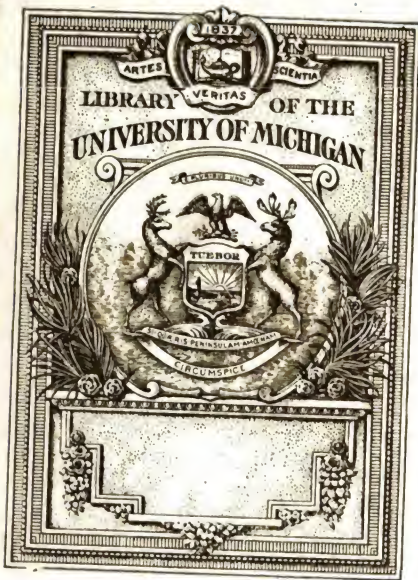


Democratic ideals



THE GIFT OF
Olympia Brown

JK
1899
C68
W73





Clara Bewick Colby
1865



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REV. OLYMPIA BROWN
President of
The Federal Suffrage Association
Published by
The Federal Suffrage Association

To the lovers of liberty who have ever been
the pioneers of civilization and progress.



"Liberty, let others despair of you,
I never despair of you."—*Whitman*

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PREFACE

THE personal friends of Mrs. Colby, beside many of the advocates of Woman's Suffrage Association, have expressed an earnest desire for some account of her work which might be accessible to the general public and which might be helpful to the future historian of the suffrage cause, as it would furnish an account of some phases of the movement not represented in other histories. For these reasons the author of the present booklet, as a friend of Mrs. Colby and as the President of the Federal Suffrage Association, a society with which she was thoroughly identified, has undertaken to present the following brief sketch of Mrs. Colby and of the society to which she devoted so large a part of the last years of her life.

When death calls any prominent person from the activity of the world we ask "what has she done?" The incidents of her personal experiences are unimportant when compared with the ideals which inspired the life and gave direction to the work. We seek not a record of material events but an understanding of character, motives, and aspirations, believing that like the virtuous woman of old "her own works shall praise her in the gates."

The writer hopes that this sketch may prove not only a satisfaction to those pioneers in reform with whom Mrs. Colby was associated, but an inspiration to those young women who today are entering upon fields of remunerative activity which have been opened to them by the labors of those who have gone before. Of these it may be well said "others have labored, and they have entered into their labor." Among those who labored to prepare the way for the young women of our time, and who

P R E F A C E

have made pleasant paths for them to walk in, Mrs. Colby was one of the most conspicuous and in her going we lose a woman who knew more, by actual experience and observation of the Woman's Suffrage movement and who better understood the principles on which the suffrage claim is based than most of those now prominent in advocating the Woman's Cause.

INTRODUCTION

THE title of this book, *Democratic Ideals*, gives the key to Mrs. Colby's life and work. She sought liberty for the individual, she desired democracy for the state. This she illustrated in all she did. She was always a free lance. When sometimes harassed and cramped in her undertakings for want of money, her friends would recommend positions on newspapers, or other lines of work which might furnish a good salary. Her reply was always, "Oh, no, I must have my freedom; I cannot be a mere machine to follow a regular routine." Whitman was Mrs. Colby's favorite author, and in her own copy of his poems, which has been given to the writer, the most trenchant utterances of the poet on the subject of liberty are marked, and often illustrated by penciled notes.

But it was not for the individual alone that she desired liberty. Her ideal for the whole people was democracy. She longed to see our Government complete, our Constitution a charter of liberties for all. Even in her advocacy of Woman's Suffrage her chief thought was not so much the practical advantage of the vote to women, as the maintaining of the integrity of our republic, the fulfillment of the promise made by the founders of our Government.

The life of Clara Bewick Colby illustrates in a most emphatic way the power that may be attained by the possession of a lofty ideal, with earnest determination, and persevering industry, in spite of adverse circumstances and seemingly overwhelming difficulties.

Unassisted and from humble beginnings she became a well known and honored advocate of Woman's

INTRODUCTION

Suffrage, a co-worker with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, a devoted reformer in many lines, a consecrated church-worker, a writer of marked ability, an interpreter of poets and philosophers, and amid all an exceptionally fine house-keeper and excellent cook. She was a loyal friend, and always a faithful worker in whatever engaged her attention. Ida Husted Harper, the Suffrage Historian, said of Mrs. Colby:

“No woman was ever more loyal to the cause of Woman’s Suffrage and none ever made greater sacrifices for it.”

CLARA BEWICK COLBY

A SKETCH

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

Clara Bewick was in every sense of the term a pioneer. Born in England, she came while a child with her parents to Wisconsin, then a new and sparsely settled country. Like other pioneers the Bewick family bore the burdens, endured the privations, and experienced the dangers of life in a new country. Opportunities for education and culture were few; the public school was scarcely established and public libraries were unknown. But the members of the family were people of sturdy minds and strong character and not without a heritage of scholarly tastes and scientific ability. Clara's grandfather, Thomas Bewick, was a well known naturalist and engraver. He published several volumes, among them Bewick's Illustrated Book of Birds, and Bewick's Book of Beasts. Other members of the family had won distinction in various lines. Notwithstanding the want of opportunity for education, Clara learned

to read while still very young. She read everything to which she had access, committing to memory both poems and hymns which came in her way. In one of her lectures she was in the habit of giving a humorous account of making butter with the old-fashioned dash churn, keeping time with the strokes of the dash by reciting those fearful hymns which threatened in glowing language the "fires of hell."

At the age of nineteen she went to Madison to live with her grandmother, Mrs. Chilton, whose care and instruction had a great influence on her life and were remembered by her with the utmost gratitude. Here she entered the Wisconsin University, then in its infancy, and, like several of our state universities in their beginning, struggling with the question of co-education. Her brilliancy and determination as a student in the Normal School, then a department of the University, enabled her to exert a marked influence in securing the admission of women to the University and the adoption of the principles of co-education in Wisconsin. She was graduated in 1869 as the valedictorian in the first class of women graduated from the University. It was the same year that Wyoming adopted Woman's Suffrage, and that the first suffrage convention was held in Washington, D. C.

Miss Ellen C. Sabin, President of Milwaukee-Downer College, was contemporaneous with Clara at the University of Wisconsin. The following extract from a letter from President Sabin to the editor gives us a picture of Clara's college days:

"It is a privilege to offer to you a few words of remembrance of Clara Bewick as a student in the University of Wisconsin. The contrast between college entrance preparation of the present time and the entrance requirements of just fifty years ago is striking. The student who had reached a suitable age, fifteen years or more, applied by personal presentation of himself at the University, selected such studies as he thought profitable, entered classes, and sank or swam as he was able to do. While there were instances of failure, certainly almost every one succeeded in his or her work and "conned out" was a term and an experience reserved for a later day. Probably only those of some promise entered the ranks of university students, and certainly no one expected any achievement except through his own effort. The student was not restricted as to hours of study, the only limitation being his powers of endurance.

Hence, Clara went from the district school with its very meagre opportunities, her chief attainments being the power to read and wrest the meaning from the printed page,



and her knowledge of the Bible acquired in her home, together with the merest rudiments of mathematics, geography and history, into the University. She possessed vigorous health, the habit of work, and an immeasurable zest for knowledge. She filled every hour with recitations and prepared for class by unstinted hours of study. She simply devoured her studies, and her mastery of each subject presented to her mind, languages, mathematics, philosophy, was the admiration and wonder of her fellow students. Her question as to work was not "Do I have to do this?" but "May I add this subject?"

Yet Clara was never a somber grind. No one else originated so many college enterprises. The literary society, Castalia, took on new life when she entered it. Debate was her delight, and she always organized every effort of a forensic character, leading one side—generally to victory. The drama was especially dear to her, and scenes from the great dramatists were constantly a feature of the programs. I recall an acceptable presentation of a dramatization of "Our Mutual Friend," which Clara inspired. In all the valiant struggles of those days to secure for girls in the University opportunities and privileges equal to those that the men enjoyed, Clara was a dauntless leader. The suggestion of an injustice or lack of

fairness was to her a bugle call to action.

She was beloved by most of her companions. And she deserved affection, for her intellectual enthusiasm was surpassed only by her generous passion to share with others whatever she had of good. This quality made her a remarkable teacher, and I believe that had she chosen to devote herself to teaching she would have become notable as a professor of literature, history, economics or philosophy.

At the end of four years Clara had traversed the distance from the district school to the close of the classical course in the State University. She left a record of superior scholarship, of noble-minded enthusiasms, and of loyal friendships both with classmates and faculty members."

CHAPTER II

NEBRASKA

After some years of teaching history and Latin in the University of Wisconsin, Clara Bewick, now Mrs. Colby, removed to Beatrice, Nebraska, where she became actively interested in the Woman's Suffrage movement, and was soon well known throughout the state. She took a prominent part in the great conventions arranged by Miss Anthony, and in all the efforts to secure the adoption of the measure by the legislature. In 1882 she managed the campaign for Woman's Suffrage of which Miss Anthony says in her history: "Mrs. Colby was indefatigable in her exertions, from the moment the amendment was submitted to the voters until the end of the canvass. She organized the whole campaign throughout the state and kept the speakers in motion." Elsewhere Miss Anthony said, "Oh, if we could all work as Mrs. Colby does our cause would move on." Miss Carrie Harrison, a co-worker with Mrs. Colby in the Press Association, says, "Mrs. Colby was always on the program when Miss Anthony was managing the meeting."

She assisted in organizing a state suffrage association and was for sixteen years its

president. A Nebraska woman says in the History of Woman Suffrage: "As long as Mrs. Colby was a resident of Nebraska she stood at the head of every phase of the movement to obtain equal rights for women." Not the least important work of her years in Nebraska was the founding of the Woman's Tribune in 1883 which she continued to publish there until her removal to Washington in 1888.

Her efforts, however, were not confined to the suffrage movement for she organized the free public library of Beatrice, Nebraska, in 1873. A very complimentary account of this work is given in the fifth annual report of the directors of this library.

During this period she visited her Alma Mater at Madison, Wisconsin, on the occasion of one of the annual meetings of the alumni. The poet appointed for the day failing to be present, Mrs. Colby was asked to supply the place and with only twenty-four hours' time for preparation she wrote the following poem describing the Indian legends of Nebraska.

THE SONG OF THE PLAINS

(Dedicated to the Pioneers of the Prairies).

The purpose of this poem is to present in terms of Indian Mythology the development of that large section of the Middle West which was formerly included in the Terri-

tory of Nebraska, and styled by topographers half a century ago as part of the Great American Desert.

The names and descriptions of the Great Spirit and the Guardian Spirits of Nebraska are taken from the Mythology of the Lakotah Indians, which is closely followed in the statement by their own special Guardian. The part played by the returning gold-hunters is included in the story of the goddess who prepared the soil to welcome man. The devastations of war, fire, pestilence, and famine, are portrayed as the writer has lived them in that country, which is now under the sway of "the brightest of the gods."

—Clara Bewick Colby.

The hidden springs of Life from man the Gods
conceal;
But to the rev'rent seeker they at times unseal
The mysteries of Fate; or these in dreams reveal.

Thus o'er the story of Nebraska, musing long,
Lifting the veils of sense with passion strong,
As in a mystic fount I saw the Vision of my Song.

THE GARDEN OF THE GODS.

Hidden from all unopened eyes a glen appeared:—
From its green base rough snow-clad mountains
reared
Their giant heads, as if some spirit hand
Had hurled them there in strength, and bade them
stand,
Stern guardians of the trysting-place below,
And of the secrets none but gods might know.

Dark pines and stately firs of lordly height
Enclosed this hidden glade so strangely bright;
While sounds of gently murmuring waters heard
Mingled their tones with those of sweet-voiced bird:
The plaintive whip-poor-will, the turtle dove,—
A song of mingled joy and pain and love.

This was the "Garden of the Gods," where meet,—
When slow-revolving cycles are complete,—
The Guardian Spirits of this Western plain:
To give to him by whose command they reign,
Account if they their trust have well fulfilled,
And governed all things as their Master willed.

WAKONDA, THE GREAT SPIRIT.

Raised on a granite throne sat one who wore
The plume of power; his hand a sceptre bore
Dim outlined 'gainst the sky. No mortal proud
Was he; but like some grand majestic cloud,
Through which the noonday splendor shines, his form
The likeness bore of mingled sun and storm.

This was Wakonda, the "Supreme Unknown,"
The great "Above," the Spirit whom alone
The Western nations worship as the source
Unseen of all existent spirit force.
To him the lesser Guardians of the West
Their homage paid, and thus their speech addressed:

HEYOKAH, THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT OF THE LAKOTAHS.

And first Heyokah from the North spake forth:
"Wakonda, mighty one, to thee I bow.
Upon my mountains high, the pole star near,
I dwell alone and rule the seasons there.

"Far South, from Britain's country on the North,
And Westward to the Rocky Mountains' top,
There stretched of old a prairie vast and wide,

Nebraska ^a named; and over this broad plain
Thou placedst me to guard and keep for thee.

“Where from the sacred thunderbolt long since
Were born my children brave,—Lakotahs called;^b
A name which means allies, or friends, because
While strong in war, peaceful and good they were.

“A happy people they, and one that saw
A power benign in all of Nature’s works.
To them the birds were symbols of the winds,
By whom the gods to earth their mandates sent.
The dawn they worshipped, for from thence there
came
The light which drove away the gloomy shades,
And freed them from the hostile powers of Night.

