

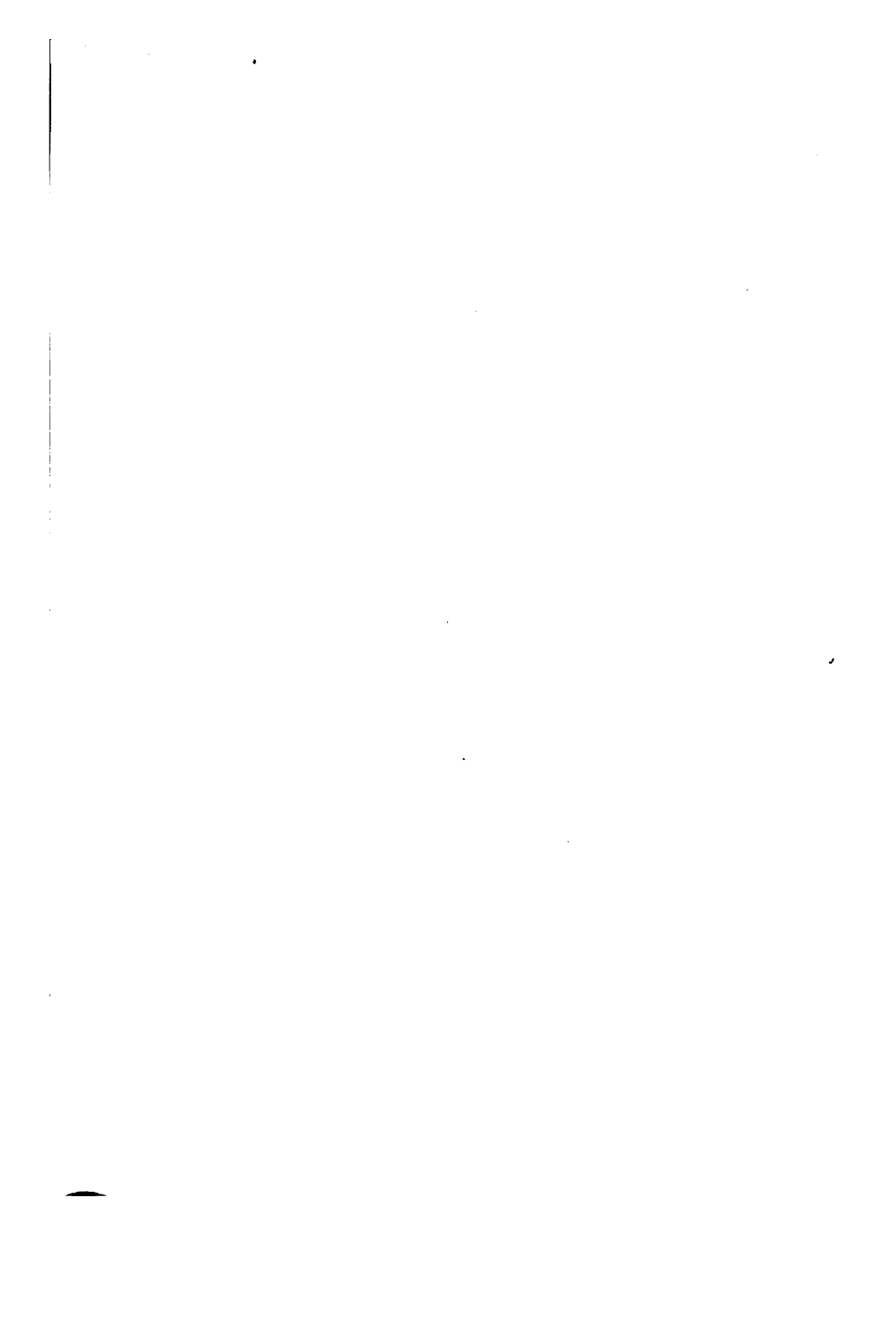


WOMAN'S ARCHIVES

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OLYMPIA BROWN

Acquaintances, Old and New, Among Reformers

By OLYMPIA BROWN

"We have escaped
But partly that old half-tamed wild beast's paw
Whereunder woman, the weak thing, was shaped:
Men too have known the cramping enemy
In grim brute force, whom force of brain shall awe:
Him our deliverer, await we!

1911

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**TO THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CAUSE WHICH
HAS INSPIRED THE NOBLEST REFORMERS
OF THE LAST HALF-CENTURY.**

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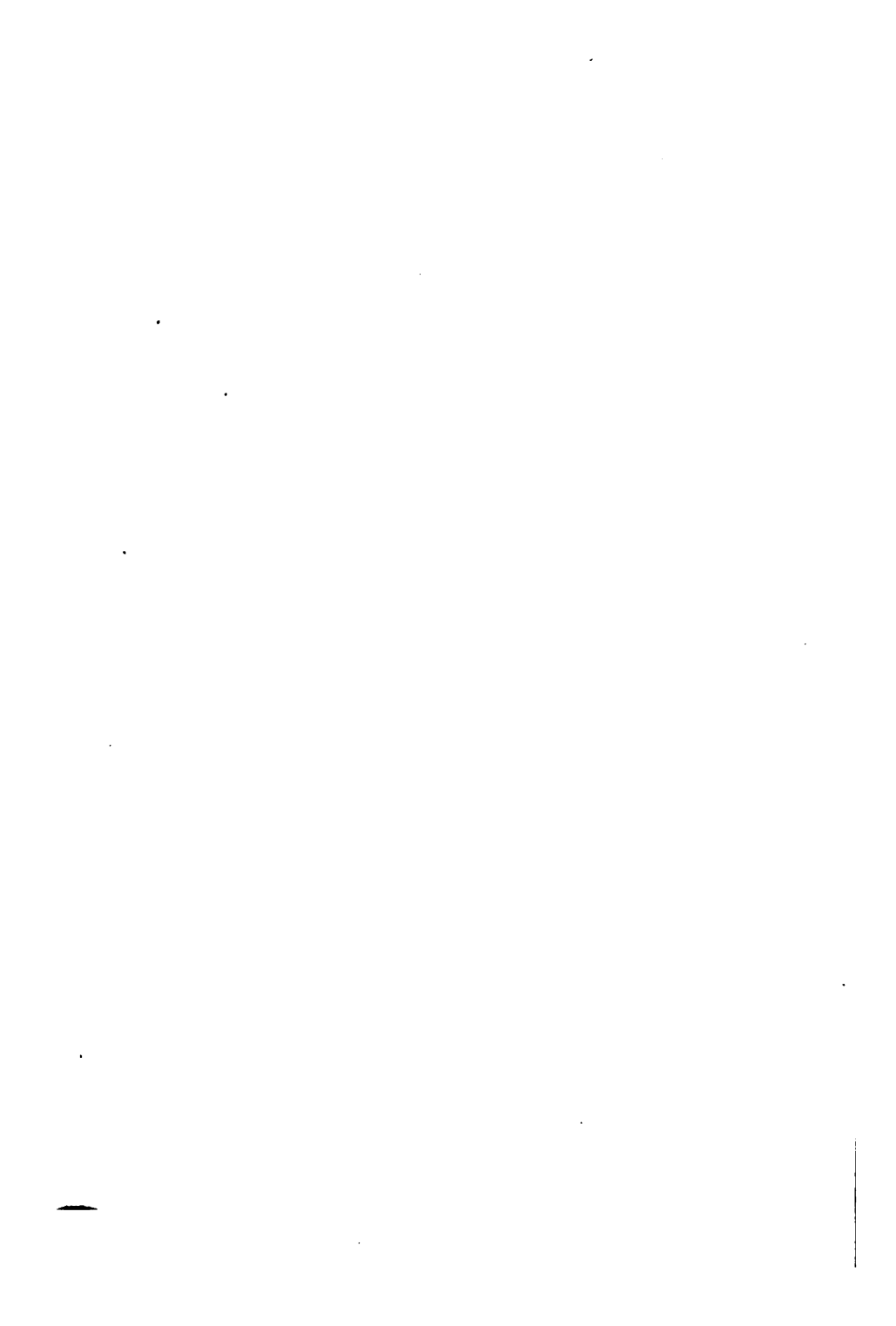
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PREFACE.

This little book is sent out in the hope that it may add a mite to the interest and success of the cause to which it is dedicated. In former years my children and other friends have often asked me to write some account of my work and the people that I have known but press of duties has always occupied my entire time and I have felt that it was better to let the dead past "bury its dead" while I pressed forward to meet the demands of the hour. When the Woman's Suffrage bill was presented to the voters last May, Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe and others interested in the cause urged me to write some account of the early reformers and others with whom I have worked from time to time. They thought that such a book would be a great help to the cause both by awakening a personal interest in reformers and by adding something to the treasury to meet the needs of the present campaign.

Thus urged, I set about the writing. My time has been limited and I have been able to give only spare moments snatched from household duties, a large correspondence, planning the campaign and filling appointments. I have had no time to consult records or verify statements. I have hastily written from memory those things which I hope will interest the younger advocates of the cause and inspire them to new endeavor.

OLYMPIA BROWN.



CHAPTER I.

EARLY IMPRESSIONS.

**"Love, strength and courage, courage, strength and love,
The heroes of all time are built thereof."**

The earliest reformer that I ever knew was my own mother, Mrs. Lephia O. Brown. Living on our little farm in Michigan, her time occupied with the homely duties of the household—the washing, the dairy and the spinning, she yet seized every opportunity to read and her mind was well stored with knowledge. She was abreast of the times on every question. Long before I had heard of Mrs. Stanton or Miss Anthony, I had grown familiar with the principle of equal rights and of the need of larger liberties and opportunities for women. My mother's conversations on these topics were often most forceful and thrilling and naturally aroused in us a desire to do something to realize her ideals. In the education and management of her children, although laboring under great disadvantages on account of the newness of the coun-

try, the burdens she bore and the labors which she undertook, she yet anticipated many of the advanced ideas of the present day. She had the courage of her convictions and was most original and independent in thought and action. Her reading was extensive and her judgment of and taste for literature was remarkable. Her memory even to her last day, at the age of nearly eighty-nine, was most unusual. Her discernment and judgment of character were so clear and correct that it seemed almost like clairvoyance; no shams or pretenses escaped the keenness of her vision. On the whole, in spite of natural partiality, I believe I am justified in saying that I have never seen her equal.

Among my earliest recollections are the evening readings in the home of my childhood on our little farm in Michigan. These readings were sometimes from the standard books of the time, but a share of the evening was always given to the *New York Weekly Tribune*. Horace Greeley was then the farmer's authority for everything from grains and soils to religion and reform. Greeley was then the representative of progress. In his paper might be found accounts of and discussions upon Fourierism, Woman's Rights, Dress Reform, Anti-slavery, Water-cure and all the

ideas and theories then new but now either accepted and adopted or exploded and forgotten. I remember one evening in particular when they read an account of a great Woman's Rights Convention held in Worcester, Mass., October 22 and 23, 1850, two years after the first convention at Seneca Falls. Young as I was, the idea seized upon me. The speeches stirred my soul; the names of the participants loomed up before me as the names of great heroes often inspire young boys. They seemed to me like prophets of a better time; not only the participants in that meeting but all the great reformers of that day had a fascination for me.

Garrison, Phillips, Burleigh, Foster, Pillsbury, Douglas; I never speak these names even now without a return of that feeling of awe and reverence which took possession of me at that time.

Another evening they read the wonderful story of a woman ordained to the Christian ministry! My imagination was all afloat, my ambition was stirred. Antoinette Brown! How many times I repeated the name! Antoinette!! Antoinette!! It seemed to stand for everything that was beautiful and exalted.

At other times I heard of Lucy Stone, Susan B.

Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Abby Kelly Foster and others. They all seemed so far away, so grand, so noble. The thought that I myself should sometime see them, talk with them, speak on the same platform, even criticise them, never entered my mind; the thing would have seemed so wild, so impossible.

But time makes changes and as the years passed there came with a larger development and a broader knowledge a conception of something that might be achieved, even by me, and so there came the seminary and the college life. It was while I was at Antioch College that "Aunt Fanny" Gage came to Yellow Springs, where the college was located, and gave a Woman's Rights lecture. She opened the work of the evening by reading the description of the virtuous woman in the last chapter of Proverbs. It has since been a favorite chapter with me and I often read it at Suffrage meetings as it really contains the gist of the whole matter. "Give her of the fruit of her hands and let her own works praise her in the gates." That is just what the advocates of Woman's Suffrage ask. "Aunt Fanny" Gage was really one of the ablest women we have ever had in this country. She was strong and true and original, but she had

lived a hard life battling with the prejudices of the age and seeing the wrongs done to women so plainly, and feeling her helplessness to right them so forcibly that it made her too earnest, if such a thing were possible. She wearied people by rehearsing the wrongs of women and reciting too vividly the flagrant instances of injustice that came to her notice and rebuking the indifference of the many. To those who were satisfied with their present ease and comfort, or occupied with their own vocations and transient pleasures, all this seemed like useless complaining and they wearied of hearing the story of wrong and injustice and unfair dealing. They turned away with the desire "only to eat and drink and enjoy."

