

THE BIRTH OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES:
THE REVOLUTION AND ITS FOUNDERS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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JANET FRANCES KROBER
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ABSTRACT

THE BIRTH OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES: THE REVOLUTION AND ITS FOUNDERS

By

Janet Frances Krober

This study examines The Revolution, the first woman suffrage newspaper in the United States, and assesses its place in the woman's rights movement. The paper traces the development of woman's rights activism and ideology, showing that the impulse to publish The Revolution was born from the discontent women had felt since early colonial times. Brief biographies of the founders of The Revolution and a description of the birth, life, and death of the paper are included. A non-quantitative content analysis of the news and editorial columns indicates the manner in which news and comment on seven topics were presented.

The Revolution, a sixteen page weekly newspaper, was published from 1868 to 1870 by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the woman suffrage activists, with assistance from Parker Pillsbury, George Francis Train, and others. The paper was a radical woman's rights advocate that alienated many conservative feminists with its denunciations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, advocacy of reformed marriage and divorce laws, support for workingwomen, and refusal

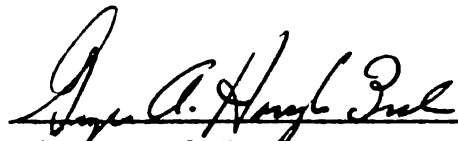
to support the Republican Party. The paper played a major role in the split in the suffrage ranks that occurred in 1869, providing Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony with a forum for presenting their side of the controversy thus placing the two in opposition to such former friends and co-workers as Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, Wendell Phillips, Thomas W. Higginson, and William Lloyd Garrison.

The study traces The Revolution's handling of seven themes: suffrage, woman's rights and wrongs, marriage, women in religion, "what women are doing," workingwomen, and personal and public health. The conclusion drawn from this assessment is that Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony were not bound by contemporary myths, prejudices, or social beliefs about the sphere and capability of women. In reports or comment on all the themes, the paper advocated that rational assessments of women's abilities be made and that women be allowed to prove themselves as individuals.

This radical message did not appeal to the many suffragists who wanted the right to vote without changing existing social and cultural frameworks. The view of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton that the vote was just one aspect of a host of changes--legal, political, religious, philosophical, social, psychological, and domestic--that would have to be made in order for women to achieve an equal position in society, was borne out in the twentieth century as newly enfranchised women saw rights they had won, particularly in education and employment, slip away from them. An examination of The Revolution shows that,

contrary to the assertion of later activists, the early suffragists did not believe that the vote, by itself, could ensure that women would have "their rights, and nothing less."

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism,
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Director of Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

The January 8, 1868, issue of the New York Daily Tribune contained an editorial, "Grounds of Impartial Suffrage," in which the following argument was presented: "Deprive a race of the ballot, and every agency of the Government which ought to protect will combine to oppress them. Deprive the Southern Freemen of the ballot, and oppression, resistance, and a war of the races, are inevitable."¹

In the lower right hand corner of the same page of the Daily Tribune was this comment: "The newspaper crop this season is unusually promising, and, according to present appearances, the harvest of news and opinions in New York will be the largest known for many years. . . . Mrs. [Elizabeth Cady] Stanton, Miss [Susan B.] Anthony and Parker Pillsbury are rousing the world of women with The Revolution."² 

Apparently the editors of the Daily Tribune did not see any direct connection between an editorial about suffrage for blacks and a story about the promotion of suffrage for women. The Revolution, however, was founded not so much to "rouse the world of women" in general as it was to serve as a forum for the proponents of woman suffrage. In a statement of purpose in the first issue, the editors promised: "The Revolution will contain a series of articles, beginning

¹The Daily Tribune (Jan. 8, 1868), p. 4.

²Ibid.

next week, to prove the power of the ballot in elevating the character and condition of woman. . . . [to prove] that the ballot will secure for woman equal place and equal wages in the world of work; that it will open to her the schools, colleges, professions, and all the opportunity and adversity of life. . . ."3

If the staff of The Revolution had had control over the Daily Tribune, the editorial, "Grounds of Impartial Suffrage" would have been broadened in scope to include the demands of women for suffrage. But The Revolution was not able to convince the public of the need to treat the woman suffrage question as a serious issue of human rights and liberty. The Revolution, rather than becoming the vehicle for waging a successful battle to attain woman suffrage, would become just another brief episode in the struggle of American women to gain full equality with men.

The Revolution was a short-lived endeavor, and its subscribers never numbered more than 3,000. Yet historians consider the paper to have been a strong force for suffragists: "The weekly sixteen-page paper, smaller than today's tabloids, made a contribution to the women's cause out of all proportion to either its size, brief lifespan, or modest circulation. . . . It was a lively mirror of the status and struggles of women on many fronts."4

³The Revolution, I (Jan. 8, 1868), p. 1.

⁴Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (New York: Athenium Press, 1974), p. 151.

The Revolution was important not only in publishing news about woman suffrage activities, but also in bringing forth the ideology of feminism. A brief study of the history of women in America will show that the issues Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton aired in their newspaper had been raised by other women since the early colonial days.

The Revolution is available, on microfilm or in bound copies, in libraries throughout the United States. The University of Minnesota Library Special Collections Division has a complete set of volumes I through V (Jan. 8, 1868 to May 26, 1870), which encompasses the time Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were responsible for the paper. The set is bound into three books, with volumes I and II in the first, III and IV in the second, and the incomplete Volume V in the last. All three books were autographed by Susan B. Anthony.

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS

Breaking the Ground: Early Activists

The history of the woman's rights movement in the United States began almost as soon as women came to the British colonies. The first women settlers landed in Virginia in 1608; however, it was not until 1619 that large numbers of women began immigrating to the New World. It was just fifteen years later that a woman arrived to challenge male supremacy.

Anne Hutchinson, who came to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634, was an independent religious thinker who held Sunday meetings for women to discuss and comment on the morning's sermon. (Men had been having such meetings for years, but women had always been excluded.) These meetings, which attracted as many as 100 women each week, soon became forums to which Mrs. Hutchinson could expound her own religious views. Not surprisingly, the elders of the colony disapproved of her activities and had Ann Hutchinson tried, excommunicated, and banished from the colony.¹

In 1647, Mistress Margaret Brent, property owner in her own right and executor for the estate of the late Governor Calvert, approached the colonial legislature of Maryland, demanding her right

¹Kathryn Taylor, Generations of Denial (New York: Times Change Press, 1971), pp. 28-29.

to two votes--one to represent each property holding. Although her attempt failed, Mistress Brent had the dubious fortune of "unconsciously distinguishing herself as the first woman in America to claim the right to vote."²

For the most part, colonial life, centered as it was around the family and the church, does not seem to have provided an impetus to colonial women to seek changes in their status. Particularly in the New England colonies, the

family was, first of all, a "business"--an absolutely central agency of economic production and exchange. Each household was more or less self-sufficient; and its various members were inextricably united in the work of providing for their fundamental material wants. Work, indeed, was a wholly natural extension of family life and merged imperceptibly with all of its other activities.³

With the drive for independence from England, however, came a political climate and emphasis on liberty and human rights that encouraged some women to question their own place in the new republican society.

Abigail Adams was one of these women. In 1777 she wrote to her husband, John:

In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment

²Julia Cherry Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972), p. 239.

³John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 183.

a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.⁴

Judith Sargent Murray was another woman with a keen interest in woman's rights. Writing under the pen name Constantia, she wrote a number of feminist articles, criticizing the social forces operating to keep women from exercising their mental and physical powers.⁵ In an article entitled "On the Equality of the Sexes," which appeared in the March and April, 1790, issues of Massachusetts Magazine, Mrs. Murray listed the ploys used by men to prevent women from using their power to think and reason. She concluded:

Should it still be vociferated, "Your domestick employments are sufficient"--I would calmly ask, is it reasonable, that a candidate for immortality, for the joys of heaven, an intelligent being, who is to spend an eternity in contemplating the works of Deity, should at present be so degraded, as to be allowed no other ideas, than those which are suggested by the mechanism of a pudding, or the sewing the seams of a garment?⁶

The arguments presented by women at this time were wide-sweeping indictments of the very structure of society. This era of feminist writing culminated in the publication in 1792 in London of

⁴Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 15.

⁵There is some evidence that Mrs. Murray's work was widely read. Charles Brockden Brown, a popular novelist in the late eighteenth century, wrote Ormond, a novel that appeared in 1799, fifteen years after Mrs. Murray's first article was published under the pseudonym, Constantia. The heroine of Ormond, a woman named Constantia, expresses views such as: "To marry in extreme youth would be proof of pernicious and opprobrious temerity," an opinion that echoes Mrs. Murray's. See Leslie Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel, rev. ed. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 86-88 for discussion of Ormond.

⁶Constantia (Judith Sargent Murray), "On the Equality of the Sexes," in Up from the Pedestal, ed. by Aileen S. Kraditor (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1968), p. 34.

Mary Wollstonecraft's essay, A Vindication of the Rights of Women, an event generally considered to mark the birth of the woman's rights movement in English-speaking countries. In the essay, Miss Wollstonecraft systematically listed the criticism brought against contemporary woman--criticism of her childishness, vanity, and inability to reason--and showed that the society of man, rather than the laws of God or nature, was responsible for woman's disabilities. Miss Wollstonecraft was particularly scornful of the methods men used to control the behavior of women: "How grossly do they insult us who thus advise us only to render ourselves gentle, domestic brutes! . . . Men, indeed, appear to me to act in a very unphilosophical manner when they try to secure the good conduct of women by attempting to keep them always in a state of childhood."⁷

Most of Mary Wollstonecraft's arguments, logically constructed as they were, could not be refuted directly, and no one seems to have attempted to do so. But there was, in the early nineteenth century, a sudden flurry of writing that defined the difference between men and women as a difference in "spheres." Proponents of this separate but equal doctrine attempted to show that women and men, because of inherent differences, were meant to perform different functions in the world. Thus women, by tending to home and children, were not exhibiting subservience, but were acting freely within their sphere:

⁷Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1967), p. 50.

Much abstruse study or metaphysical reasoning seldom agrees with the natural vivacity or the slender frame of many females, therefore the moral and physical distinction of the sex must be allowed; if the powers of the mind are fully equal, they must still estimate the rights of men, and own it their prerogative exclusively to contend for public honours and preferment, either in church or state, and females may console themselves and feel happy, that by the moral distinction of the sexes they are called to move in a sphere of life remote from those masculine contentions, although they hold equal rights with them of studying every branch of science, even jurisprudence.

But it would be morally wrong, and physically imprudent, for any woman to attempt pleading at the bar of justice, as no law can give her the right of deviating from the strictest rules of rectitude and decorum . . .⁸

Concurrent with the theoretical arguments about liberty, human rights, and woman's sphere, a practical movement was underway to extend to more women the benefits of formal education. The process was to be a slow one, because, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was believed by many men that woman's brain was smaller than man's, and thus she was capable only of inferior reasoning.⁹ Furthermore, as long as women were confined to the home, it was difficult for many people to see the need for providing women with education. The airing of the subject of universal education for boys inevitably led to an acknowledgement that the same advantages must be made available to girls.

⁸Hannah Mather Crocker, "Observations on the Real Rights of Women," in Up from the Pedestal, ed. by Aileen S. Kraditor (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1968), p. 42-43.

⁹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 23.

In 1821, Emma Hart Willard opened the Troy Female Seminary, the first endowed institution for the education of girls. This was a step forward, but the school did not provide college-level mental challenge, as students such as Elizabeth Cady soon discovered: "I had already studied everything that was taught there except French, music, and dancing, so I devoted myself to these accomplishments."¹⁰

It was not until 1833 that Oberlin, which began as a seminary and soon became a college, accepted students of all races, colors, and sexes. Most of the women students at Oberlin, however, followed a special, abbreviated course. In 1841, the first woman was graduated from the regular college-level program. Shortly after this, Lucy Stone, the suffragist, and Antoinette Brown, the first woman to be ordained a minister, were graduated from the full college program.

But still, no institution had taken the final necessary step--teaching all its women students, as a matter of course, the same academic subjects as those taught to men. It took Mary Lyon, who in 1837 opened Mount Holyoke Seminary, to devise for women a curriculum that included the subjects that had traditionally been considered "masculine:" algebra, geology, intellectual philosophy, and human physiology. Although this step might not, on the surface, appear to be of great importance, it has been viewed as a real gain in the woman's rights movement:

¹⁰Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), p. 35.

The long struggle first envisaged by Judith Sargent Murray and launched by Emma Willard, taking women beyond the pudding and the nursery, had passed a decisive stage. Mary Lyon had put into their hands the means by which they could carry on that struggle in many different directions. What a few had dreamed and dared was now being proved in life and practice: that women's minds were constituted, in bulk and cell structure and endowment, the same as those of their masculine counterparts; that, given opportunity, discipline, and direction, they could encompass the same subject matter as a man. . . .¹¹

A few exceptional women--writers, philosophers, and educators--were beginning to question woman's place in a purportedly egalitarian society. But what of the mass of American women? Certainly the ideas of a few women could not, by themselves, serve as the impetus of so widespread and far-reaching a social movement as the woman's rights movement came to be. It is far more likely that the status of all women, the legal, political, and social privileges and restrictions operating in their daily lives, ultimately led thousands of American women into the struggles over slavery, temperance, woman suffrage, dress reform, working conditions, and the many other reforms that swept the country in the Jacksonian era.

Woman's Place Defined: Legal Restrictions

Perhaps the most thoroughly documented index of the status of American woman in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be found in the laws that pertained to her. American law was, at that time, dominated by common law, and Blackstone's definition of a

¹¹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 36.

married woman was the basis for much of the property law in the various states: "husband and wife are one, and that one, the husband."

According to common law, a married woman had no power to enter contracts, make a will, or keep the wages she earned, unless she had her husband's permission. "Even if a wife were assaulted or raped, she could not prosecute her attackers unless her husband would bring the suit."¹² Any property a woman owned became her husband's at the time of marriage.

Divorce was unattainable for most couples. In any case in which dissolution of marriage was granted, the woman had no right to her children and no right to any property settlement, even if she was the partner who had brought the property to the marriage.¹³ In fact, cases have been recorded in which the courts had to order a man to surrender to his estranged wife her clothing.¹⁴

These laws came to be viewed as inequitable by an increasing number of women. Indeed, Elizabeth Cady Stanton traced her own interest in the woman's rights issue to the education she received in her father's law office, listening to the pathetic stories of wives and widows: "The tears and complaints of the women who came to my

¹²Andrew Sinclair, The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 84.

¹³Jessie J. Cassidy, compiler, The Legal Status of Women (New York: The National-American Woman Suffrage Association, 1897), p. 55.

¹⁴Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies, pp. 343-44.

father for legal advice touched my heart and early drew my attention to the injustice and cruelty of the laws. . . . The students [clerking with Attorney Cady], observing my interest, would amuse themselves by reading to me all the worst laws they could find, over which I would laugh and cry by turns."¹⁵

Although the law could be harsh on women, almost from the beginning the legal status of American women was superior to that of their sisters in England.

The colonial courts had recognized some of the rights of the wife. She had the right to live with her husband in house and bed. She had the right to be supported by him, even if he abandoned her. She had the right to be protected from violence at his hands. All of these rights for wives showed that the colonial courts had recognized a certain equality in marriage between husband and wife, since both were economically necessary to one another. None of these rights had been recognized under contemporary English law. . . . Because of the shortage of skills and women, and because of the long absences of seafaring husbands, married American women also received more independence than their English counterparts. Some were allowed to run estates, businesses on their own, even when they had husbands. According to Blackstone, wives were classed with minors and idiots; they had no responsibility under the law. But in America. . . need brought justice to the law in particular cases.¹⁶

And gradually, some statutory changes began to be made in women's favor. Most notably, many states passed laws recognizing the right of married women to own property, in some cases granting the right to will property, in others the right to control one's own wages or retain control of property brought into the marriage.

¹⁵Stanton, Eighty Years and More, p. 31.

¹⁶Sinclair, The Better Half, p. 84.

Women Define Their World:
Political Activities

Ironically, it was on the political front, where they would remain technically powerless until 1920, that women made their presence felt. It is impossible to speculate whether there would have been a nineteenth century political movement for woman's rights if slavery had been abolished by the Founding Fathers. If debate over slavery had not dominated political forums from 1820 through the Civil War, it is possible that women would have been slower to react to the inequities they suffered. But the libertarian arguments of the Revolutionary era, virtually put on the shelf for more than thirty years, were revived by abolitionists trying to show the logical fallacy of owning slaves in a country founded on the "self-evident" truth that all men are created equal. And woman's rights proponents were quick to see the advantage they could gain from the re-emergence of such arguments. Sarah Grimke, an abolitionist and woman's rights advocate, wrote in 1837: "I rejoice because I am persuaded that the rights of women, like the rights of slaves, need only to be examined, to be understood and asserted, even by some of those who are now endeavoring to smother the irrepressible desire for mental and spiritual freedom which glows in the breast of many who hardly dare to speak their sentiments."¹⁷ Margaret Fuller expressed similar hope: "It

¹⁷Sarah Moore Grimke, "Province of Woman. The Pastoral Letter," in Up from the Pedestal, ed. by Aileen S. Kraditor (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1968), p. 54.

should be remarked that, as the principle of liberty is better understood, and more nobly interpreted, a broader protest is made in behalf of Woman. As men become aware that few men have had a fair chance, they are inclined to say that no women have had a fair chance."¹⁸

Women played an important role in the abolition movement, speaking, writing, raising money, and housing runaway slaves. The Grimké sisters, Lucretia Mott, Sojourner Truth, Jane Grey Swisshelm--all of whom, to varying degrees would later support woman suffrage--were early abolition workers. Indeed the editors and publisher of The Revolution--Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Parker Pillsbury--all joined the abolition movement before turning their attention to furthering the cause of woman's rights.

Even among the liberal men of the abolition movement, however, women were made to feel their own lower status. Women speakers often were forced to yield to men speaking from the floor, were sometimes themselves prevented from speaking from the floor, and were usually shouted down if they tried (as they often did) to equate the cause of woman's rights with that of abolition.

Early evidence of the place they were to hold among reformers came to abolitionist women at the World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840. All American anti-slavery societies had been invited to send delegates to the convention, and eight women were among those named as delegates. The women were barred from the convention

¹⁸Margaret Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1971), p. 24.

floor, however, and although a few of their brothers (notably William Lloyd Garrison) joined the women in the spectator's gallery, the majority of American men delegates did not protest the exclusion of the women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, whose husband was a delegate, was also in the gallery:

The clerical portion of the convention was most violent in its opposition. The clergymen seemed to have God and his angels especially in their care and keeping, and were in agony lest the women should do or say something to shock the heavenly hosts. . . . It was really pitiful to hear narrow-minded bigots, pretending to be teachers and leaders of men, so cruelly remanding their own mothers, and the rest of womankind, to absolute subjection to the ordinary masculine type of humanity.¹⁹

Mrs. Stanton spent much of her time in London discussing the woman's rights question with Lucretia Mott, one of the ousted delegates. The two women agreed to call a woman's rights convention when they returned to the United States--a resolve that was fulfilled eight years later, when the two women organized the woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Working for the abolition cause taught women a number of invaluable lessons, including: (1) the art of speaking before a mixed sex (or "promiscuous") audience; (2) the effective use of petitioning, lobbying, and other political tactics; (3) the substance of human rights and libertarian philosophies; and (4) the limits placed on women even in so liberal a reform movement as abolition.

¹⁹Stanton, Eighty Years and More, pp. 80-81.

This last lesson would be re-taught again and again as women worked for temperance societies, church organizations, and other social causes:

Women had been willing so long to hold a subordinate position, both in private and public affairs, that a gradually growing feeling of rebellion among them quite exasperated the men, and their manifestations of hostility in public meetings were often as ridiculous as humiliating.

True, these gentlemen were all quite willing that women should join their societies and churches to do the drudgery. . . to circulate petitions from door to door; to visit saloons; to pray with or defy rumsellers; to teach school at half price, and sit round the outskirts of a hall, in teachers' State conventions, like so many wallflowers; but they would not allow them to sit on the platform, address the assembly, or vote for men and measures.²⁰

The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, which marked the beginning of organized agitation for woman suffrage in the United States, was a haphazardly planned affair. Eight years had passed since the World Anti-Slavery Convention. Mrs. Stanton, having borne four children and having recently moved from cosmopolitan Boston to the slower-paced Seneca Falls, was visiting Lucretia Mott, Jane Hunt, Martha Wright, and Mary Ann McClintock on July 13. As Mrs. Stanton was to recall: "I poured out, that day, the torrent of my long accumulating discontent with such vehemence and indignation that I stirred myself, as well as the rest of the party, to do and dare anything."²¹

²⁰Ibid., p. 186.

²¹Ibid., pp. 147-48.

The women sat down around a mahogany table (now in the Smithsonian Institute) and wrote an announcement that appeared in the next day's edition of the Seneca County Courier:

Woman's Rights Convention--A convention to discuss the social, civil and religious rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, Seneca Falls, New York, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July current; commencing at 10 a.m. During the first day the meeting will be held exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia and other ladies and gentlemen will address the convention.²²

The women had five days to plan the convention. They decided to let Lucretia's husband, John, conduct the meeting. The next step to be taken was drafting a declaration of sentiments. After much deliberation, the women decided to paraphrase the Declaration of Independence, sentence by sentence, substituting the word "man" for King George III. The Declaration began:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal. . . ." ²³

After listing sixteen grievances, the Declaration presented eleven resolutions, including the controversial ninth: "Resolved,

²²Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. I (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881), p. 67.