“The corners four of Heaven most sacred were.
To these, and to their spirits, the four winds,
They altars built,—low mounds in form of cross,
Or bird with wings outstretched,—in token that
They live by these, the source of life and health.
From these they learned the sacred number four
To hold in rev’rent awe. In all their fasts
And feasts, in birth, in death, in war and peace,
The number four must be considered; else
No good might they expect. Four souls they deemed
Were clothed in mortal garb, and after death,
One soul was free to roam o’er all the earth,
Assuming other shapes; and one must stay
Around its home, and, in the guise of bird,
Might hold communion with its former friends.
A third must in the body stay to guard
It, so that some time a new form might spring
Therefrom; and for this reason they preserved
The bones with care and buried them in mounds.

^a The Territory of Nebraska originally included Colorado, Dakota, and Idaho.

^b To the Lakotahs, or Dakotahs, belong the principal Indian tribes of the Northwest—the Sioux, the Itoes, Pawnees, Omahas, etc.

And e'en the bones of game they likewise saved
And ranged in circles round, that in the days
To come, the prairies might be stocked anew.^c
The fourth, the highest soul, when freed by death,
Went to the Sun, the Red Man's hunting ground,
Along the Milky Way—the Path of Souls."

"The thunder was to them thy voice on high,
Which bade them know corn-planting time was near.
And to the sky, thy home, when 'round the fire
In Council gathered, the first puff of smoke
Ascended with:—'Wakonda, this to thee.'

"I taught them thus; but, Wakan, more than all,
I taught them, O World's Heart, to honor thee,
As the unknown 'Above,' and present in all,
All signs and symbols of an unseen power.

"With them I roamed the prairies wild, in chase
Of mild-eyed deer, or bison fierce. Their game
I sheltered from the pale and baneful moon.
To battle with their foes I led them forth:
Their hands I strengthened in the thickest fight;
I placed the eagle plume on the proud head
Of him who first laid touch on fallen foe.

"In Council grave was I, and wild in sport;
In war was followed and in peace obeyed.
And when the harvest o'er,—my huge pipe filled,
I puffed the purpling smoke from far North down,
Enwrapping all the land with mellow haze,—^d
Their yearly feast the brave Lakotahs held,
And worshipped thee as source of every good.

"But Spirits hostile to my rule have come
Among my people and corrupted them,

^c The "Ghost-Dance" was the Indian prayer that the life might return to the buffalo bones bleaching on the plains. It meant that the Indian was starving and calling upon his gods to help him.

^d Origin of Indian Summer.

And turned their hearts from me away. Their strength
Has weakness grown since devastating wars
Have cut them down in the first flower of youth;
And white men from beyond the dawn have come
And bought our lands and paid for them with blood.
Among my people they sowed seeds of woe,
And e'en my power to their service yoked.
My children hear and heed my voice no more;
But as some giant oak, into whose heart
Disease has crept, will flourish for a time,
Then, one by one, the branches fade and fall,
Until a bare and withered trunk it stands
For the first storm to fell,—e'en so decay,
With slow and certain blight has seized upon
The Red Man; and the nation which agone
Flourished with branches wide and rootlets deep,
Now tottering stands, and in its leafless age,
Casts but a shadow of its coming doom.

“Wakonda, thy Lakotahs look to thee
For help. Let loose thy fiercest thunderbolts
Upon th' invaders heads; and let the braves
Their fathers' lands and graves once more possess.”
He ceased.

UNKTAHA, GODDESS OF WATERS AND OF NIGHT.

The fair Unktaha then arose.
A crescent moon was on her head. A gourd,
The earth to water, in one hand she held.
The lightning serpent, emblem of the earth's
Fertility, the other grasped. Her path
A shining light appeared, like streamlet's gleam
On sunny day, but in the distance lost
In mist and shadow;—for Unktaha fair
Not only rules the waters, but the night
As well, and governs then the dreams of men.
For when in morning's glow you rise refreshed,—
The spectres gone which frightened you last e'en,
The burdens lightened which oppressed you sore,—

You feel new hope, new courage for the day,
For noble deeds and lofty plans,—be sure
That this kind goddess by your couch has stood.

To Wakan thus she spake:—

“Great Spirit dread,
Far Westward is thy palace high from whence
Thou send’st me to refresh this arid plain.
I caused my streams to flow through all this land,
And on their banks I planted stately trees,
And blooming shrubs, and climbing vines. With
flowers
I gemmed the prairies o’er, and set the stars,
My jewels, in the clear sky close and low. ^e

“Glad made the heart of every living thing
As in some swiftly flowing stream I worked,
Or in the gently falling dew, or oft
In air above. I thus prepared the land
To woo to its embrace the passers-by:
And then by night I whispered soft and low
In white man’s ears in dreams, and bade him seek
The promised Eldorado in the West.

“As through my land he passed in search of gold,
I marked his path with flowers that sunward turned
Their yellow disks ^f that he might know the way,
When Fortune frowned upon him, to return
Where kindly Nature, with unbounded wealth,
Awaited patient, long-enduring toil.

“I warned the Red Man of his coming doom,—
Of slow decay and death,—but bade him hope
A Savior from the East, and happier life
In distant lands towards the sunny South.”

^e On account of the rarity of the atmosphere in this Western country the stars can be seen in greater abundance, and much nearer the horizon than in other parts.

^f The trail of the early gold-hunters across the Western plains was long marked by sunflowers.

HAOKAH, THE STORM-SPIRIT FROM
THE ROCKIES.

Now glancing fiercely at Unktaha, he
The giant king, Haokah, forward came,
One side his face was lurid red, and one
An ashen gray. His hands held thunderbolts.
Forked lightnings played around his horned head.
He glared with wrath, as though unwilling he
Acknowledged aught above: Then thus began:

"O Wakan, where the Western breezes dwell
I live and brew the storms which terrify.
Dread famine, wars, and pestilence, and fire,
My children are. On wings of mighty wind,
I traveled to and fro through this broad land
Contending for it with thine other gods.
I dried the streams and drove away the game.
The Indian, forced by want of food, made war
Upon his brother brave. I told him then
To murder thy white children, and to shed
The blood of women and of babes. I blew
With my hot breath upon the prairie grass,
And tall flames through the country swept, the trees,
The food, the houses burning. Homeless then
The people were cast out, with all the slow
Increase of years in one fell moment lost.
Ha! How I laughed as the mad flame swept along,
And with its fiery arm embraced to death
The helpless mother and her babes. In scorn
I said, 'Where now is Wakan? he has given
This land to me.'

"Then by a strong west wind
I brought from mountains far the locust fierce,
I blew them o'er the land, so that the sun
Was darkened, and they covered the whole earth,
Destroying every herb, and all the fruit,
And all green things, so naught to eat was left;
And Famine, with gaunt face, stalked in the homes,
And drove from thence the suffering, starving men.

O, what a wail of anguish there arose
From this sad, stricken land. It made my heart
Grow mad with joy, because when they had dared
Defy my power, they met their just reward.

“But all this, Wakan, have I done in vain.
A stronger god than I pursues my steps;
My children he has bound, and under foot
He tramples them and laughs my power to scorn.
In place of war and desolation, peace abounds;
And when I send my storms to blast, behold,
The earth is greener than before. If thou
Secure, can'st know what 'tis to chafe against
The bars of adverse fate, my former power
To me restore.”

His angry speech was done.

WAUHKEON, SPIRIT OF THE PRESENT.

(The Predicted Savior).

(The Lakotahs had a prophecy of a great Helper
for their race to come from the East).

Wauhkeon, then, the brightest of the gods,—
And ruling Spirit of the present time,
Stood forth. On him the light of early dawn,
The Star of Morning, on his forehead shone.
The birds broke forth in sweetest songs as thus
He spake:—

“Spirit, by whom all things exist,
All homage be to thee forever paid.
All other gods, what time their work is done,
Shall vanish into naught; but thou shalt still
Securely reign o'er all created things.

“When, for the furtherance of thy wise plans,
To this fair land from far thou summon'dst me,
I came; and girded with thy strength, I have
Subdued the powers opposed to thy design.

Thy messages of mercy I have given
Unto this downcast people, and with faith
And patience, they have borne their ills, and now
They garner up their harvests. From afar
Thy children I have brought to till the soil,
And now they live content in happy homes.
Nebraska rivers sail my boats, and turn
My mills with ceaseless whirr. All up and down
The country's breadth I've laid my iron roads
On which my fiery, tireless steed conveys
The wealth and commerce of a prosperous State.
Thine altars rise on every hill and point
Their tapering spires to heaven; and thy best gift
To man—the knowledge of thy works and thee
Is growing clearer with each opening day.”

WAKONDA'S CHARGE TO THE
GUARDIAN SPIRITS.

Then Wakan spake with grave, majestic words:—

“Ye Guardian Spirits of my fair young State,
Ye have done well. Heyokah from the North,
’Tis well that thou did'st stand the Red Man's
friend,

To lead him in the hunt, to mingle in
His sports, to fight his battles, to protect
Him from his foes, and teach him of his gods.
But grieve not that thy work is well nigh done.
The Red Man needs must perish from these plains
Because the march of progress he prevents.
The world must prosper, though a people cease.
But I, their Maker, will not them forget;
Not all shall die; a remnant shall be saved;
And, settled on the soil, shall strong become,
And learn the arts of industry and peace.”

“And thou, serene Unktaha, bless the earth
With thy continued rule; thy streams shall run
More swift and clear, thy dews more kindly fall;
The grass shall spring at thy approach,

And flowers bloom beneath thine airy tread;
And in the silent watches of the night,
When thou shalt whisper in the dreamer's ear,
To lofty enterprise and noble deeds,
Thou shalt inspire him."

"Haokah, I have need
Of thee, for war, and fire, and pestilence,
And famine dread, are but the kindly scourge
To teach man his dependence on his God.
Stay now thine hand; nor put it forth again
Till I command, which never will I do
Unless all gentler means shall fail to build
Me here a commonwealth of strong, and pure,
And noble citizens."

"Oh, star-decked Spirit,
Wauhkeon from the Orient; over all
This land, far to the Occident extend
Thy sway; until no more in crowded marts
Shall man by fellow-man be made to mourn.
Till each shall find his place; and happy homes
Shall cover all these plains; until to God
Each heart shall joyful pay its homage due;
And man to man show only Love and Truth."

The following, taken from an article in the "Suffrage Messenger," published in Lincoln, Nebraska, expresses the appreciation of the Nebraska people for Mrs. Colby. The author of the article is Emma W. Demaree.

"During the suffrage campaign of 1882, Mrs. Colby and my mother, Esther L. Warner, were friends and co-workers.

"As I remember it, her conversion to suffrage did not long antedate that campaign

and was brought about by the work of Mrs. Margaret Campbell of Iowa—another wonderful woman of pioneer suffrage days.

“With Mrs. Colby conversion meant work and she entered, heart and soul, into the campaign, giving freely of her time, talents and money. She possessed what seemed boundless energy and was intensely active in any work she undertook. However, it was said of her that her home was always well cared for. She was an excellent housekeeper and gave her personal attention to many household details.

“Mother was a guest, with others, in her home in Beatrice during a suffrage convention there, and she said Mrs. Colby was up early in the morning, sweeping porches and helping put things to rights, in the house and out, at the same time being the one chiefly responsible for the success of the convention and doing, in connection with that, the work of several ordinary women.

“She was impatient with what she termed ‘the struggle with dirt and for something to eat,’ but she entered into the struggle valiantly and came off conqueror, at least as far as her own home was concerned.

“‘Buoyant life’ expresses, perhaps, better than anything else the thing she embodied and radiated. She seemed never to tire, but to be always hopeful, happy and ‘fit’ for the work that needed to be done.

“We Nebraska suffragists owe to her work in the early days more than we can ever realize. Espousing the cause when it was unpopular, she gave herself freely to its advancement and very much of the suffrage sentiment of today had its beginnings in the work of the pioneers of whom she was one of the most earnest and able.”

CHAPTER III

THE WOMAN'S TRIBUNE

We have already spoken of the founding of the Woman's Tribune. This fine and interesting paper Mrs. Colby carried on for twenty-five years wholly by her own efforts. It took the prize at the Paris Exposition in 1900 for its neatness and workman-like appearance, and it filled an important place in the history of the cause, being for a time the recognized organ of the National Woman's Suffrage Association of which Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was then president.

In 1888 at the time of the great International Council of Women in Washington, Mrs. Colby published the Woman's Tribune daily during the week of the council, and continued it through the Woman's Suffrage Convention the following week. It is probably the first instance of a daily woman's paper being published by a woman. She managed it with great enterprise and skill, giving every day a full account of the proceedings of the council, and reproducing all the speeches. This was greatly appreciated by all. It was really a wonderful achievement, and marked a great epoch in the development of the suffrage movement.

The International Council was the first attempt to convene an international body of women, and opened the way to a much larger conception of the whole suffrage movement. The effect was, that from being the effort of the women of the United States to secure the ballot for themselves, it became a great body of women working for the complete emancipation of their sex everywhere. From being merely national in scope the cause became world-wide.

After her notable success in publishing the daily Tribune in Washington during the council in 1888, Mrs. Colby removed her office to that city and making her headquarters there published the paper with growing interest until 1904 when she removed it to Portland, Oregon, in order to aid more effectually the woman's suffrage campaign which was being carried on in that state.

The writer recalls a campaign in Wisconsin in 1886 in which Miss Anthony, accompanied by Mrs. Colby, with the help of Rev. Olympia Brown, president of the Wisconsin State Suffrage Association, held a three days' convention in each of the congressional districts of the state. Mrs. Colby was a prominent speaker in all the meetings. The immediate purpose was the extension of the circulation of the Woman's Tribune.

