed the next day by its passage in the U.S. House of Representatives. However, the Senate refused to pass it. As a result, NWP took up a new round of public demonstrations throughout the capital. Berthe (or Bertha) Arnold, a kindergarten teacher from Colorado Springs, participated in the January 1919 "watchfire" demonstrations in front of the NWP headquarters (Fig. 10), which were meant to evoke the night watchfires of guards at their posts; in this case, suffragists held watch over the fate of the amendment. Like Spencer and Gray before her, Arnold was also arrested and imprisoned. All three women then participated in the "Prison Special" tour of February to March 1919, in which they recounted to the public their time in prison, where they were often force-fed and even beaten, all for the right to be fully participating citizens.<sup>118</sup>



**FIGURE 9. ARRIVAL OF THE "FLYING SQUADRON" AT THE AT&SF DEPOT, COLORADO SPRINGS, 16 APRIL 1916.**

COURTESY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, DIGITAL ID: [HTTP://HDL.LOC.GOV/LOC.MSS/MNWP.160081](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/mss/mnwp.160081) (RETRIEVED 10 DECEMBER 2020).

<sup>118</sup> Library of Congress, "Historical Overview of the National Woman's Party," at <https://www.loc.gov/static/collections/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf> (accessed 13 October 2020).



**FIGURE 10. BERTHE ARNOLD PARTICIPATING IN WATCHFIRE DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF NWP HEADQUARTERS, WASHINGTON, D.C., 1919.**

COURTESY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, DIGITAL ID:  
[HTTP://HDL.LOC.GOV/LOC.MSS/MNWP.147007](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/mss/mnwp.147007) (RETRIEVED 10

In May 1919, the House of Representatives again passed the Nineteenth Amendment, this time followed by the Senate on 4 June, initiating a campaign to have it ratified by the required three-quarters (or 36 of the then 48) of states. Both NAWSA and NWP sent representatives across the country to convince state legislatures to ratify the amendment. Colorado became the twentieth state to ratify the amendment on 20 December 1919 (Fig. 11). Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the amendment on 18 August 1920, and the Nineteenth Amendment became law when it was certified by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby on 26 August.

#### *The Struggle is Not Over*

Though the women of the United States finally won the right to vote with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, activity in the women's suffrage movement continued, which segued for many suffragists into new struggles. As has been noted above, this context of the movement in Colorado ends with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, with one important exception: the NWP's campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

As she had done by giving the Nineteenth Amendment's an unofficial name memorializing Susan B. Anthony, Alice Paul proposed a new constitutional amendment granting women all rights assigned to men be named after Lucretia Mott. Lillian Kerr of Colorado Springs was a co-author with Paul of the amendment's first iteration.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum, "Lillian Kerr," at <https://www.cspm.org/articles/lillian-kerr/> (accessed 13 October 2020).

To kick-off the campaign in 1923, Paul and the NWP commissioned a new pageant from director Hazel McKaye, who had designed and directed the 1913 Woman Suffrage Parade in Washington D.C. The pageant was first held in Seneca Falls, New York in celebration of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the convention held there in 1848. The pageant was such a success that it was staged again at the Garden of the Gods in Colorado Springs later that same year. Featuring participants in historical costumes commemorating the first generation of suffragists, a live

orchestra, and banners in the suffrage colors of gold, white, and purple, the event attracted over 20,000 attendees and was heavily promoted by Colorado Springs' Chamber of Commerce (Fig. 12).<sup>120</sup>



**FIGURE 11. GOV. OLIVER SHOUP SIGNS THE RATIFICATION DOCUMENT FOR THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT, 12 DECEMBER 1919, WITH REP. AGNES RIDDLE LOOKING ON AT THE IMMEDIATE RIGHT.**

COURTESY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, DIGITAL ID: [HTTP://HDL.LOC.GOV/LOC.MSS/MNWP.276032](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/mss/mnwp.276032) (RETRIEVED 10 DECEMBER 2020).

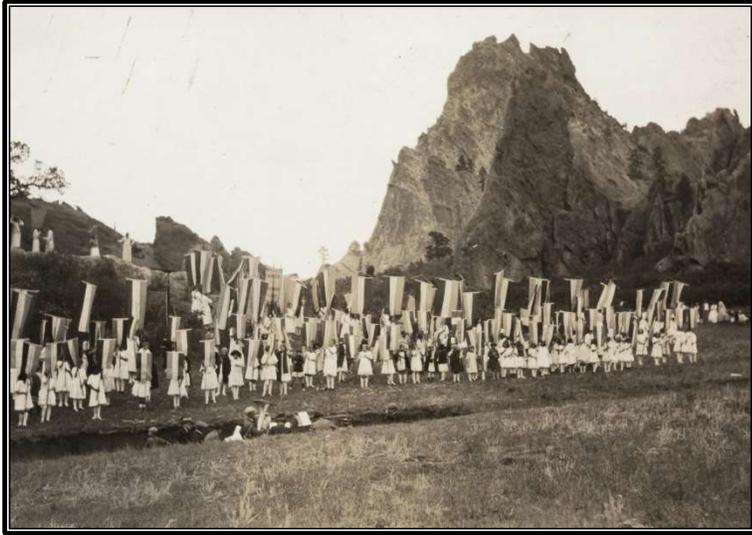
The ERA was introduced in Congress in December 1923, but failed. Concerns over whether the amendment would preclude special protections for women in the labor force (such as when pregnant) prevented unified support from women activists. Following the women's liberation movement of the 1960s, the amendment was introduced again in 1971 and approved by both House and Senate by 1972. A deadline for ratification by the required three-quarters majority of states was set for 1979, by which 35 of the 38 did so, only for five to rescind their ratification. Since then, more states have ratified the amendment, but the validity of the rescindments and ratifications after the deadline leave the legality of the amendment's passage unresolved to date.

#### *Notable Identified Properties*

Once Colorado women had won the vote, many of them went on to help with the effort to bring suffrage to women nationally. Much of this activity happened out of Colorado, such as the various protests and parades that took place in Washington, D.C. However, women's nascent political life in the state also served as a national example, and such events are possibly represented in associated sites. Furthermore, since this era is much closer in time to the present than earlier eras, it may have the highest potential to yield extant sites directly associated with suffragists, either at their homes/workplaces or sites of protest/political action. The table below provides an overview of extant

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<sup>120</sup> Ware, 207 and Witherow lecture.



**FIGURE 12. 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF 1848 SENECA FALLS CONVENTION PAGEANT AT GARDEN OF THE GODS, COLORADO SPRINGS.**

COURTESY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, DIGITAL ID: [HTTP://hdl.loc.gov/loc/mss/mnwp.159037](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/mss/mnwp.159037) (RETRIEVED 10 DECEMBER 2020).

sites identified with this era to date (see Property Types section for further discussion of non-extant sites and possible avenues for further research and site identification). Assessments of integrity related to association with the movement are preliminary and may require further evaluation.

**Table 5. Identified Properties: Colorado as an Example for the Nation**

<i>Site Name (Year of Construction)</i>	<i>Address, City</i>	<i>Site #</i>	<i>Integrity/ Listing info</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Colorado State Capitol (1886-1908)	200 E. Colfax Ave., Denver	5DV.6000	Good integrity; within Civic Center NHL	Site of first state General Assembly with female representatives elected in 1894 election. State's ratification of Nineteenth Amendment also occurred here.
Ellis Meredith House (1896)	3325 Decatur St., Denver	n/a	Good integrity; within Potter Highland National Register HD	Meredith lived at this house from ca. 1900-1918, during which she continued her support of the national suffrage movement, traveling and corresponding with national suffrage leaders and politicians.
Elizabeth P. Ensley House (ca. 1914)	985 S. Emerson St., Denver	n/a	Good integrity	A founding member of NPESA and its first treasurer, Ensley went on to found the Colored Women's Republican Club and the Women's League of Denver to encourage Black women to vote. This was her home from ca. 1915-17 and the only location known to be associated with her that is extant.