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.

"Reach after new thoughts and new aspirations."

In the early days of Michigan the opportunities for school education were limited. The school system was not fully established and the outlying districts were often left without any school, unless some enterprising men roused the people to the necessity of providing themselves with a teacher at their own expense. Michigan University during its first years was not co-educational. An uncle of mine was one of the Regents and he often made trips to Ann Arbor in that capacity. My sisters and I often urged upon him the importance of opening the school to young women but he always contended that it was unnecessary since women had no use for a University education. My uncle was a man of extended reading and a very excellent writer, but in common conversation he often reverted to the old familiar Vermont dialect and

I recall one occasion when in explaining to me the scope of the University of which he rightly judged that I was quite ignorant, he said, "Why, a University is a place where they have all manner o'learnin'," the inference being that such a place would be very unsuitable for women.

I can but think these conversations were perhaps a seed sowing which afterwards contributed a little to the opening of the college doors. But it was a long struggle, and it was years later that co-education was recognized at Ann Arbor. One generation sows and another reaps, often forgetting what has gone before. An instance of this occurred in a Wisconsin town where we were holding meetings a few years ago. A young woman physician craved the privilege of speaking against Woman's Suffrage. We gave her a place on the evening program. Her argument was that women did not need the ballot since they had so many advantages and could accomplish so much without it. She dwelt especially upon her own experience, detailing at some length her victorious course through the Michigan University and her successful admission to the ranks of the medical profession. All this she had achieved without the ballot and "Madam President," said she, "it was not the

result of controversy." When I arose I told the audience that the speech illustrated the difference between the lady's age and mine. I belonged to a generation that waged a very serious controversy to open the Michigan University to women and thus enabled the lady to get her education at Ann Arbor. She belonged to the generation that profited by our labors.

But it was not Michigan University that the writer was permitted to enter. After a year at Mt. Holyoke, in which the orthodox theology and the strict, though wholesome regulations of Mary Lyon were tested, I went to Antioch College, then quite newly started, at Yellow Springs, Ohio. Antioch College was one of the first to admit women. Lombard University at Galesburg, Ill., a Universalist school, had admitted one or two women before Antioch was founded and Oberlin, as it used to be sneeringly said, "admitted women and niggers." But with these two exceptions, Antioch was the first college to try the experiment, then called "the great experiment," of co-education.

Horace Mann was called to be the President of this new institution which undertook the perilous experiment of educating women. Presi-

dent Mann was perhaps one of the noblest men that this country has ever produced. Regal in his bearing, with a head that was almost majestic, endowed with great gifts and splendid scholarship he was singularly fitted to stand at the head of a great institution of learning. Had he also possessed the practical qualities which enabled Dr. Harper of the Chicago University to hypnotize capital, Antioch might today have been a rival of the great institution on Lake Michigan. But alas, not all the grand qualities are ever concentrated in any one man and the lack of that very practical and useful money-getting ability prevented President Mann's institution from taking the high rank which it deserved and makes it at the present time a small college in Southern Ohio instead of a great university numbering its pupils by thousands and known and recognized the world over.

The men and women on the Faculty at Antioch College, for women were recognized there, were persons of unique and unusual ability. Professor Deane, Horace Mann's niece, the head of the history department, was a woman of the finest culture; and several others were known then and have been honored since in the world of literature and scholarship. Horace Mann's large acquaint-

ance and world-wide reputation brought to the college at different times many remarkable characters. Here came Edward Everett Hale and Henry W. Bellows, Horace Greeley, George W. Curtis and other distinguished reformers as well as Father Taylor, the "Seaman's Friend." Seeing and hearing them was a great privilege, and here, too, I at last had an opportunity of seeing and receiving as a guest, Antoinette Brown, since called Mrs. Blackwell. She was not then, nor has she been until recent years the pastor of a church, her time being occupied with her little family of daughters. At Antioch it was customary for the students to arrange a course of lectures given every season in the college chapel, a large and pleasing audience room. But no women were ever invited to lecture. On inquiry all were told that the reason was that there were no women at all comparable to the men employed. And, beside, there was no woman whose voice would fill the chapel. One season, after the course had been finished and in spite of our petitions and representations, no woman had been employed, a few of us determined to have a lecture of our own. We posted notices in all the halls that the young women were invited to meet in a certain recitation room. When they



ANTIOCH COLLEGE IN 1860



came together we placed the matter before them, with the result that a subscription was raised to pay the cost and it was voted to invite Antoinette Brown Blackwell.

It now seems incredible that there should have been such opposition to this lecture as made it necessary to scheme and contrive to secure it and especially that it was with some difficulty that we obtained the Christian Church for her to preach in on Sunday. However, we were all delighted with the result. Even those who had been opposed were converted by her quiet and lady-like demeanor and words of wisdom. Her personality was and is most pleasing, and although she is now well on in the eighties, yet she looks as amiable and beautiful as ever. Her ordination was not by any ecclesiastical authority or in accordance with the requirements or usages of any of the denominations, and therefore did not establish a precedent or open a way for other women to enter the ministry except as her example served as a stimulus and inspiration for others and thus led them to try to open the doors so long sealed against them. Her pastorate was short and her preaching has not been extensive, but her life and character have been a blessed and beautiful mes-

sage to the people of the United States. Her letter to me describing her ordination is before me. After speaking of efforts to obtain a letter of license to preach or ordination as a missionary and mentioning several men who were favorable, she says, "Of course there was opposition on the part of the authorities who felt that men so closely allied to the institution, (meaning Oberlin), would commit them in the estimation of the world to woman's preaching. They were willing to have me preach but not to endorse this as a principle."

When she sought a letter of license she was told that she "must preach if she chose to do so on her own responsibility." Finally her church at South Butler, New York, desiring her ordination, several were found courageous enough to take part. The Rev. Luther Lee preached the sermon. Gerrit Smith gave the charge. Her deacons assisted in the laying on of hands and "all went off well."

CHAPTER III.

MY FIRST PETITION.

"Upspringing from the ruined Old
I saw the New."

It is difficult for the young woman of today to realize changes that have taken place in regard to the position of women. The advocates of women's rights have been slowly securing changes in the laws of state after state until now many people who are entering into the results of the labors of others forget what has been done. They think "things have always stood as they stand today."

At a meeting of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association, held in Milwaukee, on June 23d, 1911, a play was read by its author, illustrating the unjust laws to which women were subjected in the sixties. It called out much amusement and some astonishment among the young women present. At that time, in no state were women able to control property. Inherited property passed to the

husband upon marriage. In the Episcopal marriage service, the groom was made to commit perjury, saying, "With all my goods, I thee endow," while in fact, he endowed her with no goods and took all she owned even to her wearing apparel. If a woman had a separate business, as in the case of dressmaker, washerwoman, or shopkeeper, her earnings belonged to the husband. Should it be paid to the woman, it could be collected again as she was not considered a person in the law. A woman's rights petition, in those days, had no reference to woman's suffrage, but was usually a petition for property rights or the guardianship of children. Women then, as now, except in a few states were not legally guardians of their own children, unless born out of wedlock.

Soon after graduating at Antioch college, I went up to Cleveland, Ohio, to visit in the family of Judge Tilden. Mrs. Tilden was one of the most pleasing and at the same time most earnest women that I have ever met. Her daughter Mattie had been a student at Antioch and was frequently at our home in Yellow Springs, her talent and brilliancy making her visits occasions of enjoyable conversation and of entertainment. She now invited me to spend the holidays at her home in Cleveland.

Mrs. Tilden was the mother of a large family and her hospitality was well known.

At this time Mrs. Tilden had received from Mrs. J. E. Jones, of Salem, a petition to the legislature of Ohio, asking for legislation which would enable married women to control their inherited property and their earnings in case of having a separate business, and the guardianship of children. She was unable with her many household cares to circulate this petition as requested. She thought, perhaps, I would be willing to spend "a couple of days" in circulating the petition and requested that I begin at once on Euclid avenue. I was more than glad to do something for woman's rights and circulating the petition seemed to offer an opportunity. I began upon Euclid avenue in the morning and at night brought in the first blank filled. It contained eighty-nine names. It was my first woman's rights petition. But Euclid avenue was only just begun and I continued the next day and the next and so on every day excepting Sundays until spring. I regretted the necessity of stopping my work on New Year's day, which was then given up to fashionable calls, but was obliged to submit to the inevitable. One wonders now that there should have been opposition to

so plain and just a request but many and many were the long arguments I had with men on this subject.

When one is young, time seems of little account and I did not object to discussing the subject a whole hour at a time with men whose principal argument was usually that it would not do to have women have money in their own name, or to have the guardianship of their own children, lest the husband should die and the wife marry again and some other man should take the money and assume the guardianship of the children. The whole argument implied that women were incapable of independent action and that a mother's love would count for nothing in protecting her children and providing for their welfare. The argument is most insulting to women and indicates a want of confidence not only in their ability, but their loyalty to their children. I have often heard similar suggestions even in later years and never without indignation. Thus the circulating of the petition became a woman's rights propaganda and every day brought some new and curious experience. Sometimes on coming home at night from a long day's tramp, I would find a woman there filled with terror and bitterness, de-

manding, "Take my name off that paper. My husband laughs at me. He says I would be asking to vote next." There were many amusing incidents which I met in going about. Once I rang a doorbell and an old school-friend who was living there answered the bell. I commenced without observing who she was, setting forth the meaning of my petition, when she began to laugh, and looking up we greeted each other with enthusiasm.

I canvassed, I suppose, nearly the whole of Cleveland, visiting not only the homes, but also the business places, and asking every man or woman that I saw to sign the petition. I think it was on one of the first days of the canvass that Mrs. Tilden wished me to call upon Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, since well-known in woman's suffrage work as Madam Severance. I had a very pleasant interview with her and she gave me much encouragement. Some years afterward I was associated with her in organizing a convention at Horticultural Hall, Boston, at which was founded the New England Woman's Suffrage Association, and later in organizing one of the first woman's clubs. This was not a woman's club such as we have today. It was rather a meeting place for

woman's rights advocates from all parts of the country who happened to be in Boston. We took a house at No. 3, Park Place, and fitted it up with a common parlor on the first floor and lodging rooms on the second floor. Mrs. Chase, of Rhode Island, and I lodged there the first night of its opening. It was very scantily furnished, but Mrs. Chase was a most enjoyable woman and we had a very jolly time. The building was afterward the headquarters of the Woman's Journal.

In the spring, Mrs. Jones, already mentioned, who seemed to be at the head of woman's rights work in Ohio, wished me to meet her at Columbus to attend a hearing before the legislature where the petition was to be presented. That city had been canvassed in the residence part, but at that time it was considered quite unusual, if not improper, for a woman to visit the offices and places of business of men. No woman in Columbus had been willing to do this. I spent a week in Columbus presenting my petition in the business places of the city. The petitions were all pasted together and made an immense roll which I could hardly carry. When unrolled by the member who presented it in the Ohio Senate, it extended through the chamber and far out into the corridor. The

members of the Senate all cheered. We had a very enthusiastic hearing at which Mrs. Jones and "Aunt Fanny" Gag  and others spoke. I was considered too young to take part, but I felt amply rewarded for my winter's hard work in merely having the privilege of sitting upon the platform and listening to the grand arguments of these noble reformers. But, what was my delight when I heard afterward that the petition was the means of securing important property rights to the women of Ohio!

CHAPTER IV.

WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY.

“ * * * sneers are weakness veiling rage.”

Although the Reverend Antoinette Brown had been ordained as a Christian minister and had preached some three years at South Butler, New York, yet her work had been interrupted by her change of faith and her marriage with Mr. Samuel Blackwell, which brought many home cares and maternal duties. Thus it was that when the subject of going out to preach the Gospel presented itself to my mind, I found myself quite alone so far as the co-operation or sympathy of other women was concerned. It was now many years since Mrs. Blackwell had been a pastor of a church and no one had arisen to take her place. Her example thus had been in a measure lost. The peculiarity of her ordination and the shortness of her pastorate prevented her from establishing a precedent

which others might follow. The theological schools, for the most part, were purely for men. Oberlin had received women under protest and with limitations. The Unitarian Theological School at Meadville, Pennsylvania, refused to receive a woman, saying their trustees "regarded it as too great an innovation." The theological school connected with St. Lawrence University at Canton, New York, appeared to be the only place practicable for obtaining an education for the ministerial profession and even there, in spite of the democratic principles which are necessarily involved in the broad humanitarian doctrines of the Universalist Church, there was much misunderstanding of the motives of the applicant for admission and much unwarranted prejudice on the subject. There was also to be met, as in all the efforts for woman's advancement, a certain amount of jealousy and considerations of personal interest, as when a young, would-be theologian urged that it would never do to allow a woman to pass through the theological school because there were so many women out of employment that the ministry would be overrun with them and this would "lower the price of preaching."