Among the many meetings held in Wisconsin was a very successful one at Eau

Claire. The Eau Claire Leader gave a somewhat humorous account of the evening session at the close of the three days of meeting. The Leader says: "After so many speeches, and after such eloquent appeals during the last few days any man who would have the hardihood to hold out against the liberal use of the ballot for women, must be a hard wretch, indeed. Last night the enthusiasm knew no bounds. Every one around where the leader sat was joining the association right and left. The subscription list of the Tribune, the woman's suffrage paper, was being filled rapidly, and Rev. Olympia Brown did a lively stroke of business in that direction. Mrs. Colby spoke first, and spoke well. She has a bright appearance and carries her audience with her. But of course, Susan B. Anthony is the great power after all. She is a trifle slow in speech, but everything is clear cut, and so well defined that what is said is said well, and in such a manner as to rivet it in the attention of her hearers."

Miss Anthony then advocated the Tribune with all her great earnestness, expressing the utmost appreciation of its merits and urging its acceptance. She had done the same in Kansas and other western states, everywhere urging subscriptions with the statement that it was the "organ of the National Association." Thus the Woman's

Tribune became recognized throughout the West as the organ of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, and to many women the only source of information and sole authority on the subject of Woman's Suffrage. Naturally it was a terrible blow to the paper, and an inexpressible disappointment to Mrs. Colby and many others, when, on the occasion of the union of the National Association with the American in 1889 the Woman's Journal was adopted as the suffrage organ to the exclusion of the Tribune.

Thus deprived of the backing of a great national society, and of Miss Anthony's personal aid, the work of maintaining the paper was greatly increased. Although it continued to be published some twenty years more, yet it was done by the most strenuous exertion and immense personal sacrifice.

Those who have never had a part in publishing a reform paper cannot understand the difficulties of the situation. First, the circulation of the best reform papers will necessarily be small as compared with that of the popular newspapers; next, the advertising, which is almost entirely dependent on the circulation, must be small or wholly wanting.

For a time Mrs. Colby was able to retain her old subscribers, but without the opportunity to present the paper at the great national meetings her means of increasing the

subscription list was greatly lessened, and little by little some of the old subscribers were lost although many of them continued to be loyal to Mrs. Colby, not only during the life of the paper but afterwards in all her work.

Amid all these discouragements and without aid and at a constant financial loss, Mrs. Colby carried on her paper in a manner that was absolutely heroic. Unable to pay for printing she learned to set type, and often was at once editor and compositor, sometimes even running the press. For a time she had her own little outfit in the basement of her house in Washington, where she did everything from writing the editorials to folding and mailing with her own hands. Often, when subscriptions were slow in coming, she was obliged to wait for days in order to get the money to pay the expense of mailing, but amid all she was courageous and optimistic, always expecting some favorable turn of fortune. It was this optimism which led her to remove her paper to Portland, Oregon, contrary to the advice of all her friends. She hoped by going there to be aided and assisted in many ways and believed that while helping in the campaign she would be able to present the Tribune and thus procure new subscribers, but, on the contrary, in Oregon she met with unexpected opposition and serious discour-

agement which, at last, compelled her to cease publication in 1909.

The Tribune, unlike other organs of a party or cause, was filled with varied information on many subjects. Thus while giving the facts and the reports concerning the subject of Woman's Suffrage, and telling what women were doing in many directions, the paper also contained articles representing the latest ideas in philosophy, religion and other subjects. The editor was always on the alert for everything new, and ever ready "to prove all things and hold fast the good."

Her paper was ever open to new suggestions and hospitable to every earnest thought. For instance, in the issue of July 25, 1903, which is before me as I write, I find beside editorials, interesting quotations from her exchanges, a full account of the Federal Suffrage Association, with a blank for signers to the suffrage petition, an account of Lady Somerset's address to the World's W. C. T. U. convention, and Mrs. Lockwood's attendance at the meeting of the Press Club, also an article by Frances Power Cobbe on the "Expediency of Woman's Suffrage," a sketch of the Klondike Gold Mines as represented by Mr. Fitzgerald, and an article by the editor re-printed from the "East and West," Bombay, India, on "The Hand and the Brain," besides choice bits of verse.

In another issue, May 30th, 1903, we find beside suffrage notices and other matters pertaining to the cause, a description of a suffrage tour which she made in Wisconsin for the State Suffrage Association in company with its president. Her account of various places visited is most interesting. Among others, in reporting her visit to the city of Wausau she gives an account of the Philosopher's Print Shop. The following quotation is given since many are unacquainted with the institution:

"A very unique institution of Wausau is the Philosopher's Print Shop, at the Sign of the Pine Tree. The Philosopher is a little monthly magazine after the order of the better known Philistine, but with a character and charm of its own. Mr. Ellis is the literary genius of the picturesque log cabin; Mr. Van Vechten has the important office of financial backer, and Mrs. Van Vechten presides over the book business which is now growing into notice all over the United States. A dozen or more well-known classics have been reproduced in limited editions in as elegant shape as best print and paper, binding and illumination can provide. Every sheet is placed on the press by Mrs. Van Vechten and the exquisite illumination is also her work. A book just being issued is Robert Browning's poem, "Saul." The frontispiece and border were designed by Mr. Robert

Anning Bell of England. The picture illustrates the climax of the poem when David cries :

'O Saul it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee ; a
Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever ; a
Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to
thee ! See the Christ stand ! ' ”

The same paper contains also notice of the appointment of a woman as assistant attorney general for the Philippine Islands, mention of early suffragists in Wisconsin who attempted to vote in order to test the law, removal of suffrage headquarters to Warren, Ohio, with Harriet Hauser as secretary, National Council of Mothers, High Schools, Hindu ideals of woman, and many other matters of general interest which at that time were not usually reported in the public prints.

Undoubtedly this very versatility and variety unfitted the Tribune to be an organ of the National-American Association while it made it a most interesting and profitable family paper, in which Woman's Suffrage was commended to many by the very fact that it was made interesting by being associated with other subjects. Mrs. Colby had

a good taste for poetry and not the least of the attractions of the Tribune were the charming selections of choice and often rare poems which appeared in every issue.

It is a world of pities that she could not have concentrated her energies upon the Tribune. With her versatility and unusual editorial ability it might have taken the highest rank, and today have been an authority on the whole subject of constitutional liberty. It would have been a great achievement, but circumstances and the want of means compelled her to cease publication at the end of twenty-five years.

Complete files of the Tribune may be found in the Congressional Library, and with the exception of the year 1902 in the New York City Library. Miss Lucy Anthony, also, has a copy of the bound files formerly belonging to Susan B. Anthony.

CHAPTER IV.

LECTURER AND AUTHOR

Mrs. Colby lectured extensively in almost every state in the Union as well as in England, Ireland and Scotland, and also gave lectures at Budapest and other places in Europe. She took part in most of the great suffrage campaigns which were carried on in the different states in the effort to secure the franchise by vote of the electors. She made her home in Oregon for a time, taking part in several of the suffrage campaigns of that state.

In 1899 she attended the Great International Council of Women held in London, of which accounts were extensively published. While there Mrs. Colby made the acquaintance of many distinguished suffrage workers. The following report of one session on the subject of journalism will be of interest, as it pertains to our history. The session was presided over by the Duchess of Sutherland. After speaking of the address of the Duchess, the author says, "Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, the esteemed and brilliant editor of the *Woman's Tribune*, and one of the most distinguished representatives in the council, made the closing remarks. She thought too

great stress had been laid on the financial side of the success of women in journalism. The journalism of the reform press was in reality of a far higher order than could be measured by wages. In this way more than any other, women were contributing to the advancement of humanity along moral lines, and for the establishment of ethical, political and industrial conditions."

From the time of the discontinuance of the Tribune in 1909 until 1912 considerable time was spent in England in helping the English suffragists in their struggle for justice and in making acquaintance with many prominent English reformers. Of her experiences in England she published, from time to time, most interesting accounts in the Washington Herald. Among other writings she prepared a book entitled "The History of London." It was her purpose to publish this book, but her urgent duties interfered with her plans.

The complete manuscript of this book, is still preserved by her sister, Dr. Mary B. White of Palo Alto, California. It is to be hoped that it may be published at a later date. It cannot fail to be most interesting as Mrs. Colby's style of writing is always clear and finished. In this respect it is much superior to her speeches. Although her speaking was well received and highly praised she was not a natural orator. She lacked

the spontaneity and magnetism so essential to the public speaker, and it would have been better for her reputation if she had confined herself to literature where she might have gained greater recognition than was possible on the platform.

The following beautiful paragraph will show something of her power. She wrote the Call for the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1900, closing with this fine paragraph, "The way up the heights of woman's advancement has been long and steep, but it has not been dreary. The consciousness of giving the world a forward movement along the path of liberty is the highest reward that is vouchsafed to human effort. The greatest men of the century have walked with us; poets have sung for us, prophets have inspired us with visions of success; statesmen have made courts and forums ring with eloquence in our behalf; stones have blossomed into roses; scorn has become applause; timidity, opposition and indifference have changed into a grand chorus of appeal for women's equality before the law. Let us then close the nineteenth century with a convention which shall be a jubilee for our successes and the preparation for the twentieth century, which is to be not man's nor woman's but humanity's."

A volume of her lectures on various sub-

jects would be most interesting and with the material in the hands of Dr. White may possibly be published by the Federal Suffrage Association at a later day.

During the three winters preceding 1916 Mrs. Colby gave courses of lectures in Washington which were notable for the breadth of vision indicated and the labor necessary to prepare them. The following list of subjects of one course will show the nature of these lectures. The others were of a similar character.

"Delia Blanchflower," Mrs. Humphrey Ward's new Woman Suffrage Novel.

"Austria-Hungary, Its History and Conditions."

"Florence Nightingale."

"Women in the Building of America."

"Woman's Work in English Fiction,"
Clara H. Whitmore, A. M.

"Bohemia, and the Burning of John Hus."

"Euripides, and his Types of Greek Women."

"The Lion with Seven Darts in His Paw."

"Hroswitha Who Wrote Dramas a Thousand Years Ago; and Women of the Monasteries."

"Fanny Burney and Dr. Johnson."

"Rudolph Eucken, and the New Religious Idealism."

"The Great Mother," C. H. J. Bjerregaard.

It is easy to give a lecture on suffrage where the arguments are manifest and the illustrations furnished by every day's experience, but it is quite a different thing to give a lecture on "Bergson's Philosophy," or "Rudolph Eucken and the New Religious Idealism." The list of her subjects indicates that she must have spent long days in hard labor at the various libraries to which she had access. Of her lectures Mr. B. O. Flower says: "Mrs. Colby has long been recognized as one of the most brilliant lecturers among the more thoughtful American women," and of her Whitman readings one has said, "to lovers of the noble poet Mrs. Colby's reading was a joy and an inspiration."

However, these philosophical lectures were the smallest of her undertakings. Her lectures on woman's suffrage and kindred subjects were the chief part of all her public work.

They began when she was a young woman just leaving the university, and continued during her entire life. They have contributed more than can now be estimated to the advancement of the cause of woman's emancipation. She was an advocate of peace and took part in the great peace conference at San Francisco during the exposition. She also spoke in behalf of the soldiers of the Spanish War. We have the following notice of a meeting held during the war which ap-

peared in the papers of that day. "The devotional exercises were conducted by the Rev. W. C. Gannett, pastor of the Unitarian church, in which the meeting was held. After the scripture lesson and hymn singing, Dr. Gannett read "Kipling's Recessional." Susan B. Anthony introduced Mrs. Colby, who proved to be an interesting speaker. She spoke of the excellent work being done by the Red Cross, Daughters of the American Revolution, Woman's National War Relief, and other Societies. In conclusion she made a strong plea for universal peace as suggested in the Czar's proposition." Temperance, religion, philosophy, domestic science, women's dress, all received a part of her attention. Perhaps her most valuable lecture is one entitled, "Woman's Part in the Building of America." This lecture contains much historical information for which she had sought material from sources not available to the average reader. She traced the history of many good and liberal laws which had been passed in various countries by the influence of women from the time of Isabella of Spain until the present time and which had prepared the way for woman's advancement in the United States of America. Her versatility was amazing. One writer in describing a lecture, in which some reference had been made to her work says, "Mrs. Colby led her

audience along cheerfully from biscuits to pi."—

During the Spanish war she was officially appointed as war correspondent, the first woman to be so recognized.

In 1913 she was appointed by the Governor of Oregon as a delegate to a meeting of the Great International Suffrage Alliance at Budapest, and also to the Peace Congress at the Hague. After attending these meetings she went to England, where she spent an entire season lecturing on literary and philosophical subjects to interested audiences in London, Dublin and other cities. She also gave readings from Whitman and interpretations of his poems.

In recent times her interest in Woman's Suffrage had centered upon efforts to obtain the passage by Congress of a law altering the regulations made by the states in regard to the election of national officers. An account of this effort, and of the Federal Suffrage Society, will be found in Chapters VI and IX of this book.