Margaret “Molly” Brown House (now Museum) (1889)	1340 Pennsylvania St., Denver	5DV.178	Good integrity; National Register listed	Brown’s home from 1894 through the 1920s; where she considered political candidacies and lent support to suffrage movement.
Crawford Hill Mansion (1906)	150 E. 10 <sup>th</sup> Ave., Denver	5DV.713	Good integrity; National Register listed	Louise Sneed Hill (daughter-in-law of mining magnate and suffrage supporter Nathaniel P. Hill) hosted a CUWS-Denver chapter event at her home on 25 Oct. 1914.
NWP/CUWS State Headquarters	222 N. Tejon St., Colorado Springs	n/a	Heavily altered; difficult to tell if same building or not	Site where CUWS/NWP organized and contributed to national equal suffrage cause.
Garden of the Gods (n/a)	Colorado Springs	5EP.365	Good integrity	Site of women's rights pageant on 23 Sept. 1923 attended by 20,000 people; celebrated “75 <sup>th</sup> anniversary” of suffrage movement (Seneca Falls convention) and promoted new focus of NWP: Equal Rights Amendment.

## Property Types

Based upon the historical overview of the women’s suffrage movement in Colorado over the course of nearly sixty years, six different property types have been identified as encompassing the activities and people directly associated with the movement: Homes and/or Workplaces of Suffragists, Suffrage Organization Meeting Sites, Coalition and/or Advocacy Sites, Public Speaking Sites, Political Action Sites, and Government Sites. Most of these property types are represented within all five eras of the movement, and all of them are represented by at least three. A seventh property type, Legacy Sites, is not directly associated with the suffrage movement in Colorado, but has association with the legacies of suffragists (who had many other interests and activities other than suffrage).

Generally, the National and State Register Criteria A (association with significant event or historic trend or movement) and B (association with significant person(s)) are considered the most relevant for all of these property types; Criterion C (significant or good example of type of architecture or construction) may also tangentially apply if the property has a high enough integrity and displays character-defining features of a style or type of architecture. Criterion D (ability to yield significant information from archaeological study) is beyond the scope of this context. Each discussion of the property types below presents further considerations when evaluating significance under Criteria A and B.

### Homes and/or Workplaces of Suffragists

*These sites are where the women and men associated with the movement resided and/or worked and where the majority of behind-the-scenes work of the movement was performed.*

During the sixty-year span of the equal suffrage movement in Colorado, women, particularly those of the middle and upper classes, were typically relegated to the home, and it was from their homes that suffragists often organized, wrote letters, essays, etc., and met. As such, the homes of suffragists are thought to likely be the sites most directly associated with members of the movement and their work for it. As fitting a movement that relied upon the work of thousands of women and men, these sites are the most common to the movement while also the most representative of it. These properties theoretically can be found across the state due to the dozens of local suffrage chapters that sprang up during the 1893 campaign, and therefore have the greatest possibility of yielding as diverse a geographic representation of the movement across Colorado as possible.

Furthermore, many suffragists held jobs outside of the home; anecdotally, the most common types of suffragists' employment appear to have been educator, doctor, and journalist, though it is very likely that other types of employment that were more labor-based, such as domestic service, did not garner as much attention in historical accounts. Sometimes suffragists' workplaces were also where they resided, as appears to have been the case for Caroline Churchill, the publisher of the *Queen Bee*: the paper's published office addresses in Denver correspond to the addresses listed as Churchill's residence in city directories of the same years.

Although not every suffragist was a leader in the movement, an individual suffrage advocate's home or work place may have enough of a direct association with the movement to be considered eligible under Criterion A, particularly if other suffrage-associated properties in the local community are no longer extant or have not been able to be identified. A property's historic integrity would need to be high enough that it would be essentially recognizable to its historic period of significance (the years in which it was associated with the movement), though rarity of suffrage resources in a community may allow for some degradation of integrity if the site has no local comparables. Criterion B may also be applicable in the case of suffragists who played a leading role in the movement, either locally or within the state. To establish this, a more thorough documentation of the individual's life and comparison to their peers and other associated properties would be needed and would require substantial research. The required level of integrity for eligibility under Criterion B would likely be as high as that for Criterion A but may span a longer or different period of significance to encompass other significant aspects of the person's life. Again, rarity of resources associated with the individual may be a factor in assessing the integrity.

There were hundreds to thousands of women and men associated with the movement over time; as such, biographical accounts of suffragists are beyond the scope of this context. An invaluable starting place for continued research into individuals, and one relied upon for this context, would be the *Women's Suffrage Insights Guide*, biographical sketches of suffragists compiled by Shaun Boyd, Curator of Archives for History Colorado, based upon its archival collections.

In the preparation of this context, suffragists who arose as particularly influential in the movement, known to be located in a diverse range of communities beyond Denver, and/or were of underrepresented communities such as Black women, were chosen for further sample research into locating associated homes and/or workplaces. One challenge in locating suffragists in smaller towns and

rural areas is that early U.S. Censuses and city directories often did not provide an exact address; furthermore, access to many city directories was limited due to the closure of archives during the 2019-20 coronavirus pandemic. Appendix D shows in table format the research to date on properties associated with selected individual suffragists, representing over forty people and fifteen different communities across Colorado.

### **Suffrage Organization Meeting Sites**

*These properties are where organizations devoted to gaining equal suffrage for women are known to have met in order to organize, plan, and strategize for suffrage movement activities.*

Although many suffrage organizations through the eras met at formal meeting locations, such as churches and public buildings (at least on occasion), most conducted their regular business from the homes of their leaders and members, particularly in the smaller towns and communities of the state; therefore, this property type heavily overlaps with the Homes and/or Workplaces of Suffragists property type.

To be considered eligible under Criterion A of the National and State Registers, the property would need to demonstrate a direct association with the suffrage movement as a suffrage organization meeting site during at least one of the five identified eras of engagement in Colorado, and have enough integrity to be recognizable from that era. Eligibility under Criterion B may be possible, though less likely, if the site also demonstrates a strong association with one particular suffragist leader; to establish this would require further research and comparison of other properties associated with the individual as well as that person's contemporaneous peers. Integrity would need to be high enough for the property to be recognizable from its period of significance, i.e., when it was associated with the group or person.

To date, research into sites where suffrage organizations are known to have organized and met, besides the homes of suffragists, has yielded mostly information on non-extant sites, such as Unity Church and Lawrence Street Church in Denver, which were the locations of early suffrage conventions during the 1876-1877 constitutional convention and subsequent suffrage campaign. During Reorganization (1878-1892), a few known meetings have had specific locations identified with them, such as Matilda Hindman's stay in Denver in 1890 at the Richelieu Hotel. Now known as the Navarre Building, this location requires further verification; some sources maintain that the Richelieu was a gentleman's club or bordello at the time, raising questions about the veracity of Hindman's renting rooms and holding meetings there. The sites of the 1878 and 1881 conventions have not been identified, though further research of newspaper accounts and association members' papers may yield this information. The papers of the Colorado Woman Suffrage Association that formed in 1890, held by History Colorado, may yield additional sites where club meetings occurred, which likely were at the homes of members but may have been at other places as well, such as churches.

However, further research of the papers of organizations or their members held by various repositories and contemporaneous newspaper accounts may uncover other sites that are extant, particularly in smaller communities that may have experienced less redevelopment over time.

### **Coalition and/or Advocacy Sites**

*Coalition and/or Advocacy Sites are where groups whose missions and activities either overlapped with equal suffrage or were complementary to it advocated for the cause.*

This property type would include the sites where a broad range of organizations that supported suffrage, such as the WCTU and other poverty-relief groups, labor groups, local chapters of the Grange, and women's clubs, were known to have met and/or undertaken their typical activities while also advocating for equal suffrage. Such sites would most commonly be associated with the 1893 referendum campaign, though earlier instances of WCTU and Grange meetings from the Reorganization period (1878-92) are known to have occurred. Likewise, women's clubs continued their suffrage advocacy long after Colorado women gained the vote in an effort to bring equal suffrage to the entire country.

Eligibility under Criterion A for these sites would require direct association with the coalition group as well as a demonstrated connection to the suffrage movement, such as historic documentation that the specific group or local chapter included equal suffrage advocacy in its activities. Eligibility under Criterion B may be possible if the person played a significant role in the suffrage movement while also involved in the coalition group's other activities. As application of Criterion B requires, comparisons with other associated properties and with the person's peers would be needed to establish significance. Historic integrity of the property for either Criteria would need to be high enough to be recognizable to the period of significance, which may range in length from a single date to several years.