²³Ibid., pp. 70-71.

That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." This resolution, which was included, over the objections of most of the conference organizers, at the insistence of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frederick Douglass, was the only resolution not passed unanimously by convention participants.

Although the organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention initially were reluctant to ask for anything as radical as the right to vote, it was to turn out that suffrage would be the single issue on which the largest bloc of nineteenth century women would agree. In fact, the Seneca Falls Convention is commemorated as the beginning of the organized drive for woman suffrage.

July, 1848 certainly was not the first time the idea of women voting had been raised. Abigail Adams, although not specifically suggesting that women be given the right to vote, had requested that members of the Continental Congress "would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them." Thirteen years later, Mary Wollstonecraft had written: "I may excite laughter by dropping a hint which I mean to pursue some future time, for I really think that woman ought to have representatives, instead of being arbitrarily governed without having any direct share allowed them in the deliberations of government."²⁴

²⁴Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Woman, p. 220.

In fact, there had been a very limited history of woman suffrage in the United States. Women in New Jersey had voted between 1776 and 1807, when the legislature voted to limit the franchise to free, white, males.²⁵

Whatever the reluctance of the organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention to raise the issue of woman suffrage, the meeting was a success. The women and men at the convention heard and participated in a number of lively debates. They heard Elizabeth Cady Stanton present her first public speech. After working separately on each resolution, sixty-eight women and thirty-two men (a third of those present)²⁶ signed their names, "but many of them withdrew their names as soon as the inevitable storm of newspaper ridicule and vituperation burst upon their heads."²⁷

Susan B. Anthony did not attend the Seneca Falls Convention, as news of the meeting did not reach Canajoharie, N.Y., where she was teaching, until after the meeting had been held. But she was interested in details of the meeting and read everything she could find about it and the woman's rights convention held later in July in Rochester, N.Y. Despite her interest, however, "when she read the

²⁵ Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 164.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 77.

²⁷ Rheta Childe Dorr, Susan B. Anthony (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1928), p. 51.

eleventh resolution calling for the right to vote, she laughed."²⁸ She soon discovered that her father, mother, and sister not only had attended the Rochester meeting, but all had signed their names to the demand for equal suffrage, even though they were Quakers who themselves did not vote.

But Miss Anthony, like many of her contemporaries, would hesitate before becoming committed to the woman suffrage movement. The many other reforms of the day--moral reform, dress reform, temperance, abolition, and vegetarianism, to name a few--all had many dedicated female supporters. Temperance was Susan Anthony's major interest, and she would soon give up her teaching job to serve as a paid lecturer for the temperance cause.

In the course of her travels, she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who convinced Miss Anthony as she would over the years convince countless other women, that woman had to have autonomy herself before she could work effectively for other reforms.

From Seneca Falls, the organization of a suffrage movement was accomplished very quickly, and from 1848 to 1861 annual suffrage meetings were held around the country. Women began using petitions and lobbying techniques and even testified before state and federal legislative committees to further their own cause as well as the Negro's.

²⁸Ibid., p. 52. Miss Dorr incorrectly refers to the eleventh resolution. It was the ninth resolution, demanding woman suffrage, that elicited a laugh from Miss Anthony.

Although the Civil War temporarily halted woman suffrage activity, the conflict provided numerous opportunities for women to expand the scope of their activity. The Sanitary Commission, an effort initiated and conducted by women, provided the Union with much needed public health services. "Behind the famous greeting, 'Hello, Sanitary,' which echoed down the rows of cots to the women bringing jelly, fruit, clean clothing, soap, and other essentials to the ragged men, lay the work of a complex organization which, by the end of the war, numbered some 7,000 local societies throughout the North and West, and which raised--and spent--the huge sum of \$50,000,000."²⁹ The war also gave women a chance to enter the clerical profession, for large numbers of civil service workers were needed in Washington, D.C.

During the early years of the war, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony organized the National Woman's Loyal League and supervised the collection of 300,000 signatures on petitions asking for emancipation of the slaves. The petition drive "was acknowledged by President Lincoln and members of Congress as furnishing an authoritative public demand for the Emancipation Proclamation."³⁰

The war ended and the emancipation of slaves accomplished, the question of the extension of suffrage was again on the public

²⁹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 107.

³⁰Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), p. 35.

mind. The woman's rights leaders, who not only had worked for the emancipation of the Negro and had served in the war effort, but also had subsumed their own interests during the war, cherished the belief that they, along with the Negro, would be rewarded with the franchise. They soon learned otherwise, when the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed. The amendment had two sections, the first, defining citizenship, and the second, forbidding any state to deny the right to vote to its male citizens. The amendment was devastating to feminists:

For the first time the word male was mentioned in the Constitution, which, in its original form had contained not a syllable limiting the qualifications of voters, as to sex, race, social or financial status. . . . To Susan [B. Anthony], chief among the women who had toiled so unselfishly to lift the curse of negro slavery from the land, this new affirmation of women's subjected status came as a stunning blow. Not only in the Women's Loyal League had Northern women rendered devoted service to the Union. In the Sanitary Commission, in military hospitals, in first aid stations under fire, in war work of every description back of the lines, they had worked faithfully and well. Even, in some cases, in the planning of campaigns and in the secret service women had distinguished themselves. They had been the first to go into the South as teachers in negro schools. And now, for their sole reward, they found that, as Elizabeth Cady Stanton expressed it, they had "boosted the negro over their own heads."³¹

The Fourteenth Amendment was passed, an "implied denial of suffrage to women," said the Springfield Republican.³²

³¹Dorr, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 178-79.

³²Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, pp. 41-42.

But, as the suffragists would so bitterly recall years later, the post-war years were labeled "the Negro's hour," and nothing the women did seemed to change the situation. Men such as Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, and Horace Greeley--men who had worked side by side with women in the abolition movement--now turned their backs on their sisters. In fact, the debate over suffrage for Negroes alone versus universal suffrage caused a split among women in the suffrage movement, leading to the formation of the conservative American Woman Suffrage Association and the liberal National Woman Suffrage Association.

The first state referendum on the woman suffrage question was held in Kansas in 1867, and, despite the valiant efforts of suffrage leaders including Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, the measure was defeated.

These setbacks to the woman's rights cause were happening at a time when women, having entered the outside world in increasing numbers, appear to have needed the support of an organized movement on their behalf. The Printer's Circular, a New York trade paper, reported in 1869 that "75,000 women in New York and its suburbs were dependent on their own labor at wages half those of men in the same occupations--ranging from \$4.50 a week for seamstresses to \$18 a week for editors."³³

There were, however, some encouraging signs. In 1866, woman suffrage conventions again started convening annually. In 1867, women

³³Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. III (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930), p. 93.

were admitted to the national cigarmakers' union and in 1869, to the national printers' union. In December, 1868 Sen. S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas proposed a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. And early in 1868, woman's rights journalism began a new era--The Revolution, the first national suffrage newspaper, arrived on the scene.

Women in American Journalism:
Printers, Publishers, Editors,
and Authors

Journalism had traditionally provided a forum and a profession for a small number of American women. In colonial times, many women inherited newspapers and printing establishments when their husbands died. Not a few women proved to be able printers and businesswomen. Three of the first four newspapers in the colonies were, at some time, under the direction of women.³⁴ In colonial New York, Anne Zenger published the New-York Weekly Journal during the eight months her husband, Peter, was in jail on charges of seditious libel. Her ability to keep the paper alive gave Zenger a forum for presenting his views on his case.³⁵

Southern women also were active in printing and publishing. Colonial South Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia all were served by women newspaper publishers.³⁶

³⁴Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States from 1690-1872 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1873), pp. 55-112, passim.

³⁵Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), p. 32.

³⁶Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies, pp. 263-267.

These women--primarily printers, but also writers and editors when necessary--carried a great deal of the printing load during the Revolutionary era. One woman who played a vital role was Anne Green, publisher of the Maryland Gazette. Maryland, because of its central location, was an important link between the New England and Southern colonies:

Until Aug. 20, 1773, when William Goddard began publication in Baltimore of the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, the Gazette was the only Maryland newspaper, and its role in reporting the political events leading to the Revolution was an important one. Mrs. Green printed communications from the Northern colonies showing the increasing protest against the Townshend Acts and the establishment and success of nonimportation agreements. Through her columns John Dickinson's Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer reached the public. Accounts of the Boston Tea Party and the Boston Port Act of 1774 aroused great excitement. By informing the people of plans and protests elsewhere as well as at home, the Gazette no doubt unconsciously helped to push the revolutionary cause.³⁷

A few years later, when the nation was established, and the war emergency was over, the value of women's services, in journalism as well as in other areas, seems to have declined. The satire of Steele and Addison, concentrating as it did on the weaknesses, dress, and silly habits of the "fair Sex," was, after nearly one hundred years being picked up by American writers. Noah Webster's comment in the March, 1788 issue of the American Magazine is representative of contemporary advice given to the "ladies:" "To be lovely you must be content to be women; to be mild, social, and sentimental--to be acquainted with

³⁷Edward T. James, ed., Notable American Women, 1607-1950, Vol. II (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1971), p. 80.

all that belongs to your department--and leave the masculine virtues, and the profound researches of study to the province of the other sex."³⁸ Webster's statement reflected the opinion of a majority of his contemporaries and, in fact, was the philosophy behind the gears of "ladies' magazines" typified by Godey's Lady's Book, edited for many years by Sarah Josepha Hale.

But the seeds of rebellion had been planted, and an increasing number of women would defy Webster's dictum. By this time, the writings of Judith Sargent Murray and Mary Wollstonecraft had been disseminated, and new writers and thinkers were emerging. One of the earliest and most radical of the nineteenth century American women writers was Frances (or Fanny) Wright, whose scandalous conduct shocked her contemporaries. Frances Wright, a Freethinker, was a follower of the Scottish reformer, Robert Owen. Among the causes espoused by the two were abolition, opposition to organized religions, and support for women's rights. If Frances Wright had confined her activities to writing, her radical views probably would have been tolerated, but she spoke in public at a time when people literally did not know what kind of sound to expect when a woman got up to speak in public.

After attempting to establish a Utopian community in Tennessee, Miss Wright and Owen moved to New York, where they edited and published the Free Enquirer from 1829 to 1835. According to Frank Luther Mott: "Controversy was the meat on which the Free Enquirer fed. . . . The

³⁸Mott, History of American Magazines, Vol. I, p. 64.

editors were the chief contributors. . . . With such striking personalities in charge, the Free Enquirer was of course interesting."³⁹ Among the reforms advocated by the Free Enquirer were: abolition of capital punishment, improvements in the status of women, birth control, and other unpopular causes.⁴⁰ Frances Wright met strong hostility from the public and generally is not considered to have had a favorable effect in advancing reformist ideas. "Frances Wright appeared on the scene too soon to influence the first generation of feminists directly, although some of them had certainly heard of her activities."⁴¹

Anne Royall, while as flamboyant an individual as Miss Wright, had less lofty goals. Although she did support an impressive array of reforms such as liberal immigration and tariff laws, the abolition of flogging in the United States Navy, better conditions for wage earners, and the right of freedom of expression, Mrs. Royall was also prone to publishing a bit of gossip and scandal. Mrs. Royall began publishing in Washington, D.C. in 1831, issuing Paul Pry, a "lively weekly in which local gossip and sharp-tongued editorial comment found prominent place."⁴² She edited Paul Pry for five years

³⁹ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 538.

⁴⁰ Gerda Lerner, "Women's Rights and American Feminism," American Scholar, XL (Spring, 1971), 241.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p. 30.

and then began a new weekly, The Huntress. In both publications Mrs. Royall defended Sunday transportation of the mails, supported states' rights, opposed the Bank of the United States, and campaigned for religious tolerance. She was taken seriously, not only by her opponents, but also by other newspaper publishers. In 1829, because of her opposition to organized religion, Mrs. Royall was brought to trial, accused of being a "common scold," an old common law offense punishable by dunking--an offense which, by definition, only a woman could commit. During her trial, many editorials were published on the case, and public concern seems to have been aroused about the effect of Anne Royall's conviction (she was, at the last minute, spared the indignity of the dunking) on the recently won right of freedom of speech and of the press.⁴³

Jane Grey Swisshelm was the first woman editor and publisher in the United States to include the woman's rights question in her sphere of interest. Mrs. Swisshelm, editor of the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter (which was later consolidated with another paper as the Family Journal and Visiter), the St. Cloud (Minn.) Visiter, the St. Cloud Democrat, and the Reconstructionist (published in Washington, D.C.), was the first woman in the Washington press corps. Mrs. Swisshelm, a small, delicate-looking woman, had a sharp mind and acid pen. Frank Luther Mott, writing of the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter, noted: "It was primarily an antislavery journal, but the very boldness of its editress

⁴³Robert Somerlott, "Anne Royall: 'Common Scold,'" Ms., March, 1974, p. 16.

made it an argument in itself for woman's rights."⁴⁴ Jane Grey Swisshelm supported woman suffrage, although she never became involved in any woman suffrage organization. Her editorials in the Pittsburgh Visiter, advocating married woman's property rights, are credited with hastening this reform in Pennsylvania.⁴⁵

Perhaps the best known woman journalist of the time was Margaret Fuller, editor of the transcendentalist journal, the Dial, reporter for Horace Greeley's Tribune, and author of the widely discussed essay, Woman in the Nineteenth Century. Miss Fuller's woman's rights arguments were similar to those of Mary Wollstonecraft--sweeping indictments of the countless ways society discriminated against women. Like Miss Wollstonecraft, Miss Fuller blamed most of women's inadequacies on environment, rather than on hereditary deficiencies. After pointing out the hypocrisy of some of men's concern for women's frailties ("Those who think the physical circumstances of Woman would make a part in the affairs of national government unsuitable, are by no means those who think it impossible for negresses to endure field-work, even during pregnancy, or for seamstresses to go through their killing labors"),⁴⁶ Miss Fuller presented the basis on which equality for women must rest: "Yet then and only then will mankind be ripe for this [harmony of the sphere], when inward and outward freedom for

⁴⁴Mott, History of American Magazines, Vol. II, p. 50.

⁴⁵James, Notable American Women, Vol. III, p. 416.

⁴⁶Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century, p. 35.

Woman as much as for Man shall be acknowledged as a right, not yielded as a concession. As a friend of the negro assumes that one man cannot by right hold another in bondage, so should the friend of Woman assume that Man cannot by right lay even well-meant restrictions on Woman."⁴⁷

Miss Fuller was not involved in the political woman's rights movement. Nevertheless, her writings were quoted extensively by feminists long after her tragic death by drowning in 1850.

Mrs. Murray, Miss Wright, Mrs. Swisshelm, and Miss Fuller each reported on a wide range of subjects--abolition, suffrage, woman's rights, to name a few. A number of nineteenth century woman journalists, however, concentrated on a single reform. Because of the limited scope of interest of these individuals, it is not surprising that their periodicals were short-lived, and their names are almost forgotten. But, as evidence of the social ferment of the period, some of these editors and publishers should be mentioned.

The abolition movement brought with it opportunity for women journalists and writers. Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, the first American woman to work for the antislavery cause, edited the "Ladies' Respository" section of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, published by Benjamin Lundy. Lydia Maria Child gave up popularity as a novelist

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 37.

and editor of a children's magazine to work for the abolition cause and served as editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard from 1841 to 1843.⁴⁸

Mary Ann Shadd Cary, a black woman from Delaware, left the state in the late 1850s to go to Canada. She settled in Windsor, Ontario, where, for three years, she published the Provincial Freeman.⁴⁹

Julia Ward Howe, famous as the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," was, with her husband, an editor of the Boston Commonwealth, an anti-slavery newspaper.

In the 1840s and 1850s, woman's rights advocates began to feel the need for more publications devoted to their particular interests. Women, however, often lacked money and expertise and often were forced to move because of their husbands' business commitments, leaving successful ventures behind or transplanting them to the frontier. Two successful newspapers that did not survive such moves were The Lily, "devoted to the Interests of Women," edited and published by Amelia Bloomer (best known for her effort to introduce the trouser and tunic costume advocated by those who believed in dress reform) and the Windham, Vermont, Country Democrat. The latter paper

⁴⁸For discussion of Mrs. Swisshelm, Miss Chandler, and Mrs. Child, see Dorothy Langdon Yates, "Belles of Freedom: Three Women Antislavery Editors," unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1969.

⁴⁹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 98.

was published by Clarina Howard Nichols, who wrote a number of editorials on the need for reform of married women's property laws. It should be noted that Elizabeth Cady Stanton began her prolific writing career by publishing pieces in The Lily, which was published in Seneca Falls.⁵⁰

Some of the better known woman's journals of the period were the Genius of Liberty, edited and published from 1852 to 1854 by Mrs. E. A. Aldrich, the Pioneer and Woman's Advocate, published by Anna W. Spencer in Providence, R.I., and Paulina Wright Davis's Una, founded in 1853, also published in Providence.

The Woman's Advocate, published in Philadelphia from 1855 to 1860, had the distinction of being owned, edited, and printed by women under the direction of Anna McDowell.⁵¹ The Woman's Advocate was a moderate publication, concerned mainly with moral reform. Many of the articles in the paper dealt with prostitution and other evidences of moral decline, especially in the cities. Once, however, Sarah Grimke wrote a column for the Woman's Advocate in which she went closer to the home as the root of the problem of woman's inequality: "Instead of regarding his wife as a help-mate for him, an equal sharer in joys and sorrows, he [the average husband] looks upon her as a useful

⁵⁰Mott, History of American Magazines, Vol. II, p. 50.

⁵¹Bertha Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers," American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 678-99.

article of furniture which is valuable only for the benefit derived from it, but which may be thrown aside at pleasure."⁵²

A number of dress reform papers were published at this time. Dress reform was an issue embraced by many woman's rights proponents, who argued that the fashionable style of dress, with skirts that swept up the dirt of the street, corsets and stays that prevented women from breathing deeply, and garters that interrupted circulation in the leg, was, in fact, a deterrent to women seeking an equal place with men in society. The Bloomer costume was the most publicized antidote to contemporary fashions; The Lily, while it did not succeed in selling the costume to the public, did profit from the publicity the question brought the paper.

Lydia Sayer was one woman who never ceased supporting the Bloomer costume. She published a magazine, The Sybil, from 1856 to 1864 in Middletown, N.Y., in which she tried to revive interest in the Bloomer costume. Unfortunately, most of the woman's rights advocates who had supported the costume had, by 1856, ceased to wear it. Although Miss Sayer did not receive much public support, she continued to wear the reform costume until her death in 1910.⁵³

There were many more newspapers and magazines that lasted only a few weeks, months, or years. The rate at which such special

⁵²Woman's Advocate, Feb. 15, 1838, in Carroll Smith Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," American Quarterly, XXIII (October, 1971), 562-84.

⁵³Robert E. Riegel, "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," American Quarterly, XV (Fall, 1963), 390-401.

interest publications appeared and disappeared in the 1840s to 1860s is astonishing, especially considering the limited financial resources at women's disposal.

These publications served a much needed function for suffragists, for "the press in general did little to further the women's cause."⁵⁴ Leaders such as Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and Miss Stone took full advantage of the array of publications at their disposal. It was inevitable that suffrage workers would eventually decide to publish periodicals of their own. The Revolution was the first realization of this impulse to spread the woman suffrage and woman's right message throughout the United States. Although the newspaper survived only two and a half years, it led the way for a long line of suffragist periodicals that would help carry the movement for women's enfranchisement until the battle finally was won in 1920.

⁵⁴Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 81.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Revolution was launched by an unlikely publishing team: two women activists (one the mother of seven children, the other a former schoolteacher), a presidential candidate, and a minister. Yet these four individuals--Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, George Francis Train, and Parker Pillsbury--despite their differences in background, philosophy, and strategy, did succeed in starting and carrying on the first woman suffrage periodical in the United States.

The social climate was favorable for such a publication. The issue of woman suffrage was re-emerging in the late 1860s after having been buried during the Civil War. As an increasing number of women in more parts of the expanding nation began to take an interest in the question of their own right to the ballot, there was a "great seed of a medium through which the cause of woman might be thoroughly advocated."¹

But like many abstract ideas, the launching of a suffrage newspaper depended on the right mixture of events and personalities. In this case George Francis Train acted as the catalyst that put Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury at the editor's desks and Susan B. Anthony in the publisher's office at The Revolution's Park Row headquarters.

¹Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), p. 300.

Although all four persons were responsible for launching the publication, The Revolution is usually thought of as Miss Anthony's and Mrs. Stanton's newspaper. And, in fact, the two women did bear most of the responsibility for the newspaper. This fact is understandable. Whereas for Train and Pillsbury, woman suffrage was just one of many pet causes, for the women, the experience with The Revolution was one segment of a lifelong dedication to the woman's rights cause.

For each individual, however, an appreciable commitment of time, money, and energy was devoted to keeping The Revolution alive. In order to understand the impetus for this effort, it is necessary to examine the lives that were brought together for the publishing venture.

George Francis Train

Elizabeth Cady Stanton described him as "a large, fine-looking man, a gentleman in dress and manner, neither smoking, chewing, drinking, nor gormandizing."² Lucy Stone, on the other hand, feared that his "presence as an advocate of woman suffrage was enough to condemn it."³ George Francis Train appears to have excited such extreme feelings in others throughout his life.

²Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), p. 256.

³Miriam Gurko, The Ladies of Seneca Falls (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 224.