In the years from 1890 to 1892 a considerable interest was taken quite generally in a plan of suffrage work suggested by Judge Francis Minor of St. Louis. Miss Anthony took the matter up and asked Mrs. Colby to formulate the argument for presentation in the National Convention of 1892. This was done and a new committee, called the Federal

Suffrage Committee, was appointed and "Clara Bewick Colby was made chairman with power to form a representative committee" from those who should be found disposed to take up this phase of effort. Mrs. Colby says in the *Woman's Tribune*, December 19, 1903, "At the next convention I was able to report that a representative woman had been secured from each of thirty-nine states, in most cases the committee member being president of the State Association. Although the work of securing a committee required much time, yet before the year was out I had secured petitions and memorials from twenty states, mostly from collective bodies, but still hundreds of citizens individually signed these petitions in many places." Notwithstanding this magnificent report the National American Association decided at once to discontinue this line of work, and of course discontinue Mrs. Colby as a chairman of the committee. By this action of the National American Association Mrs. Colby was thrown out of an opportunity to advocate this measure for some ten years. This was a great disappointment to her, as she had worked most zealously and effectively.

She hoped she had laid a foundation for a line of work, which would soon be successful, and thus open the way to the Anthony amendment.

Not until the revival of interest in the

subject in 1902, and the organization of a new Federal Suffrage Society, did she again take part in advocacy of this cause. But from that time she made it the chief business of her life. She threw herself into the work with utmost enthusiasm; she spared neither time, work nor money. Day and night, in season and out of season, at home in Washington, or abroad in different states where she went to lecture, everywhere and always, she represented the Federal Suffrage idea, and worked for it. Even upon her death-bed she wrote a long letter to the editor of this book describing a plan of work which she hoped to carry out the following winter, and especially urging the importance of maintaining the association for the sake of emphasizing the "original rights of women under the Constitution." This was always a strong point with her.

SUFFRAGE CONGRESS

In connection with the Association she inaugurated a Federal Suffrage Congress at the Panama Exposition in San Francisco, and with the help of the officers of the Association, Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, the first vice-president; Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Andrea Hofer Proudfoot, and the president, Rev. Olympia Brown, a three-day congress was carried through in a manner which compared favorably with other congresses at the

exposition, and which will be remembered as a part of that great enterprise. The congress closed on the last evening in the Court of the Abundance with a grand pageant arranged by Miss Marie Hofer illustrating woman's part in the building of America.

Mrs. Colby read from her lecture on this subject a description of each tableau before its presentation, the whole forming a complete picture of the work of women in the cause of liberty in America. A large audience was in attendance, and much interest and general approval was manifested. After the congress she returned to Washington where she arranged a fine closing meeting which she held simultaneously with the official closing in San Francisco.

Among the letters given by Mr. Charles C. Moore, president of the exposition in the book called "The Legacy of the Exposition," we find the following:

"If, in admiration of the glories of the exposition, one might call it the eighth wonder of the world, we should still have to remember that each of the classic seven was for its own period and people, while the Panama-Pacific International Exposition has stood for "World Service, World Peace, World Patriotism." It was a vision of splendor; its memory will be a cherished treasure of the heart. It engendered an increased reverence for hu-

man capacity, and was a prophecy of the harmony that is to be between the most distant and diverse peoples when we find their common tie—on the one hand in their common struggles on their path of evolution, and, on the other hand, in the Divine Order where all have the same Source and the same Destiny.”

Clara Bewick Colby,

Corresponding Secretary, Federal Suffrage Association of the United States, Washington, District of Columbia.

CHAPTER V.

PERSONALITY AND LAST DAYS

Beside Mrs. Colby's literary attainments and her wonderful capabilities for work, she was in private life a most genial and helpful friend to all who came in her way. Hospitality was one of her distinguishing characteristics. Many people today remember with pleasure the social gatherings, the four o'clock teas, and the evening lectures which they enjoyed at Mrs. Colby's home on Fourteenth Street in Washington. It was her custom whenever she made acquaintance with any interesting speaker from abroad, anyone who had a message to give, no matter on what subject, to arrange a lecture in her parlor inviting such personal friends as were likely to be interested in the subject proposed. She was as hospitable in her thought as in her home. She did not ask the political or religious creed, or nationality, or race, of the speaker. She asked only whether he had a message.

Mrs. Carrie Harrison, her friend of the Press Club, says in a recent letter to the editor of this book, "In 1897 I lived in Mrs. Colby's house and saw something of her capacity for work. No matter what she had

done or how hard the work she had accomplished she would always clear up the room for an informal party Saturday night.

“And where did all the people come from? They were judges, doctors, North American Indians, Hindu philosophers, and what not. If there was a crank in town he would find his way to Clara B. Colby’s Saturday evening. She was a mixer extraordinary. At about eleven o’clock she made coffee and, crowded around a long table, we talked on till midnight.”

Her benevolence was unbounded. It is related of her that at one time when she occupied a single room at the W. C. T. U. building on Sixth street she heard a rapping at the outside door in the night. She went down and found a poor homeless woman there. She took her to her own room, and kept her over night, gave her a breakfast and helped her to go on her way in the morning. And this was not a rare instance of her helpfulness. She was always on the alert to aid those in need.

During her last winter in Washington in 1916 she roomed at 304 Indiana Avenue. During that season Washington was visited with a serious epidemic of grippe. Many of the tenants in the house were seriously sick. Mrs. Colby made herself a nurse, attendant and friend to each one, visiting them all daily, and ministering to their needs until at

last the disease attacked her in a violent form which laid the foundation for the pneumonia that afterwards caused her death. When she left for the West in the spring the tenants of the different rooms stood together in tears at the head of the stairs, as she bade them good-bye to go to the train. It was her plan to go to Oregon and establish her home at Eugene, employing herself in giving interpretations and readings of Whitman and in lecturing along the Pacific coast. She visited Portland and seems to have been most cordially received. She wrote of receptions which were tendered her, of lectures that she had given, of having opportunities to present the aims of the Federal Suffrage Association and of making preliminary arrangements for future lectures. She then went to Eugene where she remained some weeks making arrangements for her work of the approaching fall and winter. But the disease of the previous winter had left its effects on her constitution and she was attacked by pneumonia. She lingered several weeks in great pain. Her sister, Dr. Mary B. White, came to Eugene and took her to her home in Palo Alto, California, in the hope that with kind care and surrounded by comforts she might recover her health. The journey, however, proved a great tax on her system and when she arrived at Palo Alto she was overcome

by weakness and lived only a few days, passing away on the 7th of September. Her remains were cremated, and the ashes sent in an urn to Windsor, Wisconsin, the family home. Appropriate services were held there, as also in Palo Alto. Notices of her death were given in most of the papers throughout the country.

Thus ended a life of untiring and heroic endeavor. Mrs. Colby's courage was wonderful, and it helped her to defy and overcome the most adverse circumstances. She had great sorrows, but she never paraded them. Indeed, she seldom spoke of them, even to her most intimate friends. She suffered great injustice, but she never complained. Always cheerful, always hopeful, she "left the things that were behind, and pressed forward to the things that were before."

The soldier climbing up Vimy Ridge bearing aloft the colors, amid the constant fire of the German guns, was not a more brave or heroic figure than the woman rising above disappointment and sorrow, hampered by untold difficulties, yet fighting gloriously on for the enfranchisement of the women of the world, never losing sight of the great ideal to which she aspired, but "bearing all things, hoping all things, believing all things" to the end.

Mrs. Colby was a strong and inspiring character. Her life was filled with useful

activity and good work, and yet with the most noble ideals, the utmost energy and patient endeavor, her life was in many respects a disappointment. Her plans were too elaborate to be carried out with the means at hand, and her ideals too high to be realized in the midst of this strenuous and material age.

Her friend, Miss Harrison, speaking of this calls it a "genius for failure," but her "genius for failure" was rather a hope for success. She was optimistic in the extreme and her aspirations lifted her into an atmosphere of ideality and exaltation which made her oblivious of the realities of life, and forgetful of the difficulties to be encountered. From her Pisgah height she always saw the promised land just ahead. Discouragement was a word which had no meaning for her. The righteousness of the undertaking was to her an assurance of attainment and her energy was equal to the largest possible demand.

It is sad to think that aspiration and hope, faithful labor, and self-sacrifice must so often be unable to reach the goal sought. The superficial pronounce the word "failure" with contempt when a clearer judgment and better understanding of spiritual reality would have led them to bow down in generous recognition of the lofty endeavor.

She was a democrat of the democrats, and her interest was confined to no class or condition of men or women, but wherever

there was need of help, a call for sympathy, or a cause requiring sacrifice, she was always ready. She wanted to help everybody and instruct everybody. Unfortunately many people do not wish to be instructed, and some cannot be helped. It is the fate of the pioneer to make pleasant paths for others to walk in, and to open doors of opportunity to those who come after them. And Mrs. Colby was a pioneer.

She had the reward of which she said, "The consciousness of giving the world a forward movement along the path of liberty is the highest reward of human effort."

She was essentially a devoted religionist. Adhering to the Congregational church, she yet had an open mind to all the various forms of new thought and wondrous spiritual suggestion of our times. Her feeling was well expressed by the pastor of the Pilgrim Band as they departed in the Mayflower: "God hath more truth yet to break out of His word." More truth, more truth, is ever the desire of the earnest soul. Her cry, like that of Goethe when he died, was ever "more light."

CHAPTER VI.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE ASS'N OF THE UNITED STATES

Mrs. Colby devoted a large part of her time from 1902 until her death in 1916 to advocacy of the ideas represented by the Federal Suffrage Association. For this reason a short account of the history and principles of this society are a necessary adjunct to a sketch of her life.

After the union of the National and American Associations in 1889 the work with Congress which Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony had pressed with such vigor ceased to receive the attention which had previously been given it. State work took the place of national effort. The failure of Mrs. Virginia Minor to maintain the right of women to vote under the XIVth amendment had discouraged many, and it seemed evident that the time had come for a new departure. These things led to the organization of the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States. Judge Francis Minor of St. Louis had prepared the way by articles published in the Forum in 1886 and later in the Arena, urging upon women the importance of demanding the right to vote under the consti-

tution, Section 2, Article 1, which provides:

“The members of the House of Representatives shall be elected once in two years by the people.”

As no exceptions or qualifications were made, the term “people” necessarily included women. He supported his claim by many unanswerable arguments and telling quotations from the framers of the constitution and the decisions of the courts. He quoted the *Federalist* as showing by the constitution that those counted in the enumeration are entitled to vote. “Therefore,” he said, “as women are counted in the enumeration on which the congressional apportionment is based, they are legally entitled to an equal share of representation.”

He demanded an act of Congress according to the fourth section of Article I and quoted James Madison as saying that “the power to change the regulations made by the states was to protect the people. Should the people at any time be deprived of the right of suffrage in any state for any cause it was deemed proper that it should be remedied by the General Government.”

The following quotation from Mr. Minor gives an idea of his line of argument. He said in speaking of the *Yarborough* decision (concerning the right of the states to regulate the qualifications of voters):

“Two circumstances have led to confusion

of thought in this matter. Every citizen of the United States is possessed of a dual citizenship, and is a member of two sovereignties; and yet these two conditions of citizenship, although entirely distinct, are united or blended in the same individual. Suffrage is an attribute of citizenship under the federal constitution; no limitation or restriction whatever is made as to the sex of the elector, while under the State constitution there is; and as there has been no assertion by the federal government of its reserved right to make and alter regulations as to the times, places and manner of holding elections for representatives in Congress, the matter has gone by default, as it were, and been left entirely to the control of the states. And this has been the case so long, that the impression is almost universal, that the states have supreme control over the federal as well as the state right of suffrage. This was the opinion of the Supreme Court itself when the subject was formerly under consideration in the case of *Minor vs. Happersett*, (21 Wallace), for the Court was then unanimously of the opinion that the United States has no voters of its own creation, and that the constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one. Subsequent reflection, however, has led the Court to change its views, and it now declares (in the *Yarborough* decision) that

the right to vote for members of Congress is fundamentally based upon the constitution of the United States, which created the office, if it can be called an office, and declares the manner in which it shall be filled. The importance of this last declaration by the Supreme Court cannot be over-estimated. It places the right to vote for members of Congress on its only true foundation, that of the constitution of the United States, and is an assertion of national power and dignity; and the next declaration by the Court is no less important, that 'the States, in prescribing the qualifications of voters for the most numerous branch of their own Legislatures,' do not do this with reference to the election of members of Congress. Nor can they prescribe the qualifications for voters for those *eo nomine*. So that when the states impose upon their own citizens a qualification, that of sex, with which one-half of them cannot comply, it has no reference to the federal elector, who is not bound thereby, nor can his or her right of federal suffrage be defeated by such an artifice. Thus an impediment, heretofore supposed to be ineluctable, is removed by this decision.

"The right of federal suffrage is not based upon sex. It inheres in the status or condition of federal citizenship. Men do not vote for members of Congress by reason of their sex, or because they are men, but because

they are citizens of the United States, and members of the national body politic. Upon this ground, and upon this only, is their right to vote based, and the right of women to vote is based on the same ground and for the same reason. They constitute a part of the 'people' or 'citizens.' There is not a word as to the sex of the electors.

"The right is vested absolutely and without limitation in 'the people of the several states.' The term 'people' includes persons of both sexes—neither sex is excluded. The present decision, therefore, that the right to vote for members of Congress is fundamentally based upon the constitution applies to women as well as to men."

As the result of Mr. Minor's publications, bills were presented in Congress by Senator Manderson of Nebraska, and others, asking for an act protecting women in their right to vote for National Officers.

In April, 1892, Hon. Clarence D. Clark of Wyoming presented a bill in the House of Representatives asking for an act to protect the right of citizens of the United States to register and vote for members of the House of Representatives.