Through research to date, examples of this property type include the use of the Bartholf Opera House in Loveland as the location of a February 1893 Farmer's Institute where noted suffragist and Grange member Albina Washburn spoke and a Rev. J.A. Ferguson delivered a talk on "Universal Suffrage." This site may not have sufficient integrity to 1893, due to apparent substantial renovations in the 1920s and '30s, in order to be considered eligible; similar sites where the Grange promoted suffrage should be researched for comparison. Another example is the non-extant People's Tabernacle in Denver, where WCTU held regular meetings and spread the word of equal suffrage while administering to the poor impacted by the 1893 Silver Panic. Further in-depth research of historical newspaper accounts and organizational papers may reveal further sites, which may have higher degrees of integrity.

### **Public Speaking Sites**

*These sites are where suffragists promoted the cause through public speaking engagements.*

Though speaking in public remained an unusual and bold act for women in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, public speeches were a preferred method for persuading the American public that women's suffrage was a public good. This method of advocacy is represented in all eras of the women's suffrage movement in Colorado, from the first decade of the Territory, through the first years as a State, and well past the 1893 referendum. The sites where these speeches took place are perhaps some of the easiest to track down through historical newspaper accounts, suffrage organizational papers, and

suffragists' personal papers. By design, these public speaking sites also represent a greater geographical reach as the movement sought to spread the word of equal suffrage far and wide.

Eligibility under Criterion A would be focused on the site's association with a given speech or related event, and hence the period of significance would in truth be no more than a single day; however, the site may have been further used by the movement either leading up to or subsequently following a suffrage speech. Hence, the site's integrity should be well-grounded in that associated year. However, many of these sites may be the only example of the suffrage movement left in a local community, and may therefore be able to demonstrate that association despite some loss of historic integrity. Applicability of Criterion B is unlikely given the fleeting association of the site with the speaker, though if the site has further association with a local suffrage group or leader, such significance may be able to be established that way.

The locations of the 1871 speeches by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton have not been determined through research to date other than the Denver Theater, but a more in-depth read of newspapers from this early period may be fruitful. Anthony's travel itinerary in 1877 is well-documented, thanks to her diaries held by the Library of Congress. However, exact locations within the towns visited were not usually noted; this is also the case for Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell's simultaneous tour of the state. The same is true of Carrie Lane Chapman Catt's speeches during the 1893 campaign: though her general itinerary is known, and some speech sites are specifically named in newspaper accounts, many details remain to be found. Despite these challenges, this property type is the most easily identified and research has revealed several relevant sites, including three 1877 speech sites by Anthony (Hinsdale County Courthouse, Del Norte Methodist Church, Saguache County Courthouse) and four from Chapman Catt's 1893 tour (First Baptist Church in Salida, First Presbyterian in Leadville, Wheeler Opera House in Aspen, and the Fort Collins Opera House). Though known to have taken place, speech sites from the eras not centered around one of the two popular referendums of 1877 and 1893 have been harder to track, as they were fewer and farther between and not associated with any specific political operation or effort.

### **Political Action Sites**

*Political Action Sites are where protests, attempts to garner public awareness, acts that challenged the status quo, and other attempts to gain political agency were undertaken for the issue of or as a result of women's suffrage.*

This broad-ranging property type encompasses sites such as where Albina Washburn attempted to vote in 1872 as part of the national legal strategy to invoke a woman's right as citizen under the Fourteenth Amendment; the 1891 and 1892 School Board elections to act upon the vote allowed to women at the time and demonstrate women's desire for the vote; the 1894 election campaigns for the State's first female legislators; places at which women organized to educate themselves about the political process after winning the vote in 1893, such as the offices of the *Woman Voter* newspaper; and the public spectacle protests of the early-twentieth century like Dr. Caroline Spencer's disruption of a speech by William Jennings Bryan.

As with Public Speaking Sites, this property type is most likely eligible under Criterion A due to a site's local association with the women's suffrage movement, but a passing association with a particular individual of historic significance. Integrity would need to be of high enough degree to be identifiable to the date of the historically significant event(s).

Though research to date has revealed some specifics for many of the singular events associated with this property type, none have been documented enough to know the exact location of them, with the notable exceptions of an 1894 campaign event for Carrie Clyde Holly in Pueblo at the Columbia Theater (though the theater's historic location has not been able to be determined yet); the 1916 "Suffrage Special" stop at the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Depot in Colorado Springs (demolished later that same year); and the 1923 Equal Rights Amendment pageant at the Garden of the Gods. A close reading of contemporaneous newspaper accounts is likely to be the most productive in finding these sites, as the very nature of the events and activities was to draw public attention and engagement.

### **Government Sites**

*This property type is limited to the sites at which the government acted upon the issue of equal suffrage during the five different eras of the movement.*

This property type would include sites at which the government debated, voted upon, or enacted laws enabling women's suffrage, and generally would be represented by a handful of locations across the several decades of the movement. Polling places, where the male electorate voted upon the 1877 and 1893 popular referendums, would also fall under this property type. Determining where these events occurred are much more difficult for the earliest eras of the movement, when the seats of government were transitory and did not have dedicated buildings. The same is true for polling places in 1877 and 1893, when voting occurred at all manner of properties, including saloons and makeshift tents.

Criterion A is believed to be the most relevant for this property type due to association with the historical suffrage movement and its progress, but unlikely association with one particular person significant to the movement above others as would be relevant to Criterion B. Integrity would need to be sufficient to recognize the site as where governmental events and activities occurred.

Tracking where exactly elected officials met and debated women's suffrage during the Territorial Period is difficult, though the Loveland Block in Golden is a likely candidate, as it is believed to have been the site where the Territorial Legislature met when Golden was the Territorial Capital from 1866-68, when equal suffrage was first raised in 1868. During the 1876 State Constitutional Convention, delegates met at Denver's Odd Fellows Hall, which has since been demolished, but may have met as committees or in smaller groups at other locations; further research would be needed to confirm. As the 1893 suffrage bill made its way through the State's General Assembly and to the Governor, the State Capitol was still under construction; the site at which the government met during this period has not yet been confirmed. The first three female legislators Carrie Clyde Holly, Clara Cressingham, and Frances Klock would have been among the first group of legislators to convene in the State Capitol building in January

1895. The Capitol would have also been the site of Colorado's ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in December 1919.

### **Legacy Sites**

*This property type encompasses sites that are not directly associated with the women's suffrage movement in Colorado, but that have ties to leading suffragists or arose out of their activities.*

These sites are beyond the scope of this context focusing on the women's suffrage movement, but warrant mention here as a further avenue of research, especially in cases when Criterion B is being considered for an example of one of the other property types, and research into the historic significance of an individual and the other properties associated with them is required to fully evaluate significance. Examples of this type include the many homes of the Woman's Club of Denver (founded in 1894 by suffragists such as Elizabeth Ensley and Sarah Platt Decker) and the Denver Woman's Press Club of Denver at 1325 Logan Street (founded in 1898 by Minnie J. Reynolds, who coordinated purchase of the Logan Street building in 1924).

## IV. Preservation Goals and Objectives

### *Factors Affecting Preservation*

There are several influences on whether and how women's suffrage sites are preserved; some are negative, and others positive. The most substantial factor in the preservation of these properties is, simply put, their identification. Without knowing whether a place had a role in the movement, it becomes impossible, at best, to recognize and celebrate that historic significance, and at worst, to ensure the place is valued and preserved for it. This lack of data presents the greatest challenge to the preservation of sites associated with the struggle for equal suffrage in Colorado.

As with any historic building, the greatest threat to women's suffrage sites is the permanent loss of a site of historic significance. The demolition of possibly historic sites is much easier to support when a building's full historic background, and its possible areas of significance not visibly appreciable, are unknown. This is particularly true in local communities where multiple significance criteria must be met in order for a property to be considered eligible for designation and thereby protection. Furthermore, Colorado's larger metropolitan areas, where much of the movement occurred, though by no means exclusively, are fast-growing and under continual pressure to develop bigger and more densely.