Train was born in Boston in 1829 and spent most of his youth in Massachusetts. After his mother, three sisters, and father died in a yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans, the boy was raised by his grandparents. When he was fourteen, George Train began working for his uncle, a shipping merchant. Thus began a lifelong fascination with travel and modern means of transportation. By the time the Civil War started, Train had been to England, Australia, and the Orient, had been responsible for commissioning the building of the famous ship, the Flying Cloud, had raised capital in England for building an intercontinental railroad in the United States, and was beginning to persuade the townspeople of Liverpool, London, and Staffordshire of the need for streetcars in these cities.

But besides being a successful businessman, Train was a highly opinionated individual, and the fiercely pro-Union speeches he made in England made him increasingly unpopular there. "Love of country was always stronger in me than love of money, and I let slip no opportunity to defend the cause of the Union and to prove to the English of the upper classes that they were mistaken in supposing that the Confederacy could succeed."⁴ In 1862 Train returned to the United States and started promoting the Credit Mobiler method of financing the soon to be built Union Pacific Railroad. While he was

⁴George Francis Train, My Life in Many States and in Foreign Lands (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1902), p. 271.

in Nebraska working on this venture, Train became an active Democrat. In 1867, the party offered his services to Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who were canvassing Kansas, trying to get voter support for a woman suffrage referendum.

By this time Train was well-known--his flamboyant actions and speeches and his ardent support for certain causes were enough to turn many people against him. But added to these sins was the fact that Train was a Democrat--a member of the party that had supported the institution of slavery. Heretofore, woman suffrage advocates had been closely allied with the Republicans. This alliance was a natural outgrowth of the common interest the two groups had in abolition and antislavery. Most suffrage supporters did not want to go against their Republican friends; however, Susan B. Anthony was a pragmatist. George Francis Train was willing to devote his own time and money to the woman suffrage cause. Besides, in 1867 most Republican men had temporarily abandoned the woman suffrage question, and were, in fact, urging the women to wait until Negro suffrage was granted by the federal government.

Under these circumstances, Miss Anthony had only one choice:

The Republicans not only had forsaken the women but were waging open war upon them. The sole hope of carrying the amendment was by adding enough Democratic votes to those of Republicans who would not obey their party orders to vote against it. . . .The following telegram was sent to Train: "Come to Kansas and stump the State for equal rights and woman suffrage. The people want you, the women want you."⁵

⁵Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, p. 286.

The women were not sorry with the decision. George Francis Train was a sincere, exciting speaker who attracted a great deal of publicity for the woman suffrage cause:

The person who got the longest notices--not all of them entirely complimentary--was George Francis Train. Just then at the height of his fame as a financial wizard, a millionaire, a traveler in mythical lands of the Far East, a friend of royalty in Europe, and above all a sartorial miracle, Kansas came miles to see him. Ranchers and cowboys, buffalo hustlers and gamblers, in high boots and ten gallon hats, chaps and spurs and flannel shirts, came to hoot and remained to wonder. Women and girls came to giggle and admire. But George Francis Train was no mere tailor's dummy. He gave them the worth of their money not only by displaying raiment the like of which the frontier had never beheld, but by speeches full of political dynamite, and by all the dramatic touches he could contrive to add to the program.⁶

Train's greatest and best-remembered contribution to the woman's rights cause, however, came at the very end of the Kansas campaign. One day, as Train and Miss Anthony were traveling to Junction City, he asked why the women did not have a newspaper. She had told him that they could not find anyone to provide the financial support necessary for such an undertaking. After expressing amazement that men like Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore Tilton would not advance the money, Train said he would have to do so himself. Miss Anthony had not taken him seriously, however, and had gone about the business of arranging for that night's speeches.

It was nine o'clock when they reached. . . Junction City. . . and, as usual, Miss Anthony had to make her speech without change of dress, and a half hour later Mr. Train stepped on the platform refreshed and resplendent. His first words were: "When Miss

⁶Rheta Childe Dorr, Susan B. Anthony (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1928), p. 195.

Anthony gets back to New York she is going to start a woman suffrage paper. Its name is to be The Revolution; its motto, 'men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights, and nothing less.' This paper is to be a weekly, price \$2 per year; its editors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury; its proprietor, Susan B. Anthony. Let everybody subscribe to it!"⁷

Here was the chance the women had been waiting for--the chance to publish their own newspaper.

The campaign for suffrage was unsuccessful, the woman suffrage amendment receiving 9,070 votes of 30,000 votes cast. But the loss was not mourned by the campaigners, who were looking ahead to The Revolution. Train was true to his word--in his own fashion. After the election, he and the two women started on the journey East. They spoke at most major cities on the way and arrived in New York in time to make arrangements to start publishing Jan. 8, 1868.

Train remained in New York to see the first issue distributed. Unfortunately, he chose this time to go to England, where he was immediately arrested for his support of the Fenians. He had handed Miss Anthony \$600 before he left New York and continued to send stories to the paper while he was in prison, but any hopes the women had entertained of maintaining the paper with Train's support were disappointed. The women turned to other sources, but never were able to generate any dependable support. After his return to the United States, Train did make some minor financial contributions to the paper. But opposition to him had never abated, and in 1869 he offered to withdraw his name and all support from The Revolution. Miss Anthony

⁷Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, p. 290.

accepted his offer, and the columns of The Revolution no longer were filled with the "mad extravagances" of George Francis Train.

Train's political involvement kept him in the spotlight for the next three years. He decided in 1869 to begin campaigning for the 1872 presidential election, using as his motto: "We the people, not I the king."⁸ He was confident of his chances: "I had not the slightest doubt that I should be elected; and, with this sublime self-confidence, threw myself into the campaign with an energy and fire that never before, perhaps, characterized a Presidential candidate. I went into the campaign as into a battle."⁹ As the campaign progressed, Train realized that he would not win and dropped out of the race in 1871.

Although not as a presidential nominee, Train was destined to be in the public eye in 1872, the presidential election year. Once again, he was involved in a controversial situation involving both woman's rights advocates and publishing. Henry Ward Beecher, the famous preacher and abolitionist, was accused of committing adultery with Elizabeth Tilton, whose husband, Theodore, was a protege of Beecher. The story had been brought before the public by Victoria Woodhull, the seer, stockbroker, and suffragist who edited and published Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, a gossip woman's rights periodical.

⁸John Wesley Nichols, ed., The People's Candidate for President, 1872, George Francis Train (New York: n.p., 1872), back cover.

⁹Train, My Life in Many States and Foreign Lands, p. 318.

Miss Woodhull soon came under public fire for publishing the story, as much for the obscenity of her discussions of the affair as for the fact that she had intruded on the private lives of Beecher and the Tiltons. In defense of Miss Woodhull's freedom of speech, Train in his newspaper, Train Ligne, published passages of pornographic writing, which the following week he identified as passages from the Bible. This stunt landed Train a six-month stay in the Tombs prison in New York City. Furthermore, the court ruled that Train was insane, a finding that cost him \$30 million in property he held in Omaha; for the rest of his life, Train was denied all rights to the property. This incident also gave Train the dubious distinction of being the first American to incur the wrath of Anthony Comstock, the censor who would later harness a great number of people--Emma Goldman to H. L. Mencken.

Train continued his world travels, setting three records for traveling around the world: in seventy-eight days in 1870, then in sixty-eight days in 1890 (beating Nellie Bly's record of seventy-three days), and finally, in 1892, in just sixty days. In his autobiography, Train claimed that he was the model for Jules Verne's Around the World in Eighty Days, but this notion was not substantiated by his biographers.

After his last voyage, Train settled permanently in New York City. His later years were spent writing his autobiography, My Life in Many States and in Foreign Lands, experimenting in a genre he called psychic verse, and talking with children. He died Jan. 19, 1909.

Train's overall contribution to the woman's right movement was spotty. Before his participation in the 1867 suffrage campaign in Kansas, Train does not appear to have expressed public opinion on the question of woman's rights. In fact, because he was a Democrat, Train was suspected in 1867 of supporting woman suffrage as an attempt to forestall the coming of Negro suffrage.

But Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony do not seem to have been troubled by questions of Train's sincerity. Although his reputation would haunt the women for years after The Revolution had folded, they accepted his support and defended his name for the rest of their lives: "Miss Anthony often said that all the severe criticisms made upon him for years had not been able to impair the respect with which he inspired her during. . . Kansas. . . campaign. Mrs. Stanton, essentially an aristocrat and severe in her judgment of men and manners, spoke highly of Mr. Train in her Reminiscences."¹⁰

There is no existing indication of Train's own feelings about woman's rights and woman suffrage. He included woman suffrage on his platform when he made his bid for the presidency, and he was a friend of Victoria Woodhull. In his autobiography published in 1907, however, Train does not mention The Revolution, Susan B. Anthony, or Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Nor is his connection with the suffragists mentioned in the Dictionary of American Biography, National Cyclopaedia

¹⁰Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, I, 292.

of American Biography, or a biography, The Nine Lives of Citizen Train, published in 1945.

Perhaps this ambiguity is unimportant. In 1867, when Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were answering suffragists who questioned Train's motives, the two women pointed out that, regardless of his eccentricities, Train was willing to give active support to their cause at a time when many former supporters were urging women to wait. Whatever his shortcomings, George Francis Train was instrumental in providing the impetus for a great experiment that no one else had dared try--the launching of a suffragist journal.

Parker Pillsbury

If George Francis Train seems to have been guided by whim more than by principles, Parker Pillsbury was the opposite. Pillsbury based all his reform activities--in the abolition and the woman's rights movements--on the firm Christian principles that had first led him to the ministry.

Pillsbury was born in Hamilton, Mass., in 1809, son of Oliver and Anna Smith Pillsbury. Shortly after Parker's birth, the family moved to New Hampshire, a state that would be Parker Pillsbury's permanent residence for the rest of his life. He attended district schools and until in his mid-twenties worked on the family farm and as a wagoner.

Pillsbury was interested in antislavery and temperance and "had inherited a religious nature,"¹¹ so in 1835 he entered Gilmanton Theological Seminary, a short-lived institution located near his home. Because of his doubts about the adequacy of the training he received at Gilmanton, Pillsbury spent a year at the reputable Andover Theological Seminary. Here, however, Pillsbury's opposition to slavery got him in trouble with the school's faculty, many of whom supported the institution. One professor, for example, Professor Moses Stuart, "constantly wrote and preached the God-given right of white Americans to keep the Negro in chains."¹²

In 1839 Pillsbury was licensed to preach (he never did become an ordained minister), and for a year he served as pastor of a Congregational church. But "Christians in general opposed the anti-slavery movement, and pulpits were closed to its advocates,"¹³ so Pillsbury gave up the profession he had trained for. In 1840, he devoted his life to reform.

That year marked the real beginning of a split in the abolitionist ranks. On one side were those who considered woman's rights an extension of the same principles as those behind antislavery. The opposition consisted of those who wanted to tackle one reform at a time.

¹¹National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. II (New York: J. T. White and Co., 1893-1911), p. 331.

¹²Lawrence Lader, The Bold Brahmins: New England's War Against Slavery: 1831-1863 (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1961), p. 125.

¹³National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. II, p. 331.

The issue of woman's rights had been a tacit part of the antislavery situation for years, as long as women had become involved in the reform movement. Gradually in the United States, it was becoming more common for women to speak in abolition meetings and serve as delegates at antislavery conventions. But this liberal trend had not spread to Great Britain, and when American women delegates attempted to be seated at the World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840, they were barred from the convention floor. The ousted women delegates were joined by American men such as William Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel P. Rogers, editor of the Herald of Freedom, who protested the insult to elected delegates.

Parker Pillsbury was not at the World Anti-Slavery Convention--he was in Concord, N.H. editing the Herald of Freedom in Rogers's absence--but Pillsbury's sympathies were with the women. In his autobiographical account of the abolition movement, Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles, Pillsbury would write of the event:

In. . . 1840 . . . was held in London the memorable World's anti-slavery convention, made memorable most of all by its rejection of several American commissioned delegates, one of them being Mrs. Lucretia Mott, because they were women. "British usage," was the only plea in justification, in a realm that had had women at the head of state and church, parliament, army, navy, the whole nation, many times, all down the centuries from Boadicea to Queen Victoria.¹⁴

The years 1840 to 1842 appear to have been Pillsbury's most exciting time. Garrison had suggested that abolitionists establish a

¹⁴Parker Pillsbury, Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles (Concord, N.H.: n.p., 1883), p. 88.

policy of "coming out," that is of forcing slave-supporting churches and pastors to show their hand. Pillsbury and Stephen Symonds Foster took Garrison's decree to heart and turned their attention to purging the churches of all pro-slavery elements. The two men would travel throughout New England and would enter a church during services, asking permission to address the congregation. The two never seem to have waited for the granting of that permission; they would take advantage of the silence brought about by the surprise of the congregation and would begin bringing up antislavery arguments. Not surprisingly, their action met with much opposition. The men were thrown out of churches, beaten, and taken to court for disturbing the peace. In fact, the two stirred up so much violence among slavery advocates that "even Garrison and Phillips felt their militancy was being carried too far."¹⁵ Pillsbury and Foster, however, felt they were doing the right thing. In a letter to Foster, Pillsbury wrote: "To the popular prevailing denominations we are infidels indeed, and we mean to be, and are willing to be scandalized as such."¹⁶

Revisionist historians in the 1960s questioned the motives for Pillsbury's zeal. Lawrence Lader mentions that Pillsbury "prized his patched and shredded coat, manhandled by many Sunday congregations."¹⁷

¹⁵Alma Lutz, Crusade for Freedom: Women in the Antislavery Movement (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 215.

¹⁶Lillie B. Chace Wyman, "Reminiscences of Two Abolitionists," New England Magazine, January, 1903, p. 541.

¹⁷Lader, Bold Brahmins, p. 123.

And, in fact, Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles, Pillsbury's account of the period, does dwell on descriptions of the opposition abolitionists met from violent mobs. Martin Duberman is one historian who sees Pillsbury as a fanatic; Duberman was speaking of Pillsbury, among others, in this passage: "Some of the abolitionists, it is true, were palpable neurotics, men who were not comfortable within themselves and therefore not comfortable with others, men whose 'reality testing' was poor, whose life-styles were pronouncedly compulsive, whose relationships were unusual compounds of demand and fantasy."¹⁸

Pillsbury's enthusiasm may seem strange to historians looking back one hundred years, but the man was dedicated to the anti-slavery cause. His dedication was admired by many of the leading liberals of the period. "Emerson declared him to be the strongest man intellectually of all that great abolition coterie composed of Garrison, Phillips, Foster, Rogers, and himself,"¹⁹ according to Pillsbury's obituary in the New York Times. Oliver Johnson, another abolitionist, said of Pillsbury: "Endowed with a vivid imagination, he could set the enormities of the slave system and the guilt of its supporters in their true light. His speeches were strong in argument, earnest and solemn in the manner of delivery, and adorned with an

¹⁸Martin Duberman, ed., The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 406.

¹⁹New York Times, July 8, 1898, p. 7.

imagery which to many was exceedingly fascinating."²⁰ And James Russell Lowell described Pillsbury this way:

Brows, broad-shouldered Pillsbury,
Who tears up words like trees by the roots--
A theseus in stout cow-hide boots

A terrible denouncer he!

Old Sinai burns unquenchably
Upon his lips; he well might be a
Hot blazing soul from fierce Judea.²¹

In addition to public speaking, Pillsbury did more writing and editing for the antislavery cause. In 1845-46 he again edited Herald of Freedom and in 1866 he was editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the newspaper that earlier had been edited by Lydia Marie Child.

But Pillsbury, like others, found his growing interest in woman's rights conflicting with the post-war strategy mapped out by the antislavery leaders. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Greeley, Frederick Douglass, and others insisted that women should postpone their activities on behalf of their own suffrage, equal protection, and equal pay for equal work until the Negro had gained these rights. In support of this idea, the antislavery advocates supported the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which conferred citizenship to the Negro. The problem with this amendment, however, was that it

²⁰New York Daily Tribune, July 9, 1898, p. 16.

²¹National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. II, p. 331.

introduced the word "male" into the Constitution. Heretofore, woman suffrage advocates had been able to point out that the Constitution did not specifically exclude women; the newest amendment would nullify that argument. Pillsbury sided with the women on this issue and resigned as editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, since its parent organization supported the amendment.

Two years later, in 1868, Pillsbury was employed with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as co-editor of The Revolution. Pillsbury's role in The Revolution is not well-documented. He had met Mrs. Stanton in 1843 when she lived in Boston. Undoubtedly, he, Mrs. Stanton, and Miss Anthony had lectured together on the temperance or antislavery circuit. But it was Train who chose Pillsbury, and none of the existing diaries or letters of Train, Mrs. Stanton, or Miss Anthony give any indication of the reason for Train's choice and Pillsbury's agreement to serve as editor.

Whatever the reason for choosing Pillsbury, he served the entire two and a half years that the paper was under Miss Anthony's and Mrs. Stanton's control.

Apparently, Parker was a self-effacing editor. In May, 1870 when the paper had been sold, Mrs. Stanton wrote to Miss Anthony: "You and Parker Pillsbury gone and our Revolution no more! There is is a sadness, though relief, in the fact. I was sorry Parker took

out of our farewell editorials all mention of him. It was wrong of him to do so, because it makes us look selfishly forgetful."²²

After 1870 Pillsbury preached at free religious societies in Salem and Toledo, Ohio, Battle Creek, Mich., and other western towns. He wrote many pamphlets and in 1883 published Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles.

Pillsbury returned to New Hampshire where he lived to the age of 89. One of his last public acts was to send a letter to the National American Woman Suffrage Association annual convention in 1897, the year before his death.

Pillsbury appears to have been a well-known public figure, even after the heyday of his involvement in controversial issues had subsided. He died July 7, 1898, during the height of excitement over the Spanish-American War. Despite the resulting competition for news space in the next day's newspapers, Pillsbury's obituary appeared in most of the New York dailies, as well as in newspapers as far west as Minnesota and as far south as Atlanta.

Although extensive documentation of the nature of Pillsbury's support for woman's rights is not readily available, his willingness to support Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the period 1865-70 was an outstanding service. Of all the abolitionist leaders

²²Theodore Stanton and Harriet Stanton Blatch, eds., Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1922), p. 126.

the women had worked with since the 1840s, only four later chose to champion the women--as one of these four, Pillsbury truly earned the reputation of "being one of the earliest and most uncompromising nineteenth-century advocates of justice to women."²³

Susan B. Anthony and
Elizabeth Cady Stanton

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON:
THE EARLY YEARS

"Doctor," said I, "which do you like best, boys or girls?"

"Why, girls, to be sure; I would not give you for all the boys in Christendom."

"My father," I replied, "prefers boys; he wishes I was one, and I intend to be as near like one as possible. I am going to ride on horseback and study Greek. Will you give me a Greek lesson now, doctor? I want to begin at once."²⁴

The determined young girl not only learned horseback riding and Greek, but also excelled in Latin and mathematics, winning scholastic awards in these subjects at a nearby boy's academy.

Despite her efforts, however, Elizabeth Cady soon learned that the achievements of a daughter were qualitatively different from those of a son. In response to her awards and honor, her father, heartbroken over the death of his sole son, could only respond, "Ah, you should have been a boy."²⁵

²³Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 609.

²⁴Stanton, Eighty Years and More, p. 21.

²⁵Ibid., p. 23.

Thus at the age of eleven, Elizabeth Cady first faced the problem of discrimination that she would fight all her life.

Elizabeth Cady was born Nov. 12, 1815. Her father, Judge Daniel Cady, a strong, successful lawyer, jurist, and politician was ambivalent in his feelings about women. He encouraged his bright daughter to excel, but he did not derive full parental satisfaction from her achievements.

Despite his inability to provide strong emotional support for his daughter, Judge Cady's profession did have a profound positive effect on Elizabeth's development. As a child, she often would sit in her father's office listening to the sorry tales of wives and widows--women who, because of the property laws in existence at the time, often were plunged into instant poverty by cruel, alcoholic, or simply careless husbands. "The tears and complaints of the women who came to my father for legal advice touched my heart and early drew my attention to the injustice and cruelty of the laws."²⁶

Elizabeth became so enraged by the laws that one day she decided to snip all offending laws out of her father's statute books. Luckily, her father intervened:

Without letting me know that he had discovered my secret, he explained to me one evening how laws were made, the large number of lawyers and libraries there were all over the State, and that if his library should burn up it would make no difference in woman's condition. "When you are grown up, and able to prepare a speech," said he, "you must go down to Albany and talk

²⁶Ibid., p. 31.

to the legislators; tell them all the things you have seen in this office--the sufferings of these Scotchwomen, robbed of their inheritance and left dependent on their unworthy sons, and, if you can persuade them to pass new laws, the old ones will be a dead letter."²⁷

But again, Judge Cady's mixed attitudes toward women can be seen. For later, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton, fulfilling her father's wish, first began making public speeches, her father, disgusted at the un-womanliness of her tactics, temporarily cut her out of his will.

In addition to studying, horseback riding, and satisfying her interest in law, Elizabeth spent her childhood playing with her many sisters and cousins and helping with housework. When she was eighteen, she was sent to Emma Willard's Troy Seminary, an institution she found to be disappointing. At the time, Troy Seminary was the best option open for girls, but after her schooling at a boys' academy, Elizabeth was simply too far advanced for the curriculum offered at Troy.

After completing her studies, Elizabeth returned to her parents' home. She spent a great deal of time visiting her cousin, Gerrit Smith, an abolitionist. During this period, she saw the underground railroad at work and met many antislavery activists, including Henry B. Stanton. The two wanted to get married, but Judge Cady objected--he did not want his daughter to marry an abolitionist. Elizabeth and Henry could not be deterred, however, and the wedding took place May 11, 1840; the word "obey" was omitted from the marriage

²⁷Ibid., p. 32.

vows at Elizabeth's insistence. A few days later, the couple departed for London where Henry was a delegate to the World Anti-Slavery Convention.