In the convention of the National American Association held in Washington in 1889, Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire in speaking of the injustice of the decision of the Supreme Court in Mrs. Minor's case, said:

"It has become necessary for the Supreme Court of the United States to decide that we are not a sovereign people, that we have no nation at all, in order to prevent women from exercising the right of suffrage throughout the country."

Farther on, in discussing the claims made by the Court that the United States has no voters, he said: "As the law now is in the Federal Constitution there must always have been a voter in the United States for in the second clause of the first article it is provided that there shall be a House of Representatives elected by the people."

At various times a number of people in different places have manifested an interest in Mr. Minor's method of working for Woman's Suffrage by means of an Act of Congress. Among those who took an active part in this propaganda, were Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett and her sister, Miss Laura Clay. These ladies are near relatives to the great Henry Clay, and they seem to have inherited an ability to discuss constitutional questions. They were among the first to understand the right of women, under the Constitution, to vote for National Officers. By writing for the public press, issuing circulars at their own expense, and distributing articles to educate the public, they have done much in advancing the interest in this line of suffrage work.

In the early spring of 1892 the following circular was copied in the *Woman's Tribune* and in the *Woman's Journal*, in the great city dailies and other papers:

"The Federal Suffrage Association was initiated on the 10th of March, 1892, at a meeting of a few friends, residing in and about Chicago, with representatives from several neighboring states. At this meeting letters from eminent people in different parts of the United States were read, expressing interest in the movement, and readiness to join the society. Among other well known names were those of Mrs. Louisa Southworth, of Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, of Oregon; Belva Lockwood, of Washington, D. C.; Dr. Laura Ross Wolcott of Milwaukee, Wis.; Miss Mary A. Ripley of Nebraska, and others of national reputation. A temporary organization was formed and the nucleus of a constitution was adopted.

The object of the new Association is, to obtain such legislation as will secure every citizen of the United States in the exercise of the right of suffrage, and also to advocate uniformity in the election of national officers. Some plan of effective National work will be adopted.

It was voted to hold a meeting on the 10th of May at the Sherman House parlors, Chicago, at 2 P. M., to complete the or-

ganization. The officers were instructed to issue a circular inviting the attendance and co-operation of all friends of republican ideas.

The Association has already been offered handsome headquarters during the Fair in the immediate vicinity of the World's Fair buildings, and has, among its supporters, persons of wealth and influence.

You are earnestly invited to attend the meeting of May 10th, and to assist in the inauguration of this work.

President, Hon. M. B. Castle,
Sandwich, Ill.

Secretary, Mrs. E. J. Loomis,
Chicago, Ill.

In response to this call as many people as could be accommodated in the club room of the Sherman House assembled at the time named. Among those present were Mrs. Lucia Blount of Washington; Mrs. Lucinda Stone of Kalamazoo; Mrs. Mary E. Holmes of Chicago; Mr. Walter Thomas Mills, and many others.

The Chicago Tribune gave the following report of the meeting:

"The suffragists formed a new National Association at the Sherman House yesterday. Its title is the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States, and its especial object is to secure equal and uniform federal

suffrage for all citizens of the country. The new Association is in no wise antagonistic to other Suffrage Associations, but merely takes up the special subject of equal federal suffrage as distinguished from equal, state, municipal, or school suffrage, whose claims are being urged by other organizations. Then, as Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, who is especially interested in and largely responsible for the new society, says, the country is large and the women cannot get too many Associations before the public to urge their demands for full and equal suffrage"

On motion of Clara B. Colby the following memorial was adopted and Mrs. Colby was directed to submit the same to Clarence D. Clark, congressman from Wyoming, who had introduced a bill in congress providing for the federal enfranchisement of women:

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

WHEREAS, the right to vote for members of the House of Representatives is, by the constitution of the United States, vested in the people of the United States, without condition, limitation, or restriction, and women are people; therefore, we, members of the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States, respectfully request your honorable bodies to pass a bill enabling women citizens of the United States to vote for mem-

bers of the House of Representatives. Signed this 10th day of May, 1892.

Olympia Brown,
Acting President.

Elizabeth Loomis,
Secretary.

Judge C. B. Waite made a short speech, in which he urged that the women of the Association vote for Congressman at the next election, and send in their votes to the House of Representatives, thus forcing that body to pass upon the legality of votes of women.

The officers were instructed to present a memorial to the National Republican Convention asking for a resolution in favor of suffrage reform.

On the 10th of May the organization of the society was completed by the adoption of a constitution, and the election of permanent officers of whom Hon. M. B. Castle of Illinois was president; Rev. Olympia Brown, vice-president; Mrs. E. J. Loomis, of Chicago, secretary.

In accordance with the vote passed as above a memorial addressed to the Republican Convention at its session in Minneapolis was prepared. Mrs. S. M. C. Perkins, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Rev. Olympia Brown, of Racine, Wisconsin, attended the convention. They were given prominent seats and

were present at every session. They secured the presentation of the memorial, and its reference to the resolution committee. A hearing on the subject was granted, but apparently the time was not ripe for favorable action by any political party.

The Association thus launched went on its way advocating the right of women to vote for national officers, under the constitution as it stood. Meetings were held in different parts of Wisconsin, Indiana, and other states and organizations formed for the education of the people along this line.

Mrs. Clara B. Colby was present at the organization of the Federal Suffrage Association, and approved the policy proposed, but although many of the best known suffrage workers took part, Mrs. Colby declined to do so, believing that the National American Woman's Suffrage Association could be depended upon to do the work. Miss Anthony was successful in securing the adoption by that body of a federal suffrage department of which Mrs. Colby was made the head. On January 1, 1893, she made a masterly report showing an immense amount of work done. She had written to all the different states and had received favorable and enthusiastic responses, besides securing strong resolutions from many organizations, all indicating popular favor for the new method proposed by Judge Minor.

Strangely enough the National American Association at that time discontinued activity in the federal suffrage department, and has never favored it since, although Miss Anthony a short time before she died, wrote Mrs. Colby asking if she would be willing to take the chairmanship of such a committee should the plan be adopted at the Baltimore convention in 1906 as she hoped it might be.

It would seem that with Judge Minor's strong presentation before the public, with the grand beginning which had been made by Mrs. Colby's wonderful work (described in a previous chapter) and with the help of an organized society composed of prominent people which had already received the most cordial recognition, the National American Association had an opportunity to secure an early passage of a law enabling women to vote for members of Congress, and from that an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising all the women of the country. Had they chosen to maintain their own department of federal suffrage or to co-operate with the Federal Suffrage Association, the measure might have been carried through Congress and women might have been voters these many years. Thus the labors, money and lives of many women, which have been spent

in the state campaigns might have been saved. But it was not so to be.

On the occasion of the Chicago Exposition in 1893 the Federal Suffrage Association was assigned a section in the political congress, and a day appointed for its meetings. The following program was carried out:

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL FEDERAL SUFFRAGE CONGRESS

To be held in Art Institute, Chicago, Aug. 9.
President, Hon. M. B. Castle, Sandwich, Ill.

This session will be held under the management of the Federal Suffrage Association, an organization advocating the equal suffrage of qualified American citizens only, irrespective of sex, and demanding the direct vote of the people for federal officers.

Hall of Columbus, 2 o'clock P. M.

Hon. M. B. Castle, President F. S. A.—
"Why Federal Suffrage Association."

Mrs. S. M. Perkins, Cleveland, Ohio—"All Women Citizens."

Mrs. Mary E. Holmes, President Illinois Suffrage Association—"Danger to the Nation of the Alien Vote, and the Remedy."

Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, Lafayette, Ind.—
"The Qualifications of Citizenship."

Hall IV, 8 o'clock P. M.

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, Hartford, Conn.—"United States Citizenship."

Judge C. B. Waite, Chicago, Illinois—Address.

Rev. Olympia Brown, President Wisconsin W. S. A.—“Federal Suffrage.”

Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Evans-ton, Ill.—“The Statesmanship of Women, and Our Motherless Government.”

Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, Portland, Ore.—Paper to be read by Dr. Helen Reynolds Kellogg, Chicago.

Unfortunately the infant Federal Suffrage Society, after a short time was crippled by the death of prominent officers and became partially inactive. Rev. Olympia Brown, the acting president, by the death of her husband and the long invalidism of her mother, was necessarily occupied with business activities and domestic duties, and unable to carry on the work as planned. For a time only sporadic attempts at propaganda were made here and there. Memorials were sent to the great national conventions of the great political parties asking for recognition in their platforms and appeals were made to Congress by petitions and memorials. Thus while the idea was kept alive, the work was not done, and the results expected from the auspicious beginning were not realized. The failure was a great sorrow to many, and an immense loss to the woman's suffrage cause.

In 1902 the writer met Mrs. Colby in Washington. It was decided to present the federal subject in a different way, seeking for women everything Congress has power to grant, as well as the right to vote. Accordingly, the Federal Woman's Equality Association was formed, with Olympia Brown and afterwards Belva Lockwood as president, and Clara B. Colby, corresponding secretary, an office which she held until her death, September 7, 1916.

Later it was deemed best to return to the original name, in order, as Mrs. Colby said, "to relate the organization to the former work of the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States," and Rev. Olympia Brown was elected president. Since 1902 the subject of woman's right to vote for national officers has been continually before Congress. No session has been allowed to pass without attention called to this bill. Congressmen have been interviewed, hearings have been held, literature distributed, members of the society gained, and many congressman have become earnest advocates of the measure.

In 1904 an extended hearing was held before committees in both Senate and House. At this time Mrs. Colby made a thorough and exhaustive study of the subject, with quotations from the decisions of the courts, and from historical documents which proved to be most convincing, so much so that the

committee of the House, after a two hours' session, asked her to return the following day for a further discussion of the subject.

In 1906 Mrs. Colby being absent from Washington, Rev. Olympia Brown and Dr. Clara MacNaughton asked the Woman's Suffrage Committee of the Senate for a hearing which was granted and the committee was addressed by Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Rev. Olympia Brown and others.

The entire committee was present and by questions and remarks indicated a very great interest. A very extended report of this hearing was given in the Washington Star.

In 1913, after a very interesting hearing before the committee on election of president, vice-president and members of Congress, the officers of the association called attention to the fact that the Anthony Amendment was being entirely neglected. No bills had been presented for a long time; no hearings had been held during the session, and no indication of interest manifested on the part of Congress or the National Suffrage Association.

The officers felt that while the Federal Suffrage Bill was important as an opening wedge, yet it was only subsidiary to the main purpose, the complete enfranchisement of all women of the country. This can only be accomplished by the passage of a constitutional amendment. Therefore, they determined

to prepare and submit a bill asking for the passage of the Anthony Amendment. This was done, and Dr. Clara MacNaughton interested Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, who, at the opening of the extra session of Congress presented Joint Resolution No. 1, providing for the amendment of the constitution prohibiting the states from disfranchising citizens on account of sex. This was the beginning of the renewed activity in behalf of the Anthony amendment which has been so vigorously and so successfully carried forward by the Congressional Union, and the Woman's Party.

Besides Congressional work the Association has contributed not a little to the state campaigns in which Woman's Suffrage has been submitted to the voters. Money has been raised and speakers have been sent to several states. Mrs. Colby represented the Association in campaigns in Kansas, Michigan and Wisconsin in 1912, and in New Jersey in 1915.

The Federal Suffrage Association held a Congress at the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1915. This was said by some good judges to be "the best of the many congresses held at that time." Among the distinguished people who took part were, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Mrs. Bellamy, former member of the Legis-

lature of Wyoming, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, well known for her work in the Woman's Council, Adelaide Johnson, the noted suffrage sculptor, Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, of California, and Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe of Tacoma, Washington.

Through all the history of the Federal Suffrage Society Dr. Clara MacNaughton has taken a leading part. As chairman of the committee of ways and means, she has been instrumental in securing the aid of prominent people; in raising money, and has never wearied in working for the cause. Her absence in Paris during recent years has been a serious loss to the Association.

On the occasion of the great celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, the Federal Woman's Suffrage Association, then called the Federal Woman's Equality Association, took an important part.

The society was represented by a committee of which Dr. C. W. MacNaughton was the chairman, and Mrs. Anna Harmon was vice-chairman. By the courtesy of Major Nar-moyle, quarter-master general, a large tent was erected for the use of the Association. This tent was occupied by the committee and other friends of the cause during the entire celebration. From there, circulars were distributed, and gatherings of those interested were held in the tent. Signatures were obtained for membership in the Federal Suf-

frage Association, and petitions to the United States Senate circulated asking for the passage of Senate Joint Resolution No. 1. Several thousand signatures were obtained. The committee occupied the tent at Gettysburg from June 31 to July 7, experiencing many hardships and suffering much from the heat and hard work involved, but it was gratifying to see the readiness with which people gave their names for the cause, especially the old soldiers who seemed to feel it a privilege to sign the petition. What was most remarkable was that the Confederate soldiers were quite as eager to inscribe their names on the petition for woman's enfranchisement as any of the Union soldiers. Mrs. Anson Wells and Mrs. Henry P. Blair with other friends of the cause contributed generously to the expense of the enterprise. Although the effort cost considerable money, time and labor, yet the committee felt that it was well worth doing as a means of awakening interest in and advancing the cause of woman's suffrage.

The Federal Suffrage measure has commended itself to thoughtful and unprejudiced people. The law should have been passed by Congress long ago as has been well said by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper in an article published in the Washington Herald of June 5, 1914, as follows:

"The immense advantage which this pro-

posed bill has over the resolution for a national amendment, which lately has received a majority vote in the Senate, is that it would require only an Act of Congress, needing but a majority, instead of two-thirds, and would not have to be ratified by the State Legislatures. It is true that the amendment would confer the full suffrage on women, and this federal act would give only a vote for members of Congress, but if women helped to elect Senators and Representatives would they have to wait very long for the national amendment? This federal act would bring the close of the long contest into full view and there would be an end to state campaigns.