I was a Universalist by inheritance, my mother

being a very zealous follower of Hosea Ballou, and also by virtue of my studies and experience at Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary. At the latter institution the strictest orthodoxy was taught not only by the teachers, but by the occasional visits of the Rev. Dr. Kirk, of Boston, a minister with a beautiful strong voice and pleasing personality, but, as it seemed to me, quite destitute of logic. But, Universalist as I was, I could not fail to see that my presence in the theological school was anything but agreeable to the faculty and students. Indeed, it required no particular discernment to perceive this when one would come with friendly argument to show me the error of my ways and another, by ridicule, would seek to discourage my every effort, and still others would canvass the subject of the awful catastrophe which threatened of a woman graduate of a theological school. Dr. Ebenezer Fisher, the president of the institution, had said on admitting me that "although he did not think women were called to the ministry, yet he left it between me and the great Head of the Church." This seemed to me a very appropriate place to leave the question and I did not think that young and inexperienced students were better suited to decide it than the Authority referred to by Dr. Fisher.

This was during the war and the feeling of political differences was intense. Those who advocated the freedom of the slave and the liberal principles of the Republican party were conscious of great virtue and were regarded as the exponents of progress; while those less ardent or even opposed to the course pursued by the popular party were called "Copperheads" and looked upon as fossils or undeveloped mortals who had not yet reached the stage of intellectual perception. The school, as a part of the great Republic, naturally reflected the popular ideas and consequently was divided on the subject of politics. One would have expected that the "Liberal" and "Progressive" party would be most favorable to the advancement of women, but such was not the case. Young men who could scarcely find words sufficiently strong to express their feelings on the subject of liberty for all were the ones who led the way in the effort to drive out the first woman who had dared to invade the sacred precincts of the Divinity School, while the "Copperheads" were kind and friendly and apparently willing that all should have a fair chance. Indeed, a lecturer who came to the school on one occasion was so eloquent and showed so much enthusiasm for justice for even the meanest

and the poorest, and was so broad in his views of liberty that I was greatly impressed and addressed a letter to him thanking him for his strong words in behalf of justice, in some way also revealing the fact that I supposed women were included in what he had to say. I am sorry to say that I received in reply a most severe rebuke. The great man was highly indignant that such an interpretation should be put upon his words. He had no sympathy whatever with the movement for woman's rights. So I have often found men who, if you could believe their words, were ready to die for the negro, but would at the same time oppose bitterly any enlargement of women's opportunity or sphere. While, on the other hand, the cause has often found among its most loyal supporters "good Democrats" who were making no pretensions to progressive principles.

However, rebukes and sneers or even ridicule are weapons against which earnestness and determination are proof. Thus I went on trembling, but undaunted, through the theological school and passed the ordeal of ordination which was somewhat bitterly contested. In spite of the prophecy of an opposing student that "if she sought an appointment to preach there would be a gradual

turning up of noses," I found a pastorate immediately and have never once met the appalling reception predicted by the student. But on the other hand, after some forty-eight years of almost continuous preaching, I can say that on the whole, I have met a most favorable and kindly reception in both the East and the West and feel convinced that no profession is so well suited to women in their various relations of wife, mother, or housekeeper as the ministry. There are people who can only see a single application of a great principle and hence the inconsistencies of those who advocate liberty for one class but deny it to another.

CHAPTER V.

THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

**“Assured of worthiness we do not dread
Competitors; we rather give them hail
And greeting in the lists where we may fail;**

*** * ***

**Good speed to them! My place is here or there;
My pride is that among them I have place;”**

During the war all work for woman's rights was suspended. Women employed themselves in scraping lint and making bandages, preparing needle books and pin cushions, holding fairs, raising money and otherwise working for the soldier. The first call after the war for reformatory effort was in the spring of 1866. I had been settled a short time over my little church at Weymouth, Mass., when I received a letter from Susan B. Anthony inviting me to attend a Woman's Rights Convention in New York City. I had never been in New York City and unsophisticated as I was, it seemed like a great undertaking. I prepared



**WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON**

**WENDELL PHILLIPS
SUSAN B. ANTHONY**



myself for the event by getting an entire new outfit of clothing. I recollect that my dress was crepe marette, a silk and wool fabric much in vogue at that time. It was of a drab color and there was a large cape of the same material. My bonnet matched the dress in color and was trimmed with a pink rose on one side. This drab array seemed to me modest and exceedingly appropriate for a person going to a Woman's Rights Convention, like the green veil with which "Josiah Allen's wife" prepared herself for her visit to President Arthur, "dressy, but not too dressy." I also invested in a twelve-dollar silk umbrella which even now I remember as having been very pretty; also a new twenty-five dollar leather valise, quite beyond my means, but what was money when preparing for my first Woman's Rights Convention!

Thus equipped I set forth with a beating heart for the great city, filled with speculations as to the people that I should meet and the speeches that I should hear. On the way I thought of where I should stay. After looking over a list of New York hotels I decided upon going to the Irving House. That name sounded literary and distinguished and so to the Irving House I went. I found myself very comfortable there and reason-

ably near to the church in which the meeting was to be held. Early in the morning I arose and after breakfast repaired to the church more than an hour before the time for the meeting.

I saw a large placard on the side of the church announcing "WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION HERE TODAY." Having reached the right place I was content to sit in the park and watch for the opening of the church. After a time I saw a few old women wearing "Paisley shawls," black in the center and with colored borders, going in. I then felt that it was time for me to enter.

As I recall that meeting now it seems to me that it was very small and the audience quite out of proportion in number and character to the distinguished speakers on the platform. There I saw for the first time Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Tilton, Parker Pillsbury, Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and others. Mrs. Stanton was the speaker of the occasion. As I remember her at that time, her hair was quite dark and drawn down over her ears according to the fashion of that day. She read her manuscript, and while it was exceedingly well read and the style of writing was in the same grand eloquence which always characterized her utterances, yet her whole appearance upon

the platform was in striking contrast to the strong and undaunted manner in which she faced her audience and told them great truths in later years when her beautiful white curled hair added a charm to her radiant face.

But, however she appeared at that time or any other, whether she read or spoke, she was always the great statesman and the grand orator. Mr. Beecher made a short address, and also Theodore Tilton. Just what they all said I do not now recall except that Theodore Tilton told a story of some occasion on which a Bible was wanted and it being a gathering of ministers it was expected that Bibles would be in evidence, but no, no minister had a Bible. During the session someone asked for a corkscrew; every minister had a corkscrew. Just what he was illustrating by this I do not remember. In the afternoon Wendell Phillips gave a lecture addressed to women of which the burden was that women should first give up fashion and folly and become more serious and earnest, and he repeated several times, as a sort of refrain "Albany can do nothing for you." I think the few women who had the courage to venture out at that small meeting were not the ones who needed the lecture

and the oft-repeated assurance that Albany could do nothing for us was rather disheartening.

After the afternoon session a number of people repaired to the ante-room where they organized "The American Equal Rights Association," which was to work equally for women and negroes.



FREDERICK DOUGLASS HENRY WARD BEECHER
LUCY STONE

CHAPTER VI.

TOUR IN NEW YORK WITH SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

“Strive and thrive! Cry ‘Speed—fight on!’ ”

It was not long after the organization of the Equal Rights Association that a large convention was held at Albany, New York. There I met for the first time Lucy Stone, and she explained to me her reasons for retaining her own name after marriage.

What she said impressed me much. It is undoubtedly true that the custom of surrendering one's name upon marriage originated when woman was a mere chattel and marriage was a family arrangement based upon financial considerations. In this view of the subject we perceive that the name merely indicated the person to whom she belonged, as in slavery times when the negro changed his name on gaining a new owner, the purpose being to indicate who was his master and to what family he was attached.

She also said that all women who have arrived at years of maturity should be called "Mrs.;" that "Miss" should be applied only to young girls, as in the case of boys, "Master," when used, indicates that they are not full grown men. She mentioned what I knew before, that the retaining of her name was fully understood and sanctioned by Mr. Blackwell, her husband, at the time of their marriage.

I was very much pleased with Lucy Stone and what has been called her "soft persuasive voice" was agreeable to me at that time.

There, too, I first saw and heard Frederick Douglass. Mr. Douglass certainly was a most magnificent speaker. A rich vocabulary, keen wit, intense feeling, and a grand voice, also a personality filled with magnetism, all contributed to make him a great orator. Mrs. Stanton, on this occasion, gave a most beautiful and impressive lecture. She was still confined to her manuscript and it was necessary to listen intently to hear what she said. She afterward laid aside her manuscript, faced her audience, and was heard distinctly in all the great halls of this country. She had a most lucid and powerful mind. Her intimate acquaintance with prominent people, members of Congress and oth-

ers, as well as her agreeable personal appearance, ready wit and extreme good nature, made her the most influential woman that has yet appeared in America.

There, too, I met my Ohio friend, Mrs. J. E. Jones. She was kind enough to commend my little speech, almost my first effort in behalf of women. But she criticized me for being too earnest. The convention lasted two days, was largely attended and seems to have been a great success.

The following winter Miss Anthony wished me to come over to New York and accompany her on a tour of conventions and meetings about the state. Parker Pillsbury and Francis Remond were of the party. We were gone about six weeks during which we held a large number of conventions, one or two of which I arranged. Before starting on the trip I had written to Fort Plain and other places for Sunday appointments. The committee at Fort Plain returned a very cordial reply saying that they would be glad to have me preach for them on the Sunday named. On arriving at the hotel, I sent word to the committee, notifying them of my arrival. It seems that the name and handwriting had suggested to them a man. Imagine their surprise when they met me at the

hotel! They accepted the situation, however, with great good nature and the Sunday service appeared to be acceptable. Being there, I improved the occasion by appointing equal rights meetings at Fort Plain and a small neighboring town. These meetings, arranged by me, were very successful and pleased Miss Anthony very much. During this tour of conventions, we visited Mrs. Stanton's early home in the northern part of the state where I met her mother, a venerable matron, and her two daughters, Harriet and Margaret, bright, beautiful young girls in their "teens." The meetings there were very satisfactory.

At this distance and with my larger experience, it seems strange to me, that a tour in which so many diverse elements were combined should have been attended with so little friction. Of course, Susan B. Anthony was the head and front of the movement, making most of the arrangements and conducting meetings. Parker Pillsbury was a most earnest and exceedingly radical man, who did not mince words in condemning the popular evils. Miss Anthony and Mr. Pillsbury were disposed to criticize my efforts to have our meetings opened with prayer, as they considered prayer at the opening of such meetings a meaning-

less form, as indeed it often is. Mr. Remond was a negro of considerable ability, but, like many others of his race, he felt keenly the discrimination which is made against them in society. These were equal rights meetings, supposed to be held in the interests of the enfranchisement of negroes as well as women.

Of course, Miss Anthony and I laid most stress on the rights of women, although in doing so, we announced the great principle of human rights and justice for all. We could seldom get through a meeting without some bitter words from Mr. Remond illustrating the injustice done to the negro as so much greater than the wrongs of women. He seemed to have no patience with the presentation of our claims. On the whole, however, the trip was most agreeable and apparently successful, although the seed sown in New York in behalf of equal rights has never seemed very fruitful of results. While we were on this trip, the news came that a proposition to submit two amendments to the Constitution, one enfranchising negroes, the other enfranchising women, had been submitted to the voters of Kansas.

CHAPTER VII.

SOME NEW ENGLAND PIONEERS.

**“Long have we sung our noble pioneers
Vanguard of progress, heralds of the time,
Guardians of industry and art sublime,
Leaders of man down all the brightening years!”**

In speaking of early reformers one naturally thinks first of people whose names are known to all the world and whose reputations attest what they have done. But in reality, oftentimes these prominent men and women represent opinions that are held quite largely by humble people who are unknown and whose combined influence has helped to create a public sentiment which made the work of the recognized reformer possible.

This was especially true of the anti-slavery movement. Garrison and Phillips were possible because the spirit of liberty was abroad and private and humble men all over the land were feeling deeply upon the great wrong of slavery. These great reformers came to the front to utter in

grand words the thoughts of thousands and to make effective the public sentiment which was unrecognized and unconscious.

This was also true of the woman's rights movement. It was true fifty years ago and it is true today as Mrs. Charlotte Stetson Gilman says of woman :

“She walketh veiled and sleeping,
For she knoweth not her power,
She obeyeth but the pleading
Of her heart and the high leading
Of her soul unto this hour.
Slow advancing, halting, creeping,
Comes the woman to the hour,
She walketh veiled and sleeping,
For she knoweth not her power.”

Gradually and by the slow process of evolution have we reached the ideals of womanhood which prevail today. But in the years gone by earnest souls were looking forward to a better time and women as well as men were thinking great thoughts which were yet to find expression.

Formerly there were many original characters in country places who thought for themselves because their minds were not filled with the murders and robberies and cheatings which today are constantly reported in the daily papers. One such I

recall who so far from being a reformer was considered very conservative. He was called "a copperhead," and the word copperhead in war times was considered almost synonymous with traitor. He bore the not unusual name of Smith, and because he was daring enough to work in the field without his shoes, he was called "bare-footed Smith." Mr. Smith was not a handsome man, nor a learned one, but he was a strong, true, independent man, as I had evidence in my own experience.