Fortunately, with the centennial celebration of the Nineteenth Amendment in 2020, there is a renewed interest in the achievement of suffrage for women and the long decades spent fighting for it. Historic places that help to tell this story are also experiencing a new appreciation, particularly when the representation of marginalized groups, including women and particularly women of color, is still lacking among historically-designated places. New examinations of the suffrage movement have been published in a slew of recent books and articles, but the places themselves have become the focus of such multi-year initiatives as the National Votes for Women Trail (NVWT), a database of suffrage sites compiled by the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites (NCWS); the accompanying NVWT Pomeroy Marker Project, a partnership between NWCS and The William G. Pomeroy Foundation to fund and install historical markers at selected suffrage sites; the National Park Service's StoryMap for Women's Suffrage highlighting sites in each state; and Women's Vote Centennial, a collaboration led by History Colorado and the Colorado Women's Vote Centennial Commission to celebrate the centennial among local Colorado communities and organizations, such as Women Suffrage Centennial, Southern Colorado.

Interest in the women's suffrage movement is likely to continue beyond the centennial year of the Nineteenth Amendment due to a number of current topics – the interest in enfranchisement of more people, the upcoming centennial of the as-yet unratified Equal Rights Amendment in 2023, and contemporary reevaluations of how concepts of equality of race and gender have been historically treated as mutually exclusive rather than hand-in-hand progress. As such, there are unexplored opportunities for historic preservationists, historians, and suffrage history enthusiasts to partner with other groups who are interested in these related topics.

### *Public Input*

Over the Spring of 2020, an online questionnaire regarding women's suffrage sites was sent digitally to all Certified Local Governments (CLGs) in Colorado; local historical societies and history museums; Colorado Historical Foundation (CHF) boards, committees, and mailing list; History Colorado leadership, staff, and members; Rocky Mountain Chapter of the Association of Preservation Technology; Colorado League of Women Voters; and Women Suffrage Centennial of Southern Colorado. The questionnaire sought to determine what sites associated with the equal suffrage struggle were known locally. Twenty-two responses were collected, representing Lake City, Denver, Fort Collins, and Pueblo.

In addition, CHF staff attended the Colorado Women's Vote Symposium held on 22 February 2020 to network with attendees and distribute fliers about the development of this survey plan with information on access to the questionnaire. On 28 May 2020, CHF staff and Clerestory Preservation presented to the Colorado Center for Women's History Advisory Committee at one of its regular meetings to solicit input on the development of the survey plan and possible areas for further research to identify suffrage sites. The results of these conversations indicated that although a handful of sites were known, these sites were generally related to the later activities of prominent suffragists (what have been termed *legacy sites* within the property types of this survey plan's context statement). Historians involved in the 1993 centennial celebration of the 1893 referendum passage mentioned the possibility that some site identification efforts were undertaken within local communities at the time, but to date research has not uncovered these possible previous efforts.

The lack of extant sites identified or designated for association with the women's suffrage movement underscores the urgent need to complete this work so that such sites may be preserved before they are lost due to lack of knowledge.

## V. Recommendations

### *Survey Needs*

Due to the nearly total lack of survey completed for suffrage sites to-date, there is no shortage of opportunities (and needs) to identify and evaluate these properties. The challenge remains in tackling this in a systematic way that balances the need for further data in all property types and eras of the movement with the likelihood for success.

Properties identified in the windshield survey as having sufficient integrity, and which are not yet listed in the National Register individually or as part of a district, should be intensively surveyed to verify their eligibility for designation. This work would include a more comprehensive look at the suffrage activity believed to be conducted there as well as the typical information collected in an intensive survey, such as construction history and analysis of integrity. The cost of such survey is estimated to be slightly higher than normal due to the likely need of evaluation under Criterion B (association with significant person) for most of the sites, which requires some further comparative analysis than typically needed for Criteria A and C. Those evaluated as indeed being eligible for either the National Register or State Register should be considered for nomination, following outreach to owners about the value and benefits of nomination, the discovered history of their property, and securing their consent to have the property listed. Strong candidates for this project would include the Elizabeth P. Ensley House and J. Warner Mills House, both in Denver; Eliza Tanner House and Lucy McIntyre House, Fort Collins; First Baptist Church of Salida; and Eighth Street Baptist Church, Pueblo. Out of these six sites, not all may have their eligibility confirmed or have owner support; as such, subsequent preparation of nominations will depend on the results, but could reasonably be estimated to include three or four of the six. This number of sites for survey and nomination should be able to be accomplished in one phase, but could be divided into two phases if funding availability dictates.

Those properties in the windshield survey that are already designated individually or as part of an historic district are likely able to have their nominations amended now in order to officially recognize their associations with the suffrage movement. Some of these properties have undergone extensive remodeling/restyling in subsequent years, and though may still be historic, lack a high enough degree of integrity related to their suffrage history. Many, however, appear to be eligible for a nomination amendment, which would need to establish the local context for suffrage work in order to be successful. Since these properties are already listed, owner consent is not required for an amendment, but outreach to owners should be conducted regardless. Strong candidates for a first phase of this project would include those sites that are within established National Register historic districts, namely the Hinsdale County Courthouse, Lake City; Ellis Meredith House, Denver; and First Presbyterian Church, Leadville; due to its later restyling as documented in the Downtown Loveland Historic District National Register nomination, the Bartholf Opera House should be intensively surveyed first to confirm integrity dating to its suffrage association before proceeding with a nomination amendment or substituting with a different site. A second phase for nomination amendments should address those for individually-nominated sites: the Croke-Patterson-Campbell and Crawford Hill mansions in Denver; Wheeler Opera House, Aspen; and Meeker Family House, Greeley.

One clear need is that of intensive survey within Colorado's smaller communities, particularly those outside the Front Range metropolitan area of Denver. Such survey would demonstrate the geographic reach of the suffrage movement and its dependency on grassroots organization and advocacy, but would also encourage Coloradans across the state to understand and value how the struggle for women's votes was within their own backyard. This effort would likely be most relevant to the referendum of 1893, due to that era's furthest reach of advocacy across the state compared to other periods, and its higher probability of extant sites due to more permanent development in the 1880s-1890s; however, by focusing on specific communities, there is an opportunity to cover earlier eras as well, since many suffragists remained active for decades. Communities selected for intensive survey should be known to have had a local suffrage association and active advocates, as indicated in historical accounts referenced in the context; they should also represent the state's different regions as much as possible. Possible communities to research further and known to have had active suffragists include Buena Vista, Grand Junction, Mancos, Leadville, Cañon City, Pueblo, and Holyoke. Such an effort should involve local stakeholders, including Certified Local Government program staff and commission members, local historical societies and museums, the interested general public, and owners of surveyed sites, with a goal to both collect and disseminate information between the groups. Methodology would involve the identification of suffrage leaders and research into their homes and workplaces through censuses, city directories, and newspaper research, as well as consulting any known archives, such as History Colorado's holdings of CESA/NPESA records, and possibly relevant personal papers held by local and state repositories. Mention of suffrage activities in local newspapers should also be researched. Once a list of extant sites in the local community is compiled, intensive survey of those with visible integrity should be conducted, with research into the full historic background and construction history of the property conducted. The cost of such survey is estimated to be slightly higher than normal due to the likely need of evaluation under Criterion B (association with significant person), which requires some further comparative analysis than typically needed for Criteria A and C. The number of communities to target in one project will depend in large part on available funding, but would likely need to be phased such that no more than three to four communities are researched at one time in order to balance geographic diversity with ability to provide comprehensive outreach and in-depth research within each town.

Another need for survey is the identification of sites associated with African American suffragists. As noted in the context statement, these women (and men) tended to not be identified as Black in many or most historical accounts of the movement over the years, yet their impact on the success of the 1893 referendum, particularly in Denver, is known and warrants further investigation to better represent them in historic sites. Furthermore, the opportunity to identify sites associated with these suffragists has not been fully explored due to the lack of access to many historical accounts of Black women's role in the movement because of archive closures during the COVID-19 pandemic as the survey plan was being developed (see Bibliography for a list of such sources not yet consulted). Though preliminary results suggest that finding extant African-American women's suffrage sites may be difficult, such an effort should be prioritized to demonstrate commitment to telling a fuller story of the suffrage movement in Colorado, and the possibility of finding sites associated with under-represented people. Methodology would include identification of Black suffrage leaders and research into their homes and

workplaces through censuses, city directories, and newspaper research (particularly Black publications such as *The Colorado Statesman*), as well as consulting any known archives, such as History Colorado’s holdings of CESA/NPESA records, and possibly relevant personal papers held by local and state repositories. Once a list of extant sites associated with African American suffragists is compiled, intensive survey of those with visible integrity should be conducted, with research into the full historic background and construction history of the property conducted. The cost of such survey is estimated to be slightly higher than normal due to the likely need of evaluation under Criterion B (association with significant person), which requires some further comparative analysis than typically needed for Criteria A and C. Results should be shared with local and state stakeholders, including property owners.