“All of the Suffrage organizations could well afford to lay aside other measures and unite on this one, and it seems strange that it has been allowed for so long to remain a side issue. It is amazing that there should have been no effort to have women included in Senator Poindexter’s bill, if for no reason but the agitation of the fact that Congress has power to confer on women this federal vote. It was one of many great opportunities that have been lost, and this should henceforth be made a leading question.”

In former years the Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution was called the Sixteenth Amendment, later the Anthony Amendment. Recently the term

The Federal Suffrage Association

"Federal" has been applied to it, thus confusing it with the Federal law in regard to the election of national officers for which a bill has been in Congress for many years. This confusion of terms has caused much trouble. Mrs. Colby regretted this appropriation of our name, she took pride in the thought that we were not begging for an Amendment to the Constitution but demanding our original rights guaranteed by that great document.

We must continue our work until Congress shall enfranchise the womanhood of America. It is hoped that the Anthony Amendment will be passed at the regular session of the 65th Congress. Should such be the case, and should the act of Congress be ratified by three-fourths of the states, the long struggle for woman's right to vote will close, and the work of the Federal Suffrage Association will be ended. But the report of the effort will ever stand as a most interesting page in the history of the woman suffrage movement, especially as the demand is based on the constitution itself, and recognizes the dignity and authority of the general government. The whole argument illustrates the fundamental principles of our democracy. These principles applied would make citizenship rather than any incident of sex or color the qualification for the voter, thus giving to every citizen of the United States a birth-right of liberty of inestimable value and crowning him with the majesty of an independent freeman.

CHAPTER VII

MEMORIAL SERVICE AND TRIBUTES

At a meeting of the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States, held October 2nd at the residence of Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, to arrange for a memorial meeting for the late corresponding secretary of the Association, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, who died September 7, 1916, at Palo Alto, California, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, our corresponding secretary, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, has departed this life for a field of higher service,

Resolved, that in her death the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States has lost a faithful and enterprising officer; the woman's suffrage cause a self-sacrificing, versatile, and brilliant advocate; and humanity a strong and noble soul, with face turned ever to the light, and with voice and pen devoted to the higher thought and broadening vision of the race.

Resolved, that this association will do all in its power to carry on the work for which it was organized, and which Mrs. Colby so ably led;

Memorial Service and Tributes

Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this association, and be sent to the daily press of Washington, D. C., and to the surviving members of Mrs. Colby's family.

At this meeting arrangements were made for a memorial meeting to be held after congress should have convened and other friends returned to Washington. The meeting was held on the seventeenth of December at the lecture room of the Unitarian Church. There was a large attendance of the old friends of Mrs. Colby and members of the Federal Suffrage Association. Very beautiful tributes of affection and appreciation were given by representatives of the different societies to which she belonged and the churches with which she had co-operated during her stay in Washington. Extracts from a letter from her friend, Dr. Clara MacNaughton, then in Paris, were read.

The following program was carried out:

In Memory and Appreciation of
CLARA BEWICK COLBY

Chapel of Unitarian Church, 14th and L Sts.
December 17, 1916, 4 P. M.

Reverend Olympia Brown opened the meeting with prayer.

A Hymn—"Nearer, My God, to Thee," was sung. Miss Eva Bright, leading; Miss Bessie Bright, accompanist.

Letters were read from friends unable to be present.

Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood spoke for Woman's Press Association.

Mrs. Mary C. Greathouse in place of Mrs. Carrie C. Kent, for People's Church.

Solo—"One Sweetly Solemn Thought"—Miss Eva Bright.

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood represented the Peace Association, but unable to be present, sent a greeting.

Mrs. Theodore L. Cole, for University of Wisconsin Alumni.

Hon. John E. Raker, Member of Congress.

Mrs. Florence Willard Day, New Thought Alliance.

A Hymn—"Lead, Kindly Light," was sung, Miss Eva Bright leading.

Mr. Wm. Canfield Lee, for Unitarian and Congregational Churches. (Liberal Religious Union).

Dr. Copeland of Oxford University, England, spoke for the Secular League.

Mr. Kepler Hoyt spoke of her religious life.

Rev. Olympia Brown gave some account of her suffrage work, and closed the meeting by reading a part of the poem, "The Song of the Plains."

The following extract from the "Woman's Who's Who" was read at this meeting and illustrates the variety of her interests:

Colby, Clara Bewick—Lecturer, interpreter of Whitman, writer; born in Gloucester, England; daughter of Thomas and Clara Willingham (Chilton) Bewick; educated at University of Wisconsin, Ph. B. Taught in University of Wisconsin, department of Latin and History. Edited and published "The Woman's Tribune," in Nebraska, 1883-88; in Washington, D. C., 1888-1904; in Portland, Oregon, 1904-09. Delegate to International Congress of Women in London, England, 1899; delegated by governor to represent Oregon in the First International Moral Education Congress, London, 1908; delegate to First International Peace Congress in London, 1911. Vice-president, Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, from its formation, 1881-83; president, 1883-09. Since formation, corresponding secretary of Federal Suffrage Association of the United States. Writes magazine articles for "Arena," "Harper's Bazaar," "Overland," "Englishwoman," etc., and newspaper correspondence. Member, The Fellowship, International Peace Union, National Woman's Press Association, Oregon Woman's Press Association, Higher Thought Center (London), Woman's Freedom League, National Political Reform League, International Woman's Franchise

Club (London). Has often appeared before state legislatures and congressional committees on behalf of woman suffrage. Aided woman suffrage in England in 1908.

Among many letters of appreciation one has been received from Hon. Burton L. French. Hon. Burton L. French was a particular friend of Mrs. Clara B. Colby, and a strong advocate of the women's cause in Congress. He introduced the Federal Suffrage Bill in the House of Representatives on several occasions. He spoke for it at committee hearings and made an admirable address in its behalf on the floor of Congress. From his most cordial letter we quote the key note, "When the history of the struggle of the women of the United States for suffrage shall have been written, it will contain a record of the work of Clara Bewick Colby, who, as citizen, as corresponding secretary of the Federal Suffrage Association, as lecturer, did heroic work in behalf of the cause of suffrage. She was earnest in her purpose, intense in her convictions, capable in all she undertook."

LETTER FROM IDA HUSTED HARPER

I knew Mrs. Colby for twenty years and I never heard her make an unkind criticism of a fellow worker. She was wholly unselfish, single minded, without desire for personal

glory. Woman suffrage never had a more earnest, sincere and devoted advocate. With her it was a vital, fundamental principle for which no labor was too hard, no sacrifice too great. Her courage was sublime. She never waited for money or other assistance when an opportunity offered to advance her cause, but went forward with dauntless faith that in some way the means would be provided. It was in this spirit that she carried through to success a congress of the Federal Suffrage Association in San Francisco during the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915.

This was the last time I ever saw Mrs. Colby and I shall never forget the scene. It was at night in the splendid Court of Abundance, lighted only by blazing torches, and she gave the recitative for a long series of tableaux. She stood on the pedestal of a towering column, the soft wind blowing her summer dress and long flowing cape into graceful folds, making her seem like a piece of statuary harmonizing with the beautiful architecture. The memory typifies her own lofty and noble character.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.
Washington, D. C.

October 9, 1917.

Reverend Olympia Brown, President,
Federal Suffrage Association,
941 Lake Ave., Racine, Wis.

My dear Mrs. Brown:

Learning that you are now engaged in writing a sketch of the life of Mrs. Clara B. Colby and her work in relation to the Federal Suffrage bill, which is now before Congress, and has been pending for a number of years, I take it as a privilege to write you a few words in regard to Mrs. Colby and her work in behalf of the Federal Suffrage law in regard to the election of members of Congress as it has come under my observation.

I first became acquainted with Mrs. Colby some twelve years ago in her work in Oregon and then in California for suffrage in these two states. When I first came to Washington, some years ago, I found Mrs. Colby engaged and intensely interested in the proposed Federal Suffrage law. I had occasion to meet Mrs. Colby quite frequently in her great work. Her work brought her before the various committees of the House and Senate—in particular the House Committee on Judiciary and the Committee on Election of President, Vice President and Representatives in Congress, and the Judiciary and Woman's Suffrage Committees of the Senate.

Mrs. Colby's presentation of the Federal

Suffrage law to these committees was such as to receive the unstinted praise of the Senators and Representatives who heard her strong and logical arguments irrespective of the individual views held by the Senators and Representatives. She has contributed largely to the cause of equal suffrage for woman and her work and words will be of lasting benefit to the outcome of woman's suffrage.

Her work will be a guide for those who have taken up the question where Mrs. Colby by her untimely death was compelled to leave it.

It would be hard for me to express my full consideration of the noble and splendid work done by our friend in this cause—so near and dear to her. It had become her life work and had she been spared she would have been given the privilege of seeing her desires fully realized—for it certainly will be a reality ere long.

Your life sketch of Mrs. Colby will be of a necessity a glowing tribute to a womanly woman—engaged in a most worthy and righteous cause. Her words have left their lasting mark and I am more than pleased to know that you are going to preserve them to the end that the present, as well as future generations may reap their full benefit.

Being much impressed with your work, I wish you every success. Believe me, I am,

dict. JER/OPM.

Yours very truly,

JOHN E. RAKER.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RADIANT CENTER

The following lecture is reproduced here, although it is not Mrs. Colby's best or most popular lecture, but because it is unique in its subject and manner of treatment. It answers in a plain and intelligible manner the question often asked, "What Is New Thought?" and it suggests ideas which are inspiring and are new to many. Like most of her lectures it was not prepared for the press, but consisted of notes and references to be used in speaking. Many poetic quotations which, being recited by the speaker, doubtless rendered the lecture more impressive were not written out, but only indicated. These are necessarily omitted. Mrs. Fanny Hale Gardner, a friend of the editor, has prepared the manuscript for the press. There are undoubtedly places where passages may seem abrupt and unfinished. This was inevitable since the notes were incomplete, and much was left to be supplied extemporaneously by the speaker.

THE RADIANT CENTER

An Address Given in San Francisco,
August 30, 1915

A sure and unimpeachable basis for the New Thought point of view must be sought in the very nature of things. It must be axiomatic so that its opposite is inconceivable, when the proposition is stated. Such is the conception of unity in which science and philosophy at last find their common meeting ground. To find any point of contact between individual manifestations we must go back to the Center from which all have come. As Bergson says, "the unity lies in the initial impulse behind and not in the direction along which objects are moving." Thinking back as far as our minds can go we come to Unity. We can think back as far as the One Source from which all have come. Since there is this diversity of manifestation we must look back to the Source to understand the essential essence of the manifested. We must look to the Universal to understand the Individual. There is an everlasting difference between the deductive and the inductive thought, both necessary modes of reasoning to enable all kinds of minds to arrive at some degree of truth. Some minds find it only possible to reason from what we know. But as a great Danish psychologist recently said

at a congress in Copenhagen, "the most important things for us to know are the unknowable, and the search for reality leads us inevitably to mysticism."

Edison says, "Science is mostly imagination." He relates it absolutely to New Thought teaching when he says, "It is by conceiving what might be before one has seen the way to realize it practically that scientists have been buoyed up through the period of experiment." We therefore have good authority in philosophy and in science for venturing to predicate of the Infinite all that our finite minds can possibly conceive of the highest and best, knowing that while it certainly transcends that conception it cannot contradict it. Our highest conception of God is therefore a base from which to measure the finite.

The point that is most strongly and constantly emphasized by New Thought people is that one must find the Divine in himself and rely upon that. I have myself defined New Thought as the philosophy which recognizes man's inherent divinity. Some make statements so strong along this line that all help, inspiration, salvation from any force external to themselves are virtually excluded. Emphasizing the unity of life and that all is God, they put it, "God and I are one and I am the one." I have heard this stated from the New Thought platform in so many

words. Therefore I want to emphasize the other side of this great truth as being the fundamental proposition and that which gives truth and value to the human side of it.

To me there is a world of difference between saying "God and I are one and I am the one," and saying "God and I are one and God is the one." With the former statement we are trying to get a realization of the universal from the limitations of the individual. We are trying to get a conception of the great orb of the sun from the little ray of light that peeps through our own closed shutters. True, that ray of light is of the same nature as the splendor of the noon day and bears on its face the story of its origin and of the qualities of its source, but to know the warmth and radiance of the sun we must open wide our blinds and let the glory in. With the affirmation that God is the one we boldly take our stand on the Divine plane and illumine our own personality with the effulgence from the Radiant Center of the Absolute.

We can only say we are omniscient and omnipotent by absolutely losing sight of self and seeing God as the One, the All. We are of the divine essence with infinite potentialities, but we are not the Infinite any more than the ray of sunlight is the sun itself or the drop of water is the ocean. The drop of water that falls in rain has the push of sea

and sky and cloud behind it and is of the same nature as the sea from which it came and to which it will at last return, but one would get little idea of the ocean from studying the drop. We come from the Infinite and we are on our journey back to it; we have its push behind us to impel us to perform the smallest service with the realization that it is related to the infinite dignity, power and peace of our Source, but the way to understand our nature, our purpose and our destiny is to center our thought on the all-inclusive personality of which each created being is a manifestation.