At the time of leaving the theological school, it was proposed that I should take the place of Reverend Eli Ballou, at Marshfield, Vermont, while he went on a missionary errand to the northern part of the state. Preaching by women being unknown at that time, there was some question as to how it would be received by the staid people of Marshfield. It was therefore agreed that I should go there and preach one Sunday and if the people liked and accepted the arrangement, I was to remain through the season. I accordingly went to Marshfield, spending the night at the little country hotel and preached the first Sunday to a good congregation. They seemed more than satisfied and were pleased with the arrangement. It was

agreed that I should remain, according to Mr. Ballou's wish.

Now, it would seem that a people who were ready to accept a person as a public teacher, would be willing to receive the same person into their homes. But such is not the case. Often people will sanction in company with a multitude what they would not endorse alone; such is the timidity of the human race in this our age; and so I found when I set out to seek a suitable boarding place. During a forenoon's travel, visiting most of the homes in Marshfield, I everywhere met a rather cool reception, no one wanting a boarder. I was about returning to the little hotel in despair, when I was hailed by a woman in an express wagon. She wanted to know if I would like to live out in the country a little way. She said she was Mrs. Smith and her husband had sent her down to town to get me because he was sure I could not get a boarding place in Marshfield and he thought I "ought to have some place." I assured her that I would be delighted to live in the country and so she took me and my belongings out to their house on the farm where I made the acquaintance of "Barefooted Smith," and a most kind, considerate and helpful man I found him, and, although a

“copperhead,” he had a son who died in the war and bore without complaining the burdens of that sorrowful time. Many a self-satisfied reformer has done no better.

Among the early reformers whose faces come up before me after these many years is Dr. Dio Lewis, then quite noted for his radical ideas in regard to food, temperance, and physical culture. He had taken a prominent part in the war on the saloons and some satirical rhymes designed for ridicule referred to him as “the beautiful bran-eating Dio.” On the occasion of my being called home from Marshfield to Ann Arbor, Michigan, by the serious sickness of my brother, it chanced that Dio Lewis came there to lecture and for the first time I heard the gospel of physical culture.

At that time, athletic fields, football teams, physical training, and the development of muscle had not become fads, in fact, were almost unheard of.

I was delighted with Dio Lewis’ description of the light gymnastics which he illustrated with wands and rings and small dumb bells and determined to go to his school of physical culture and develop my shoulders. I lost no time in going to Boston, securing a room and appearing at Dio

Lewis' gymnasium hall. Here I entered the class and took such training as the light gymnastics afforded. These were very pleasing and graceful exercises though not very powerful in developing muscle. Dr. Lewis was a most agreeable and genial gentleman, original in his ideas and very loyal to his principles.

On Saturdays the class usually listened to a lecture or familiar talk from some prominent or noted man. Among these came A. Bronson Alcott, then regarded as a great philosopher, and in accordance with that character, assuming a slow, didactic, and authoritative style of discourse. Speaking at length on the subject of men and women he announced that "men were all thought and women were all sentiment, although," he said, "there are a great many exceptions." In fact, he thought, "there were as many masculine minds in feminine bodies and feminine minds in masculine bodies as the reverse." Thus he went prosing along through his lecture hour. At last he paused and requested the class to ask questions. The members of the class hesitating a little to question so great an authority, he urged them, saying he must have talked in vain if he had suggested nothing to the minds of his hearers. Finally, prompted by this

urging, I timidly ventured to ask how he had arrived at the law that man was all thought and woman all sentiment if he did not find it so in his observation? If "there are as many masculine minds in feminine bodies and feminine minds in masculine bodies as the reverse," might it not be that the principle is wrong and man is not all thought and woman all sentiment? The great man was not pleased and in spite of his philosophy showed some ill feeling saying, "Some women are argumentative and that proves the rule." Presently he gathered up his papers and took his leave, saying, "I think I have talked enough."

Another lecturer was Professor Leonard, a teacher of elocution. He gave some good suggestions on vocal culture, but it was some years afterward at Racine, Wisconsin, under the instructions of Professor Vance that I learned to control the voice. In those days there was much prejudice against elocution and there seemed to be an impression that the attempt to improve the voice was violating a law of nature. In truth, there is no part of the human mechanism more susceptible to culture than the voice and nothing more pleasing than a well-trained voice. If our young women would give more special attention



UNIVERSALIST CHURCH
WEYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

to vocal culture it would pay them well in the more agreeable impression they would make in society and upon their friends.

From Dr. Dio Lewis' school I went to Weymouth to become the pastor of the Universalist church there. Looking back upon that time, I think that the whole church must have been reformers since they were willing to accept a woman as pastor at a time when there was, perhaps, no woman pastor in the whole country and there are so few people who are willing to depart from old customs. The people of Weymouth were accustomed to going to Boston to hear Phillips and Garrison and other great speakers of that day and partook somewhat of the same spirit.

Mr. Elias Richards was the chairman of the board of trustees of my church at Weymouth. I think of him now with the utmost reverence and gratitude. He was so calm, so wise, so just, and his vision was so broad and his charity for his fellow men so far reaching, that he really seemed a model man. He was a friend of Garrison and an admirer of Theodore Parker. He lived what Parker, Garrison and Phillips taught. Mr. Garrison came out sometimes to lecture for our church; also Henry C. Wright and other reformers. Henry

C. Wright, on one occasion, gave me a prescription for success. It was in this wise; speaking very slowly, he said, "Olympia, if you want to learn to speak, you must write, and if you want to learn to write, you must speak." The instruction was sound.

Weymouth was the home of Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, a lady who had taken a prominent part in the anti-slavery agitation. Here, too, was the home of a cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson. It was probably through the influence of the Weymouth Emersons that we secured a lecture for our church by the great philosopher. He stayed, while there, with his relatives and I was invited to take tea and meet Mr. Emerson. He talked well on many subjects and it was very interesting to listen to his conversation. At last he got around to Woman's Suffrage, in which he said, he believed, but he went on to say that he found the women whom he most respected, those whose opinions he most valued, were opposed to it. He appealed to me to know if I did not find it so, and by way of emphasis he explained again that he meant "those women whose opinion one would really value." I had not then learned diplomatic ways of putting things, indeed, I have always been a poor scholar in

that direction, and so I just bluntly said, "I should not value the opinion of any woman who was opposed to woman's suffrage." Just what harm there was in this remark I do not know, but I noticed that it was regarded as heresy. It was probably considered very narrow to make one's appreciation of another depend upon her judgment on a single subject, but when we remember what woman's suffrage means, that it involves the whole principle of democratic government and the doctrine of justice taught in the Golden Rule, we see that any one who is wrong on these subjects could not be a very loyal citizen of our republic nor a good Christian.

Rev. A. A. Miner, pastor of the Universalist Church on School street, Boston, also visited us at Weymouth. He came to recognize the organization of our church and also at other times to lecture in aid of our treasury. He was always most kind and helpful. I have often heard it said that he was opposed to the entrance of women into the ministry, but if so, he never indicated it in any of my relations with him. I knew him as a kind friend and co-worker in the ministry for a term of years. He was always most wise in his suggestions and courteous in his deportment and

seemingly approved of my work. I recall the time when he recognized the church. He said to me, with some emphasis, "In recognizing this church of which you are pastor, I am recognizing you as a minister." He seemed to wish me to understand that he favored my work.

Once, at a Tufts' College Commencement dinner he made a rather sweeping statement to the effect that there were no distinctions at Tufts', all being welcomed. As women were not admitted to the college at that time his speech probably was not intended to include them. I inserted a notice in a paper quoting his words and adding that evidently Tufts' College had been opened to women. The next time I saw him he referred to the notice and laughed as though he considered it a good joke. A less amiable man might have taken offence, but he was a sensible man and a most able preacher.

After a six-years' pastorate at Weymouth, I went to Bridgeport, Connecticut, where I had in my congregation the renowned P. T. Barnum, the great showman. Here came many noted people. These were more or less interesting at the time, but are for the most part forgotten today. Here I worked with Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker in vari-

ous parts of the state, and here I first made the acquaintance of Mrs. S. M. C. Perkins, who afterward became a warm friend.

While at Bridgeport I went down to New York to attend a meeting for the purpose of forming a woman's club and here "Sorosis" was organized. The program was arranged with great care and nothing was to be read or spoken there that had not passed through the hands of a committee. For this reason I declined to present a paper. Everything in this meeting was to be absolutely correct. Susan B. Anthony was not on the program, and a guard was stationed at the door lest Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, against whom popular prejudice was then at its height, should appear. I was a little surprised to hear announced among this most select set of approved speakers Mrs. S. M. C. Perkins, a woman then little known, and apparently quite new to the public platform. I had been looking for a woman who should be at once able to make an acceptable speech and at the same time be pioneer enough to go to a strange place, seek out friends, engage a place of meeting, advertise, and hold the meeting. Such people, combining practical ability with gifts of speech, are not common, and I had looked in vain over the whole

range of my acquaintance for the woman I wanted. As soon as I heard Mrs. Perkins I felt that here was a woman with strong common sense, working power and good speaking ability. I lost no time in engaging her to come to Connecticut and take up the work. She came and had a most successful campaign. She afterward came to Wisconsin and helped me there year after year in canvassing portions of the state. I was never disappointed in her, for she was always strong and true. Her good practical New England common sense always won the people and it was an immense loss to me and to our cause when she was taken from us only a few years ago by an accident which caused immediate death.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KANSAS CAMPAIGN.

"We fall to rise, are baffled to fight better."

In the spring of 1867 Lucy Stone visited me at Weymouth, Massachusetts. She had just come from Kansas where she had been with her husband in the interest of the suffrage amendment submitted the previous winter to the voters. She had visited the county seats, had met the state central committee of the Republican party, and had arranged with them to send a speaker who should keep the subject before the people during the summer. The party had agreed to furnish the speaker with a conveyance about the state and a traveling companion. When their campaign should open in the fall this speaker would make a short address in each of the Republican meetings.

There were at that time very few women ready to speak on the subject of woman's suffrage and none could undertake the work during the hot

months of July and August. Mrs. Stone wished me to undertake the task, and after a little consideration and consulting the trustees of my church I decided to go. I reached Leavenworth the first day of July and went, according to Lucy Stone's direction, to Colonel Coffin, then a member of the Republican central committee. Mr. Coffin was far from cordial. He knew of no such arrangement in regard to conveyance and companion. He said in his abrupt way, "Why did they not send Anna Dickinson? Anna Dickinson is the one we want here." However, we arranged a meeting in Leavenworth and another in a small town in the vicinity.

I then went to Lawrence where I was most cordially entertained by the Reverend Mr. Brown, pastor of the Unitarian Church. Nothing was known there of any arrangement for the trip, but Mr. Brown opened his church and we held an effective meeting there. The church was filled and all seemed interested. Mr. Milton Reynolds, whom I had formerly known at Albion, Michigan, was the editor of the principal paper. He gave good notices and continued to do so through the whole campaign, thus rendering valuable service to the cause.



UNITARIAN CHURCH
LAWRENCE KANSAS, IN 1867

The next day I went to Topeka where I met "Sam" Wood who was then the chairman of the Republican central committee, and the backbone of the party in the state. "Sam" had made arrangements for meetings, two every day, including Sundays, for two months, beginning with a large meeting on the Fourth of July in Topeka at which he and several others beside myself were speakers. He had little "dodgers" printed which he had sent all over the state to advertise the meetings. This began to look like business! The next day "Sam" discoursed in a philosophical way about the futility of human expectations and how unable we are to accomplish many things which we plan and how often we are disappointed in the accomplishment of what we desire, finally stating that the Republican party could not furnish a conveyance or a companion, or, in fact, assist the campaign in any manner, but that he had written to places all along the line where he thought there were good people who would entertain the speaker and good men who would convey me from place to place. The situation was more appalling than it is at this time in Wisconsin. Instead of three or four societies all clamoring for the whole field, there was one lone inexperienced young woman without

money or means of conveyance facing the entire campaign. But all that made no difference to me. "Sam" had provided a team and a driver to take me to the first appointment where he assured me I would find a cordial reception and a conveyance for the next day, which proved true. "Sam" Wood was a most singular character, a frontiersman, rough and ready, filled with expedients, and overflowing with energy. He had been through the border ruffian and John Brown periods and had been a conspicuous figure in those troublous times. He knew many people in the state, and was, therefore, able to make better arrangements for meetings than could have been made by any other man, but he appeared to be ignorant of the distances between places and these meetings were often fifty miles apart, making it necessary to start at four o'clock in the morning in order to reach the first appointment at two P. M., when, after a short stay for lunch and a speech in some school house, we would start at once in order to meet an engagement at eight o'clock in the evening.