Lastly, there are further avenues of research that may yield opportunities for site identification, as indicated in the context statement. These include the possibility of finding Hispana/o suffragists and associated sites; properties associated with prominent suffragists, such as Albina Washburn, Agapito Vigil, and others presented in Appendix D who may have as-yet unidentified extant sites associated with them; and identification of sites associated with the Coalition/Advocacy Site Property Type, where complementary organizations who supported equal suffrage carried out their activities. Survey work based upon these property types or peoples may also be accomplished through survey in targeted geographic areas, particularly Colorado’s smaller communities, as discussed above.

*Potential Projects*

<b>Project</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>Estimated Cost</b>
Intensive Survey and National Register nomination of Selected Windshield Survey Sites not yet designated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intensively survey six (6) selected sites in Denver, Fort Collins, Salida, and Pueblo.</li> <li>Engage in owner and stakeholder outreach to share information and garner support.</li> <li>Prepare National Register nominations for three to four (3-4) surveyed sites with confirmed eligibility and owner support.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Survey: \$4,800</i> (approximately \$800 per site)</p> <p><i>Nominations: \$27,000 - \$36,000</i> (approximately \$9,000 per site)</p> <p><b>Total: \$31,800 - \$40,800</b></p>
Nomination Amendments for Windshield Survey Sites in already NR-listed districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intensively survey Bartholf Opera House, Loveland to confirm sufficient integrity level.</li> <li>Engage in owner and stakeholder outreach to share information and garner support.</li> <li>Prepare NR district nomination amendments to recognize suffrage associations for up to three to four (3-4) sites in Lake City, Denver, Leadville, and Loveland.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Survey: \$800</i> (1 site)</p> <p><i>Nomination amendments: \$18,000 - \$24,000</i> (approximately \$6,000 per site)</p> <p><b>Total: \$18,800 - \$24,800</b></p>
Nomination Amendments for Windshield Survey Sites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engage in owner and stakeholder outreach to share information and garner support.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Total: \$24,000</b> (approximately \$6,000 per site)</p>

already individually NR-listed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prepare NR nomination amendments to recognize suffrage associations for up to four (4) sites in Denver, Aspen, and Greeley.</li> </ul>	
Intensive Survey within Selected Smaller Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Select three to four (3-4) communities to target, based on geographic diversity and known suffrage activity.</li> <li>• Engage in stakeholder outreach to share information and garner support.</li> <li>• Conduct in-depth research of community suffragists and suffrage movement activity to identify sites for survey.</li> <li>• Intensively survey sites identified in research, selected based on extant status and preliminary integrity assessments (estimate range of 3-6 sites).</li> <li>• Prepare survey report for each community with findings and recommendations.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Research: \$21,600</i> (3 selected communities, estimated 80 hours per community at \$90/hour)</p> <p><i>Survey: \$7,200-14,400</i> (estimated 3-6 sites per community, at \$800/site)</p> <p><i>Survey report: \$10,800</i> (estimated 40 hours per community at \$90/hour)</p> <p><b>Total: \$39,600 - \$46,800</b></p>
Intensive Survey of African-American Suffragist Sites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct in-depth research of African-American suffragists and suffrage movement activity to identify sites for survey.</li> <li>• Intensively survey sites identified in research, selected based on extant status and preliminary integrity assessments (estimate range of 3-6 sites).</li> <li>• Prepare survey report with findings and recommendations.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Research: \$7,200</i> (estimated 80 hours at \$90/hour)</p> <p><i>Survey: \$2,400-4,800</i> (estimated 3-6 sites at \$800/site)</p> <p><i>Survey report: \$3,600</i> (estimated 40 hours at \$90/hour)</p> <p><b>Total: \$13,200 - \$15,600</b></p>

### *Potential Funding*

The two primary sources of funding for historic surveys and nominations in Colorado are the State Historical Fund (SHF) and the Certified Local Government (CLG) grant programs, both overseen by History Colorado (which also serves as the State Historic Preservation Office). Both utilize public monies, and as such seek to fund projects that have a clear public benefit and wide community support.

SHF is funded by tax money raised from limited stakes gaming in the towns of Central City, Black Hawk, and Cripple Creek. Applicants must be either government entities within Colorado or non-profits certified as tax exempt by the Internal Revenue Service. In 2021, SHF revised its grant structure and requirements in order to fund a more diverse range of projects. Through its competitive grants available at select times per year, SHF can fund historic surveys and nominations (or nomination amendments) of properties to the National Register and/or State Register; such projects would more than likely fall under the \$50,000 limit for mini-grants (versus general). Competitive grants require a 25 percent cash match for nonprofit or government owners of properties, and 50 percent match for private owners.

Non-competitive planning grants, which can be applied for at any time based on fund availability, have been expanded to include nominations up to a limit of \$15,000, with a 10/25 percent cash match ratio requirement for non-profit/private owners.

CLG grants may be applied for once a year and are funded by the state's apportionment of the national Historic Preservation Fund; the pool of funds available depends upon that fiscal year's funding as set by the U.S. Congress. Applicants must be a CLG, and projects must generally be under \$25,000, but with no cash match required. Eligible projects include survey, nomination, and planning activities.

The National Park Service (NPS) offers various grants that may be applicable to funding survey and nomination of women's suffrage sites. In particular, the Under-Represented Communities (URC) grant specifically seeks to increase the number of National Register-listed properties associated with under-represented communities, including women's history sites. URC grants may only be awarded to state historic preservation offices and CLGs, who may partner with other organizations; they are typically offered once a year, depending upon funding from the Historic Preservation fund. Similarly, the African American Civil Rights Grant Program (AACRG) offers funding to states, tribes, local governments (including but not limited to CLGs), and non-profits for survey of sites associated with the civil rights struggle of African Americans, including prior to the twentieth century. Cash match is not required, but preference is given to projects that demonstrate partnership collaboration and community commitment, including the raising of a cash match. The AACRG would be applicable to a project focused on survey of sites associated with Colorado's African American suffragists.

Potential projects for survey and nomination of women's suffrage sites may also be of interest to other organizations with a variety of missions that intersect with the themes of equality, women's history, or even the support of small communities. Examples that should be pursued for feasibility include the Colorado League of Women Voters, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Gates Family Foundation.

Several preservation grant programs focus on projects for sites beyond the survey and nomination phase, such as physical preservation/rehabilitation work, or the planning for such work. As such, these grants are not applicable to the suggested projects outlined above, but should be noted in outreach to owners as potential incentives of achieving National Register listing for association with the suffrage movement, along with the other typical incentives such as rehabilitation tax credit eligibility and SHF grant funds for physical work. Examples of these grants include NPS's History of Equal Rights (HER) grant program for properties associated with the struggle of people to achieve equal rights; and grants from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, such as the Peter Grant Fund for Colorado and National Fund for Sacred Places (for churches).