We must have a surer basis of knowledge of Spirit than we can find in man short of his attaining Christhood. We cannot wholly rely on leaders and teachers, however much they may help and inspire. Human nature is so variable and limited that it must have as a standard of values that which is without variableness or shadow of turning. In all ages humanity has sought to find outside itself a perfection on which it may lean. With earlier theological interpretations this led to the belittlement of the human. With the new exaltation of the human we have to see to it that we do not get a belittled idea of the Divine, that we do not try to measure the Infinite with our own yard stick. Even with the new joy of working for spiritual development from the standpoint of evolving

our potential divinity we must find our inspiration not in ourselves but in that Radiant Center which is at the very heart of Being.

It was a doctrine of Plato that the heavens are always in motion seeking the Soul of the World. We are always restless and unsatisfied until we find the Soul of the World and find our own soul in it. It is natural for the soul to aspire; ever to seek to break away from the paralysis of world environment; the limitations of the flesh and the devil of separateness; to unite itself consciously with the Source of its being. As the poet Mathilda Blind has said:

“As compressed within the bounded shell
Boundless oceans cease to surge and swell,
So haunting echoes of an infinite whole
Moan and murmur through man’s finite soul.”

That there is this universal longing is sufficient demonstration that that exists which meets this need. Every age and every faith has had a name and many names for that which I am at this time calling the Radiant Center because the idea which that suggests seems to accord with the highest discoveries of science, the deepest thought of philosophy and the most imperative demand of the soul.

Sir Oliver Lodge, known as an eminent scientist and philosopher, says: “We are

rising to the conviction that we are a part of nature and so a part of God—that the whole universe is traveling together toward some great end. We are no aliens in a strange universe, governed by an outside God. This strengthening vision, this sense of union with Divinity—this is what science will some day tell us is the inner meaning of the redemption of man.”

Science has achieved such marvels that humanity fearlessly accepts her most stupendous claim. We exercise a credulity toward her claims that we have long forborne to show to the claims of religion. Trust in Science has supplanted trust in Revelation and now we are looking to Science to carry its demonstrations into the realm of the spiritual as she has already taken us to its borderland in her recent discoveries.

Radiant matter was discovered by Sir William Crookes in 1889 and he called it “Fourth State Matter.” He must have meant by that fourth dimensional matter which is claimed as that condition of matter in which all super-sensible phenomena transpire. Radial energy travels, scientists tell us, 120,000 miles a second and acts with undiminished power, yet this is called a physical force. Surely, here we stand before the secret of Life at the point where Spirit and Matter are demonstrably the same, at the place where the hitherto materialist or

agnostic accepts the philosophy that Spirit is all there is. Whichever way the scientist proceeds he comes to the same inscrutable force.

Atomic energy has been computed to amount to 16,381,000 tons in one cubic inch, oscillating billions of times a second. If you hit a man with a stone you may hurt him a little, but if you could let loose upon him the energy of a microscopic atom you would grind him to powder. What is the next finer force after atomic force and radial energy? Surely it must be that of thought which, if we knew how to use it would be more powerful than any so-called physical force however subtle.

All the great scientists of the day agree that, about and through everything, there is the play of Eternal Mind. Mrs. Boole, an eminent English writer on science, with the woman's intuition relates science to spiritual issues when she says, "The highest moral result of science unassisted by revelation is that there is around us a vital force of which we become recipient under certain moral conditions."

(Note that it is moral conditions which relate us to vital force. In the last analysis Religion and Life are one).

Force supplies a center of generation. There is no force known that does not act from a center outwards. Reasoning from

analogy we conclude that this vital force which is all around us operates from its own center and this, since all activity generates heat and radiates light, I have called the "Radiant Center."

It matters not by what name we know it but it does matter that we know it as the Center from which we have come forth and to which we are still attached as a ray to its sun. By the Radiant Center I mean that from which all physical manifestation, all sense of beauty, all intellectual activity, and all spiritual aspirations have come forth. It is axiomatic that anything that comes forth from the Universal remains still attached to its center. You cannot take anything from the Infinite. You cannot separate anything from Omnipresence. You cannot know anything apart from Omniscience. We are created out of a general substance yet still abide in it, with this difference in man's relation to it, that while the rest of creation appropriates unconsciously and negatively the heat and light of the Spiritual Center, man has to supply the moral conditions which make him the recipient of it consciously and positively.

Playing upon the dull, opaque cells of our body with the pure white light of Spirit, we set free their wondrous power and we find they are pure spirit, also man takes these rays and makes them new centers of ra-

diance. Men have called this Radiant Center by every name that expressed their profound feeling that it is their Source, that in it they live and move and have their being.

“In Zeus begin we—let no mortal voice
Leave Zeus unpraised. Zeus fills the haunts of men,
The streets, the marts, Zeus fills the sea, the shore,
The harbors; everywhere we live in Zeus,
We are His offspring too.”

Hermes Trismegistus taught the Egyptians that the first Truth was “One and Only”:

“In the Universe there is nothing which is not the God, for He is the Universe. There is nothing in the universal world which is not He. He is both the Entities and the Non-Entities, for the Entities He hath manifested, but the Non-Entities He hath in Himself.”

“Thou art what I may be,
Thou art what I may do,
Thou art what I may speak.”

In the Vedic philosophy Brahm stands for Being in the sense of the Absolute, a Force manifested in nature as eternal, pure, intelligent, free, omniscient and omnipotent. The Sankhya philosophy calls Being, the Soul, which is the real person of a man, the universal Spirit from which the soul emanates. Rolle, a fourteenth century mystic, traced

the journey of the "Fire of Love" from the Radiant Center along the upward path. First, the purgation—the struggle between the flesh and the spirit; second, illumination; third, contemplation of God through Love. Then after a year of this condition he experienced three other phases:—heat (the mind being kindled in Love); this lasted nine months when he heard the spiritual music, the invisible melody of heaven. The final stage of sweetness was the fruition of all that had gone before. He found the Radiant Center, the cosmic consciousness.

The holiest verse in the Vedas which every Brahman must repeat in his daily devotions expresses the radiance of the divine center:—"Let us adore the supremacy of that Divine Sun, the Godhead who illuminates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return; whom we invoke to direct us aright in our progress toward His Holy Seat." Another Aryan poet said, "Seeking for freedom I go for refuge to that God who is the light of his own thoughts."

If we would find the law of our own being we must go back to our Source. We cannot find the divine and the human unless we have first found the Divine. Partial and prejudiced as has been the view of God that man had by expressing Him in terms of human personality, it has yet been that which has led man along through all the ages into a con-

stantly widened conception of the Infinite Spirit. The history of the development of humanity has been the feeling of man towards God. True, it was the divine in him feeling after the Divine in the Universal, as Plotinus said, "The flight of the alone to the Alone." Man has been thought into manifestation. He has been incarnated in a body, but not wholly incarnated, for as the same writer said, "The Soul leaves something of itself above." Here is the secret of the Radiant Center, that it keeps a string, so-to-speak, on all that is manifested out of it.

Science and philosophy, therefore, show us the Radiant Center at the heart of the universe. The next thing is to find it in ourselves. We then make in ourselves a co-ordinate Radiant Center around which the divine energies can play. Then the Infinite pours itself into every need of the various human experiences, directing the intellect, opening up to it the fountain of wisdom, subordinating all the transient and imperfect to the great Life force which is from everlasting to everlasting.

When, then, man rises to the height of being consciously co-creator with God, the original Divine power is augmented in its capacity for manifestation by all man's manifestation of this power, and God and man are co-workers.

When a magnet magnetizes other bodies

the magnetic power which the whole mass exerts is the original undiminished force of the magnet plus the magnetic power of each atom that has been magnetized by it. Thus, as we develop in spiritual power the Supreme Perfection adds power to its own to manifest higher perfection. This spiritual paradox is explained by the fact that the Absolute when manifested becomes relative and proceeds along the line of evolution.

Man was made in the image of God, the root idea of the word "image" being "shadow." It is interesting to note that a different word, which means an exact copy, is used in that passage (Hebrews 1, 3) which refers to Jesus as being "the express image of God." This is what man has to become. In the first chapter of Genesis God is represented as saying, "Let us make man in our image or shadow, but it is never said that He made man in his likeness. This is what the Divine in man himself has to achieve—to become, as Jesus did, the likeness or exact copy of God. Man is not a finished creation. "If he were," said Balzac, "God would cease to exist." He is working on himself, a co-worker with God. He has now the vision of his final destiny and he lends himself to the Great Sculptor who sees the likeness in the image and with many a chisel stroke is bringing it out into the form divine.

The Bible says of man, "Thou hast put all

things under his feet, but we see not yet all things put under him, but we see Jesus." This is the way God looks at man. He sees Jesus as the true type of man and Christ-hood as man's destiny.

In the Gnostic Gospel Jesus is quoted as saying, "Do ye not understand that ye are all angels, all archangels, God's and Lord's, all rulers, all the great invisibles—that ye are all, of yourselves and in yourselves in turn, from one mass and one matter and one substances?" When we shape our thoughts according to this conception we will not live a life of shreds and tatters but of divine unity. The forces of the seen will mingle with the forces of the unseen and complete the magnetic battery. We have to become the inhabitants of both realms living the divine life on the human plane, and the human life on the divine plane. This is only possible with the realization that Jesus had, that "the Father and I are One," and that One is God. He looked from his own perfection always toward the Father.

Placing one's self consciously in the currents of Divine energy we too may keep a Radiant Center under every limitation or experience. We are no longer "worms of the dust," crawling through life in a debased attitude, but we look erect at Life from the Divine viewpoint and we see that the Radiant Center in ourselves is, as Paul put it,

“Christ in us, the hope of glory.” “I shall be satisfied when I awake in thy likeness.”

Prof. William James said, “From our acts and our attitudes ceaseless inpouring currents come which help to determine from moment to moment what our inner state shall be.” Man is, as the Greeks said, “The being with the upturned face.” Let us, like the candidate for the Eagle grade in the Mithraic ritual who must be able to soar into the pure ether and gaze unflinchingly at the glory of the sun, invoke that perfection which lies hid in the substance of our imperfect development, and dare to look upon the destiny of humanity.

It is man’s destiny so to master the physical forces that sickness and weakness shall be unknown, and Death, no longer an enemy, be the friendly doorkeeper to be summoned at will to let us into the larger life.

It is man’s destiny, so to develop the material resources of creation that poverty shall disappear and with it the vast army of sins that have been begotten by it.

It is man’s destiny to grow in wisdom until all the sources of knowledge are open to him and all the forces of nature obey his behest.

It is man’s destiny to grow in spiritual consciousness until all sense of limitation and separateness is lost and he sees nothing but the Radiant Center. Then will appear the

perfected individual and a perfected and glorified humanity.

This is the vision of the Holy Grail, and as it passes "Every Knight beholds his fellow's face as in a glory."

THE DOWNWARD SONG

One gray, sweet morning on the Murrow Downs,
A heart-enthraling song came to my ear:
It seemed to fall from some celestial sphere—
To one long wearied with the din of towns.

Oh, bird of splendid spirit, heavenly birth,
At home thou art in regions of the sky,
On wings of song rising to realms on high,
Yet loving still thy lowly place on earth.

Upward thou takest with thy matin song
The prayer and praise of life to heaven above;
Yet ever drawn to earth by cords of love,
Thou singest, too, thy downward way along.

Methinks a sweeter note to thee is given,
As back thou turnest to thy secret nest:
Thou bringest to thy mate a carol blest,
Sharing with earth-bound bird the joy of heaven.

Like skylark I may rise to upper spheres,
No height too great for my exulting soul;
I sing a psalm of praise for heart made whole;
Forgotten all the wrongs and pain of years.

I too return with sweeter, tend'rer song,
I cannot have a joy you may not share—
Like Murrow's skylark on that morning fair,
My new-born melodies to love belong.

—CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

(One of Mrs. Colby's sweet poems, found among her manuscripts.)

DOCUMENTS OF PUBLIC INTEREST

From Files belonging to the late Clara B. Colby

- 1 Correspondence between Susan B. Anthony and Clara B. Colby.
- 2 First War-Correspondent's Pass Issued to a Woman.
- 3 File of "National Bulletin," published by the Woman's Tribune.
- 4 Letters to her grandparents, written by C. B. C. while in the university.
- 5 Steel plate portrait of Clara B. Colby.
- 6 Letters from Susan B. Anthony to Clara B. Colby.
- 7 Collected speeches of Mrs. Stanton.
- 8 Letters from Mrs. Stanton.
- 9 Correspondence with Representative Linderman over bill to rename Musselshell River.
- 10 Letters from Mrs. Belva Lockwood.
- 11 Letters from Rev. Olympia Brown.
- 12 Complimentary press notices.
- 13 Reports of National and International Suffrage Conventions, and of National Councils of Women.
- 14 Correspondence relative to Congress of Federal Suffrage Association.
- 15 "Engravings from Suffrage History," being a collection of engraved portraits of leaders in the Suffrage Movement.