There were good men in Kansas in those days, and although I secured conveyances by chance, sometimes riding with rough men, Indians, or negroes, anybody that would go, there was not one

instance on the part of those men of rudeness or discourtesy or anything but utmost kindness and apparent interest in the success of the campaign. Often men would leave their work, the sorghum boiling in the kettle, or the plowing of a field, and borrow a horse or a wagon and take the speaker on. The interest those men took in the cause was most encouraging and inspiring.

Another difficulty was the fact that there were few roads laid out in Kansas and we were obliged to follow a trail across the prairie, often very indistinct, and accordingly, we generally lost our way and would travel round and round, not knowing where we were. Once in a while we would meet a countryman and inquire the distance to the next town to which we would receive the illuminating reply of "right smart," or "a good little bit." Many a time darkness overtook us wandering in uncertainty over the prairie, and yet, strange as it may seem, I never failed to meet an appointment during the whole campaign, and however late in the evening we arrived, we always found a good audience waiting for us, singing and speaking to occupy the time, as they knew we would necessarily lose our way. People came from long distances, oftentimes riding ten or fifteen miles on horseback to attend the meetings.

Kansas, at that time, was just emerging from the effect of the border ruffian raids and the war in which many of her men had been killed. She also had seen her fields stripped of vegetation by grasshoppers and her people suffering from fever and ague and other diseases incident to the settling of new countries. There were no railroads excepting one from Leavenworth to Manhattan, and one short line from Wyandotte to White Cloud in the north. There were few stage routes or liveries; automobiles were not invented and telephones undreamed of. Even ox teams, so often the reliance of the pioneer, were not in evidence in Kansas. Perhaps they were unsuited to that prairie country. Consequently I had to ask at each meeting for some conveyance to the next appointment. Once I had to make a long journey over the prairie and the only conveyance I could get was a lumber wagon and an Indian driver. I rode with some trepidation, but the driver only spoke once during the whole ride. When about half way across the prairie he turned around and demanded, "Why don't you get married?" thus showing that his idea of woman's sphere was precisely the same as that of Colonel Roosevelt, Lyman Abbott, and other refined men of our day. As I made no reply, he continued in silence the rest of the journey.

At one time an old gentleman wished me to put in an extra meeting a few miles from the regular route, promising to take me to the next appointment in case I should do so. I went to his house and held a meeting quite successfully, but it was with great difficulty that he could comply with his part of the agreement. He had a large kettle of sorghum boiling, his buggy was a poor, rickety affair, and it was inconvenient for him to leave home, but he was as good as his word, and we set forth, losing our way, as usual, and reaching our destination only about nine o'clock at night. However, the audience was there and we had a good meeting. But there was no one with a conveyance ready to take me on, and hence the little old gentleman felt compelled to continue the journey. He continued with me several days, often worrying about his sorghum and affairs at home, although I exhorted him to go back and leave me to my fate, since people probably would prefer to provide a conveyance rather than to have me stranded upon them.

One of the pleasantest experiences of the campaign was meeting the Hutchinson family, John Hutchinson and his son, Henry, and daughter, Viola. I met them first at Atchison and traveled

with them some two weeks, speaking in their concerts while they sang suffrage songs at my meetings. They had a beautiful span of horses and a carriage which made traveling easy. They were delightful people and their sweet singing stirred the enthusiasm of all. Many of their songs were composed by Mr. Hutchinson himself. I remember one in particular, "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," which they used to sing with great effect.

It would be tedious to mention all the good people who spoke words of encouragement or otherwise aided. Governor Robinson, a pioneer in the state, spoke in some of my meetings. Joel Moody, an editor of Mound City, with his wife and two children accompanied me for twelve days. Mr. Moody often spoke in the meetings and with much effect. He was one of the foremost men of Kansas at that time. Once, while the Moodys were with me, we were received by an organized mob who hailed us with sticks and stones and shouts of derision. They were determined to break up the meeting and while Mr. Moody went to find a resting place for his weary wife and tired children, I faced the battle alone.

While I was trying to speak the rowdies kept

up their noise, shouting and throwing stones until the little school-house rocked and the people inside trembled. It seemed that this mob had been organized in advance by a young lawyer who intended to prevent the meeting. As we entered the village after a long, hard day's drive we were met by two men who informed us in response to our inquiry that no notices of the meeting were up. I asked for the principal men. They said, "There are no principal men." I asked if there was no minister. One replied that he was the minister. I said, "Will you not put a light in that school-house?" He finally did so and the people who had known all about it all the time rushed in. Then the hubbub began. After speaking in the midst of all the confusion for a half an hour or so, I paused and asked if the opposition had anything to say. Then the lawyer and his crowd came in. All was still when the lawyer himself made an extended speech against woman's suffrage, going back to Queen Elizabeth. After annihilating her, he proceeded to denounce all later women who had attempted to do anything. A row of women in "slat" sunbonnets who sat on one side of the school-house and were evidently not edified by his remarks kept whispering loudly, "You had better

shut up. We've got no use for *you*," but after he stopped and Mr. Moody, who had returned, undertook to speak, the noise and interruptions began again with new force until finally we were obliged to close the meeting at ten o'clock and were glad to escape from the town with only the loss of supper and breakfast and a night's rest.

One of the incidents of the campaign which attracted most attention outside the state was my discussion with Judge Sears of Leavenworth.

The Republicans had sent out speakers to oppose us and these speakers usually came just a day before or a day after my meeting. It so happened on one occasion that their appointment was on the same date with mine. On arriving at Oskaloosa, my escort learned that posters were up announcing that Judge Sears of Leavenworth would speak in the principal church in the town. My notices were up for the same time and place, but he said the people of the place wished me to speak and claimed I had the preference because my notices were posted first. He went out to consult Judge Sears as to what could be done. He replied that he was in the hands of his friends and would do as they desired. I proposed to give him the first hour of the evening. He accepted the arrange-

ment. I quote from the report of the meeting given at the time in the *Kansas State Journal* and reproduced in the *History of Woman's Suffrage*, by Susan B. Anthony and E. Cady Stanton.

"The largest church in the place was crowded to its utmost, every inch of space being occupied. Judge Gilchrist was called to the chair, and first introduced Judge Sears, who made the following points in favor of Manhood Suffrage:

1st. That in the early days of the Republic no discrimination was made against negroes on account of color.

He proved from the constitutions and charters of the original thirteen states, that all of them, with the exception of South Carolina, allowed the colored freeman the ballot, upon the same basis and conditions as the white man. That we were not conferring a right, but restoring one which the fathers in their wisdom had never deprived the colored man of. He showed how the word white had been forced into the state constitutions, and advocated that it should be stricken out, it being the last relic of the 'slave power.'

2d. That the negro needed the ballot for his protection and elevation.

3d. That he deserved the ballot. He fought

with our fathers side by side in the war of the revolution. He did the same thing in the war of 1812, and in the war of the rebellion. He fought for us because he was loyal and loved the old flag. If any class of men had ever earned the enjoyment of franchise the negro had.

4th. The Republican party owed it to him.

5th. The enfranchisement of the negro was indispensable to reconstruction of the late rebellious states upon a basis that should secure to the loyal men of the South the control of the government of those states. Congress had declared it was necessary, and the most eminent men of the nation had failed to discover any other means by which the South could be restored to the Union, that should secure safety, prosperity and happiness. There was not loyalty enough in the South among the whites to elect a loyal man to an inferior office.

Upon each one of these points, the Judge elaborated at length, and made really a fine speech, but his evident discomfiture showed that he knew what was to follow. It was expected that when Miss Brown was introduced many would leave, owing to the strange feeling against female suffrage in and about Oskaloosa; but not one left. The

crowd grew more dense. A more eloquent speech never was uttered in this town than Miss Brown delivered; for an hour and three-quarters the audience was spell-bound as she advanced from point to point. She had been longing for such an opportunity, and had become weary of striking off into open air; and she proved how thoroughly acquainted she was with her subject as she took up each point advanced by her opponent, not denying its truth, but showing by unanswerable logic that if it were good for certain reasons for the negro to vote, it was ten times better for the same reasons for the women to vote.

The argument that the right to vote is not a natural right, but acquired as corporate bodies acquire their rights, and that the ballot meant 'protection,' was answered and explained fully. She said the ballot meant protection; it meant much more; it meant education, progress, advancement, elevation for the oppressed classes, drawing a glowing comparison between the working classes of England and those of the United States. She scorned the idea of an aristocracy based upon two accidents of the body. She paid an eloquent tribute to Kansas, the pioneer in all reforms, and said that it would be the best ad-

vertisement that Kansas could have to give the ballot to women, for thousands now waiting and uncertain, would flock to our state, and a vast tide of emigration would continually roll toward Kansas until her broad and fertile prairies would be peopled. It is useless to attempt to report her address, as she could hardly find a place to stop. When she had done, her opponent had nothing to say. He had been beaten on his ground, and retired with his feathers drooping. After Miss Brown had closed, some one in the audience called for a vote on the female proposition. The vote was put, and nearly every man and woman in the house rose simultaneously. Men that had fought the proposition from the first arose, even Judge Sears himself looked as though he would like to rise, but his principles forbade. After the first vote, Judge Sears called for a vote on his, the negro proposition, when about one-half the house arose."

In the autumn Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony came from the East, but it was difficult for them to find a conveyance. Governor Robinson took Mrs. Stanton in his, for that time, luxurious carriage to some of the more important places, while Miss Anthony remained in Lawrence distributing

literature throughout the state, and later holding meetings with George Francis Train. Toward the end of the campaign the Republican party took a stand against us. I had spoken in almost every settlement of any kind in the state and the people were quite aroused. There seemed evidence that the measure would carry at the polls. This alarmed them and they sent out circulars everywhere, calling the attention of voters to the fact that the presidential election was near at hand and that there was but one question before the people—that of negro suffrage. Voters were urged to concentrate upon that and “leave all other issues.”

The Republican party sent out Rev. I. S. Kalloch and Judge Spear, of Leavenworth, to speak against the cause and to denounce its advocates. Among other opponents came Charles Langston, a negro orator, whose brother had received great kindness from Miss Anthony and who had every reason to be grateful to the noble women who had espoused the cause of the negro. He appealed to the lowest prejudices of men, asking in public meetings if they “wanted every old maid to vote?” and when on one occasion, at a picnic, he followed me in speaking, he rebuked the audience with

“preferring every *thing* that had a white face to the negro.”

During the last two weeks George Francis Train came to Kansas, as he said, “because he had property there and because he expected to be the next President of the United States.” Mr. Train was a most unique person. He held several great meetings in Leavenworth, Lawrence, and other places. In one of his speeches he gave a parody on Longfellow’s “Excelsior,” something in this wise :

“The shades of night were falling fast,
When through a Kansas village passed
A maiden with a strange device,
And all she cried was ‘Woman’s Suffrage.’”

and so on through all the verses, each verse ending,
“And still she cried ‘Woman’s Suffrage.’”

We felt that the Eastern friends had not given us the help that we had a right to expect, and Mr. Train, as the *State Record* said, “gave an age of history in this epigram :

“The Garrisons, Phillipses, Greeleys, and Beechers,
False prophets, false guides, false teachers and
preachers,
Left Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, Brown and
Stone
To fight the Kansas battles alone.”

His epigrams always brought down the house.
As examples of these I quote the following:

“Kansas will win the world’s applause,
As the sole champion of woman’s cause.”

“So light the bonfires, have the flags unfurled,
For the banner state of all the world.”

“My mission to Kansas breaks the white woman’s
chains,
Then three cheers for virtue and beauty and
brains.”

Some parts of his proclamation to the people
would be quite pat in our own state:

“Do you want to set a proud example to all man-
kind?

Vote for women.”

“Do you want the people to rule instead of poli-
ticians?

Vote for women.”

“Do you want ‘charity for all, malice for none,’
your creed?

Vote for women.”

“Do you want beauty, virtue and intelligence in-
stead of vice and ignorance?

Vote for women.”

“Do you love your mother, your sister, your wife,
your daughter, your sweetheart?
Then, for God’s sake, be men on Tuesday next and
Vote for women.”

One writer says in speaking of Train: “Train at this time was a most magnificent specimen of manhood, about six feet tall, with curling black hair, and black eyes. He made a most unusual appearance, and under any conditions, perhaps, except with the greatest animosity of the Republican leaders and the Republican press, would have been conceded by many the power to win the battle. But there was so much politics, and so much men’s politics injected into the campaign that the battle was lost.”

In those four months I traveled over the greater part of Kansas, held two meetings every day, and the latter part of the time three meetings every day, making in all between two and three hundred speeches, averaging an hour in length; a fact that tends to show that women can endure talk and travel at least as well as men; especially when we recollect how the Hon. Sidney Clark, then candidate for Congress, canvassed, in the beautiful autumn weather, a small portion of the state which I had traveled over amid the burning

heat of July and August; he spoke once a day instead of twice; he rested on Sundays; he had no anxiety about the means of travel, his conveyance being furnished at hand; he was supported by a large constituency, and expected to be rewarded by office and honors; yet with all these advantages, he broke down in health and was obliged to give up a part of his appointments, and the Republican papers said, "It was not strange, as no human being could endure without loss of health such constant speaking with such long and tedious journeys as Mr. Clark had undertaken."