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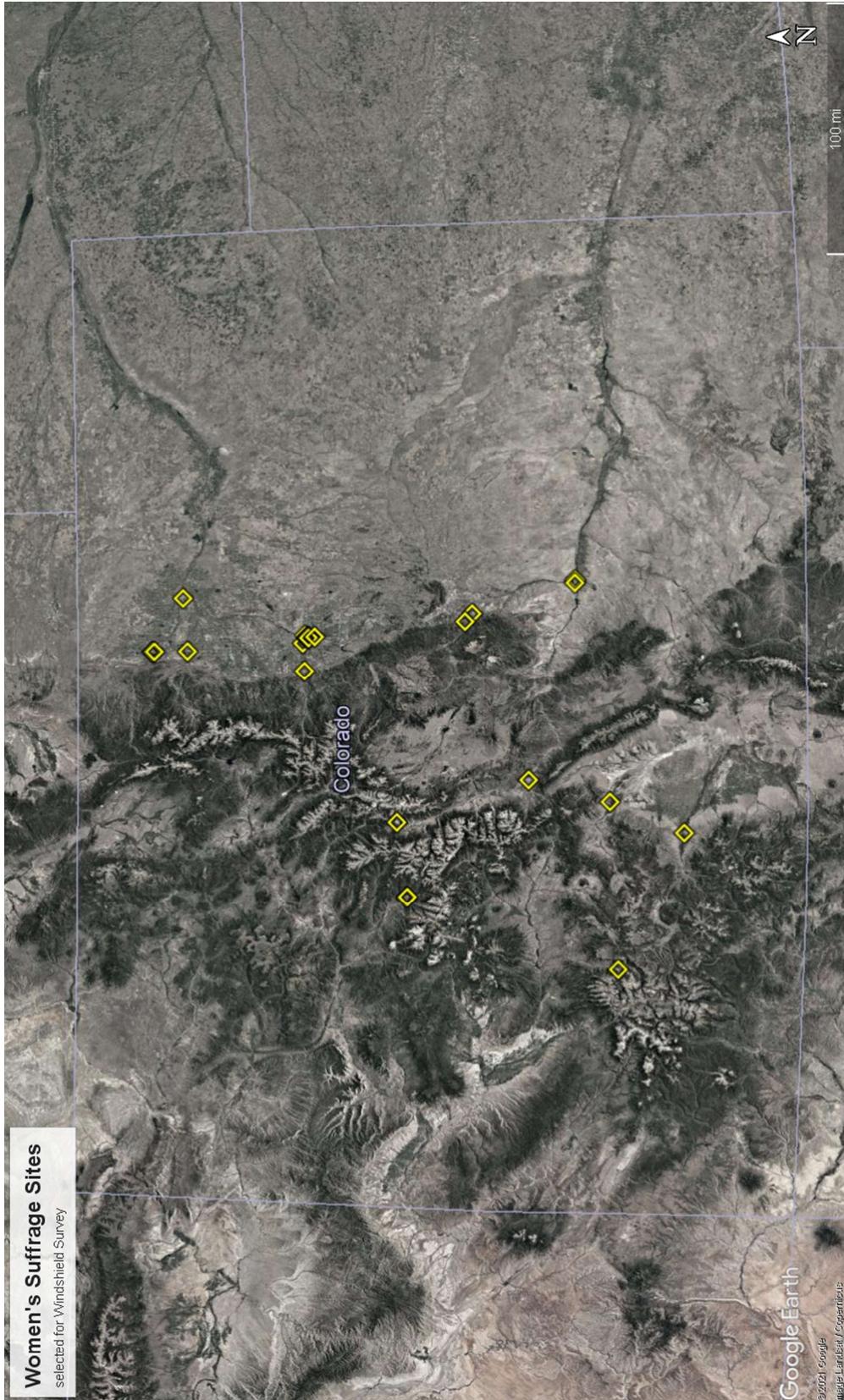
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## Appendix A. Map of Windshield Survey Sites



NB: Due to the map's large scale, several sites may be represented by one symbol on the map.

Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

Photo (* - Google Earth image)	Site Name	Address	City	County	Site#	Association with Suffrage Movement	Suffrage Context Property Type	Year(s) of assoc.	Integrity/Designation Notes
	Baptist Church/ First Baptist Church of Salida	419 D Street	Salida	Chaffee	5CF.345	1893 campaign; site of speech by Chapman Catt	Public Speaking Sites	1893	built 1885, good integrity
	Ellis Meredith House	3325 Decatur St.	Denver	Denver	n/a	prominent leader of Colorado movement from ca. 1880s-1920; personally known to movement leaders in East; traveled to 1893 World's Fair to convince national leaders to support Colorado campaign (Carrie Chapman Catt campaigned as a result); continued to support national movement after CO gained vote, traveling and corresponding with national leaders, holding CO up as example	Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists	ca.1900-1918	Good integrity; contributing to NR listed Potter Highlands HD
	Margaret "Molly" Brown House (now Museum)	1340 Pennsylvania Street	Denver	Denver	5DV.178	Brown's home from 1894 through the 1920s; where she considered political candidacies and lent support to suffrage movement.	Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists	1894-1920	built 1889, good integrity; NR listed

Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

 <p>A large, ornate brick mansion with multiple towers and gables, set in a winter landscape with snow on the ground.</p>	<p>Croke-Patterson-Campbell Mansion</p>	<p>420 E. 11th Avenue</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>5DV.172</p>	<p>Home of Katharine Patterson and daughters, all suffragists. Location of Young Women's League formation and meetings</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>1892-1893</p>	<p>Good integrity; NR listed</p>
 <p>A large, light-colored brick mansion with a prominent porch and many windows, surrounded by trees and a lawn.</p>	<p>Crawford Hill Mansion</p>	<p>150 E. 10th Avenue</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>5DV.713</p>	<p>Louise Sneed Hill (daughter-in-law of mining magnate and suffrage supporter Nathaniel P. Hill) hosted a CUWS-Denver chapter event at her home on 25 Oct. 1914.</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>1914</p>	<p>NR listed</p>
 <p>A two-story brick house with a prominent front porch and a gabled roof, set in a residential neighborhood.</p>	<p>J. Warner Mills House</p>	<p>2350 Gilpin Street</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p>Mills authored the suffrage bill that became the 1893 referendum. His offices from this time are no longer extant; this is the only building associated with him identified to date.</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>1893</p>	<p>Built 1890; Good integrity</p>

Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

	<p>Colorado State Capitol</p>	<p>200 E. Colfax Avenue</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>5DV.6000</p>	<p>Site of first state General Assembly with female representatives elected in 1894 election. State's ratification of Nineteenth Amendment also occurred here.</p>	<p>Government Sites</p>	<p>1894-1920</p>	<p>Good integrity; contributing to Civic Center NHL</p>
	<p>Elizabeth P. Ensley House</p>	<p>985 S. Emerson Street</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>Denver</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p>A founding member of NPESA and its first treasurer, Ensley went on to found the Colored Women's Republican Club and the Women's League of Denver to encourage Black women to vote. This was her home from ca. 1915-17 and the only location known to be associated with her that is extant</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>ca. 1915-1917</p>	<p>Built ca. 1914, fair integrity</p>
	<p>Garden of the Gods</p>	<p>North 30<sup>th</sup> Street</p>	<p>Colorado Springs</p>	<p>El Paso</p>	<p>5EP.365</p>	<p>Site of women's rights pageant on 23 Sept. 1923 attended by 20,000 people; celebrated "75th anniversary" of suffrage movement (Seneca Falls convention) and promoted new focus of NWP: Equal Rights Amendment.</p>	<p>Political Action Sites</p>	<p>1923</p>	<p>Good integrity, paths developed</p>

Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

	<p>NWP/CUWS State Headquarters</p>	<p>222 N. Tejon Street</p>	<p>Colorado Springs</p>	<p>El Paso</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p>Site where CUWS/NWP organized and contributed to national equal suffrage cause.</p>	<p>Suffrage Organization Meeting Sites</p>	<p>1914-1920</p>	<p>Heavily altered; difficult to tell if same building or not</p>
	<p>Hinsdale County Courthouse</p>	<p>317 Henson St.</p>	<p>Lake City</p>	<p>Hinsdale</p>	<p>5HN.68.27</p>	<p>Location of 1877 campaign speech by Susan B. Anthony (20 Sept.); local suffrage association formed next day in courthouse</p>	<p>Public Speaking Sites</p>	<p>1877</p>	<p>Good integrity; contributing to NR listed Lake City HD</p>
	<p>Loveland Block Building</p>	<p>1122 Washington Avenue</p>	<p>Golden</p>	<p>Jefferson</p>	<p>5JF.411</p>	<p>Both houses of Territorial Legislature met in upper rooms in 1866-68 before Territorial Capital relocated to Denver in 1869; women's suffrage may have been debated here.</p>	<p>Government Sites</p>	<p>ca. 1868</p>	<p>Built ca. 1863, Integrity related to restyling in 1905; NR listed</p>