Elizabeth was there only as a spectator, but the action of the convention soon had her involved. The convention delegates denied seats on the floor to woman delegates from the United States. The fact that the women were highly respected made no difference to the convention. After this outrage, Mrs. Stanton spent a lot of time talking to Mrs. Lucretia Mott, a leading abolitionist and one of the ousted delegates. The women agreed to call a woman's rights convention when they returned to the United States.

The plan was to be postponed for eight years, as Elizabeth had to assume the duties of wife and mother. After the convention, she and Henry traveled in England, Scotland, Ireland, and France. The visit combined business with the pleasure of the wedding trip, as Henry was making antislavery speeches and writing articles. The contact the Stantons made with antislavery proponents in Europe introduced Elizabeth to some of the future leaders of the woman's right movement east of the Atlantic.

The Stantons returned to the Cady home in Johnstown for two years, and then the young couple moved to Boston, where they would spend an intellectually stimulating three years. It was in Boston that Elizabeth first met abolitionists Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, John Greenleaf Whitier, Lydia Marie Child, Abby Kelly, and Theodore Parker. After the birth of her third child, Elizabeth

received a gift from her father--a new house in Chelsea. She entertained often, Henry was doing well in his law career, and the two were deeply involved in the abolition cause.

The damp climate of Boston was bad for Henry's health, though, so the Stantons moved to Seneca Falls, N.Y. The change from Boston was a shock to Elizabeth. Suddenly she found herself in a small town, plagued with servant problems, and forced to assume more household and child care responsibilities than she was accustomed to. Furthermore, Henry's career kept him in Albany most of the time. For the first time in years, Elizabeth found herself with no educated adult company.

She read as much as she could and this made life bearable, but she was hungry for the stimulating companionship she had had in Boston. She began to understand the practical difficulties of women in the average household and how impossible it was for them to develop to advantage when in contact most of their lives with servants and children. The worn anxious look on the faces of most of the women she met made her realize that something must be done to better their condition. . . . She had no intention of being resigned to what was supposed to be woman's sphere, and she thought often during those days of the woman's convention which she and Lucretia Mott had planned in London and rediscussed one memorable day in Boston. If women could only get together to discuss their problems and their needs, it would give them courage to improve their condition. They would see the need of more education, of more opportunities to earn a living, of better pay for the work they did. They would recognize the importance of the married woman's property bill and an improved legal status. They could pool their experiences so as to simplify their housework and learn to take more intelligent care of their children. The possibilities were unending.²⁸

²⁸Alma Lutz, Created Equal: A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (New York: The John Day Co., 1940), pp. 41-42.

In 1848, Elizabeth discovered that Lucretia Mott was visiting in the area. The two women met and, with Lucretia's sister, Martha Coffin Wright, and Mrs. Jane Hunt, picked up their unfinished business--the calling of a woman's rights convention. The women wrote up announcements of the meeting, rented a church, and waited for July 19 and 20, the days that were to mark the beginning of organized suffrage activity in the United States.

After this convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton would seldom again complain about boredom. The Seneca Falls convention opened the door to numerous other woman's rights conventions; furthermore, the 1850s brought with them increased abolition agitation.

In 1851, Susan B. Anthony came to Seneca Falls to attend an antislavery meeting and to visit with Amelia Bloomer. While there, she met Mrs. Stanton. Miss Anthony, by a completely different route, was to join Mrs. Stanton in a half-century battle for equal rights for women.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY: THE EARLY YEARS

Susan B. Anthony's background was very different from Elizabeth Cady Stanton's. Susan was born on a farm near Adams, Massachusetts, the daughter of Daniel Anthony, a Quaker, and Lucy Read Anthony, a Baptist. The first fifteen years of Susan's life were happy ones. Her parents encouraged all their children to use their brains. Susan was educated in a district school and in a home school established by her father.

Daniel was an independent thinker who sometimes defied his Quaker meeting; despite this independence, however, the influence of Quaker doctrine was strong in the family. Clothing was simple, dancing was forbidden, and temperance was strongly espoused and strictly followed.

When she was seventeen, Susan was sent to a Quaker seminary in Philadelphia. The school was operated by Deborah Moulson, a woman who believed in harsh discipline. Susan was not happy here; her diary from this period is filled with descriptions of inadvertently breaking the rules, receiving punishment, and feeling guilty. For this reason, Susan was not completely saddened when in 1838 her father's business losses made it necessary that she leave school.

The family cotton milling business had to be sold, so the Anthonys moved to a small farm in Hardscrabble (Later Center Falls), N.Y. Susan helped with farm chores and taught in local schools.

In 1839, she left home to teach and in 1843 found a good position at Canajoharie Academy near Rochester. She remained there for five years, during which time her teaching was highly praised by the townspeople. It was also at Canajoharie that Miss Anthony received at least three marriage proposals. After five years, however, she realized that she was growing tired of teaching so she returned to the family farm. She found her parents and sister deeply involved in the reforms of the day--notably temperance, abolition, and woman's rights. Daniel Anthony had long been interested in reform. During his milling days, he had provided his workers, many of them young

girls, with decent wages and good housing and food--practices unheard of at most mills. Even in the early 1830s he had abhorred slavery, going so far as to seek cotton for his mills that had not been raised by slaves. Now, in 1848, his home was open to such men as Douglass, Garrison, and Wendell Phillips.

Susan discovered that her father, mother, and sister had attended the Seneca Falls convention and had voted for the suffrage resolution presented there. This was a surprise to Susan, since Quakers, as pacifists, had long refused to vote for officials in a government that engaged in war. The Anthonys were pragmatists, however, and realized that in the face of an evil like slavery, voting was necessary as one possible means of achieving emancipation while avoiding war.

Susan spent the next three years in Center Falls, attending abolition and temperance meetings. Then in 1851, while visiting Amelia Bloomer in Seneca Falls, Susan met a woman she had long admired--Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Mrs. Stanton has described the encounter:

How well I remember the day! George Thompson and William Lloyd Garrison having announced an anti-slavery meeting in Seneca Falls, Miss Anthony came to attend it. These gentlemen were my guests. Walking home, after the adjournment, we met Mrs. Bloomer and Miss Anthony on the corner of the street, waiting to greet us. There she stood, with her good, earnest face and genial smile, dressed in gray delaine, hat and all the same color, relieved with pale blue ribbons, the perfection of neatness and sobriety. I liked her thoroughly, and why I did not at once invite her home with me to dinner, I do not know. She accuses me of that neglect, and has never forgiven me, as she wished to see and hear all she could of our noble friends.²⁹

²⁹Stanton, Eighty Years and More, p. 163.

It can be imagined that Susan soon was invited to the Stanton house for a good many dinners. The two women soon became close friends and coworkers. Susan had committed herself to work for the New York Temperance Association, but after a year of making speeches, distributing pamphlets, and organizing conventions, she was convinced by Mrs. Stanton's arguments that the settling of the woman's rights question was of utmost importance. Nor was Mrs. Stanton's voice the only one exhorting Susan on the need for woman suffrage. In 1852, Susan received a letter from her father with this idea:

I see notices of your meetings in multitudes of papers, all, with a few exceptions, in a rejoicing mood that woman at last has taken hold in earnest to aid in the reformation of the mighty evils of the day. Yet with all this "rejoicing" probably not one of these papers would advocate placing the ballot in the hands of woman as the easiest, quickest and most efficient way of enabling her to secure not only this [temperance] but other reforms. They are willing she should talk and pray and "flock by herself" in conventions and tramp up and down the State, footsore and weary, gathering petitions to be spurned by legislatures, but not willing to invest her with the only power that would do speedy and efficient work.³⁰

The combined influence of Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Anthony can be seen in this speech, delivered by Miss Anthony in 1852:

. . . Woman has so long been accustomed to non-intervention with law-making, so long considered it man's business to regulate the liquor traffic, that it is with much cautiousness she receives the new doctrine which we preach; the doctrine that it is her right and duty to speak out against the traffic and all men and institutions that in any way sanction, sustain or countenance it; and, since she cannot vote, to duly instruct her husband, son, father or brother how she would have him vote, and if he longer continue to misrepresent her, take the right to march to the ballot-box and deposit a vote indicative of her highest ideas of practical temperance.³¹

³⁰Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, p. 85.

³¹Ibid., p. 71.

Susan B. Anthony was committed to the woman suffrage camp. From that point on, the main thrust of her work would be in support of woman's rights and suffrage.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND
SUSAN B. ANTHONY:
A FIFTY-YEAR FRIENDSHIP

To many observers, the long and close affiliation of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton was most notable for the differences between the two: "the plain Miss Anthony appeared severe and devoted herself with single-minded intensity to the suffrage movement and related reforms; Mrs. Stanton was an attractive woman of catholic tastes and wide-ranging interests whose jelly disposition quickly won friends. Their association was based, perhaps, less on temperamental affinity than upon a mutual recognition of the complementary nature of their talents."³²

The women soon realized that these characteristics could be put to good use. Mrs. Stanton described the collaboration:

In thought and sympathy we were one, and in the division of labor we exactly complemented each other. In writing we did better work than either could alone. While she is slow and analytical in composition, I am rapid and synthetic. I am the better writer, she the better critic. She supplied the facts and statistics, I the philosophy and rhetoric, and, together, we have made arguments that have stood unshaken through the storms of long years;

³²Edward T. James, ed., Notable American Women, Vol. III (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971), p. 344.

arguments that no one has answered. Our speeches may be considered the united product of our two brains.³³

And, in fact, the women would work together for temperance, dress reform, liberalizing of property laws and divorce laws, abolition, suffrage, and a host of other reforms. The friendship did not always go smoothly. Despite her friend's pleas to the contrary, Mrs. Stanton continued to have children. Miss Anthony was disturbed by the number of women whose commitment to reform declined when the interests of husbands and children had to be considered. Nor was she always gracious about expressing her views. In fact, when Lucy Stone was starting her family, Susan's abuses apparently were so strong, a rift developed between the two women that would eventually contribute to a split in the nation's suffrage ranks.³⁴ Mrs. Stanton, however, did not take Susan's remonstrances too seriously, gently reminding her:

Let Lucy and Antoinette [Brown, Lucy Stone's sister-in-law] rest awhile in peace and quietness and think great thoughts for the future. It is not well to be in the excitement of public life all the time; do not keep stirring them up or mourning over their repose. . . . Now that I have two daughters, I feel fresh strength to work. It is not in vain that in myself I have experienced all the wearisome cares to which woman in her best estate is subject.³⁵

Another difference between Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton was their approach to reform. Susan B. Anthony believed in tackling one problem at a time. The need for this approach was impressed upon

³³Stanton, Eighty Years and More, p. 166.

³⁴Burko, Ladies of Seneca Falls, p. 193.

³⁵Stanton and Blatch, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Vol. II, p. 67.

her in 1852, when she, as a proponent of the dress reform movement, wore the so-called "Bloomer Dress," a costume consisting of Turkish trousers and an overskirt. After a few months, Miss Anthony finally gave up the outfit, as she began to realize: "The attention of my audience was fixed upon my clothes instead of my words. I learned the lesson then that to be successful a person must attend but one reform."³⁶

Mrs. Stanton, however, was interested in writing about and publicly discussing a wide range of reforms--including divorce reform, a subject that dismayed many woman's rights advocates who felt such ideas merely gave fuel to the fire of those anti-suffragists who predicted that suffragists were trying to destroy the family.

Despite these personal differences, the two women never ceased to defend the other in public:

We have indulged freely in criticism of each other when alone, and hotly contended whenever we have differed, but in our friendship of years there has never been the break of one hour. To the world we always seem to agree and uniformly reflect each other. Like husband and wife, each has the feeling that we must have no differences in public.³⁷

During the 1850s, the women organized a national suffrage network and held annual woman suffrage conventions around the country. They continued to support abolition and temperance causes, and, as the threat of war became imminent, became actively involved in the politics of reunification of North and South.

³⁶Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, p. 177.

³⁷Stanton, Eighty Years and More, p. 166.

In the midst of all this activity, Susan B. Anthony was developing a convincing style of arguing for the necessity of woman suffrage. To her brother Daniel she wrote in 1859:

Even the smallest human right denied, is large. The fact that the ruling class withheld this right [the vote] is prima facie evidence that they deem it of importance for good or for evilFor any human being or class of human beings, whether black, white, male or female, tamely to submit to the denial of their right to self-government shows that the instinct of liberty has been blotted out. . . .

It was not because the three-penny tax on tea was so exorbitant that our Revolutionary fathers fought and died, but to establish the principle that such taxation was unjust. It is the same with this woman's revolution; though every law were as just to women as to men, the principles that one class may usurp the power to legislate for another is unjust, and all who are now in the struggle from love of principle would still work on until the establishment of the grand and immutable truth, "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."³⁸

The same year, she wrote to the Friends of Human Progress:

. . .I would exhort all women to be discontented with their present condition and to assert their individuality of thought, word and action by the energetic doing of noble deeds. Idle wishes, vain repinings, loud-sounding declamations can never bring freedom to any human soul. What woman most needs is a true appreciation of her womanhood, a self-respect which shall scorn to eat the bread of dependence. Whoever consents to live by "the sweat of the brow" of another human being inevitably humiliates and degrades herself. . . .No genuine equality, no freedom, no true manhood or womanhood can exist on any foundation save that of pecuniary independence.³⁹

With the onset of the Civil War, the women saw a rapid decline in interest in woman suffrage. Putting their own interests aside, the two suffragists organized the Woman's National Loyal League,

³⁸Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I., pp. 169-70.

³⁹Ibid., p. 169.

which secured more than 300,000 signatures on petitions calling for emancipation of the slaves.

Both Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony had seen enough political maneuvering in their careers not to be naive, yet the two truly believed that American women, who had contributed a great deal to the war effort, would, along with the Negroes, be given the right to vote. When it became apparent that the women were to be excluded, suffragists became very bitter. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a very outspoken critic of post-war policy:

The lessons of the war were not lost on the women of this nation; through varied forms of suffering and humiliation, they learned that they had an equal interest with men in the administration of the government, alike enjoying its blessings or enduring its miseries. When in the enfranchisement of the black man they saw another ignorant class of voters placed above their heads, and beheld the danger of a distinctively "male" government, forever involving the nations of the earth in war and violence; and demanded for the protection of themselves and children, that woman's voice should be heard and her opinions in public affairs be expressed by the ballot, they were coolly told that the black man had earned the right to vote, that he had fought and bled and died for his country.⁴⁰

While the women were losing the suffrage question on the federal level, state gains were being made. So in 1867, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton went to Kansas, where the questions of Negro and woman suffrage were being voted on in a referendum. It was in this campaign that George Francis Train and The Revolution came into the suffrage movement.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 239-40.

The post-war period was a trying one for the suffragists. The ranks were split between those who believed women should wait their turn in asking for suffrage and those, like Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, who would not be put off by political expediency. It would seem that most suffrage supporters were in the former group, according to this letter written by Mrs. Stanton:

I have just read your letter, and it would have been a wet blanket to Susan and me were we not sure that we are right. With three bills before Congress to exclude us from all hope of representation in the future, I thank God that two women of the nation felt the insult and decided to reuse the rest to use the only right we have in the government--the right of petition. If the petition goes with our names alone, ours be the glory, and the disgrace to all the rest! When your grand-daughters hear that against such insults you made us protest, they will blush for their ancestry.⁴¹

The split among suffragists, started by disagreement over the question of Negro versus woman suffrage, was aggravated by a series of events. First, the alliance between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony and George Francis Train annoyed many of the conservative suffragists. Second, the conservatives were dismayed over the liberal interpretation Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton gave to "woman's rights." The fact that the two radicals would discuss divorce laws at suffrage meetings dismayed the women who wanted to restrict their activities to suffrage alone. Finally, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were less willing than many suffragists to entrust positions of power in the movement to men.

⁴¹Stanton and Blatch, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Vol. II, p. 111.

The split became one between the women of Boston and the women of New York, the conservative Bostonians being headed by Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell and the radical New Yorkers including Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, and Ernestine Rose. The formal break between the two groups came in May, 1869, when the Boston group formed the American Woman Suffrage Association, and the New York women formed the National Woman Suffrage Association.

As each group developed, a major difference in tactics also occurred, with the American striving to achieve woman suffrage on a state to state basis and the National working toward passage of a Federal suffrage amendment. "The division in suffrage ranks was unfortunate; but it was inevitable during the 1870s and 1880s, a period of intense economic development and change during which social forces polarized in the midst of widespread unrest. The break would continue until one trend or the other--respectability or radicalism--became dominant."⁴² The two organizations did merge in 1890, much of the respectability coming from the fact that the radical suffragists were by then in their seventies.

Despite the loss of many suffrage workers, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were kept busy with The Revolution in the years 1868 to 1870. The women poured their lives into keeping the newspaper alive, calling on friends and family to donate money to pay

⁴²Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 154-55.

for printing costs. The salaries the women received from the paper were negligible, a factor that finally forced Mrs. Stanton to begin a lecture tour with the New York Lyceum Bureau.

Meanwhile, Miss Anthony's involvement in the publishing business brought her into contact with women printers. When she learned that the women were excluded from most union locals, Miss Anthony helped the women organize themselves. To aid the cause, Miss Anthony made sure that some printers working on The Revolution were women.

In spite of the heroic efforts to save The Revolution, its financial situation finally became too much of a burden, and in May, 1870, Miss Anthony sold the paper to Laura Curtis Bullard. Sale of the paper left Miss Anthony with a \$10,000 debt, which she vowed to repay, ignoring those advising her to declare bankruptcy. To earn the money, she too joined with the Lyceum Bureau. In 1871, the two friends managed to make a lecture tour together, but for most of the next five years, the paths of the two suffragists crossed only at conferences and annual meetings. For Miss Anthony, who had spent the past twenty years arranging for lecture halls, planning programs, printing handbills, and making other preliminary arrangements so that Mrs. Stanton could have the spotlight, the separation brought with it some pleasant surprises. She wrote to her parents:

I miss Mrs. Stanton, still I can not but enjoy the feeling that the people call on me, and the fact that I have an opportunity to sharpen my wits a little by answering questions and doing the chatting, instead of merely sitting a lay figure and listening to the brilliant scintillations as they emanate from her

never-exhausted magazine. There is no alternative--whoever goes into a parlor or before an audience with that woman does it at the cost of a fearful overshadowing, a price which I have paid for the last ten years, and that cheerfully, because I felt that our cause was most profited by her being seen and heard, and my best work was making the way clear for her.⁴³

In 1872, Miss Anthony voted in Rochester, N.Y., an action that led to a conviction and a \$100 fine that she refused to pay.

In 1876, the two friends, along with Lucretia Mott, set up a woman's exhibition at the Centennial celebration in Philadelphia and took advantage of the festivities to distribute copies of the Woman's Declaration of Rights, an adaptation of the Declaration of Independence. This also was a year of independence for Miss Anthony--she paid the last of her debts from The Revolution.

* The suffrage amendment that eventually would be passed was first proposed in Congress in 1878. Although it would take more than forty years to secure passage by Congress and ratification by the states, the proposal was at least treated with more respect than woman suffrage proposals in the earlier days of the movement. The suffragists themselves found that the public looked upon them with more respect. Theodore Tilton, who had opposed the two on the Fifteenth Amendment issue in the 1860s, wrote in 1878:

These two women, sitting together in their parlors, have for the last thirty years been diligent forgers of all manner of projectiles, from fireworks to thunderbolts, and have hurled them with unexpected explosion into the midst of all manner of educational, reformatory, religious, and political assemblies,

⁴³Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, p. 369.

sometimes to the pleasant surprise and half welcome of the members; more often to the bewilderment and protestations of numerous victims; and in a few signal instances, to the gnashing of angry men's teeth. I know of no two more pertinacious incendiaries in the whole country; nor will they themselves deny the charge. In fact, this noise-making twain are the two sticks of a drum that keep up what Daniel Webster called "the rub-a-dub of agitation."⁴⁴

The adulation continued; each woman's birthday was celebrated by hundreds of followers, suffrage meetings were marked by testimonials and gifts of flowers to one or the other, and finally, in 1890, the American and National Woman Suffrage Associations reunited and elected Elizabeth Cady Stanton president--a position she held for two terms, after which Miss Anthony was president.

The last major joint undertaking of the Anthony-Stanton team was the compilation of the first three volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, an invaluable collection of documents and letters of the United States woman suffrage movement. (Miss Anthony and Matilda J. Gage worked together on Volume IV, and the last two volumes were edited by Ida Husted Harper.)

After this, the two women seem to have gone their separate ways. Miss Anthony, encouraged by the enthusiasm of young suffrage workers, the new suffrage states, and the results in resubmission of the federal suffrage amendment, turned all her energy to advancing the cause of votes for women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, on the other hand, became more involved in questioning the role religion played

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 388-89.

in the oppression of women. She continued to arouse controversy, especially with the Woman's Bible, published in 1898.

Despite their professional separation, the two women remained lifelong friends. Mrs. Stanton died in 1902, the night after writing President Roosevelt a letter urging him to support a suffrage amendment. Miss Anthony died four years later.