WRITINGS BY CLARA B. COLBY

- "Ibsen."
Copious notes for Lecture on Carlyle.
"French Women of 18th Century America."
"Concerning Farmers' Wives."
"Stow-away Stories" (short story).
"Review of our Work with Congress." (Paper given before the 30th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association).
"Song of the Plains." (poem).
Copious notes for Lecture on Ancient Egypt.
Review of "Hinduism in Europe & America," by Elizabeth S. Reed—1914.
"Thomas & Jane Carlyle" (lecture).
Paper on Suffrage (in German—probably delivered in Germany).
"Carlyle."
"Harriet Beecher Stowe," (with photographs).
Translation of Schiller's "Ideal and Real."
"Old Louisiana."
"Bienville, the Father of Louisiana & Founder of New Orleans."
"Irish Stories."
"Prayer."
"Oneness."
Notes from Frid's book, "The German Emperor and the Peace of the World."
"The Cosmic Significance of Sacred Structures."
Notes on "A Keystone of Empire," by Owen.
Notes on Slavs, Hungarians, etc.
"Rabindranath Tagore."
"New Thought, Its Origin, Extent & Value," (Delivered at Osborne House Tea Room, July 2nd, 1916).
"London, Past & Present."
"Elizabeth Cady Stanton" (2050 words).
"Personal Touch with Elizabeth Cady Stanton" (1363 words.)
"Statement of Mrs. C. B. Colby, Corresponding

- Secretary of the Federal Woman's Equality Association."
- "Human Rights—the Foundation of Government" (Speech at Columbia Theater).
- "Mysticism."
- Original Review of "Creative Process."
- "Flowers and Soul Force."
- "New Light on Ancient Egypt."
- Several early short essays.
- Review of "Love and Marriage."
- "The Brain in the Hand."
- "Our Lady of Prompt Succor."
- "A Young Pilgrim from Old Tabard."
- Review of "Delia Blanchflower."
- Women of the Middle Ages."
- Review of "In a Far Country," by Churchill.
- "Using the Horizontal Heat Ray to Dry Food."
- "A Meeting of Two 'Old Boys.'"
- Papers on "Woman Suffrage in England" as published in the Sunday Herald.
- "Federal Suffrage for Women."
- "Revolutionist Fiction."
- "Mary Wollstonecraft."
- On Whitman's "Strength of Non-resistance."
- "Healing."
- Review of "Social Environment and Moral Progress."
- "The Downward Song." Poem.
- "A Memory Game."
- "The Child in Hungary."
- "Technical Education in Hungary."
- "Christmas Customs," 4,000 words.
- "Our English Letter, 'Did You Evade the Census?'"
- "Elizabeth, Empress—Queen of Austria-Hungary."
- "The Largest Meat Market in the World."
- "Like Skylark I Sing." Poem.
- "John Hus and His Times."
- "Censorship in England."
- "A Day on the Farm." Poem.

- "Feminism."
"Divine Recognition of the Right of Consent to Government."
"Berthe, Countess Kinsky, Baroness von Suttner."
"Lady Bug's Wedding; The Origin of the Fire-Fly" (Translation from the German).
"Christmas Customs."
"The First Foot."
"The Christmas Spirit."
"The Yule Log."
"Sunday Schools in London."
"The Liquor Question, and Can It Be Settled?"
"Compulsory Arbitration."
"Shaw's Gardens."
Review of "The Inside of the Cup" by Churchill.
"The Cosmic Procession."
"The Gnostics."
"The Circle and the Cross." A Review.
"Dual Personality." Wm. Sharp.
"The Mystery of Sleep."
"Bergson."
"Florence Nightingale."
"The Strength of Non-Resistance."
"Euripides and His Greek Women."
Notes on "Prometheus "Life of the Spirit," etc.
Notes on Lectures of Bjerregaard.
"Browning's Women."
"A Tale of a City, the Municipal Government of Glasgow." (Published in "Arena," April, 1905, with sketch of the author, C. B. C.)
"Fanny Burney & Dr. Johnson."
"The Life Radiant."
"Gods of Egypt."
"Unity."
"Margaret Fuller."
"Women in the Building of America."
Address at the Anthony Reunion.
"Covent Garden."
"Our Great Leaders."
"The Radiant Center."

- "History of Edward Irving."
"The Glastonbury Thorn."
"Interview with General Fry."
Notes for lecture on Roman History.
"In Memoriam of Octave Pavy." (Poem).
"Sweet Nell of Old Drury." (Published in Overland Monthly).
"In the Land of Cotton." (Published in Inter-Ocean).
Article on the Philippine War. (Published in Harper's Bazaar).
Report on Woman's Suffrage in the United States.
(Sent to the Congress at Berlin, 1894).
"Woman's Pavilion at the Centennial."
"Books for Girls."
Speech at the hearing before the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the U. S. Senate, December 17th, 1904.
"The Esoteric Teachings of the Gnostics."
Review of "The Spirit of Christ," by Murray.
Review of "The Lost Word," by Van Dyke.
"The Easter-Tide."
Notes from Schoolcraft's Memoirs.
"What English Women are Fighting For." (Published in The Spectator).
"Woman Suffrage in Wyoming no Joke."
Review of "Stories of the Wagner Operas," by Guerber.
"About the National Railway Strike in Great Britain."
Review of "Children of the Soil," by Sienkiewicz.
"John Sobieski." A Review.
"Women of Poland."
"Fruits of the Spirit."
"The Dangerous Age." A Review.
"History and Spiritual Significance of Woman Suffrage."
Notes for lectures on Whitman, with special reference to "Song of the Open Road."
"Romances and Tragedies of Old Louisiana."

"Old Louisiana."

"The Mississippi River."

"Sacajawea, the Shoshone Heroine of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."

"Emmeline Pethick Lawrence."

"No More War." (Special correspondence to the Journal).

"Lecture on Leyden."

"Visit to the Guildhalls."

"An American Woman's Success in England."

"Three Plays with a Purpose."

"Lysistrata, or Woman's War Against War."

CHAPTER IX

FEDERAL SUFFRAGE CIRCULAR

The following circular giving the list of the officers of the Association and a resumé of its progress was prepared by Mrs. Colby in the spring of 1916 just before she started on her fatal journey to the West. Although the substance of the circular has been given elsewhere, yet it is published here because it was Mrs. Colby's last work for the suffrage society.

Federal Suffrage Association *Of The United States*

President—Rev. Olympia Brown, Racine, Wisconsin.

Vice-Presidents—Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Cupertino, California; Mary Terry, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Wm. Kent, Calif.

Record Secretaries—Martha Mitchell Hoyt, 4114 Emery Place, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer—Clara W. MacNaughton, Washington, D. C.

Auditors—Dr. Elnora C. Folkmar, Washington, D. C.; Gwendolen B. Willis, Baltimore, Md.

Honorary President—The late Belva A. Lockwood, L. L. D., Washington, D. C.

Honorary Vice-Presidents (Representing the Free States)—

Wyoming—Senator Clarence D. Clark; Hon. Frank W. Mondell.

Colorado—Senator John F. Shafroth, Hon. B. C. Hilliard.

Idaho—Senator James H. Brady, Hon. Addison G. Smith.

Utah—Hon. James H. Mays.

Washington—Senator Miles Poindexter, Hon. Wm. L. La Follette.

California—Senator John D. Works, Hon. John E. Raker.

Oregon—Senator Geo. E. Chamberlain, Hon. W. J. Sinnott.

Kansas—Senator W. H. Thompson, Hon. P. P. Campbell.

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Arizona—Hon. Carl Hayden.

Montana—Senator Thos. J. Walsh, Hon. John M. Evans.

Nevada—Hon. E. E. Roberts.

Alaska—Hon. James Wickersham.

Illinois—Hon. Wm. B. McKinley.

Advisory Council—Senator Frances W. Munds, Arizona; Hon. Burton L. French, Idaho; Mrs. Miles Poindexter, Washington; Mrs. Mary Wright Sewall, Indiana; Mrs. Henrietta Briggs-Wall, Kansas; Miss Emily Howland, New York; Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop, Illinois; Mrs. Andrea Hofer-Proudfoot, Illinois; Mrs. Mary Smith Haywood, Nebraska; Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf, New York; Mrs. Sarah V. Pugh, New Jersey; Mrs. C. P. Crosby, Wisconsin; Mrs. Van. Coleman, California.

“The purpose of the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States is to obtain the passage of an Act protecting women citizens of all the States in the exercise of the right to vote for Members of Congress. It is based on two propositions: That women have the right to vote under the Constitution of the United States as originally framed; and that Congress can bring this right into activity as far as it relates to the vote for members of Congress.

The first bill for his purpose was introduced by Senator Chas. F. Manderson of Nebraska, in 1889. Bills were also introduced in the House in 1892 and 1894. The Federal Suffrage Association was formed in 1902 to continue the work, and since that time bills have been before Congress continuously and a number of hearings have been given. The latest was on March 27, 28, 1916, on H. R. 379, introduced by Judge J. E. Raker of California, who made the opening argument in its behalf. Hon. Burton L. French championed

the measure for ten years and gave a comprehensive argument on its constitutionality before the House Committee which appears in our hearing of December, 1914. This was introduced by him in the House and published in the Congressional Record of February 18, 1915.

There are many political and ethical reasons why women of all the States should equally have the rights of national citizenship; and why all members of Congress should have the same constituency. Women now vote for twenty-two U. S. Senators and forty-one Representatives. This makes the question of their voting for members of Congress in all the States of national and international importance.

There is not a link wanting in the chain of evidence to show that this measure is constitutional and feasible.

The Articles of Confederation Pledged the Right of Suffrage to Women.

The Articles of Confederation, adopted November 15, 1777, secured to all free inhabitants of each State the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States. In a suit brought to determine the rights of a citizen under this clause, Justice Washington held that "privileges and immunities" included the right to vote and hold office. Women were "free inhabitants" and were

voting then in New Jersey. Therefore, free women in all the States were pledged the same rights possessed by the women of New Jersey.

The Legislature of South Carolina did not at first accept the Articles, but returned them to Congress, asking that intercitizenship should be confined to "white males." Congress refused to put a limitation in the Constitution. Hence there was no sex barrier placed at the threshold of our Government.

Women Are People.

Women were manifestly included when the Declaration of Independence was issued, as it said, "In the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, etc."

Women were part of the "people" referred to in the preamble to the Constitution: "We, the people *** to secure to ourselves and our posterity," etc.

By common law and daily practice women are included in the word "people" in the Articles of Amendment—I, II, IV, and IX—which protect the civil rights of both sexes alike.

Plainly, if women were included in the term "people" as the word occurs six times in the Constitution, inferentially "women" were meant by "people" in the one other occurrence of the word, which is in Article

I, Section 2: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States." This, Justice Story said, "conferred a general citizenship on the citizens of each State."

In *Wells vs. Bain*, Judge Agnew, referring to the axiom that all just government is founded on the consent of the people, said: "The people here meant are the whole, those who constitute the entire State, male and female citizens."

Under the constitution of New Jersey women voted for the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, therefore they had a part in framing the Constitution, and they voted for the delegates to the New Jersey Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. What a farce it is to construe the Constitution which women had helped to establish for the Nation which they had helped to build, in such a way as to prevent was framed to secure!

Woman Is a Citizen.

Women tried to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments—Miss Anthony and many others. Mrs. Minor took her case from the Missouri courts to the United States Supreme Court. The Court decided that the

Fourteenth Amendment did not make women citizens, because they had always been citizens. The case has no bearing on our claim save that it decided for all time that women are citizens and entitled to the "privileges and immunities" of citizenship. The Supreme Court has three times ruled that citizenship and suffrage are inseparable. Before the negro was made a citizen it was ruled that the negro, not being a citizen, could not be a voter. After the Fourteenth Amendment made him a citizen it was ruled in two cases that, being a citizen, he was now a voter. If citizenship gives suffrage to the negro and does not to the woman, then his citizenship is grander and more inclusive than hers.

Qualifications for Electors.

Article I, Section 2, says: "The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." This does not give the State the right to make sex a qualification, for it cannot be a qualification. The Federal Bill provides that women shall be subject to the same qualifications as men.

Congress Has Power to Protect Citizens in Their Right to Vote.

The Constitution further provides that Congress may at any time by law make regulations for time, place and manner of holding

elections for Senators and Representatives, or may alter regulations made by the States. James Madison, being asked to explain this reserved right of control, said: "Should the people of any State by any means be deprived of the right of suffrage it was deemed proper it should be remedied by the general Government."

In the case of *Wiley v. Sinkler*, the Court said: "The right to vote for members of the Congress of the United States has its foundation in the Constitution of the United States." In the *Siebold* case the Court said that the State could make regulations, and Congress could make regulations, and those made by Congress were paramount and superseded those made by the States.

Other Work of the Year

During the year past the Association held a Congress in connection with the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, at San Francisco. A letter from the Director of Congresses, under date of March 27, says: "You will be interested in knowing that 'Federal Suffrage Day' (July 13, 1915) was, in point of attendance, one of the largest convention special days. A total of 56,255 people passed through the gates on that day." In grateful recognition of the opportunities afforded by the Exposition, the Association held a public meeting, December 4, in Washington, to par-

ticipate in the closing exercises of the Exposition.

The Santa Clara County officials entertained the Association, and among the meetings and receptions arranged for was a very enjoyable occasion at the home of our vice-president, Mrs. Watson. Federal Suffrage Day was held at the San Diego Exposition by request of the management.

The Association had representation in the Women's Peace Party, and has become auxiliary to the National Council of Women of the United States, which gives it international relations.

Membership

The membership of the Association is national, and all who read this are invited to join. Annual fee, \$1. Sustaining membership \$10. Further information and argument can be obtained by addressing any of the officers.

While we must work along all lines until full suffrage is secured for all women, our demand, based on the Constitution, adds dignity to the whole movement, and lays upon men the responsibility of protecting women in their heritage of liberty according to the foundation principles of our Government.

Clara Bewick Colby,
Corresponding Secretary.

304 Indiana Ave., Washington, D. C.
March, 1916.