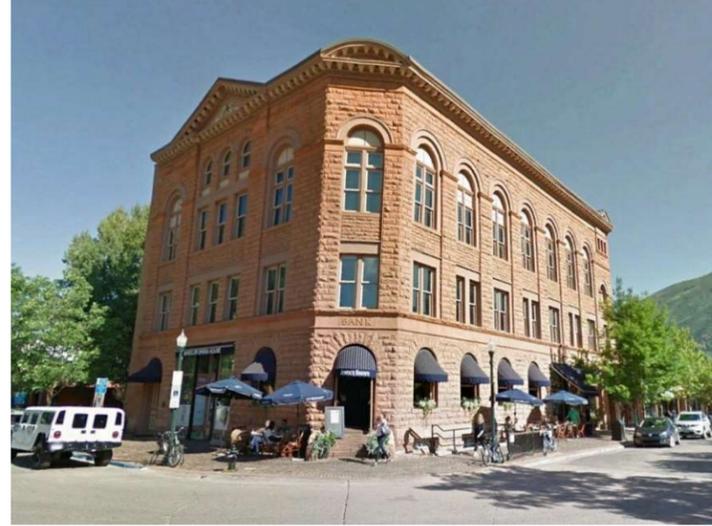
Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

	First Presbyterian Church	801 Harrison Avenue	Leadville	Lake	5LK.40.16	1893 campaign; site of speech by Chapman Catt	Public Speaking Sites	1893	built 1889, Good integrity; contributing to Leadville NHL HD
	Opera House	117-131 N College Avenue	Fort Collins	Larimer	5LR.742	1893 campaign; site of speech by Chapman Catt	Public Speaking Sites	1893	built 1881, restyled 1917; NR listed; low integrity for suffrage association
	Bartholf Opera House	136-138 E. 4th St.	Loveland	Larimer	5LR.1056	1893 campaign; Farmers Institute program held here from Feb. 15-17, 1893; speakers included Albina Washburn ("Have our Institutes Been of any Benefit to the Farmer?") and Rev. J.A. Ferguson ("Universal Suffrage")	Coalition and/or Advocacy Sites	1893	built ca. 1884; extensively remodeled in 1925 and 1938; contributing to Downtown Loveland HD (NR); unsure of integrity for suffrage association

Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

	<p>Lucy McIntyre Residence</p>	<p>137 Mathews St.</p>	<p>Fort Collins</p>	<p>Larimer</p>	<p>5LR.1702</p>	<p>Founder of Fort Collins Chautauquan Circle, leader in WCTU. Appears active in local politics for suffrage and temperance and wrote letters to local newspapers advocating for equal suffrage. Held suffrage and WCTU meetings at her residence through 1920.</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>1881-1920</p>	<p>Good integrity; setting somewhat compromised</p>
	<p>Eliza M. Tanner Residence</p>	<p>717 Mathews St.</p>	<p>Fort Collins</p>	<p>Larimer</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p>Local leader in 1893 campaign</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>1893</p>	<p>Good integrity</p>
	<p>Wheeler Opera House</p>	<p>328-330 E. Hyman Ave.</p>	<p>Aspen</p>	<p>Pitkin</p>	<p>5PT.35</p>	<p>1893 campaign; site of speech by Chapman Catt. Catt included tribute to Lucy Stone (who was dying of stomach cancer) at this location</p>	<p>Public Speaking Sites</p>	<p>1893</p>	<p>built 1889, good integrity; NR listed</p>

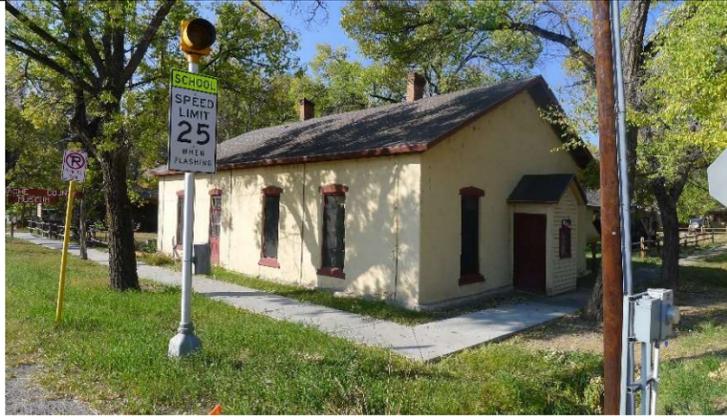
Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

	Davis Waite House	234 Francis Street	Aspen	Pitkin	5PT.528.7	Waite governor when 1893 referendum passed	Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists	1892-1893	contributing to NR listed Aspen HD
	Eighth Street Baptist Church	600 W. 8th Street	Pueblo	Pueblo	5PE.1228	African-American women of Pueblo worked for the suffrage movement from this African-American Church.	Suffrage Organization Meeting Sites	1893	built ca. 1891; good integrity
	Mrs. M. J. Suter House	905 E. 5th Street	Pueblo	Pueblo	n/a	Residence of President of the East Pueblo Equal Suffrage League; likely used as meeting place for group.	Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists	1893-1894	Built ca. 1890; low integrity

Appendix B. Windshield Survey Results

Presented in Alphabetical Order by County

	<p>Methodist Church of Del Norte</p>	<p>520 7th Street</p>	<p>Del Norte</p>	<p>Rio Grande</p>	<p>5RN.381</p>	<p>Location of 1877 campaign speech by Susan B. Anthony (18 Sept.)</p>	<p>Public Speaking Sites</p>	<p>1877</p>	<p>Fair integrity; ca. 1970s large rear addition</p>
	<p>Saguache County Courthouse (now County Museum)</p>	<p>405 8th Street</p>	<p>Saguache</p>	<p>Saguache</p>	<p>5SH.124</p>	<p>Location of 1877 campaign speeches by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell (12 Sept.) and Susan B. Anthony (24 Sept.)</p>	<p>Public Speaking Sites</p>	<p>1877</p>	<p>Built 1874; fair integrity for suffrage association with historic additions from later eras; NR listed</p>
	<p>Meeker Family House</p>	<p>1324 9th Avenue</p>	<p>Greeley</p>	<p>Weld</p>	<p>5WL.566</p>	<p>The Meeker family were prominent members of Greeley's suffrage movement. Daughter Rosine (or Rozene) is credited with circulating a petition for equal suffrage that was presented to the Territorial Legislature in 1870.</p>	<p>Homes and/or Work Place of Suffragists</p>	<p>1870-1878</p>	<p>NR listed; good integrity</p>

## Appendix C. Glossary of Suffrage Organizations

*NB: References to Colorado's suffrage organizations in historical documentation are often inconsistent, using less than precise names or interchanging them. When an organization was often referred to by another name, this is noted below.*

**AWSA – American Woman Suffrage Association;** formed in 1869 and headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts; led by Lucy Stone, Henry Brown Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe, and Henry Ward Beecher. As opposed to NWSA, AWSA supported the Fifteenth Amendment, which extended voting rights to Black men, as a step in the right direction of equal suffrage for all citizens. In 1890 the two groups merged into the NAWSA.

**CESA – Colorado Equal Suffrage Association;** formed in 1881 at a suffrage convention (location unknown), with Alida C. Avery as first president. CWSA was often referred to with this acronym as well.

**CUWS – Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage;** formed in 1913 as a more militant counterpart to NAWSA, led by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. In 1917 became the NWP.

**CWSA – Colorado Woman Suffrage Association;** state chapter of NWSA, first formed in 1876 at Colorado's first suffrage convention. Apparently disbanded after defeat of 1877 referendum. Re-organized in 1890 as a state chapter of NAWSA, renamed NPESA in 1893. Sometimes also referred to as CESA.

**NAWSA – National American Woman Suffrage Association;** formed in 1890 by joining of AWSA and NWSA, as spearheaded by Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell. NAWSA was first led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1890-92) and Susan B. Anthony (1892-1900), followed by Carrie Chapman Catt (1900-04; 1915-20) and Anna Howard Shaw (1904-15).

**NPESA – Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association;** Colorado's state suffrage association. Originally formed in 1890 as CWSA, renamed in 1893 in order to underscore suffrage equality as the organization's central mission.

**NWP – National Women's Party;** formed in 1916 as the wing of CUWS that represented states that had already extended suffrage to women. In 1917 the two wings were joined under the NWP name.

**NWSA – National Woman Suffrage Association;** formed in 1869 by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton; headquartered in New York City. NWSA disagreed with AWSA over whether to support passage of the Fifteenth Amendment that provided suffrage for Black men. NWSA did not support the amendment, believing it should include suffrage for women as well. In 1890 the two groups put differences aside and merged into NAWSA.