The effect of these two women on the suffrage movement is immeasurable. Their dedication to the cause and their ability to endure hardships and unpopularity enabled Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to succeed in areas where weaker persons, men and women, had failed. Their success was undoubtedly due to the support each was able to give the other. As Mrs. Stanton described it:

It is often said, by those who know Miss Anthony best, that she has been my good angel, always pushing and goading me to work, and that but for her pertinacity I should never have accomplished the little I have. On the other hand it has been said that I forged the tunderbolts and she fired them. Perhaps all this is, in a measure, true. With the cares of a large family I might, in time, like too many women, have become wholly absorbed in a narrow family selfishness, had not my friend been continually exploring new fields for missionary labor. Her description of a body of men on any platform, complacently deciding questions in which woman had an equal interest, without an equal voice, readily roused me to a determination to throw a firebrand into the midst of their assembly.

Thus, whenever I saw that stately Quaker girl coming across my lawn, I knew that some happy convocation of the sons of Adam was to be set by the ears, by one of our appeals or resolutions.⁴⁵

The joint effort described by Mrs. Stanton certainly was an important aspect of The Revolution. Susan B. Anthony was the business

⁴⁵Stanton, Eighty Years and More, p. 165.

manager, responsible for such mundane matters as advertising, printing, circulation, paying bills and salaries, and, as was so often necessary, searching out contributions. Mrs. Stanton did not get as involved in the day to day operations, but expended her energy in finding new arguments to answer the latest suffrage opponent. The fact that Elizabeth Cady Stanton was able to take on a lecture tour during the publication of The Revolution is evidence that she devoted less than fulltime effort to the paper--nor did she assume any of the debt when the paper folded. But Elizabeth Cady Stanton had her family to think of; as 1870 approached, many of her seven children were approaching college age.

Furthermore, the amount of time she was able to devote to the paper is not a true measure of Mrs. Stanton's contribution. Her fiery language and controversial ideas were largely responsible for the popularity The Revolution enjoyed. She provided the creativity and Susan B. Anthony provided the technical and business ability necessary to keep the paper running. Although the partnership did not produce a long-lived publication, it did provide the impetus for a number of woman's publications and served as a forum for the radical wing of the suffragists at a very crucial time in their history.

For Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton held unpopular views in the late 1860s and early 1870s--views that future events would show to be valid. The women opposed the Fifteenth Amendment, advocated extension of married women's property laws, insisted that suffrage must come at the federal level, and argued for economical parity for women. Without The Revolution these ideas would have been lost--to their contemporaries and to future generations.

CHAPTER III


THE REVOLUTION: FORMAT AND CONTENTS

Overview

"All the old friends, with scarce an exception, are sure we are wrong. Only time can tell, but I believe we are right and hence bound to succeed," Susan B. Anthony began her 1868 diary.¹ By this time she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had alienated most of their former co-workers. Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison had been upset enough that Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton had just completed campaigning throughout Kansas in support of a woman suffrage referendum. At the beginning of the campaign, all reform workers had been working for passage of the referendum--Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell had spent most of the Spring campaigning in support of this issue and the referendum enfranchising black men. But when the Radical Republicans began to predict that advocacy of woman suffrage would cause the defeat of the Negro suffrage issue, most of the workers in the field dropped the women's cause. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, believing that the suffrage question was one of principle rather than political

¹Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), p. 295.

strategy, refused to separate the two issues and continued their campaign for the enfranchisement of women. Finding little support among their former allies, the Republicans, the women had accepted the services of the Democrats, including George Francis Train. This transgression was enough to dismay the other reformers, but when the two women agreed to become Train's partners in launching a newspaper--with the title of The Revolution!--the old friends did all they could to dissociate themselves from the venture. As Lucy Stone said: "Train's presence as an advocate of woman suffrage was enough to condemn it."²

Although Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were unhappy about the rift, apparently did not have time to worry too much about the opposition to their latest step. In the two months between Election Day and the new year, the editor and proprietor had to rent office space, confer with Parker Pillsbury, the co-editor, contract with a printer, solicit advertisements and subscriptions, write news reports and editorials--in short, attend to the countless steps involved in publishing a newspaper. 

The first issue of The Revolution appeared Jan. 8, 1868. Its motto was "Principles, not policy; justice, not favor; men, their rights and nothing more; women their rights and nothing less." The introductory editorial promised that The Revolution would advocate

²Miriam Gurko, The Ladies of Seneca Falls (New York: Macmillan Co., 1974), p. 224.

educated suffrage (suffrage based on literacy rather than on race or sex qualifications), equal pay for equal work, the eight-hour day, morality and reform, temperance, and greenbacks and that no quack medicine advertisements would be accepted. The editors explained their reasons for choosing such a militant title: "Seeing in its [woman suffrage] realization, the many necessary changes in our modes of life, we think The Revolution a fitting name for a paper that will advocate so radical a reform as this involves in our political, religious and social world."³

The Revolution was a handsome paper, a sixteen-page quarto printed on high quality rag stock. Each page had three columns of six and eight point type with headlines in boldface italic, usually ten or twelve point. The quality of the printing was good, and there were few instances of broken letters or wrong fonts. Each issue was saddle stitched, and readers were encouraged to have the signatures sews together to keep each six-month volume bound. The mechanical quality of the newspaper was praised even by those who were against The Revolution's philosophy: "The Revolution, edited by two old and ugly ladies' men, Mr. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Parker Pillsbury, and published by Mr. Susan B. Anthony, is, as its name indicates, bent on inaugurating a bloodless Revolution. . . . The Revolution is no one-horse concern. It is got up in an attractive manner, in a convenient form, and is as smart as they make them--full

³The Revolution, I (Jan. 8, 1868), p. 8.

of life, vigor, energy and snap, and all that sort of thing. Its contents are mainly original, and its articles are always readable."⁴

A letter from a reader implies that the mechanical quality of The Revolution was rare for the 1860s: "[There is] no cooling your enthusiasm, after you sit down to peruse it, by jumping up for work-basket, with needles, thread, scissors, thimble and paper cutter, or what is no less annoying, instead folding and refolding. It remained for a woman to show the world how an Octavo paper should be made."⁵ Another reader said that the size and layout of The Revolution made it the most convenient publication to read while nursing a baby.⁶

Train filled much of the first ten issues, with discussions ranging from the Fenian movement to the Credit Mobiler financial venture, of which he was co-founder. Soon after the first issue was published, Train left for England, where he was arrested shortly after his arrival. Thereafter he sent The Revolution long letters from prison, letters that the editors faithfully published.

Each issue of The Revolution had a financial section, which covered Wall Street and the U.S. Treasury Department and discussed

⁴Revolution, II (July 30, 1868), p. 52.

⁵Revolution, III (Jan. 28, 1869), p. 64.

⁶Revolution, IV (Nov. 16, 1869), p. 372.

the relative merits of gold and paper money. The financial section was first edited by David Melliss, a reporter for the New York Herald, then by Parker Pillsbury, and finally by an unnamed woman correspondent.

The two or three pages of advertisements in each issue included notices from department stores, insurance companies, book publishers, homeopathic medical facilities, attorneys, jewelers, banks, railroad companies, and pattern companies. The only illustrations that ever appeared in the paper were those in advertisements.

Beginning with the second issue The Revolution contained a column entitled "What the Press Says of Us," which included positive and negative comments from around the country on The Revolution itself or the suffrage movement in general, "as a matter of history, for the women of the next generation to see the crude notions that the men of our day have on women."⁷ This editorial from the Sunday New York Times is representative of early negative comments toward The Revolution:

If Mrs. Stanton would attend a little more to her domestic duties and a little less to those of the great public, perhaps she would exalt her sex quite as much as she does by Quixotically fighting windmills in their gratuitous behalf, and she might possibly set a notable example of domestic felicity. No married woman can convert herself into a feminine Knight of the Rueful Visage and ride about the country attempting to redress imaginary wrongs, without leaving her household in a neglected condition that must be an eloquent witness against her. As for the spinsters, we have often said that every woman has a natural and

⁷Revolution, I (June 18, 1868), p. 371

unalienable right to a good husband and a pretty baby. When, by proper "agitation" she had secured this right, she best honor herself and her sex by leaving public affairs behind her, and by endeavoring to show how happy she can make the little world of which she has just become the brilliant centre.⁸

Gradually, however, more and more favorable comments were printed.

✓ The editors and proprietor of The Revolution put into practice their belief in woman's right to work. In New York City, newsgirls sold the paper, a step toward the day, the editors predicted, when "The Revolution will have a magnificent building, owned by women, with women in every department--writing editorials, setting type, working the press, cutting, folding--and with little girls selling in every city in the Union, young and old alike in comfortable costume, a happy, healthy class of self-supporting, educated enfranchised citizens."⁹ Several woman typesetters were employed by R. J. Johnston, printer of The Revolution.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton had a number of talented individuals contributing to The Revolution. Parker Pillsbury, who was co-editor from the start of the newspaper until July, 1869, was of immeasurable importance in keeping The Revolution functioning. He wrote many of the editorials, even after he relinquished his co-editor position. His self-effacing nature made him willing to publish the newspaper during the frequent absences of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton without receiving much recognition for his work. Paulina

⁸Revolution, I (Jan. 22, 1868), p. 38.

⁹Revolution, I (Jan. 29, 1868), p. 54.

Wright Davis was a frequent contributor to The Revolution and became corresponding editor in 1870. Rebecca Moore, the paper's English correspondent, sent weekly reports about suffrage and woman's rights activity in Great Britain, including a number of interviews with John Stuart Mill, whose Subjection of Women was published in 1869. Laura Curtis Bullard, who eventually bought The Revolution, was European correspondent for most of 1869. Beginning with the ninth issue, many issues of The Revolution included one or two poems. This poetry column was edited by Elizabeth Tilton, who chose poems by contemporaries such as Alice and Phoebe Cary, John Greenleaf Whittier, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Julia Ward Howe as well as poems of Milton, Shakespeare, and Mercy Otis Warren.

The Revolution serialized fiction and historical writings, most notably A Vindication of the Rights of Woman by Mary Wollstonecraft, which, at the time, was out of print. Biographical sketches of famous women including Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright, and George Eliot appeared frequently.

At first, the subscription price of The Revolution was two dollars a year. Beginning with Volume IV, the price was raised to three dollars. Advertising rates, according to the Prospectus for 1870, ranged from twenty cents a line, for one to four insertions, to fourteen cents a line, for twenty-six insertions.

Products advertised in The Revolution occasionally received endorsements or other notice in the editorial columns of the newspaper. For example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton once tied in a new

clothes-washing powder to the woman suffrage issue: "With Blanchir we shall always have the washing done early on election day (when it chances to come on Monday), that all the heroines of the suds will be able to reach the polls in season to vote, for a general cleaning out of the muddy pool of politics."¹⁰

The Revolution also allowed criticism of products it advertised. One frequent advertiser in the paper was Hosford's Self-Raising Bread Preparation, which was supposed to be good "even when eaten hot" for invalids and those suffering from dyspepsia. The product was criticized in a letter from a physician, who wrote: "The declarations of all the chemists in the world cannot compel nature to reverse her laws and submit to a chemical, phosphated food, when she has prepared a better food. . . ."¹¹ Such controversy was not feared by the editors of The Revolution, for as they wrote: "The Revolution is open to free thought and speech, and would rather the right were at times abused than that it should be denied, or abridged."¹² This belief extended to allow the editors to disagree in public with each other. In 1869, Parker Pillsbury wrote "Mrs. Lincoln Begging Again," an article critical of the President's widow:

¹⁰Revolution, IV (July 22, 1869), p. 42.

¹¹Revolution, III (May 27, 1869), p. 331.

¹²Revolution, III (April 4, 1869), p. 220

"The newspapers are very severe, but not too severe, on Mrs. Lincoln for appealing to Congress to grant her a pension. Much poorer women than she is live reputably and happily, and move in the best American society, on half her income."¹³ Four weeks later, Mrs. Stanton commented unfavorably on Pillsbury's stand:

Taking up a copy of *The Revolution* in Milwaukee, I was sorry to see some criticism on Mrs. Lincoln. I am sorry that article found a place in a woman's paper, for I despise a woman who joins in any hue and cry against her own sex. . . .Mrs. Lincoln should call out our sympathies, rather than our denunciation. Her unhappy organization, a tendency to insanity (for which she is not responsible) increased and aggravated by the great sadness of her husband. . . .furnish[es] a sufficient excuse for many of her idiosyncracies of character. People know so little of the domestic trials of each other that it behooves all to be merciful in their judgments. . . .For the sake of the husband, his character, and position, Americans should shield rather than expose the wife of a President who was sacrificed for the free principles he represented.¹⁴

Parker Pillsbury not only printed Mrs. Stanton's argument, but also reiterated his own beliefs,¹⁵ clearly indicating to readers that the two editors disagreed on this question.

The Revolution and its editors also generated their own publicity. For example, in 1869 Susan B. Anthony received a letter from Harvard Divinity School, requesting a free subscription of the newspaper for the School's reading room. Miss Anthony honored the request, but replied in a letter filled with irony over the idea that

¹³Revolution, III (Feb. 11, 1869), p. 92.

¹⁴Revolution, III (March 11, 1869), p. 145.

¹⁵Revolution, III (March 11, 1869), p. 146.

poor women, publishing to make their living, were being asked to contribute their newspaper to a well-endowed institution that was closed to women. The request and reply were published in The Revolution.¹⁶ Many major newspapers picked up the story and commented on the incident. The editorial comment in the New York World was representative of popular opinion: ". . .[W]ould it not be more seemly, on the whole, for the members of one of the most richly endowed divinity schools in the country, if they find themselves unable to pursue their studies without The Revolution, to have it supplied as a textbook at the charge of the school? A struggling paper, conducted by a few women and advocating what its apostles admit to be an infant cause, cannot be supposed to be overburdened with money or able to give itself illimitably away."¹⁷ And a Cambridge, Mass., man who read about Harvard's plight, donated the three dollars needed for the subscription. His generosity was not appreciated; Harvard wrote to discontinue the subscription--a letter that was reprinted in The Revolution.¹⁸

Readers of The Revolution quickly became acquainted with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her views. She wrote many editorials and columns, and when she was traveling, she sent lengthy letters to

¹⁶Revolution, IV (Oct. 7, 1869), p. 217.

¹⁷Revolution, IV (Oct. 14, 1869), p. 233.

¹⁸Revolution, IV (Nov. 4, 1869), p. 280.

Parker Pillsbury to be reprinted in the paper. Susan B. Anthony was the less visible partner; however, Mrs. Stanton and Pillsbury occasionally included reprints from other journals about their cohort. An example is this article by Jennie June, which first appeared in the October, 1869 issue of Demorest's Magazine:

American women can never do too much for Susan B. Anthony. . . . There are plenty of enthusiastic soldiers in the field, but she is the only general. She can call her forces at will, marshal them together and make them do her bidding. She possesses that great, essential, and rare quality in men or women, impersonality. She does not care whether your opinions chime with hers or not. She does not care whether you like her personality or not. . . . Moreover, no personal feeling prevents her from doing an opponent justice, or giving them a chance. She has women of greater talent in some directions, of more refinement, of larger culture, of more liberal education, at work with her, but she overshadows them all by her honesty, her directness, her oneness of purpose, her singleness of heart, her freedom from pettiness of spirit.

But there are few women who could do what Miss Anthony has done, what she will yet do, to gain her point. . . . She has been the subject of scorn, of ridicule, of contempt, yet she is to-day the recognized leader of a host, gathered from the remotest parts of the country, and from every class in society, and more an object of curiosity and speculation when she goes abroad than President Grant himself.¹⁹

February 15, 1870 brought another occasion to spotlight Susan B. Anthony; her fiftieth birthday was commemorated with a reception at the Women's Bureau in New York City, which was covered by the metropolitan press. The Revolution reprinted long excerpts from other papers, including this account, from the New York World, of Miss Anthony's speech:

¹⁹Revolution, IV (Sept. 23, 1869), p. 182.

Miss Anthony came forward and was received with loud applause. She said if this were an assembled mob or a convention which declared that woman should not vote and speak, my tongue would be loosed, and I should know what to say. I never made a speech except to set people to work. So soon as cultivated women come up and are ready to do the speaking, I shall fall back. My work is that of subsoil plowing. . . . With the tide thus rising in favor of the equal rights of women, I can only stand dumb before you. Yet still I will ask you to work heartily for the cause. . . . I ask you, then, as your best testimony to my services on this the twentieth anniversary of my public work, to join me in making a demand on Congress for a Sixteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote. And then to go with me before the State Legislatures to secure its ratification, and when the Secretary of State proclaims that that amendment has been ratified by twenty-eight states then Susan B. Anthony will stop work--not before.²⁰

In addition to the news reports, The Revolution printed more than four pages of odes and letters honoring Miss Anthony on this occasion, including two tributes from her closest friend, Elizabeth Cady Stanton: "Through all these years Miss Anthony was the connecting link between me and the outer world--the reform scout who went to see what was going on in the enemy's camp, and returning with maps and observations to plan the mode of attack. . . . [ellipses, The Revolution] Whenever we saw a work to be done, we would together forge our thunderbolts in the form of resolutions, petitions, appeals, and speeches on every subject--uniformly accepting every invitation to go everywhere and at everything."²¹ "She has been for many years the missionary, visiting us, one and all, in our homes, keeping alive

²⁰Revolution, V (Feb. 24, 1870), p. 116.

²¹Revolution, V (Feb. 24, 1870), p. 117.

the fires of rebellion, urging us to write, to speak, to petition, shaming some who felt satisfied in their chains, and making the discontent of others healthy by rousing it to action."²²

The Revolution, besides performing its major task of providing its readers with news about the advancement of woman, stood as proof that women could edit and publish a newspaper and that woman's issues could generate enough copy to fill a sixteen-page weekly--without including fashion plates, recipes, or other traditionally feminine-oriented articles that were found in most ladies' magazines of the day.

Frank Luther Mott included a discussion of The Revolution in his history of American magazines:

The Revolution turned out to be more energetic and belligerent than brilliant and original. It was a well-printed sixteen-page quarto at \$2.00 a year, containing detailed reports of the various woman suffrage gatherings, correspondence from home and abroad telling of the progress of the cause of woman's rights, some literary miscellany (often including verse and sprightly character sketches) also dealing with advertising. For the most part, it was lively and readable; it was less concerned with developing a connected and consistent philosophy of woman's place in the world than it was with presenting the news of an active reform movement and calling unsympathetic critics to account.²³

Major Themes in the Revolution

Although their overriding interest was woman suffrage, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton saw the question of woman's

²²Revolution, V (March 3, 1870), p. 138.

²³Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. III (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1938), p. 391.

rights as a multi-faceted one. The diversity of interests of the two women is evident in the contents of The Revolution. Much of the material, however, can be subsumed under seven major themes: suffrage, woman's rights and wrongs, marriage, women in religion, "what are women doing," workingwomen, and personal and public health. Concentrating on these themes, in news report, editorial, or fiction, the editors of The Revolution left the reader with a view of woman as a rational, intelligent being, often wronged by society's mores and customs, who was capable not only of attaining equality with man, but of assuming her own vital place in public society--a place beyond the realm of the home and hearth traditionally seen as the limits of "woman's sphere."

SUFFRAGE

Suffrage activism was growing in the 1860s. Advocates of woman suffrage, encouraged by the gains made by black men after the Civil War, began engaging in the political processes--petitioning, referenda, organizing national and local suffrage associations--that would continue until 1920. The Revolution's role in forwarding this work had two phases. First, the newspaper worked to get women to participate in this activism. Sample petitions were printed in the paper, suffrage meeting announcements were published, news of the formation of suffrage associations was reported. Because such news was often overlooked by editors of daily newspapers, The Revolution often provided women with more news about their own local suffrage activity than they could get in any other publication.

But The Revolution was, after all, a national newspaper; thus it is not likely that such news was included solely for the sake of the few readers directly affected by the event. It is more likely that the extensive coverage given to local suffrage activities was included to give women throughout the country a sense of solidarity and a feeling that their own local activities were indeed part of a larger movement. Furthermore, publication of constitutions and resolutions were educational materials, examples of protocol for women who had no training in legal terminology or Robert's Rules of Order.

Readers of The Revolution were also given some less traditional ways of effecting change. One tactic described, employed by women in Vineland, N. J., and Hyde Park, Mass., was the suffrage "rehearsal." On election day, a group of women would go to the polls and deposit their ballots in a separate box. The votes did not count, but the women were proving that they could go to the polls without being disgraced or degraded by the experience.²⁴

As early as 1868, women were voting in a few local elections throughout the country. Women in Passaic, N.J., voted on whether to install sidewalks in the town's main street,²⁵ women in Schenectady, N.Y., helped defeat a proposal to introduce a public water works,²⁶

²⁴Revolution, V (Feb. 24, 1870), p. 117.

²⁵Revolution, I (May 21, 1868), p. 307.

²⁶Revolution, I (May 28, 1868), p. 331.

women in Sturgis, Mich., voted in a school board election.²⁷ Less direct ways for women to choose elected officials also were presented in the pages of The Revolution: an example is in this letter from Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

We met again with Mrs. Worden, a sister of Mrs. Seward. She is a woman of great originality, and has an inexhaustible fund of conversation. Discussing with her the question of suffrage, she told us that since she has been a widow, she has always selected her man servant with reference to his politics. After inquiring as to his qualifications as gardner, coachman, etc., she asks if he is a good republican and will vote precisely as she wishes him to, as among his other duties, the most important will be the responsibility of representing her at the polls.²⁸

These years saw a great deal of legislative activity on the suffrage question, including the passage of woman's suffrage bills in the territories of Wyoming (1869) and Utah (1870) and the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution (1868). Woman suffrage bills were submitted but defeated in states and territories including Tennessee. Massachusetts, Minnesota (where the bill lost by one vote), and Wisconsin. All victories and defeats were chronicled in The Revolution.