On the whole, we had a rousing campaign and at the end gained one-third of all the votes cast, which, although I felt then crushed and humiliated, I now see was quite a victory considering that we had no party, no organization, no money, and that the Republican party, which had voted for the measure in the legislature and was then dominant in Kansas, preferred as voters the male negro to the noble white women pioneers in the state.

But disappointment and defeat were softened by a letter from Susan B. Anthony:

"Dear Olympia:

"Never was defeat so glorious a victory. My dear Olympia, if ever any money gets into my

power to control, you shall have evidence that I appreciate the herculean work you have done here in Kansas the past four long months."

I would have gone farther and done more for those words of appreciation from Susan. I was a hero worshipper then. Pity it is that the illusions of youth are so often doomed to be dissipated by larger experience.

CHAPTER IX.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW ENGLAND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

**"Wake thou and watch! the world is gray
With morning light!"**

Previous to the Kansas campaign there had been no regularly organized woman's suffrage society. The old Equal Rights Association was formed to help the negro quite as much as women, and these two differing subjects, although the great principle was the same, often caused clashes in meetings. In Kansas many had objected to the presentation of the woman question alone. Even Susan B. Anthony said, "Olympia, you have no right to say one word more for women than you do for the negro," and at a great meeting in New York City in the May following our return from Kansas, Frederick Douglass won great applause by making a comparison between the needs of the negro and those of women, saying, "There are no

KuKlux Clans seeking the lives of women. The voters are their fathers, their husbands and brothers," and he drew the conclusion that all should work for the negro to the exclusion of woman's suffrage. It seemed that there ought to be a distinctively woman's suffrage society.

After giving the subject considerable thought, I concluded that a Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Society ought to be formed, and accordingly wrote to Abby Kelly Foster, then living at Worcester, Massachusetts. Abby Kelly had been very prominent in the anti-slavery warfare, and had also advocated the rights of women. The old abolitionists in that day imagined that with the freeing of the slaves the whole battle for equal rights in this country was fought out. As Mr. Garrison once said in conversation, "The victory for equal rights has been secured. Abby Kelly with bloody feet has led the way and marked out the course for all women." Consequently, one naturally turned to her. She replied, and said, "Get a parlor or small hall in Boston and announce that all interested in the subject are invited to meet on some day mentioned, during the May meetings."

Mr. T. F. Leonard, an elocutionist, offered his hall on Summer street, for the purpose. The an-

nouncement was made for two o'clock in the afternoon and the notice given in the papers and at the anti-slavery and other meetings. At the hour named, the hall was filled to overflowing and Mr. Leonard said that people had been coming all the forenoon inquiring about the meeting. Many distinguished people were present. Mrs. Caroline Severance was there; Parker Pillsbury was there, and others. I recall especially Mr. Charles Burleigh, whom I had never seen before, who, with his hair parted in the middle, his long, light curls and placid face was supposed by many to resemble Jesus Christ. His power of speech was unusual, and he made a stirring appeal on this occasion. I called the meeting together and stated what I thought. After some discussion and considerable speech making, it was decided to appoint a committee which should hold meetings during the summer, correspond with influential people and call a convention in the early autumn for the purpose of organizing a Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. Severance was made the chairman of this committee and Stephen Foster and two or three others besides myself were on the committee. The result of the committee's work for the summer was a large convention held in the autumn in

Horticultural Hall, Boston. At this meeting Julia Ward Howe made her first appearance as a woman suffrage advocate. She came forward in a somewhat hesitating manner and said in substance that she had been opposed to the movement because "she did not like to have her father, her husband, or her brother abused," but "the cause had now gained such proportions that she felt like paying it a tribute of respect." Lucy Stone sat near me and whispered, "I think she might do more than pay a tribute of respect." Frederick Douglass also appeared at this meeting as usual setting forth the disabilities of the negro; "they had had no colleges, no schools," etc. Adin Ballou, who was then a somewhat noted reformer in New England, had assisted in arranging the meeting and took part in the program. Mr. Garrison also gave a grand lecture in the evening to a full house. Reformers are often deceived by a kind of mirage and see distant things near and suppose that victory is at hand, when in reality, generations are yet to pass before it can be realized. An instance of this was presented in Mr. Garrison's opening remarks. He said, "In the progress of every great cause there are three periods; first, a period of indifference when no one cares, and there is no hostility; sec-

ond, a period of opposition and ridicule, people have begun to notice and to disapprove; third, the period of victory, opposition has been overcome, ridicule has been silenced and people are ready to receive the truth. In this cause we have passed through the first two periods and are now entering on the period of victory." In like manner Mr. T. W. Higginson argued against sending out lecturers to canvass the state, because, he said, "The seed has all been sown. The work has been done. We have now only to gather in the harvest."

The result of this convention in Horticultural Hall was the organization of the New England Woman's Suffrage Association, (probably the first Woman's Suffrage Association organized in this country or any other), which has continued until the present time and through its yearly meetings has exerted great influence in favor of liberty.

CHAPTER X.

"MOTHER" COBB

"Who can find a virtuous woman? For her price is far above rubies."

In writing an account of early reformers, one should not omit "Mother Cobb," who, although never identified with the Woman's Suffrage movement, really led the way for women in many directions. It was not customary for women in those early times to take part in public meetings or sit on platforms or to be in any way conspicuous. But Mrs. Cobb was prominent in the conference meetings of her denomination, attending the yearly meetings and always making her presence felt. She was fond of dress, and on one occasion at a grove meeting of some kind, she appeared on the platform with her husband. The ministers in the audience were quizzical as usual. One of them said to the other laughingly, "Methinks I see ribbons fluttering on the platform," and at another time when she lectured in my church at Bridge-

port, Connecticut, she was dressed somewhat fancifully with some display of ribbons, laces and jewelry. I had advertised the meeting extensively and the church was filled. Her subject was "Physiology."

We might mention in passing that Mrs. Cobb was the founder of the first woman's physiological society in the United States and continued to be its president as long as she lived. In her lecture, she gave practical advice drawn from her own experience in regard to the care of children, and the treatment of disease, always taking care to explain that she "made no war on the medical profession," and advised sending for the physician promptly when needed. The editor of the principal paper had said to me in advance that he intended to give a full report of the lecture. As the wife of the Reverend Sylvanus Cobb, and the mother of the novelist of the same name, she naturally attracted a good deal of attention. When the paper came out the next day, it contained a full description of her bracelets, pins and other ornaments, however commending Mrs. Cobb very highly and saying she was "just such a woman as any man would like to have for a mother." Mrs. Cobb was very much grieved that the paper should take such liberties

with these sacred articles which had been given her by "dear departed friends," and were worn for their sakes. Mrs. Cobb wept and was disposed to destroy the papers which she had purchased. I comforted her by telling her that while it was disagreeable and unreasonable to have our wearing apparel described in the papers, it was inevitable in this stage of woman's progress, editors and reporters being much more able to judge of our clothes than they were of our arguments. After I had pointed out the fine things which the editor had said about her, she concluded to cut out these portions of the report before destroying the papers.

"Father Cobb" had preached the installation sermon when I settled at Weymouth as pastor of the church, and a fine, strong, progressive sermon it was, containing sentiments in regard to women which few ministers of that day would have dared to utter. Therefore, Mrs. Cobb was very fond of visiting my parishes, both in Weymouth and Bridgeport, and in conference meeting she would often tell how "darling Hubby had preached Olympia's installation sermon." It was on the occasion of one of these visits that she gave some brief account of her life, telling among other things, how she had been educated in the evan-

gelical faith but had converted herself to Universalism at an early age by reading from the scriptures :

"Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."

"For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus ;

Who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time."

I Timothy, Chapter II, Verses 3, 4, 5.

Such was her enthusiasm for Universalism that her great desire then was to marry a Universalist minister and rear twelve sons all to be Universalist ministers. The first Universalist minister she ever saw was Mr. Cobb, and she was married to him at the age of fifteen. She also recited the rhymes with which he proposed marriage and with which she responded. I always regretted not taking them down and I only remember the closing line of her reply, "With you and you alone I mean to live." Mrs. Cobb reared, I think, eleven children, two daughters and nine sons, and as all the sons had preached more or less, she felt that she had very nearly accomplished her mission. She had fine natural ability. She was a fluent speaker, often making the best speech of the occasion as one of our clergymen once said to me. She had the courage

of her convictions and was most kind and amiable. She named her house in East Boston the "Castle of Peace." While I was visiting there at one time, she gave me an account of the way she had managed her children, keeping them at home in the evening by telling them stories which she composed as she went along and "what," said she, "could I have done with all my boys if I had not been able to make up these stories?" When her son, Sylvanus, was writing his startling stories for the New York Ledger, she said she could only read the first chapter of each story because he killed so many of his characters in later chapters, and once he wrote her not to begin the story at all for he had "killed some in the first chapter."

Mrs. Cobb had such ability that could she have had the education and opportunities of today, she would have taken high rank. Women in public life, those who study medicine, who are public lecturers and those engaged in literature, owe a debt to Mrs. Cobb who went before and opened the way for the women who came after.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT.

**"The home-pressed question of the age can find
No answer in the catch-words of the blind
Leaders of blind. Solution there is none,
Save in the Golden Rule of Christ alone."**

March 15, 1869, will be held memorable in all coming time as the day when the Hon. George W. Julian submitted a joint resolution to Congress to enfranchise the women of the Republic by a sixteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, which reads as follows:

"Art. XVI. The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship and shall be regulated by Congress and all citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy the right equally without any distinction or discrimination whatever founded on sex."

Immediately after the presentation of this amendment, petitions for its passage were sent throughout the nation and have been steadily rolling into Congress ever since. The first great na-

tional convention held in Washington took place in the winter of 1869, and there I met many eminent reformers. The following description of some of them is taken from the *History of Woman Suffrage*: "On the platform was an imposing array of intellect, courage and noble character. First, there was dear Reverend Lucretia Mott. Her sweet, saintly face cloistered in her Quaker bonnet, her serene and gracious presence so dignified and so utterly unpretending; so self-poised, yet so gentle; so peaceful, yet so powerful, sanctioning and sanctifying the meeting and the movement. Near her sat her sister, Mrs. Wright, of Auburn, New York, a woman of strong constant character and of rare intellectual culture. Mrs. Cady Stanton, a lady of impressive and beautiful appearance, in the rich prime of an active, generous and helpful life; Miss Susan B. Anthony, looking keen, energetic and uncompromising; Clara Barton, whose name is dear to soldiers and blessed in thousands of homes to which the soldier shall return no more." There were other most interesting people there and this first convention was a great success and was followed by annual national conventions held in Washington for years during the life of Mrs. Stanton. Her great utter-

ances at those conventions and at the hearings before congressional committees have educated the people of the United States and of the old world and laid the foundations for Woman's Suffrage everywhere.

I attended most of those conventions and there made many interesting acquaintances. There I first met Matilda Hindman, of Pennsylvania, a quiet little lady filled with zeal for the cause and devotion to its interest. She afterward worked with me during one season in Wisconsin and I met her again in the South Dakota campaign of 1890. She was at that time just coming from California where she had canvassed a part of the state, and later she canvassed Colorado and contributed not a little to the women's victory in that state. She was not a powerful speaker but a most excellent reasoner and her manners and personal appearance were most winning.

I met Abigail Scott Duniway at several conventions and always with great pleasure. She had been a pioneer in Oregon in its earliest days and had worked unceasingly and vigorously for the women's cause in the far west. Now, in 1911, she is still perseveringly advocating justice for women in her own state for her faith and hope and cour-

age does not flag in spite of the fact that our cause has been voted down five different times in Oregon.

One little incident illustrates the claim made that interest in Woman's Suffrage does not lessen regard for material things nor cause a loss of ability to contribute to them. I had gone down to the annual convention at some financial sacrifice and in order to make both ends meet had undertaken to be my own milliner, trimming last year's bonnet with a shaded brown ribbon which I "had in the house." We had at that convention a company of women youthful at that time, Anna Shaw, Laura Johns, Lucy Anthony and others. It was the second or third day of the convention when I learned, through the kind interest of a friend that "our young women" were very much scandalized by the gaiety of my appearance. Such a very bright and youthful bonnet appeared to them out of keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. My friend, Mrs. Hooker, wished to remove the stigma and accordingly sent over to my room one of her own bonnets. It was heavily draped in black and as her head was large and mine small it very nearly obliterated my head. The bushel-basket fashion of today did





BELVA LOCKWOOD

not prevail then and such a covering up of the human features seemed intolerable. Mrs. Duniway's room at the Riggs House adjoined mine, and having been a milliner in her youth she came to the rescue by skillfully draping one of those short lace veils, formerly called "nose veils," over the objectionable ribbon, thus rendering the bonnet at once becoming and satisfactory to my critics.

Of course we always had Belya Lockwood, the pioneer woman of the legal profession, helping to make the arrangements, to prepare the program, and also to speak from time to time. At home in Washington, she was a sort of patron to all the new comers and her powerful appeals for justice were always effective.