**WCTU – Women's Christian Temperance Union;** formed in Ohio in 1874, devoted to prohibition of alcohol. Local chapters formed all over United States. Eventually backed the cause of women's suffrage.

## Appendix D. Research Identifying Homes and Workplaces of Selected Colorado Suffragists

Presented in Alphabetical Order by Last Name

Name	Biographical Notes	City/Town	Address (associated date(s))	Extant?
<b>Ella C. Adams</b>	Founding member of CESA/NPESA; hosted meetings	Denver	10 E. 16 <sup>th</sup> Ave., Rooms 37 (1900)	No
<b>Berthe Arnold</b>	NWP member; protested in Washington D.C.	Colorado Springs	116 E. Dale (ca. 1916-22)	No
<b>Alida C. Avery</b>	Early leader of movement; hosted meetings; moved to California in 1887	Denver	339 20 <sup>th</sup> St. (1877)	No
<b>America J. Barber</b>	Member of Montezuma County Populist Party, local suffrage leader	Mancos	1900 Census does not provide address; city directories not available	Unknown
<b>Alberta Battles</b>	Prominent African-American NPESA member	Denver	1819 Lafayette St.	No
<b>Henry Bromwell</b>	Delegate of Constitutional Convention; wrote pro-equal suffrage minority report with Vigil	Denver	319 8 <sup>th</sup> St. (1877-86)	No
		Denver	Corner of 15 <sup>th</sup> & Larimer (1879)	No
		Denver	1117 8 <sup>th</sup> St. (1888-1900)	No
<b>Anna Guthrie Brown</b>	Local suffrage leader	Breckenridge	city directories not available; census data not found	Unknown
<b>Mary Carr</b>	Early leader of movement	Longmont	city directories not available; census data not found	Unknown
<b>Jessie Gray Caswell</b>	President of Mesa County Equal Suffrage League	Grand Junction	752 Ouray Avenue (ca. 1900-1902)	Unknown
<b>Mabel Chinn</b>	President of Central League of CESA; African American	Leadville	146 W. 5 <sup>th</sup> St. (1900)	No
<b>Caroline Churchill</b>	Publisher of women's newspaper <i>Queen Bee</i>	Denver	150 Kansas Ave. (1881)	Unknown
		Denver	266 15 <sup>th</sup> St. (1882)	No
		Denver	390 Ogden St. (1886)	No
		Denver	1814 Race St. (1890-1908)	No
		Colorado Springs	834 E. High St. (1910-20)	Unknown
<b>Emily Ghent Curtis</b>	Publisher of <i>The Royal Gorge</i> ; grange and suffrage leader	Cañon City	Cyanide Avenue (ca. 1882- ca. 1910) Exact number not given in sources	Unknown
<b>Gertrude Hill Cuthbert</b>	Hosted CUWS Denver chapter meetings	Denver	324 17 <sup>th</sup> St. (1915)	No

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*Presented in Alphabetical Order by Last Name*

<b>Ida and Richard DePriest</b>	Local African-American suffrage leaders; Ida civil rights activist	Denver	2516 Lafayette St. (ca. 1893-1910)	No
<b>Elizabeth P. Ensley</b>	Founding member of CESA/NPESA, treasurer; African American; educator	Denver	1931 Curtis St. (ca. 1887)	No
		Denver	1755 Ogden St. (ca. 1889-98)	No
		Denver	1722 Logan St. (1900)	No
		Denver	1712 Pennsylvania (1910)	No
		Denver	985 S. Emerson St. (ca. 1915-17)	Yes
<b>Willard Barnes Felton</b>	Member of CWSA Executive Committee in 1877; publisher of Saguache Chronicle 1876-81	Saguache	city directories not available; census data not found	Unknown
<b>Dora Foster</b>	Local suffrage chapter member	Pueblo	816 E. 5 <sup>th</sup> St.	Yes
<b>Nancy J.S. Fox</b>	Local suffrage chapter member	Pueblo	423 W. 4 <sup>th</sup> St.	No
<b>Mary Gafford</b>	President of the Buena Vista League of the Suffrage Association in 1893	Buena Vista	city directories not available; census data not found	Unknown
<b>Natalie Hoyt Gray</b>	Colorado College alumna; participated in NWP's Washington D.C. protests	Colorado Springs	715 N. Cascade Ave. (ca. 1910-22)	No
<b>Ione T. Hanna</b>	Early suffrage leader, successfully ran for School Board in 1892.	Denver	347 Stout St. (1880)	No
		Denver	500 14th St. (1891-1900)	No
		Denver	1116 Vine St. (1910)	Yes
		Denver	2907 W. 32 <sup>nd</sup> Ave. (1920)	No
<b>Lillian Hartman Johnson</b>	Led suffrage movement in southwest portion of state	Durango	city directories not available; census data not found	Unknown
<b>Lulu H. Lincoln</b>	One of first women registered to vote in Pueblo; African American	Pueblo	3 <sup>rd</sup> and Blake; exact address unknown (1893)	Unknown
		Pueblo	1108 Beulah Ave. (1900)	Yes
<b>Flora Ramsey Maxfield (later Phillips)</b>	Local suffrage leader	Rifle	Exact address not given in census (1900)	Unknown
<b>Rosine, Nathan C., and Arvilla Meeker</b>	Rosine presented petitions for equal suffrage to State Constitutional Convention; parents also supported cause	Greeley	1324 9 <sup>th</sup> Ave. (1870-1878)	Yes

## Appendix D. Research Identifying Homes and Workplaces of Selected Colorado Suffragists

Presented in Alphabetical Order by Last Name

<b>Lucy McIntyre</b>	WCTU and local suffrage leader	Fort Collins	137 Mathews (1881-1920)	Yes
<b>Ellis Meredith (also known as Mrs. H.S. Stansbury and Mrs. Clement)</b>	Founding member of CESA/NPESA; journalist; provided critical support to national cause after 1893 referendum	Denver	3239 Franklin St. (1893)	No
		Denver	3325 Decatur St. (ca. 1900-18)	Yes
<b>Jared Warner Mills</b>	Joined local suffrage chapter in 1877; provided legal services to CESA/NPESA pro bono; drafted language of 1893 referendum bill	Lake City	310 N. Gunnison Ave. (1877)	Unknown
		Denver	2350 Gilpin St. (1893)	Yes
<b>Ella Oppy Moses</b>	Suffrage chapter and North Side Woman's Club member; one of founding members of NWP; her name is included on cornerstone of NWP's building in Washington, DC	Denver	4001 W. 30 <sup>th</sup> Ave. (1885-1920s)	Yes
<b>Katharine, Thomas M., Mary, &amp; Margaret Patterson</b>	Early and prominent suffrage leaders	Denver	420 11 <sup>th</sup> Ave. (1892-1916)	Yes
<b>Minnie J. and Helen Reynolds</b>	Sisters, both suffrage leaders. Minnie influential in press coverage of 1893 campaign	Denver	1220 Champa St.	No
<b>Harriet Scott Saxton</b>	Ran for 1891 School Board	Denver	91 Opera House Block (1891)	No
<b>Caroline Spencer</b>	Protested for NWP in Colorado Springs and Washington, D.C.	Colorado Springs	805 N. Cascade Ave. (ca. 1914-19)	No
<b>Mrs. M.J. Suter</b>	President of East Pueblo Equal Suffrage League	Pueblo	905 E. 5 <sup>th</sup> St. (1893-94)	Yes
<b>Eliza M. Tanner</b>	Local WCTU and suffrage leader	Fort Collins	717 Mathews St. (1902-35)	Yes
<b>Louise M. Tyler</b>	Founding member of CESA/NPESA	Denver	915 18 <sup>th</sup> Ave. (1891-93)	No
<b>Agapito Vigil</b>	Delegate of Constitutional Convention; wrote pro-equal	Las Animas and Huerfano Counties	city directories not available; census data not found	Unknown

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	suffrage minority report with Bromwell			
<b>Albina Washburn</b>	Early leader of movement; journalist and grange member	Big Thompson	Homestead, unknown (1870)	Unknown
		Fort Collins	350 N. College Ave. (1900)	Unknown