Underlying the political activity had to be a philosophical basis for the demand for woman suffrage. The Revolution provided its readers with arguments supporting both the need for and the right of women to vote. Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote:

²⁷Revolution, I (May 7, 1868), p. 281.

²⁸Revolution, II (Aug. 20, 1868), p. 98.

"We see something more in the ballot 'than a slip of paper, dropped into a box once a year, to choose a county sheriff.' It has a deeper significance. It is the recognition of the civil, political and social equality of the citizen. It is the throwing aside the badge of degradation for the shield of sovereignty, an unknown signature for the seal of the state."²⁹

The Revolution columns often included arguments made in favor of Negro suffrage, attempting to show that the same arguments applied equally to women. Parker Pillsbury wrote: "If the ballot is invaluable, indispensable to the security of the freed man in the full enjoyment of his freedom and pursuit of happiness, it must be equally so to the freed woman who is to live under the same government, be taxed equally for its support, obey the same laws, or suffer the same penalties. And what is true of the colored woman in this respect, is alike true of every woman in the nation."³⁰ Robert Purvis, who unlike most black men, refused to separate the question of black and woman suffrage, wrote: "As a colored man, and a victim to the terrible tyranny, inflicted by the injustice and prejudice of the nation, I ask no right that I will not give to every other human being, without regard to sex or color. I cannot ask white women to give their efforts and influence in behalf of my race, and then meanly and selfishly withhold countenance of a movement tending to their enfranchisement."³¹

²⁹Revolution, III (May 13, 1869), p. 292.

³⁰Revolution, V (April 21, 1870), p. 248.

³¹Revolution, V (Jan. 13, 1870), p. 30.

A number of articles indicated that the time for woman suffrage had arrived. In an early editorial, Parker Pillsbury wrote:

It is time for Revolution. The ten commandments were not made for white male citizens. The statute book of the moral universe makes no distinction of color or sex, either in its demands or penalties. . . . If a white male be eligible for suffrage at twenty-one under proper regulations, then let the black man be eligible under the same regulations. If all men may thus be citizens, so also may all women. Anything short of that is not democracy but despotism; and is as sure to fail as the throne of God is to stand.³²

An unsigned editorial included a similar sentiment: "With the abolition of color aristocracy must come also the abolition of sexual aristocracy, when woman, freed from the unrighteous proscription which binds and fetters her within a specified routine, surrounding her by laws and obligations which she has had no voice in making, and the impact of which she has scarcely been allowed to comprehend, will be permitted the untrammelled exercise of her natural and unalienable endowments."³³

The founders of The Revolution believed suffrage was needed to legitimize women in more than just the political sphere. Thus Elizabeth Cady Stanton, writing on the efficacy of disenfranchised women as social service workers, stated:

"We are to make bricks without straw, learn to swim without going near the water, regulate public abuses without a voice in the laws, being supernaturally endowed, we are to do without the ballot what man is wholly unable to do with it. . . .

³²Revolution, I (Feb. 27, 1868), p. 114.

³³Revolution, I (Feb. 19, 1868), p. 101.

Say less about our rights, and think more of our duties. We cannot do our duties until we secure our rights. We are bound hand and foot by your laws and constitutions. But when we can back what we talk and write with our votes, we have an added power that none can gainsay or resist.³⁴

As suffrage activism and sentiment spread, opposition to the movement grew--opposition that was welcomed by The Revolution columnists. One writer, describing an anti-suffrage protest by 100 Ohio women, concluded: "I am glad these ladies made this protest, not only because this is a country where honest views ought to be expressed, but because agitation pushes forward reform."³⁵ Another writer commented on the illogical position of women who lectured publicly against expanding the public domain of women:

One of the most promising features of the woman's movement at present, is the open opposition from the women themselves. There are several ladies in different parts of the country now lecturing against the extension of suffrage to women. They probably do not see that taking the rostrum is a fatal step in that direction.

When a woman so far oversteps her prescribed sphere as to express her opinion in a mixed assembly of men and women, it will not be very different for her quietly to slip it into the ballot-box in the presence of four inspectors.³⁶

The Revolution did more than take note of anti-suffrage agitation; the paper presented all opposing views, rational or irrational, based on moral, religious, or political grounds, by men and women alike, and refuted these arguments.

³⁴Revolution, I (May 21, 1868), p. 315.

³⁵Revolution, V (April 21, 1870), pp. 245-46.

³⁶Revolution, IV (Oct. 14, 1869), p. 235.

In reply to the contention that women themselves did not want the vote, The Revolution countered that that very fact was proof of the second-class position of American women. According to Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

That American women do not realize their political degradation does not make it less a fact to-day. The true woman sees it, feels it in the very air she breathes, in the words of every man she meets, in every book and newspaper she reads, in the public sentiment of contempt for woman she hears at every turn, in the stereotyped sneers, "there's woman's work for you," "that's a woman's judgment," "that's a woman's way," "that's a woman's blunder," as if all incapacity and inefficiency were of the female gender. Male dolts, mules and cowards and uniformly called "Dame Parringtons," "Miss Nancys," and "Old Crannys," as if nothing ignoble, narrow or weak could be of the masculine gender! . . . Ah! when women have the power to vote men in their places, they'll learn new phrases for their peers, just as they learned to spell "negro" with one "g," as soon as black men were free and held the ballot. . . . Woman has never yet enjoyed the right of trial by a jury of her own peers. . . . The laws for married women today in many of the States run parallel with the old slave codes of the South.³⁷

The argument that women didn't want the vote was refuted in this way by another writer: "No oppressed class ever yet emancipated itself. We did not wait for the negro to plead his own cause. The mass of the freedmen do not appreciate the ballot, yet republicans and abolitionists keep up the cry of 'negro suffrage.' Why not 'Woman's Suffrage?' Why should women be expected to do more for themselves than stalwart Africans have done?"³⁸ This simple refutation

³⁷Revolution, I (Jan. 15, 1868), p. 25.

³⁸Revolution, I (May 14, 1868), p. 294.

of the same anti-suffrage argument appeared two weeks later: "A woman who says she does not want her rights, is like a child who does not want an education; neither knows their values."³⁹

Another anti-suffrage argument was that the right to vote was just one part of the struggle of women to attain their rights--that education, equal pay for equal work, or other advancements would do more for women than the ballot would. Mrs. Catharine Beecher, a noted educator, was one anti-suffragist who argued that women should fight for "Something Better Than the Ballot," namely education. Mrs. Beecher was answered by two writers in The Revolution. Paulina Wright Davis wrote: "There are many things better for man and woman than the ballot, a high, virtuous pure life is better; education and bread are better, but to obtain these latter there are intermediate steps to be taken, to reach the desired end both for man and woman."⁴⁰ Julia Carpenter insisted that woman was demanding the vote because of the advances women like Mrs. Beech had made in gaining educational opportunities for women: "Woman are asking for the ballot, not as a rash venture, but because by being better educated, they have learned to think for themselves. Women cannot be taught to think, and then be willing to let men do all their thinking for them."⁴¹

³⁹Revolution, I (May 28, 1868), p. 331.

⁴⁰Revolution, IV (Oct. 14, 1869), p. 226.

⁴¹Ibid.

The largest opposition to the woman suffrage movement in the late 1860s came not from those opposed to the principle of woman suffrage, but from those who wished the women to delay asking for their rights until the Negro had been enfranchised. This group, which included the famous Massachusetts reformers--Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips--opposed the efforts of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on behalf of woman suffrage. The two women, on the other hand, felt abandoned by their former co-workers and colleagues.

The difference between the two groups was most evident in the stand each took on the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which gave black men the right to vote. The New Englanders strongly urged passage of the amendment; Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in the columns of The Revolution were as forceful in opposing the amendment's passage:

Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Gerrit Smith and Wendell Phillips, with one consent, bid the women of the nation stand aside and behold the solution of the negro. Wendell Phillips says, "one idea for a generation," to come up in the order of their importance. First negro suffrage, then temperance, then the eight hour movement, then woman's suffrage. In 1958, three generations hence, thirty years to a generation, Phillips and Providence permitting, woman's suffrage will be in order.⁴²

Susan B. Anthony wrote:

"The Revolution criticizes, 'opposes,' the Fifteenth Amendment, not for what it is, but for what it is not. Not because it enfranchises black men, but because it does not enfranchise

⁴²Revolution, I (Jan. 15, 1868), p. 24.

all women, black and white. It is not the little good it proposes, but the greater evil it perpetuates that we deprecate. . . .Our protest is not that all men are lifted out of the degradation of disenfranchisement, but that all women are left in."⁴³

One argument frequently advanced by those in favor of the Fifteenth Amendment was that women who demanded their own enfranchisement were being selfish, that fighting for the rights of others, like the abolitionists were doing, was more honorable. Wendell Phillips wrote:

The Women's Rights movement is essentially a self-service one; not disinterested as the Anti-Slavery cause was. It is women contending for their own rights; the Abolitionists toiled for the rights of others. When women emphasize this selfishness, by turning aside to oppose the rights of others, it is, in truth, no generous spectacle.⁴⁴

This discussion among reformers placed many abolitionists and suffragists in difficult positions, as all were forced to take sides in the battle. Even Lucy Stone, who became strongly identified with the supporters of the Fifteenth Amendment, was unhappy and puzzled that her male co-workers could not see the urgency of the woman's cause. In a speech at the 1869 American Equal Rights Association anniversary, Mrs. Stone affirmed the importance of woman suffrage; only at the end of her speech did she offer to stand back until black men were enfranchised. Reacting to Frederick Douglass's assertion that the issue of woman suffrage was less urgent than that of Negro suffrage, Lucy Stone said:

⁴³Revolution, IV (Oct. 7, 1869), p. 217.

⁴⁴Revolution, IV (July 15, 1869), p. 24.

But the Woman Suffrage is more imperative than his own; and I want to remind the audience that when he says what the Ku-Kluxers did all over the south, the Ku-Kluxers here in the north in the shape of men, take away the children from the mother, and separate them as completely as if done on the block of the auctioneer. . . .

The woman has an ocean of wrong too deep for any plumber, and the negro, too, has an ocean of wrong that cannot be fathomed. There are two great oceans; in the one is the black man, and in the other is the woman. But I thank God for the Fifteenth Amendment, and hope that it will be adopted in every state. I will be thankful in my soul if any body can get out of the terrible pit, and if the other party can succeed better than we, let them do it.⁴⁵

This conference marked the final split in the suffrage ranks--a division fully chronicled in The Revolution. It was at this conference that Stephen Foster objected to the nomination of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony for office, insisting that the two had "publicly repudiated the principles of the society;"⁴⁶ here that Susan B. Anthony's handling of the association's finances was criticized;⁴⁷ here that Frederick Douglass, who had been one of the few to support the woman suffrage resolution at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, now said:

I must say that I do not see how anyone can pretend that there is the same urgency in giving the ballot to woman as to the negro. With us, the matter is a question of life and deathWhen women, because they are women. . .are objects of insult and outrage at every turn; when they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads; when their children are not allowed to enter school; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Revolution, III (May 20, 1869), p. 307.

⁴⁶Revolution, III (May 20, 1869), p. 306.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

With the belief that the American Equal Rights Association no longer was the best means of achieving woman suffrage, a group of women representing fifteen states formed the National Woman Suffrage Association, electing Elizabeth Cady Stanton president and designating The Revolution as the official publication for the society.

The division was deplored by most suffrage supporters. At this point, however, the differences between the two groups seemed to be irreconcilable. To counter the organization of the National Woman Suffrage Association by Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, the conservatives formed the American Woman Suffrage Association, eliciting this response from Elizabeth Cady Stanton: "In the present stage of the Woman's Suffrage movement in this country a division in our ranks is rather to be deplored, for when friends disagree new-comers hesitate as to which side to join; . . . still more deplorable is the result to the old friends themselves, when, instead of fighting the common enemy, prejudice, custom, unjust laws and a false public sentiment, they turn, as the old Abolitionists in their division did, and rend each other."⁴⁹ Mrs. Stanton said she had offered to step down as president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, if this would have appeased the New Englanders and led to reconciliation; her offer, apparently, was not accepted. She concluded:

That the division is one simply of leadership and personalities is well known to all behind the scenes, for the American Woman Suffrage Association proposes no new or different principles

⁴⁹Revolution, IV (Oct. 28, 1869), p. 264.

from those accepted in the Association already formed. But still, in closing, I would say if there are people who cannot come up to our broad, catholic ground, and demand suffrage for ALL--even negro suffrage, without distinction of sex, why let them have another association until they are educated for the higher platform the present Association occupies. I have said this much to let our friends generally understand the situation.⁵⁰

The Revolution published reports of the American Woman Suffrage Association's activities, even commenting favorably on the announcement that the organization would have its own newspaper, the Women's Journal.

It soon became apparent, however, that the American Woman Suffrage Association was not ready for reconciliation with the National. In February, 1870, Mrs. Stanton went to Boston; the chilly reception she received from suffragists there angered her and was noted in her letter to The Revolution. "We did not at first perceive the cold, sidelong glances shot at us from shining beavers and nodding plumes, the stately sideling off, the sudden turning round, the mysterious whisperings and shakings of the head, all portending a coming storm."⁵¹ In the next issue, a letter from a Boston woman was printed, objecting to the treatment Mrs. Stanton received:

My spirit is stirred to indignation by the very shabby reception that Boston has given her [Elizabeth Cady Stanton]. . . .When such a woman appears at a meeting called to promote that cause for which she has toiled early and late while some of us have been preserving our cherished dignity and self-righteous decorum in this atmosphere of classic conventionalism--shall we not

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Revolution, V (Feb. 3, 1870), p. 72.

welcome her as one to whom we are all indebted, and give a respectful and patient hearing to her views of duty and expediency in the promotion of this, the great interest we all have at heart? By no means. We will sit by and "make believe very large" that we don't see her. . . .At least one would think there was room for all to work in their own way, and if there could not be co-operation, there might be mental recognition of right aims and motives, and a spiritual hospitality expressed by, at least, common courtesy toward strangers and guests.⁵²

The two groups would remain separated until 1890, long after The Revolution ceased publication--an end brought about, in part, by the paper's inability to survive the competition of the Women's Journal. The split also took its toll on the contents of The Revolution, as much of the suffrage news began to be concerned with the differences between the two suffragist factions. This change detracted from the philosophical arguments favoring suffrage, interspersed as these arguments became, with gossip, innuendo, and bickering aimed at discrediting the American Woman Suffrage Association.

From 1868 to 1870 The Revolution served a number of functions in its role as suffrage agitator. First, it informed women of contemporary suffrage activity, providing news and publicity and creating a sense of common purpose among many suffragists. Second, it educated women in the politics of protest, explaining how to petition, conduct public meetings, and hold different kinds of protests. Third, it presented a philosophical basis for woman suffrage. Finally, the newspaper countered the arguments of a host of anti-suffragists, demonstrating the legitimacy of the claim of women for their right to vote.

⁵²Revolution, V (Feb. 10, 1870), p. 84.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS AND WRONGS

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton realized that suffrage was only one phase of the overall struggle to gain equal rights for women. Many of the inequalities woman suffered were not the direct result of her political or legal status; the wrongs were based on cultural conditioning, superstition, religion, or personal belief. The Revolution waged continuous warfare against prominent contemporary beliefs that helped keep women in an inferior position: that woman had the benefit of the protection and chivalry of man; that in marriage, "husband and wife are one, and that one, the husband;" that the inferior position of woman was ordained by God. In addition to arguing against these commonly held ideas, The Revolution presented numerous examples of women actively engaged in the struggle for their own rights, thus providing documentation to disprove the notion that woman must, by her nature, be dependent of man.

"Man's gallantry! what is it, but a boast of his own superiority and an insolent fling at woman's weakness?"⁵³

One objection raised (usually by men) to extending equal rights to women was that women did not have to fight their own battles-- husband, father, or brother could and would protect his woman. A lawyer wrote to The Revolution on this point, objecting to the idea that woman needed to be admitted to the professions or the polls. He concluded his letter:

⁵³Revolution, IV (Sept. 16, 1869), p. 168.

Now, the writer is a possessor of a young and charming wife of twenty-two years of age. Two years of married life has really made them one. She has borne him one child. They live pleasantly and happily in an up-town house, on \$7,000 a year. Do you think that he could think of permitting that pure young creature, whose world is her husband and their child, to venture out to cast a piece of paper into a box, after having waited one or two hours in a long line of low-born, ill-bred, insolent ruffians, who care little for God, fear not man, and whose words would make the ears tingle, especially of one so pure, young, tender woman?

My chief end in life is to ward off all storms, all ruffle and all discomfort from her I love; yes, far too well to change into a man in manners, looks, words and dress, in fact everything but the natural and physical differences between the sexes.⁵⁴

The editors' reply was characteristic of their stand on this question:

In denying us a right to enter all the colleges and seminaries, of law, medicine and theology, you prevent us from fitting ourselves for those professions. . . . By denying us a right of suffrage you destroy our self-respect, and that of the ruling classes for us. Disenfranchised classes are always degraded classes, hence we are crowded out of honorable and profitable employment.

We do not know any benefits that a generous government has allowed us that will in any way compensate for all the wrongs, in denying us a voice in the government, the rights of property and wages, the right of trial by a jury of our peers, and the right to our own children. . . . We will willingly change places and give all the immunities to man, and take the rights for ourselves.⁵⁵

Another fear frequently expressed was that liberating women would signal an end to polite society, as men would not feel the need to practice the social graces around women once the two sexes were equal. This argument was dismissed as specious by Mary L. Clough, in an article entitled "Gallantry Versus Humanity."

⁵⁴Revolution, I (June 25, 1868), pp. 387-88.

⁵⁵Revolution, I (June 25, 1868), p. 388.

We hear much small talk in social circles, and also frequently obtruding itself into the public journals, of a time when . . . little acts of courtesy shall cease; "when women vote, and run for office, and forsake the 'holy spheres of home,' then," says the social small talk, "what man will offer his seat in the crowded car to a woman, or assist her to any little convenience as he so willingly does now, if she stands on the same footing as he why shall she not 'shirk for herself?'" All this is very shallow, and yet how much harm such frivolous remarks and superficial reasoning make upon the young, surface-seeing public? How many never pause to consider that the innate courtesy prompting a man to assist a lady to enter a carriage or find a seat will just as readily and tenderly protect a child or steady the feeble steps of an old man who "votes?" Mere superficial politeness we do not desire. A true woman scorns the "gallantry" that refuses aid to the poor and indigent. It is humanity we want. We wish first to know if good manners are skin-deep, before we venture to prize them, or fear their loss. Furthermore--paying women half of what men get is hardly gallantry. "Perish the hypocrisy, that while wheedling half the world out of their natural rights, smilingly bows and simpers of 'home sanctity' and 'angelic influence!'" Women are not "angels," but rational human beings, and as such requiring food, clothing and lodging. So we will barter high-sounding politeness and flattery for the "right" to live and labor on an equal footing in the fields naturally open alike to men and women.⁵⁶

In an even more radical refutation of the value of man's gallantry toward woman, a reader wrote: "Woman is a slave, and must feel so every day of her life, unless her sensibilities are already blunted and benumbed by her condition. Of what use is it to be called an 'angel' and then to be endowed with nothing but 'instincts' in common with the brute creation?"⁵⁷

For those who remained unconvinced by such abstract reasoning, The Revolution contained examples demonstrating the degree to which men actually did protect women. A chilling incident was reported:

⁵⁶Revolution, IV (Aug. 26, 1869), p. 114.

⁵⁷Revolution, IV (Nov. 16, 1869), p. 380.

A Paris newspaper describes a recent occurrence in this way, illustrating, not only its own, but a very common estimate of woman in many places: "On Saturday, an accident, which might have been attended with sad results, took place in this city (Paris). A bricklayer, having lost his balance, fell from the sixth story of a house to the street. Fortunately, two women who were chatting on the sidewalk, received the falling man on their heads and broke his fall. The bricklayer was taken up safe and sound. The bystanders shuddered to think that but for a lucky chance the accident might have cost him his life. The two women were killed instantly."⁵⁸

The paper also took pains to point out the economic inequalities women suffered--inequalities that could not necessarily be ameliorated by the protection of a man. It was pointed out, for example, that although a man's purchase of a train ticket included in the ticket price insurance against death or disability, women passengers, paying the same ticket price, were insured by the railroad companies against death alone.⁵⁹ Furthermore, it appeared that institutions traditionally seen as protective of women and children did not always provide the expected protection. According to an excerpt from a Canadian newspaper: "Twelve years ago, Dr. Low of Bowmanville, Canada, mortgaged all his private property to pay off the indebtedness of his Church, under solemn promise of repayment. He died two years ago, and now the mortgages are being foreclosed, and his wife and children turned out to starve, the church refusing to make good their claims."⁶⁰

⁵⁸Revolution, III (Feb. 25, 1869), p. 124.

⁵⁹Revolution, II (Oct. 1, 1868), p. 203.

⁶⁰Revolution, III (May 6, 1869), p. 283.