There, too, was Mrs. Spofford, the genial and generous hostess of the Riggs House, and Mrs. Matilda Joscelyn Gage, always filled with matter, the results of careful research and thorough investigation. But time fails to tell of them all.

It was at the convention of 1870 that I first met Isabella Beecher Hooker, a sister of Henry Ward Beecher. This meeting was the beginning of a long friendship which ended only with her life. She was then very beautiful, tall and slender, charmingly dressed, with keen bright eyes spark-

ling, while her refined manners won the admiration of all who saw her. As I was then stationed at Bridgeport, Connecticut, while her home was at Hartford, we worked together for many years, holding meetings in the different cities of Connecticut and organizing societies where practicable. She was very original and suggestive and had a mind well stored with information. She was full of inspiration and rare moral courage and an interview with her always gave one new intellectual life. I have learned more and enjoyed more from association with her than with any other woman outside my own family with whom I have ever been associated.

In 1871 came the Victoria C. Woodhull Memorial. It had been presented soon after the opening of Congress in December, 1870, but the hearing upon the memorial before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, took place January 11th, 1871. The Woman's Suffrage convention met on the same day and Mrs. Woodhull read there the Memorial which she had just read to the Judiciary Committee. This was her only connection with the Woman's Suffrage Association, The Memorial was an able document. Mrs. Woodhull herself, was fine looking and richly,



ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER



though plainly and neatly dressed, and made a favorable impression upon all who saw her. At the time of the hearing she had been in Washington some six weeks, living at the most fashionable hotel and interviewing the members of Congress upon whom she had an inexplicable influence. This was, no doubt, increased by the impression which had gone abroad, that as a banker in Wall street, she was able to command large sums of money. This impression, however, was soon dissipated and the popular excitement following upon the announcement of what was then called her "free love doctrine," was most injurious to the progress of the Woman's Suffrage cause. The present position of Mrs. Woodhull and of her sister, Lady Cook, in England, has changed the prejudice of the old time to respect and even admiration.

The Beecher scandal, which Mrs. Woodhull precipitated by publications in her paper, was also a great injury not only to the Woman's Suffrage cause, but to all progressive movements. Whatever the truth about that scandal really was, the fact remains that the great magnanimity, the breadth of vision, the keen insight and grand eloquence of Mr. Beecher did much for the cause of liberty.

Those dear old reformers of the last generation are gone. They were heroes of undaunted courage. We shall not see their like again, but their influence still lives and will live for generations. Whenever and wherever women are enfranchised, it will be, in part, at least, the result of the bravery and heroism of those early reformers. Would that the women of today might catch the immortal fire that was in them!

CHAPTER XII.

SOME LATER REFORMERS.

**"I count myself in nothing else so happy,
As in a soul remembering my good friends:"**

Among the friends whom I knew best and recall with greatest distinctness was Mary A. Livermore. At the time of the return to agitation of the woman's rights question after the war she was known everywhere by her great "sanitary fairs" which she conducted with such marked ability and by her interest in the care of the soldiers, and her name was spoken with reverence and love by many of those to whom she had ministered in the hospital or to whom she had brought messages from friends who had died upon the battle-field. But she had not given thought to the subject of woman's suffrage.

I had known Mrs. Livermore by reputation for years for her husband had been a pastor at Weymouth, Massachusetts, some years before my com-

ing. During my residence at Weymouth I had a long correspondence with Mrs. Livermore in which she contended that women must first get fair play in the industrial world before asking for the ballot, work and wages being so much more important than voting. I tried to show her that work and wages were regulated to some extent by votes and that a disfranchised person could never hope to secure justice in the world of work.

When she finally became an advocate of the cause she signalled her conversion by arranging a series of conventions in Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee which were carried out on a large scale and no doubt did much good. As a former resident of Weymouth, she was a friend of most of the people of my parish there, especially of Mr. J. H. Willis, my husband, and hence she visited in our family and spoke in my churches both in Bridgeport, Conn., and Racine, Wis. She was most entertaining in conversation and equally so in her public discourse; although her oratory was not of so high an order as that of Mrs. Stanton, yet doubtless it would reach many more people.

On one occasion we held a large "Woman's Council" in Racine lasting several days. We secured Mrs. Livermore for the opening evening. The

meeting was held in the Blake Opera House, and as it was the opening night of the opera house as well as of the Council, we had a crowded house. I asked a gentleman how he liked her. "Well," he said, "she is the greatest conversationalist that I ever heard." And that was a correct description of her speaking; it was conversational, consisting of incidents of the war and circumstances in her life, all interesting and popular. Would that we had her here now to win over our opponents and help us secure the ballot for the women of Wisconsin!

Another of the later reformers whom I valued very highly was Clara B. Colby. I knew her as a public speaker, as a writer and editor of the *Woman's Tribune*, and in private life as a friend. She was good in all, but her forte lay in editorial writing. Her use of language was excellent and her writing answered the description given by Van Dyke in his prayer. "As in a river so in a writing clearness is the best quality and a little that is pure is worth more than much that is mixed." Clearness and fitness of expression characterized her writings and in establishing and conducting the *Woman's Tribune* unassisted for twenty-five years she did a work which would have been im-

possible to most. Oftentimes when subscriptions were few and dues delayed, she would be forced by the exigencies of the case to set the type with her own hands, but she was always equal to the emergency, and although working against terrible odds she yet maintained a most readable and interesting paper and only gave it up after twenty-five years when she heard the call of the English Suffragists and felt that she ought to lend her aid in their great struggle. But certain it is that the truest charity begins at home and far-away benevolence defeats oftentimes the very objects which it aims to aid; thus in this case. There never was a time in which Mrs. Colby could work to better purpose for advancing woman's suffrage than here in Wisconsin today.

Another of the later reformers was Mrs. C. Holt Flint. She was and is today one of the most loyal advocates of our cause and takes special interest in the campaign now in progress in our state and often writes words of encouragement to the workers; from one of these letters I quote: "I would tell an audience that I would not insult their good sense by pleading the *right* of women to vote, for every woman is as different from every other woman and from any man as every man is

different from any other man and from any woman. So it would not be possible for any person to represent any other man or woman."

Mrs. Flint compiled some excellent practicable programs for entertainments to be given by suffrage societies which are proving very valuable where used. During the campaign in Iowa in 1892, in which I took part, Mrs. Flint with associates called a Mississippi Valley conference to meet at Des Moines for the purpose of considering the special needs of the West. This conference was admirably planned and well carried out. It did much to stimulate interest in the cause in Iowa and surrounding states. At this conference we introduced a unique service. An hour was set apart for religious exercises and mothers were invited to bring their little children and consecrate them to liberty. Several children were brought. Among those who brought forward children was Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch. Mrs. McCulloch is so well known in all suffrage work and at this time so prominent as the justice of the peace in Evanston that she needs no introduction to the readers of this book. She was then and has been since one of my most valued friends and co-workers. The consecration service was very im-

pressive and I believe gave to the hearers a new appreciation of the value of liberty.

At this conference I enjoyed meeting and conferring with my friend Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe. I met her first in South Dakota during the campaign of 1890. I had been invited by Miss Anthony to take part in this campaign and was asked to meet her and others engaged in the work at Mitchell where the opening convention of the campaign was to be held. People came to this convention from all parts of the state and the various speakers employed by the national society as well as the home speakers were gathered there. Several of these arrived on the same train which brought me there. We were introduced to each other and were taken by the committee of entertainment to the several homes to which they had been assigned.

Soon after my arrival at my destination word came that the guests outnumbered the places of entertainment and I was asked to take a roommate and also to state if I had any preference as to the person to be selected. I made haste to name "that young lecturer, Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe." It proved a most fortunate choice. We had a week together of real enjoyment and met several

times afterward during the campaign and again, two years later in Iowa, where we were associated in several meetings beside the Mississippi Valley Conference. I afterward employed her during several different seasons to aid in the canvass of Wisconsin. She was a speaker that could always be trusted to please the audience and to offend no one. One woman who worked with her in Washington during the campaign there said in speaking of the campaign, "Mrs. DeVoe is the best organizer in the world," and the result of that campaign goes far to show that her judgment was correct.

She was a most agreeable companion, ready to believe the best of everybody, to help everybody and to discern the capabilities of her companions. Her part in gaining the great Washington victory has made her famous the world over and her complete devotion to woman's suffrage naturally renders her a most valued leader. In the South Dakota campaign her speaking was made particularly attractive by songs or by recitations composed by her husband, Mr. J. H. DeVoe. Mr. DeVoe took great interest in our cause in Dakota, and his songs, of which he wrote both words and music, had a marked effect. I always liked best,

“O Sing of Wyoming, Glory of the Mighty West.”
Wyoming was then the only state in which the right of women to vote was recognized, and hence the Wyoming song had a special significance. I add here a little plaintive melody that always pleases the audience:

A SOLDIER'S TRIBUTE TO WOMAN.

1.

In the long, long years ago, when I wore the loyal
blue,
When the patriotic women, with their hearts so
good and true,
Came to help us in our struggle, as no other ones
could do,
Then I swore to help my sisters, for they nursed
and brought me thro'.

CHORUS.

Yes, they nursed and brought me thro', when the
fever laid me low,
In my dreams I now can see them, while they're
fitting to and fro,
Then I swore to help the women, for their hearts
were loyal, too,
And my vote shall go to free them, for they nursed
and brought me thro'.

2.

On the fields of Petersburg, 'midst the screaming
shot and shell,
Where the soul of man was tested, where the
bravest soldiers fell,
There I saw the women kneeling, with their hearts
so good and true,
By the bleeding, wounded soldiers, and they
nursed and brought them thro'.

CHORUS.

3.

On the dome in Washington, there the goddess
proudly reigns,
She's the emblem of our freedom, while our wo-
men are in chains,
And her light from Bedloe's tower gleams in
mock'ry o'er the sea,
While our mothers, wives, and daughters, humbly
beg for liberty.

CHORUS.

4.

Let us stand in solid phalanx, ev'ry man who wore
the blue,
For our mothers, wives, and sweethearts, who to
us were tried and true,
For no better friends, with truer hearts, on earth
we'll ever find;
We will not forget the kindness of the girls we
left behind.

CHORUS.

CHAPTER XIII.

WISCONSIN.

**“To thy duty now and ever!
Dream no more of rest or stay;
Give to Freedom’s great endeavor
All thou art and hast today:”**

Wisconsin was settled at a time when the great question of the age in the United States was slavery or liberty. The discussions on the subject created immense excitement and during that great wave of enthusiasm for liberty, Wisconsin was born marked at the very outset with a taste for justice and loyalty to the principle of equal rights for all. Accordingly it was not strange that when the convention was called to form a constitution for the new state many anti-slavery and equal rights men should be found among the delegates. The journal of the convention speaks especially of the delegates from Walworth County who had been “free soilers” in New York and who demanded that the constitution should provide for

universal suffrage. But the time was not ripe for such an innovation upon established customs, and hence they could not prevail although their demand and the considerable support they received in the convention indicated the spirit that was abroad and the character of the people that were combining to form a new state. Thus we have found from that day to this in Congress, in Republican conventions and everywhere that the insurgents and reformers are often Wisconsin men.

As an instance of this, one of our most renowned members of Congress, "Matt" Carpenter, made one of his most eloquent speeches an appeal for Woman's Suffrage, and in like manner our young and eloquent La Follette announces himself as a strong advocate of Woman's Suffrage, as well as of other reforms.

Among the active women of the state one recalls a little coterie of women at Richland Center who formed the first, or nearly the first, woman's club in the state and that club was a woman's suffrage club. Perhaps the most notable of the women reformers of Wisconsin was Dr. Laura Ross, later Dr. Laura Ross Wolcott, of Milwaukee. She was a woman of intense feeling and great strength of character. Wherever she was her

influence must be felt and to some extent at least, her will must be done. She was one of the very earliest of the women physicians in the United States, and was highly educated, having studied in the old world and practised her profession in the hospitals of Paris. It is not strange that even in conservative Milwaukee she soon gained a large practice and a host of friends among the best people. But, however extensive or profitable her practice, she never forgot to be at all times the reformer.

My first acquaintance with Mrs. Wolcott was in 1880, when she came down to Racine to see me concerning a convention which Miss Anthony had proposed to hold in Milwaukee. It was just after the death of Dr. Wolcott, her husband, and she was overwhelmed with sorrow and much occupied with those painful, but necessary matters of business which inevitably follow the death of the head of a family. Under these circumstances she was little inclined to undertake a convention in which the labor and most of the funds must come from her. But she was devoted to the cause and felt as I did at that time, that Susan Anthony's word was law. So she engaged the opera house and announced the meeting. This was the convention

of 1880 of which many have heard. It was well advertised and there was a splendid corps of speakers, but the weather was most unfortunate and the meeting was a disappointment and cause of grief to Dr. Wolcott.