The Revolution demonstrated that men were not successfully protecting women from violent assault. Examples of rape and seduction were frequently cited in the paper; one letter that urged making rape a capital crime, argued that men were unable to appreciate the gravity of crimes against women:

The objection [apparently raised frequently] that the evidence obtainable in such cases would not warrant a death sentence, would hold equally against every other punishment; a judge has not more right to commit a man to jail for a year on insufficient evidence, than he would have to sentence him to be hanged. The real difficulty lies in the fact that men do not consider this crime worthy of death, and it should be our duty, for our own sakes and that of others, to impress on the country that it is worthy of death, that the man who commits such an outrage on a woman, does her an injury incalculably greater than if he had murdered her in any most brutal manner.⁶¹

Rather than have women dependent on men's protection, The Revolution suggested several self-protection measures. Some writers proposed that women adopt male costume (although this practice was illegal in many states). Fanny Fern, a writer, advised that women simply leave their fashionable clothes at home when they wished to take a walk: "A woman by taking a big market basket in her hand, and leaving her hoop at home, and pinning an old shawl over her head, and tying a calico apron around her waist, may walk unmolested. I know, because I have tried it when I felt like having a 'prowl' all alone, without any puppy saying at every step: 'A pleasant evening, Miss.'"⁶² A more militant columnist wrote: "We would suggest that

⁶¹Revolution, IV (July 22, 1869), p. 35.

⁶²Revolution, III (June 10, 1869), p. 359.

every young girl should be taught the use of firearms, and always carry a small pistol for her defence."⁶³

Many stories in The Revolution dealt with the role men played in the moral downfall of girls and women. The tone of most articles about fallen women was sympathetic, and although The Revolution was against all forms of abortion, stories about this subject were as likely to condemn the father as the mother.

One case that the paper covered extensively was that of Hester Vaughan, an Englishwoman. Miss Vaughan had been brought to Philadelphia by a man who had a sham wedding ceremony performed. Within a few months, he left Miss Vaughan, who by this time was pregnant. She gave birth, alone in a deserted attic, to a daughter, who was dead by the time police arrived. Miss Vaughan said the child had been stillborn, but authorities did not believe her, and she was arrested, brought to trial, and convicted of infanticide. The Revolution urged its readers to appeal to the governor of Pennsylvania for Miss Vaughan's pardon and to raise money to enable the woman to return to her parents in England. They succeeded in both campaigns, amid much publicity. The Hester Vaughan case was another example, The Revolution insisted, of the inherent evil of forcing women to depend on men's good graces: "Depriving woman of the right to protect herself--making her the creature of man's protection--

⁶³Revolution, III (June 10, 1869), p. 362.

⁶⁴Revolution, II (Sept. 17, 1868), p. 169.

makes her a victim to his powers, and the cries of feminine weakness and masculine 'protection' are the upper and nether millstones between which the working women are being ground to powder."⁶⁴

The flaws in the system of man's protection of woman were numerous. The columns of The Revolution were used to document these deficiencies, not to encourage men to improve their defense systems, but to spur women on to assuming responsibility for their own protection. Marie A. Brown wrote: "No human being is endowed with the power, right or privilege to protect another. Protection is inherent, and every individual removed from childhood and imbecility is sheathed in a natural defence--self-protection."⁶⁵

MARRIAGE

The Revolution called for a massive overhaul of the institution of marriage. Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote: "Woman as woman, asks nothing to-day but the elective franchise; it is only as wife that these infamous laws affect her. When a wife has a civil and political existence, we may talk of a dignified legal marriage relation, but no one, fresh from the reading of even our revised statutes of to-day, can feel a very profound respect for an institution in which woman is a 'femme couvert,' 'sub potestate viri.'"⁶⁶ Many of the laws governing marriage were not favorable to women; in most

⁶⁵Revolution, III (June 10, 1869), p. 355.

⁶⁶Revolution, III (April 8, 1869), pp. 217-18.

states a wife had limited or no right to inherit, own, or will property, to her children, to her name, or to her choice of domicile. Although in marriages in which true affection existed, husbands might not abuse their rights and powers, many women saw the need to change the laws to prevent such abuses by any husband. Dr. Esther H. Hawks wrote: "All men are not brutes, but irresponsible power in the hands of such as are disposed to abuse it, is an unsafe thing. The advanced civilization demands emancipation for women from the slavery of the marriage relation."⁶⁷

Married women, according to The Revolution, suffered in a number of ways. First, the amount of work involved in conducting a household forced women to work long hours. "A man has his work hours, and his definite tasks; a woman has work at all hours, and incessant confusion of tasks,"⁶⁸ the Rev. Thomas Beecher wrote. The Revolution presented this fictional "Family Portrait," comparing the work day of a wife and husband:

A professional man enters his house, just come in from his office (a five minutes walk). "Oh, dear, I am so tired. Wife couldn't you fix me a hot gin sling? Seems to me that would touch the right spot." Said gentleman went to his office at 9 a.m., where he has written a little, read the papers, and cracked jokes with a crowd of hangers on to his and their infinite satisfaction. The wife was up an hour or two before her husband, built the fire, dressed the babies, cooked breakfast for him and his numerous progeny. (They are his, not hers. They are hers to feed and care for, and work for, from morning till night, but they are his legally). Since that, she has been

⁶⁷Revolution, V (Feb. 10, 1870), p. 94.

⁶⁸Revolution, II (Aug. 27, 1868), p. 120.

scrubbing, baking, ironing, or whatever else fills up the programme for the day, but it is something, be sure of that.⁶⁹

~~X~~ More serious than overwork, however, was the problem of a husband's unfaithfulness. Writers in The Revolution were particularly harsh on this matter. Eleanor Kirk wrote: "A wife's duty ceases the moment a man is abusive--the moment she discovers him to be untrue, and it is a sin against God, against self-respect, against the community to bear children for such a scamp, to place herself in a position to be enfeebled by disease and sent to an untimely grave as hosts of pure, noble women have been."⁷⁰

The McFarland-Richardson affair brought much public comment on the marriage and divorce question. Mrs. McFarland, after being granted a divorce from her husband, fell in love with Mr. Richardson. Her ex-husband, jealous over the attachment, shot Richardson, fatally wounding him. Before Richardson died, though, ministers including Henry Ward Beecher officiated at the marriage of the two lovers. McFarland not only was acquitted; he was allowed to retain custody of his children.

The story of the love triangle was widely reported in the press, with commentators disagreeing on (1) the justification of McFarland's action, (2) the moral character of Mrs. McFarland Richardson, and (3) the wisdom and propriety of the ministers' marrying the two lovers. As the question of marriage and divorce was one of her

⁶⁹Revolution, V (April 28, 1870), p. 260.

⁷⁰Revolution, II (Aug. 27, 1868), p. 118.

pet causes, Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote extensively on the affair, insisting that women had every right to be married to men they loved. (Mrs. Stanton had written in an earlier issue of The Revolution that loveless marriages were "legalized prostitution",⁷¹ and should be free to divorce unsuitable husbands). Regarding this case, she wrote to Parker Pillsbury:

You ask what I think of the Richardson affair. I rejoice over every slave that escapes from a discordant marriage. With the education and elevation of women we shall have a mighty sundering of the unholy ties that hold men and women together who loathe and despise each other. . . . The wholesale divorce and infanticide that mark this transition period of woman's awakening are Nature's protests against these unions of the flesh alone. It is humiliating to any proud woman to see how completely the woman is ignored in all the discussions of the press on this affair. One would really suppose that a man owned his wife as the master the slave, and that this was simply an affair between Richardson and McFarland, fighting like two dogs over one bone. My opinion is that a woman has a right to choose between a base, petty tyrant and a noble, magnanimous man, and if a husband proves himself unworthy of love, and incapable of loving, it is no proof that a woman's heart always stands open as a boarding-house door if, in the process of time, she loves somebody else.⁷²

The editors saw customs governing married women's names as symptomatic of the enslaved condition of wives:

As men are liable to disgrace their names, and run away from their clinging vines, it is better for every woman to maintain an individual existence and a lifelong name to represent it. There is not more reason in every wife taking a husband's name than in his taking hers.

⁷¹Revolution, III (Feb. 4, 1869), p. 69.

⁷²Revolution, IV (Nov. 23, 1869), p. 385.

In slavery, the black man was Cuffy Davis, or Cuffy Lee, just whose Cuffy he might chance to be, but the moment he reached the land of freedom, he took a name of his own, and maintains it.⁷³

The marriage ceremony itself, with woman vowing to obey her husband and the ritual of an adult male giving away the bride was criticized not only as humiliating for women, but also, by one writer, as unconstitutional:

We think that all these reverend gentlemen who insist on these humiliating ceremonies; that place all wives in the light of slaves, should be impeached in the Supreme Court of the United States, for a direct and positive violation of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, which says, "there shall be no slavery or involuntary servitude in the United States."

In the meantime, let all brides who have any true dignity or self-respect, repudiate "obey" and the giving away scene, as unworthy of the higher civilization we boast to-day.⁷⁴

One tactic used to show the inequities of much of the customary relationship between wife and husband was to take an article about marriage and replace the word "woman" or "wife" where the word "man" or "husband" appeared and "man" or "husband" where "woman" or "wife" appeared. In the following example, The Revolution printed only the revised version. This writer has taken the liberty of including first the original, as it must have appeared:

When a man gives wrong counsel, never make him feel that he has done so, but lead him on by degrees to what is rational, with mildness and gentleness; when he is convinced, leave him all the merit of having found out what was just and reasonable.

Seem always to obtain information from him, especially before company, though you may pass yourself for a simpleton. Never forget that a wife owes her importance to that of her husband; if she degrades him she injures herself.

⁷³Revolution, III (April 1, 1869), p. 202.

⁷⁴Revolution, V (March 24, 1870), p. 184.

The revision:

When a woman gives wrong counsel, never make her feel that she has done so, but lead her on by degrees to what is rational, with mildness and gentleness; when she is convinced, leave her all the merit of having found out what was just and reasonable.

Seem always to obtain information from her, especially before company, though you may pass yourself for a simpleton. Never forget that a husband owes his importance to that of his wife; if he degrades her he injures himself.⁷⁵

Those opposed to expansion of the public duties of women often expressed concern that performance of these duties might prove incompatible with woman's role as wife and mother. This notion was dispelled by The Revolution:

Voting will not end all division labor, nor the natural affections of women for men and children. One would really think to hear these men ask questions that sex, love, our intellectual, moral and social sentiments were all the result of their puny legislation. Men will be men, and women will be women, after all these barriers to human progress are taken down.⁷⁶

One editorial, in a more playful spirit, stated:

We wish to say once and forever, that motherhood is compatible with voting and holding office. When the relations of the sexes are regulated by the enlightened conscience and sound judgment of woman, and not by the morbid appetites of man, her whole life will not be devoted to one animal function, at the expense of all other enjoyments. . . . As to holding office, the public life of most men begins about forty years of age, after which period most women might be relieved from all domestic cares, as at that time their children are grown up and married, or in school.

We never hear men say that washing, ironing, cooking, blacking their boots, splitting kindling wood, building fires, or any other menial service conflicts with maternity. Then why should they always start up with alarm lest the honors and privileges

⁷⁵Revolution, II (Aug. 13, 1868), p. 90.

⁷⁶Revolution, II (Oct. 22, 1868), p. 248.

of life should be detrimental to such relations? There is something very suspicious, to say the least, in all the tender anxiety men express on this point. We think its germ lies in selfishness rather than generosity, something like the solicitude the slaveholder felt lest the negro could not take care of himself in freedom.⁷⁷

In reality, the law prevented married women from exercising certain public functions. An Illinois attorney--a woman--who had petitioned the governor for the right to be a notary public received this reply, which The Revolution printed: "I need not say to you that, being a married woman, you are legally incapable of exacting the bond required by the statute, nor could you, if appointed, be held responsible, in a common lawsuit, to any person who might be damnified by your official neglect of duty, or for any malfeasance in office."⁷⁸

For many wives, the question of becoming a notary public would never even arise, as financial dependence precluded assumption of any public duties or advocacy of any views not approved by their husbands: "She [the wife] owns nothing--all is his [the husband's]; she controls nothing, for the reins of power are held by another, and she is driven with the rest of the chattels; she can change nothing, for a word of protest endangers the threadbare support she endures."⁷⁹ The Revolution insisted that control of finances would put women and men in an egalitarian position, making them better marriage partners:

⁷⁷Revolution, V (Feb. 10, 1870), p. 88.

⁷⁸Revolution, V (Jan. 13, 1870), p. 28.

⁷⁹Revolution, III (June 10, 1869), p. 355.

"When women have their own property and business, they will choose and not be chosen; they will marry the men they love, or not at all; and where there is love between the parents, children will ever find care and protection."⁸⁰ The paper contained many optimistic articles on the future of partnership marriages. Dr. Esther H. Hawks wrote: "With the growing educational powers and opportunities accorded to women, must come a more enlightened marriage code, an equal co-partnership must be, and the pernicious idea that marriage makes two people into one, and that one the man, must be abandoned."⁸¹ According to Lita Barney Sayles: "Marriage will become sanctified, when there are two parties to the ratification of it, where now there is but one, for it will cease to be merely a bread and butter affair, but shall arise from an attraction of our inner and purer natures, an affinity of our loves, and trusts, and aspirations, that seeks each as a companion to help the other over eternity's ever-ascending highways."⁸² And Lucretia Mott, the abolitionist and suffragist, whose egalitarian marriage with John Mott was legendary among reformers, was quoted as saying: "In the marriage relation, the independence of the husband and wife should be equal, their dependence mutual, and their obligations reciprocal."⁸³

⁸⁰Revolution, I (Jan. 29, 1868), p. 57.

⁸¹Revolution, V (Feb. 10, 1870), p. 94.

⁸²Revolution, V, (Feb. 17, 1870), p. 100.

⁸³Revolution, IV (Oct. 7, 1869), p. 215.

The Revolution portrayed the condition of married woman as a clear demonstration of the position she occupied in society. By making these connections, the paper showed that voting, holding office, receiving education, and working outside the home were as essential for woman's domestic tranquility as they were for her legitimation in the public sphere. This message apparently was too radical for many, who hoped to press a single cause--suffrage or education for women, for example--without making changes in the more fundamental phases of women's and men's lives.

WOMEN IN RELIGION

Besides having radical ideas on marriage and divorce, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had an untraditional approach to religion. She believed that although Christ had equally valued women and men, contemporary Christian doctrine and practices often contributed to woman's subjugation. One attempt to re-educate the public was a series, "Strong-Minded Women of the Bible," which appeared continually in The Revolution. Also appearing in the newspaper were examples of the more extraordinary diatribes made against women by male ministers. Prof. Bartlett, a congregationalist minister from Chicago, was quoted:

In [the] division of duties and functions both Providence and scripture clearly indicate the rule, that the public and social representative, or official head of the family, should be, and is, the husband. . . . Female suffrage in the church accomplishes no good end; female suffrage, so far as any effect is to come from it, tends to introduce an element of trouble. Female

suffrage lays an additional burden on our sisters, which they can ill afford to bear, and which very many shirk wholly from assuming.⁸⁴

Religious writers for the paper were careful to avoid getting entangled in arguments based on quoting specific passages from the Bible, preferring the approach recommended by E. Leets: "We must judge Woman's Rights, and all other reforms for which the world was not ready when our Savior visited it, by their conformity to the spirit of the whole teaching of the New Testament, even though we cannot quote a single chapter or verse as proof that they are right."⁸⁵ This point was raised on the question of the fall of Eve and Adam: "While all admit that before the fall our first parents were equal; yet by some somerset of the moral laws of the universe, it is assumed that woman fell the farthest, became an inferior being, and has been in subjection ever since to man, and must be to the end."⁸⁶

The place woman held in contemporary church activities was a reflection of her second-class position in theological interpretation, according to Mrs. Stanton: "Women have been so long and so thoroughly imbued with the idea that self-sacrifice was their great duty and glory, that they have devoted themselves, body and soul, purses and prayers, to the redemption of the heathen, the conversion

⁸⁴Revolution, I (March 19, 1868), p. 162.

⁸⁵Revolution, III (Feb. 18, 1869), p. 101.

⁸⁶Revolution, I (April 30, 1868), p. 265.

of the Jews, the decoration of churches, the education of 'poor but pious young men' for the ministry, and the sensuous appetites of their own households 'forever suckling fools and chronicling small beer,' so entirely neglecting their own health and happiness, growth and development that we would really think that woman's individual welfare and enjoyment had not part of place in the grand, eternal plan."⁸⁷

Some advances were being made by churchwomen, however, and these steps were noted in The Revolution. Some women were becoming ministers, mainly in Universalist Societies, Methodist churches were eliminating the word "obey" from the marriage ceremony, and more and more women were allowed to vote in church elections.

"WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING"

Not only in the church were individual women and small groups of women advancing. Women throughout the world were moving into areas that had previously been solely male domains. The editors of The Revolution were very aware of the usefulness of such women as role models for their more timid or less adventuresome sisters and, often in the column "What Women are Doing," printed a wealth of items showing the intelligence, strength, versatility, and resourcefulness women exhibited.

A tactic used by some women who wished to call attention to the inequities of society was the refusal to pay taxes or the

⁸⁷Revolution, V (April 28, 1870), p. 264.

payment of taxes under protest, with the assertion that "taxation without representation is tyranny." The Revolution reported on the women, including Susan B. Anthony, the newspaper proprietor, who engaged in this form of protest.⁸⁸

Women who stepped outside "woman's sphere" were cited-- such as the woman who won first prize at a shooting match in Switzerland,⁸⁹ the woman rower who competed in the Columbia Boat Club Regatta in New York City,⁹⁰ or the woman in Red Wing, Minn., who "became disgusted at the inefficiency of the carpenters who were building her home, discharged them, and has nearly finished the work herself."⁹¹

One report told of a man who, while beating his wife, was set upon by more than twelve women, who were tired of witnessing his treatment of his wife.⁹²

The Revolution attempted to educate women about the heritage of their sex. Matilda E. J. Gage wrote about women inventors, including Catharine Greene, the real inventor of the cotton gin:

⁸⁸Revolution, III (June 3, 1869), p. 343.

⁸⁹Revolution, I (Jan. 22, 1868), p. 39.

⁹⁰Revolution, II (August 27, 1868), p. 124.

⁹¹Revolution, II (Sept. 3, 1868), p. 134.

⁹²Ibid.

The invention of the cotton gin, one of the greatest mechanical triumphs of modern times, is due to a woman. Although the work on the model was done by the hands of Eli Whitney, yet Mrs. Greene originated the idea, and knowing Whitney to be a practical mechanic, she suggested his doing the work. . . . It may be asked why Mrs. Greene did not take out the patent in her own name. To have done so would have exposed her to the contumely and ridicule of her friends. . . . Had the patent of the cotton gin been taken in her own name, either singly or in union with Whitney, what a wide-spread benefit her example would have been to others of her sex.⁹³

A column, "Brief Biographies of Celebrated Women, Ancient and Modern," appeared frequently, describing women such as Maria Gaetana, a mathematician who lived from 1718 to 1799.⁹⁴ For women who believed that learning was unfeminine, "What Women Are Doing" provided these facts: "Mary, Queen of Scots when very young, delivered an oration in Latin, before the French court, to prove that there was nothing unfeminine in the pursuit of letters," "Queen Elizabeth early read Greek and was familiar also with French, Spanish, Latin and Italian," and "Lady Jane Grey wrote in Greek."⁹⁵

Such stories of women of ability were an important part of The Revolution's support for the expansion of woman's rights. It was necessary to demonstrate that women could function independently in society. By pointing out women who actually were doing so, the newspaper left readers with the impression that women were capable of

⁹³Revolution, I (April 30, 1868), p. 259.

⁹⁴Revolution, I (June 11, 1868), p. 365.

⁹⁵Revolution, II (Aug. 6, 1868), p. 83.

exercising those rights. This type of proof, combined with arguments in favor of expanding woman's role in society, gave many woman's rights advocates the information they needed to refute the arguments of those standing in the way of the movement. ✓

WORKINGWOMEN

Woman, whether maid, wife or widow, as an individualized being, endowed with soul and intellect as well as body, must have some aim in life adequate to the employment and consequent development of these powers, if she would not be a cipher, indeed, false to the design of her creation. The world, catering to external conventionalisms and smothering its instinctive recognition of this truth, has continued to despise woman for being what it compels her to be. That man was made something, it has always been admitted, but for woman, aside from physical motherhood, it is just beginning to concede the possibility of such a fact.⁹⁶

Many women did work outside the home in the 1860s, some because they needed the money and some few others because they wanted to work, but according to popular sentiment, woman's sphere was home and family. The situation in this post-war period was, on a smaller scale, similar to that of the post-World War II era. During the war, women had served in jobs traditionally held by men. Describing the Civil War, one woman wrote: "It was found that women could keep accounts, set type, write for the press, practice medicine, and do a thousand and one things requiring address, brains, energy."⁹⁷ But then

⁹⁶Revolution, II (Aug. 20, 1868), p. 102.

⁹⁷Revolution, I (Feb. 19, 1868), p. 99.

the war was over , the men returned to their jobs, and women were directed to step aside. This editorial from the New York Times describes the roles prescribed for men and women in the Reconstruction era: "The proper condition for a woman in all civilized countries is undoubtedly that of dependence upon somebody else for support. It is the office of men to earn a living by work; and in a perfect state of society men who earn all that is needed for the support of both sexes."⁹⁸

The wartime experience, however, had educated some people, and they disagreed with the narrow limits of the point of view expressed by the Times. An editorial in the Sharon (Wis.) Mirror stated: "We take the broad ground that a woman has the right to do whatever is becoming a man to do. And if she does the work of a man she is entitled to a man's wage."⁹⁹ According to the Philadelphia Post: "If experience has taught us nothing else, we ought at least to know now that we cannot draw a line between any of the occupations of life, and say this is fit for a man and this for a woman, for surely as we do, a woman will arise and prove our theory idle talk."¹⁰⁰ The Revolution advocated the right of women to work, to have free choice of occupations, and to be remunerated fairly for her work. One obstacle facing women seeking entrance into the world of employment

⁹⁸Revolution, III (Feb. 25, 1869), p. 120.