I was associated with Dr. Wolcott more or less in suffrage work from that time for several years until her failing health compelled her to give up her practice and leave the state. She grew despondent and was somewhat embittered toward the last by the indifference of many, the unjust criticism of others and the mistakes of the leaders of the cause. It is difficult to work for a great and unpopular cause for years without some degree of discouragement. The number of people who will work for a principle which seems to the superficial to have no personal interest for them is very small; and the great multitude failing to understand the motives or even the action of reformers are generally unjust in their judgment and cruel in their criticism while the advocates of the cause, being human and liable to mistakes are often injudicious in their manner of presenting the subject and unwise in the policy they pursue. This is particularly true of the woman's rights cause. Many women who are unaccustomed to public ef-

fort do not realize the importance of correct methods and in some cases, carried away by the larger possibilities which are opening to them become excited and unreasonable, thus verifying the saying, "Fools rush in where angels dare not tread." But these things have no bearing on the merits of the question and must be borne with patience and a large amount of charity.

The only wonder is that so many undisciplined and even uneducated women become inspired by the greatness of the cause which they advocate and rise above their surroundings, outgrow their limitations and acquit themselves nobly in the contest for liberty. The woman's cause in Wisconsin has been advocated by many efficient and inspired women of whom many were of the finest culture and who have shown themselves most unselfish and generous in the disinterested manner in which they have worked without remuneration or immediate prospect of success. I recall many names of whom it would be a pleasure to write if time and the limits of this booklet would permit. Besides Mrs. Jessie Luther, the truest friend and the most loyal worker that one could wish; Mrs. Maria Hanchett, always bright and ready; Mrs. Ellen A. Rose, who was a most zealous worker, and a

very effective speaker in spite of a somewhat homely though direct phraseology, I might speak of Mrs. S. U. Pinney, of Madison, who often came to gladden our conventions with her clear blue eyes and beaming countenance as well as her contribution to our treasury. Then there was Mrs. M. P. Dingee, a niece of Theodore Parker and a disciple of Horace Mann, a New England woman with the finest education that Boston could give in her day. She edited the *Wisconsin Citizen* for seven years entirely without remuneration. Her articles in the *Citizen* were written in the most chaste and beautiful style and are well worthy of preservation. When she resigned the editorship her place was taken by Mrs. H. H. Charlton, a writer of unusual ability, some of whose poems should take rank with those of the best and most noted writers of our day. I quote the concluding stanzas of a pleasing poem which Mrs. Charlton published in the *Wisconsin Citizen*. The title is "Thanksgiving":

"Thanks for the love that crowns our homes
And makes the nation blest;
Of all Thine early gifts to man,
Dear Lord, love crowns the rest."

For love! Fair maids, with sunny hair,
And matrons gray with years,
Strong noble youth, and stalwart men,
Gave thanks for love, with tears,
For love which gilds the brightest scene,
The cloud with silver lines,
Which sorrow soothes, and softens pain,
And sordid care refines.

‘For love that gave Thine only Son,
To lift a world from sin,
Flung wide the Golden City’s Gates,
To welcome mortals in.
We thank Thee, Lord, and may that love
As shown in Christ, thy Son,
Bear up our souls in life and death.’
‘Amen,’ said every one.”

There was Laura James, of Richland Center, who never tired working for the cause and whose philanthropies were known to all the people of her town. But of all this host of brave true women, one recalls especially Mrs. Almeda B. Gray and Mrs. Maria A. Fowler. These two women worked together like sisters and no one could tell which was the more interested or more unselfish. I was intimately associated with them from the time of the organization of the Wisconsin Woman’s Suffrage Association in 1882, to about 1889, when Mrs. Gray removed to California and thus

broke up the trio. As an illustration of the way these two women worked, I quote a few paragraphs from the history of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association published in the *Milwaukee Free Press* of July 23, 1911. The subject is the Wisconsin school suffrage law of 1885:

"The school suffrage law, as everybody in Wisconsin knows, was for some years a subject of controversy. Senator Norman L. James, of Richland Center, had headed the committee that reported the bill. After its passage by the legislature careful consideration was given to the campaign which would follow, previous to its submission to the voters in November, 1886. Senator James' recommendation to me was, 'Have a still hunt,' and a still hunt it was. Probably many people in the state did not realize that there was any campaign going on and outside the state it was entirely unknown. But we carried the election by the votes of intelligent men. There were doubtless many who did not vote on the subject at all, but if so it was through their own inattention. We held several conventions, distributed literature and quietly worked for success. On November 1, 1886, Miss Anthony sent a telegram to me saying she, with Mrs. Colby, would join me in a series of con-

gressional district conventions, beginning November 8. These meetings were to be educational in character and were without special reference to the subject of the election. On receiving the telegram I at once, with my husband, Mr. J. H. Willis, arranged a meeting for each congressional district, printed posters accordingly and inserted the notices in the papers. We worked at this till twelve o'clock at night and the next morning, November 2, I set out to make a tour of the places proposed, to arrange places of meetings and entertainment for the speakers. I returned just in time to meet Miss Anthony at Racine, November 8.

After the election members of the legislature and others informed us that the bill really gave full suffrage. I quote the law:

Section 1. "Every woman who is a citizen of this state, of the age of 21 years or upward (except paupers, persons under guardianship and persons otherwise excluded by section 2 of article III of the Constitution), who has resided within the state one year and within the city or town in which she claims the right to vote ten days next preceding any election pertaining to school matters shall have a right to vote at such election."

A provision was also made for a submission to the voters at the next general election. This

measure was voted upon in the autumn of 1886 and received a fair majority. After the measure passed, the officers of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association were informed by members of the joint committee that the law was intended to give women very nearly full suffrage. Since, while it limits the elections at which women might vote to those "pertaining to school matters," it places no limit on the subjects upon which women were to vote at those elections. On examination it was found that the elections "pertaining to school matters" embraced nearly all of the regular elections.

Learning the broad scope of this law and the possibilities which it contained for women, the association thought it best to send a lecturer to hold meetings about the state to explain the law and interest the women in utilizing it to its utmost. I resigned my pastorate in Racine at this time in order to conduct this canvass of the state. Mrs. A. B. Gray of Scofield, chairman of the executive committee, and Mrs. M. A. Fowler, of Richland Center, secretary of the association, were deeply interested, and Mrs. Fowler made arrangements for meetings. During the following season she devoted her entire time to planning and ar-

ranging the meetings. The appointments were filled by me. Lectures were given, collections taken and some forty or fifty organizations formed.

All will recall how the meaning of the law was questioned and finally brought into the courts requiring six decisions, the first by Judge J. B. Winslow, of Racine, stating that if the law did not mean what it said, it meant nothing. The later decisions provided that women should vote on all school matters before the people at any election but in separate ballot boxes. Thus we were compelled to keep up the interest of the people, raise the money and carry on the suit. This occupied several years' time, and the combined energies of the officers of the Association. During all the time that the case was pending in the courts Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Fowler were working with might, mind and strength, corresponding, arranging meetings and raising money. I was also traveling all over the state holding meetings. The suit cost the society nearly \$2,000. The society was involved in debt at the time of the decision of the case rendered by Judge Cassody in February, 1888. I started the following week on a tour of meetings in northern Wisconsin, held for the purpose of

raising money to meet these obligations, notwithstanding the fact that the mercury at that time was twenty degrees below zero.

The devotion of Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Fowler was something grand to see and most invigorating to remember. The tragic death of Mrs. Fowler a few years ago filled all our hearts with sorrow.

Among the workers in Wisconsin one remembers with pride and satisfaction Madame Matilda Francisca Anneke who often spoke at our conventions in Washington and took part in the convention of 1880 in Milwaukee above referred to. She was a woman of great dignity and power and had an imposing presence. Her very interesting history has been written more than once and books dealing with it can be found in most public libraries.

Madame Anneke was born in Westphalia, Germany, in the city of Muenster. Fritz Anneke, her husband, was a leader in the fight for the German Constitution, and when this revolution became a lost cause he, with others, among whom Carl Schurz was prominent, fled as exiles to Switzerland. Both Carl Schurz and Madame Anneke herself acted as adjutants to Anneke throughout the campaign. When no stone was

left unturned to bring about an extradition treaty with Switzerland the exiles came to America where Madame Anneke became very prominent as journalist, educator and speaker. It is good to remember that she brought her love of liberty and justice with her and lost no opportunity to speak or work for the woman's cause.

But it is always true that the good and great are not confined to any one period. As Whittier has said :

“All of good the past hath had
Remains to make our own time glad.”

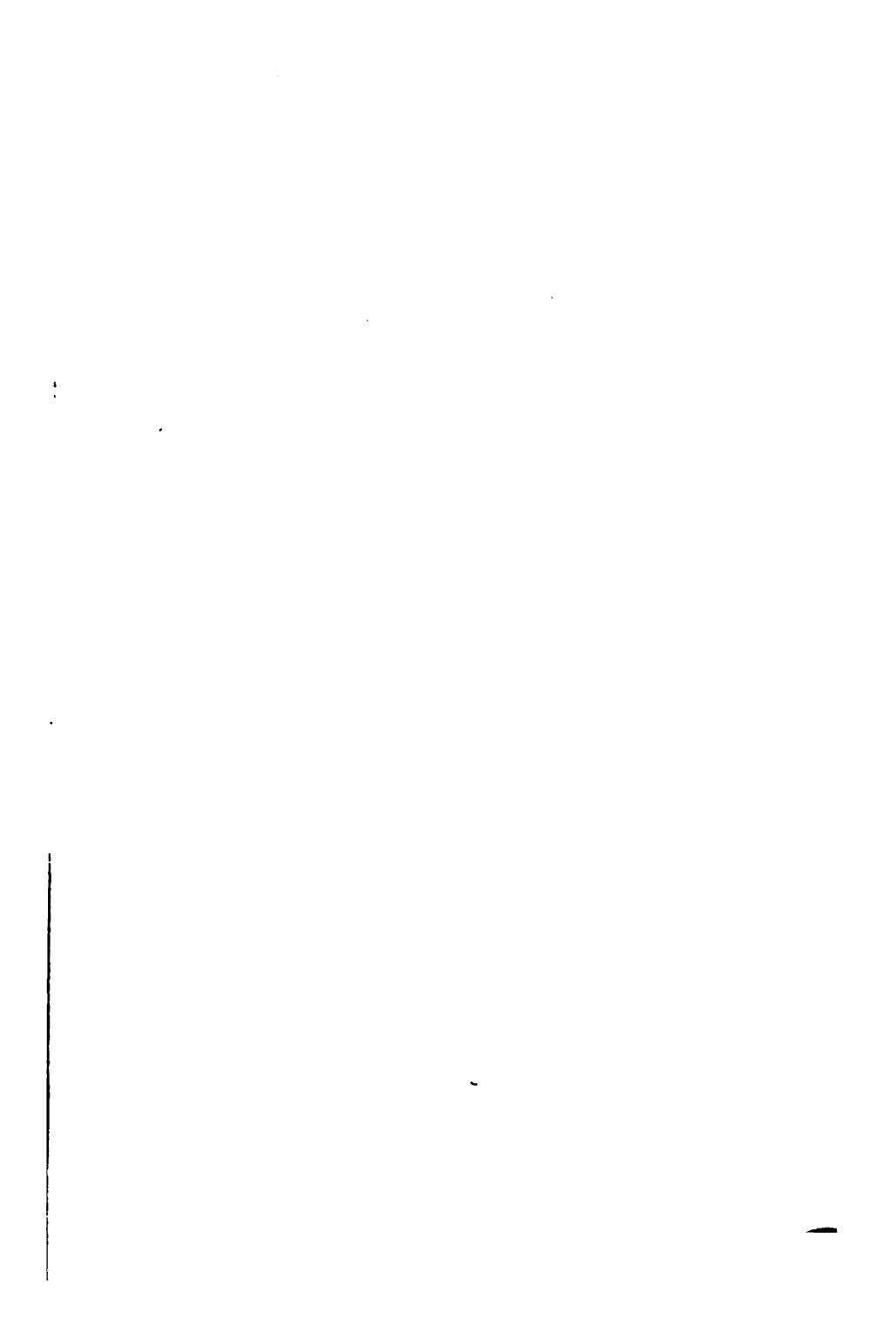
Individuals pass away, but the truth lives on and finds its advocates in every generation. The places of those grand women of the past are being taken today by Mrs. Etta Gardner of Platteville, Mrs. G. A. Hipke, of Milwaukee, our most efficient chairman of the Central Committee of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association, Miss Lena Newman, the present able editor of the *Wisconsin Citizen*, and a company of bright young women who are making a fine record in the present campaign.

The question of full suffrage for women is now before the voters of Wisconsin. It is for them to decide in November, 1912, what shall be its

fate. Shall our grand Wisconsin be recognized as the honored leader in reform, the first of the states of the Middle West to recognize the rights of its women? Or shall the cause be voted down and discredited, the women of the state disappointed, and our glorious commonwealth disgraced?

The result will depend upon the wise, judicious, persistent efforts of the advocates of the cause.

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