⁹⁹Revolution, II (Aug. 20, 1868), p. 106.

¹⁰⁰Revolution, IV (Nov. 2, 1869), p. 339.

was the belief that women were suited for certain jobs, and that, given the choice, most women would prefer to care for their own households. This idea was refuted: "There is no better reason why all women should be housekeepers, than all men shop-keepers; there is the same diversity of tastes in one sex as the other, and the same necessity for a division of labor more in harmony with individual taste and attraction."¹⁰¹

The Revolution also deplored the fact that most women who chose to work were not supported in their decision by family or friends. An article, describing a woman who, against the wishes of her father, became a working girl, described the opposition such a woman could expect to face:

It required as great strength of purpose for this young girl to leave the life of frivolity and idleness and become a true woman, as it would require in an average man to become a Congressman. She had no encouragement except from her own conscience, while the young man who takes a standpoint of firmness and independence, receives encouragement at every step. It is not strange that there are no deep-thinking women; it is wonderful that there are any, that women try to be anything but dolls and playthings. . . . If men would consider rationally they would see how cowardly it is in them to think about woman's inferiority when for thousands of years she has been in a kind of slavery, and the power has been all their own.¹⁰²

The issue of work for women really had two facets. First was the issue of woman's right to work for personal fulfillment. This idea appealed to women of the middle and upper classes, whose husbands,

¹⁰¹Revolution, IV (July 10, 1869), p. 11.

¹⁰²Revolution, III (Feb. 11, 1869), p. 83.

fathers, or other male relatives were willing and able to provide decent standards of living. Women in this situation, who often were educated and had servants to care for the household, wanted to have the right to express themselves through a career: "The need of the soul to give itself outward expression, to stamp its likeness upon a creation of its own, is an incentive to labor immeasurably greater than material compensation. For it is the inborn, God-given purpose of life, however vaguely revealed."¹⁰³ The second aspect of women and work involved women who depended on themselves for support. These women--single, widowed, divorced, or married to men whose salaries were inadequate--were, more often than not, poorly paid seamstresses, department store clerks, or domestics.

Middle and upper class working women often had professional or white collar jobs. They were doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, journalists, librarians. The Revolution carried news on women in all these occupational categories, pointing out the good and bad news.

On the positive side, the paper reported that 300 women graduates of medical schools were in practice in the United States in 1869, some earning more than \$15,000 a year,¹⁰⁴ that the American Dental Association had voted to admit women into the profession,¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Revolution, V (Jan. 20, 1870), p. 37.

¹⁰⁴Revolution, III (March 18, 1869), p. 166.

¹⁰⁵Revolution, IV (Aug. 12, 1869), p. 92.

and that some states were beginning to allow women to practice law.¹⁰⁶
 On the negative side were: the report that the Pennsylvania Medical Association had voted 45-37 against having women admitted as physicians¹⁰⁷ and almost all news about the salaries paid to women teachers.

Women in education suffered from a malady that has recently been described as "double vision."¹⁰⁸ Women were the teachers; men were the administrators. Girls were better students than boys, but parents sent their sons, not their daughters, to college.

Susan B. Anthony had once been a teacher; she had taken a position formerly held by a man, at half the salary he had been paid. This situation had not changed over the years, and The Revolution often ran stories like this report from the Lowell, Mass., School Committee:

The high school is in very satisfactory condition. . . . The vacancy caused by the resignation of a male teacher, has been filled, and well filled, too, by the appointment of a female assistant. From the amount thus saved the salary of the new French teacher is taken, and 450 dollars are left to the city.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Revolution, I (March 19, 1868), p. 171, I (Feb. 19, 1868), p. 100, I (March 12, 1868), p. 148.

¹⁰⁷Revolution, I (June 25, 1868), p. 396.

¹⁰⁸Women Historians of the Midwest, "Double Vision" (film), St. Paul, Minn., 1975.

¹⁰⁹Revolution, III (Nov. 1, 1869), p. 202.

It was reported that in New Hampshire, the average monthly wages for women teachers were \$16, for men, \$34.¹¹⁰ The paper also reported examples of women educators who resisted against this discrimination, like the woman principal in Philadelphia who took her demand for equal pay to the courts and won.¹¹¹

Women teachers not only had to endure low wages; school boards could discriminate against women because of marital status or simply because of their sex. These two examples are typical of the attitudes of school board members in cities throughout the United States: "The Baltimore Sun says, in noticing the action of the Public School Trustees of that city in dispensing with the service of married female teachers, that the custom in Baltimore and other cities is to consider marriage in the light of a resignation."¹¹² "The Philadelphia Board of Controllers of Public Schools are endeavoring to make a law that hereafter, no woman shall be eligible to the office of Principal of a boys Grammar School."¹¹³

These practices against women teachers were widespread because the profession was dominated by young women; school boards could offer teachers low wages, secure in the knowledge that sooner or later someone would accept the salary.

¹¹⁰Revolution, III (Feb. 18, 1869), p. 108.

¹¹¹Revolution, I (June 4, 1868), p. 342.

¹¹²Revolution, II (Sept. 17, 1868), p. 174.

¹¹³Revolution, II (July 23, 1868), p. 42.

This was not a problem for woman journalists, who, whether as publishers, editors, or reporters, were practicing in a male-dominated field. The 1860s and 1870s saw women working in more and more newspaper offices. The western states and territories seem to have supported a large number of woman editors and publishers.¹¹⁴ In the East, women were entering the field as reporters for the metropolitan dailies.¹¹⁵ The trend of women entering journalism was not limited to the United States; The Revolution reported of women in Turkey, Mexico City, Lisbon, Portugal, and Paris who had started newspapers.¹¹⁶

These white collar jobs, although not paying wages equal to those of men, did provide women with enough money to live decently. The same was not true of jobs held by working class women. Women, working as seamstresses, compositors, and factory workers, working twelve to fourteen hours a day, earned wages that barely covered the cost of room and board. These women had different interests from those of the white collar and professional women.

The Revolution championed the cause of the workingwoman. Susan B. Anthony organized two unions for workingwomen, one for

¹¹⁴Revolution, II (Aug. 20, 1868), p. 106, II (July 17, 1868), p. 27, V (Feb. 17, 1870), p. 106, V (Jan. 20, 1870), p. 42.

¹¹⁵Revolution, IV (Nov. 18, 1869), p. 308, IV (Sept. 30, 1869), p. 204.

¹¹⁶Revolution, IV (Oct. 7, 1869), p. 219, I (June 18, 1868), p. 380.

typesetters and one for sewing women, and printed notices and minutes from the meetings of these groups in the paper. Miss Anthony tried to show these women that the vote was the most efficient way to improve their working conditions, but they never were convinced. The unions were mildly successful at getting higher pay for their members and were diligent about collecting from employers women's wages that had been fraudulently withheld.¹¹⁷

Much was written in the paper about the plight of the sewing women, who were paid very low wages for very hard work. A woman might be paid fifty cents for making a dozen men's shirts. Although many middle class women (including the New England suffragists) did not get involved with the problems of these women, The Revolution even did some of the personal reporting for which the Hearst papers would become famous. Miss H. M. Shepard, a "gentle lady," became a seamstress to see for herself the difficulty and time-consuming nature of the job. She reported: "I found that on no kind of sewing could I earn more than fifty cents for ten hours' labor. I worked faithfully, saying to myself: 'Do not lose a minute; work as if you had starving children to feed; remember the rent is to be paid, the coal is out, the babies are almost naked.'" ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Revolution, III (May 15, 1869), p. 269, IV (Oct. 7, 1869), p. 219.

¹¹⁸Revolution, I (April 23, 1868), pp. 245-46.

The Revolution did not offer sewing women any positive suggestions for improving conditions in their craft. Instead, they advocated that women should enter male professions: "Working women, throw your needles to the winds; press yourselves into employments where you can get better pay; dress yourselves in costumes, like daughters of the regiment, and be conductors in our cars and railroads, drive hacks. If your petticoats stand in the way of bread, virtue and freedom, cut them off."¹¹⁹

Whether professional woman or factory worker, single or married, woman should be capable of supporting herself, The Revolution said. According to Susan B. Anthony: "There is not the woman born who desires to eat the bread of dependence, no matter whether it be from the hand of father, husband or brother; for any one who does so eat her bread places herself in the power of the person from whom she takes it."¹²⁰ The paper predicted that when women had the chance to work, men, too, would benefit: "Men will have an easier time of it when all women are self-supporting, and a pleasanter time when the presiding genius of every household is a strong, healthy, common-sense philosopher. No complaining of backaches, toothaches, headaches, or an empty-purse ache."¹²¹

¹¹⁹Revolution, I (Feb. 5, 1868), p. 65.

¹²⁰Revolution, III (May 20, 1869), p. 306.

¹²¹Revolution, I (April 16, 1868), p. 227.

PERSONAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH

The Revolution crusaded for measures designed to improve health. Personal health advice was offered to women, because Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony both strongly believed that contemporary styles of dress, lack of exercise and fresh air, and confinement in urban areas all were combining to create a very weak generation of American women. As The Revolution was telling the world that women were ready to assume responsibilities such as voting and working outside the home, the paper also worked to encourage women to prepare themselves physically for the challenges of the world.

Women were told that it was their obligation to be healthy: "The acquiring of all the physical strength in her power is certainly as much a woman's duty as a man's, and it is simply idiotic for her to talk of coping with man, in even the lightest employment, until she attends to this duty. Until she can walk a mile or so in stormy weather as in fair, let her not ask for herself the lighter kinds of manual labor."¹²² Unfortunately, however, it was considered fashionable to be weak, as this excerpt from a story by Eliza Archard shows: "It is their [American women's] religious conviction that the crowning glory of womankind is physical degeneracy. Their chief

¹²²Revolution, I (April 2, 1868), p. 194.

delight is to believe themselves born to cling to whatever is nearest in a droopy, like the ivy-to-the-oak way, and be viney and twiney, and whiney throughout."¹²³

Woman's dress was a major consideration in discussions of health. Corsets, hoops, and layer upon layer of heavy skirts were part of a fashionable woman's costume. Critics found little that was commendable in such an outfit. Readers were told about women who had died from tight lacing,¹²⁴ women were told that it was their Christian duty to stop wearing corsets,¹²⁵ and Oliver Wendall Holmes was quoted as saying that long skirts were unhealthy, in that they forced women to drag the dust and grim of the street indoors with them.¹²⁶

Both Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had worn the Bloomer costume for a while, and both had suffered from the ridicule of friends and strangers alike. After their own experience, the two women were not quick to recommend unusual modes of dress to others. Instead, they published articles enumerating the disadvantages of fashionable dress, going so far as to say that such dress would reduce woman's effectiveness as a thinking human being: "A

¹²³Revolution, I (Jan. 15, 1868), p. 17.

¹²⁴Revolution, I (Feb. 27, 1868), p. 125, IV (July 15, 1869), p. 21.

¹²⁵Revolution, I (March 26, 1868), p. 181.

¹²⁶Revolution, II (July 30, 1868), p. 59.

woman whose lungs are choked by corsets, whose liver is congested, whose stomach is taken possession of by dyspepsia, whose head throbs with pain, or whose nerves have run away with her will and self-possession and peace of mind, cannot comprehend or appreciate the meaning of truth, justice, liberty and Woman's Suffrage, or impress it upon others with anything like the clearness and force that she could if her body could be an efficient aid, instead of a deplorable clog."¹²⁷

One of the few cases in which writers in The Revolution stressed the nurturing, instinctive qualities of women was in discussing questions of public health. It was pointed out in such instances that women were peculiarly suited for work involving the welfare and health of the nation.

Women conducted campaigns against health hazards such as liquor and tobacco. Local temperance organizations were especially original in devising schemes to discourage saloon keepers and patrons alike from engaging in liquor traffic. The Knitting Machine, a group of temperance women in Clyde, Ohio, for example, would march into a saloon, sit down at the tables, and each woman would begin knitting.¹²⁸ Another group of Ohio women apparently became more militant. The Revolution reported: "The twenty-one women who emptied

¹²⁷Revolution, V (March 31, 1870), p. 195.

¹²⁸Revolution, III (March 25, 1869), p. 124.

all the liquor in a bar room in Perryville, Ohio, have had their trial and been acquitted."¹²⁹ Young women in a town in Indiana were reported to have pledged not to keep company with men who used liquor, tobacco, or profane language.¹³⁰ The paper applauded the announcement that a woman had been appointed town liquor agent in Pittsfield, Mass.¹³¹

Although tobacco did not pose as dramatic a health problem as drinking did, awareness of the hazard of smoking was increasing. The Revolution quoted a member of the French Academy of Medicine: "Statistics show that in exact proportion with the increased consumption of tobacco is the increase of disease in the nervous centres . . . and certain cancerous affections."¹³² The paper was encouraged by news of the formation of men's anti-smoking societies like the one founded in Burlington, Iowa.¹³³ That The Revolution perceived tobacco as a hazard to the user as much as a nuisance to the public is evident in this note: "The Boston Commonwealth says no gentleman will smoke in the crowded streets of our city while the

¹²⁹Revolution, III (March 4, 1868), p. 141.

¹³⁰Revolution, III (March 4, 1869), p. 137.

¹³¹Revolution, I (Feb. 27, 1868), p. 125.

¹³²Revolution, I (March 19, 1868), p. 170.

¹³³Revolution, I (March 26, 1868), p. 189.

promenade is covered with ladies. The time is coming when no man will smoke anywhere, not out of respect to "ladies" or women but to himself."¹³⁴ If women were unable to do anything to halt the use of liquor and tobacco by men, The Revolution preached a separatist philosophy: "The woman who fails to reform a man of the habit of drinking while engaged to him, will have a mighty task to do so after marriage. Think of this, young women. Better remain single than marry a man who loves liquor or tobacco either."¹³⁵

Concern over smoking was a result of the general recognition of the importance of good ventilation to health.¹³⁶ The Revolution expressed concern over the impure air of the city and often recommended that urban women remove their families to farms or the suburbs.¹³⁷

The Revolution touched briefly on a variety of other public health problems. Concern about institutional environmental health was evident in an article, "Our Jails and Prisons," that described "narrow, unventilated cells, infested with rats, mice, and vermin," "filthy beds of straw," and "sour bread, tainted meat, and unsavory

¹³⁴Revolution, III (March 4, 1868), p. 141.

¹³⁵Revolution, I (Feb. 27, 1868), p. 125.

¹³⁶Revolution, I (June 11, 1868), p. 354.

¹³⁷Revolution, II (Aug. 6, 1868), p. 74.

soup."¹³⁸ Awareness of environmental and food toxicology is demonstrated in these two reports: "There is a fact about the rubber toys and nipple sheath which I have become convinced of. . . .The white lead used in its manufacture affects the bones of children biting on it, or sucking food through it."¹³⁹ "A scientific gentleman of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, whose wife used tea pretty freely, and for the last few years had suffered much from a nervous affection, recently made an analysis of her beverage and found that the coloring material was gypsum and Prussian Blue, and that the amount in a pound of tea administered at once, would produce instant death."¹⁴⁰

Infant mortality was a problem, particularly among working women, who were likely to work long hours in unvented rooms, eat high carbohydrate, low protein diets, and live in unsanitary surroundings. The Revolution offered this story as one possible solution to the problem. A French manufacturer, realizing that the women working in his plant lost 40 per cent of their babies at birth, compared to an 18 per cent figure for women in the rest of the country, began giving his pregnant workers six weeks' leave with pay. "This cut the infant death rate by twenty-five to forty percent in three years."¹⁴¹

¹³⁸Revolution, II (July 23, 1868), p. 40.

¹³⁹Revolution, III (May 6, 1869), p. 283.

¹⁴⁰Revolution, II (Sept. 10, 1868), p. 149.

¹⁴¹Revolution, II (Oct. 1, 1868), p. 207.

Food additives were coming into use as more and more foods began to be mass produced. The Revolution was suspicious of the value of additives and processed food, warning mothers, for example, to check the list of artificial ingredients that went into chewing gum.¹⁴² Bleached flour was also disdained:

One of the evils of the day is in eating too much fine bread. Unbolted flour possesses the entire qualities of the wheat, such as the system absolutely needs. What is gained in color is lost in quality. Dark flour is far more palatable and sweet than the white.¹⁴³

The Revolution was concerned about the health of its readers, and stories designated to educate people about staying healthy were an important part of the paper.

¹⁴²Revolution, I (April 9, 1868), p. 221.

¹⁴³Revolution, I (March 5, 1868), p. 133.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLUTION: ITS DEMISE AND LEGACY

End of The Revolution

On New Year's Day, 1870, Susan B. Anthony wrote to a friend: "The year opens splendidly. December brought the largest number of subscriptions of any month since we began, and yesterday the largest of any day. So the little 'rebel Revolution' doesn't feel anything but the happiest sort of a New Year."¹ Even as she wrote such an optimistic letter, however, Miss Anthony was beginning to realize that she might not be able to sustain the financial burden the paper was placing on her.

From a pecuniary point of view things looked very dark for The Revolution. Every newspaper, in its early days, swallows up money like a bottomless well. The Revolution had started on an expensive basis; its office rent was \$1,300 per annum; it was printed on the best of paper, which at that time was very costly; typesetting commanded the highest prices. Partly as a matter of pride and partly for the interest of the paper, Miss Anthony was not willing to reduce expenses. At the end of the first year The Revolution had 2,000, and at the end of the second year 3,000 bona fide, paying subscribers, but these could not sustain it without plenty of advertising, and advertisers never lavish money on a reform paper. . . . [Susan B. Anthony's] letters to friends and relatives at this time, appealing for funds to carry on the paper, are heart-breaking. [An example:] "My paper must not, shall not, go down. I am

¹Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), p. 356.

sure you believe in me, and in my honesty of purpose, and also in the grand work which The Revolution seeks to do, and therefore you will not allow me to ask you in vain to come to the rescue. Yesterday's mail brought forty-three subscribers from Illinois and twenty from California. We only need time to win financial success. I know you will save me from giving the world a chance to say, 'There is a woman's rights failure; even the best of women can't manage business.' If I could only die, and thereby fail honorably, I would say 'amen,' but to live and fail--it would be too terrible to bear."²

The appearance of the Woman's Journal on the second anniversary of the founding of The Revolution marked the beginning of the end for the already struggling newspaper. The Woman's Journal was launched with a \$10,000 gift given to Lucy Stone and was edited by more moderate suffragists such as Mrs. Stone, Henry Blackwell, and William Lloyd Garrison.

[The Woman's Journal] drew around it as contributors and readers the rapidly growing numbers of women emerging into the greater social freedom and multiple activity of the '70's--club women, professionals, and writers. The Woman's Journal spoke for this group, many of whom were not yet ready to espouse the cause of woman suffrage, just as The Revolution spoke for and to the exploited woman worker or social outcast.

Of the two, there could be no question which would survive. For almost two and a half years Miss Anthony had kept her paper going, despite rising monumental debts, fighting every inch of the way for advertisers, subscribers, and backers. But the field was too small for more than one such paper. . . .³

In the early months of 1870, some women suggested that a moderation of the tone of The Revolution might give the paper a better chance to survive. Harriet Beecher Stowe and Isabella Beecher Hooker generously offered their services to The Revolution, but under

²Ibid., p. 354.

³Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (New York: Athenium, 1974), pp. 152-53.

conditions that Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton could not agree to. The two sisters proposed: "We will give our names as corresponding editors for your paper for one year and agree to furnish at least six articles apiece and also to secure an original article from some friend every other week during the year. We agree to do this without promised compensation, but on the condition that you will change the name of the paper to The True Republic, or something equally satisfactory to us; and that you will pay us equally for this service according to your ability, you yourself being sole judge of that."⁴ Mrs. Stanton's uncompromising reply showed that she and Miss Anthony would rather give up the paper than change its tone or focus:

As for changing the name of The Revolution, I should consider it a great mistake. We are thoroughly advertised under the present title. There is no other like it, never was, and never will be. The establishing of a woman on her rightful throne is the greatest of revolutions. It is no child's play. You and I know the conflict of the last twenty years; the ridicule, persecution, denunciation, detraction, the unmixed bitterness of our cup for the last two, when even friends have crucified us. . . . A journal called "The Rose-bud" might answer for those who come with kid gloves and perfumes to lay immortelle wreaths on the monuments which in sweat and tears we have hewn and built; but for us, and that great blacksmith of ours who forges such red-hot thunderbolts for Pharisees, hypocrites, and sinners, there is no name but The Revolution.⁵

In addition to lacking money and support, the editor and proprietor of The Revolution did not have time to devote to the paper. Mrs. Stanton, needing money for her children's college education, had

⁴Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, p. 357.

⁵Ibid.

begun lecturing with the Lyceum Bureau and was traveling throughout the United States. Miss Anthony was involved in organizational activities for the National Woman Suffrage Association at the same time that she was soliciting much-needed donations and advertisements and writing copy for the newspaper:

The strain upon Miss Anthony, who alone was carrying the whole burden, was terrible beyond description. Never was there a longer, harder, more persistent struggle against the malice of enemies, the urgent advice of friends, against all hope, than was made by this heroic woman. As the inevitable end approached she wrote of it to Mrs. Stanton, who answered: "Make any arrangements you can to roll that awful load off your shoulders. . . . Leave me to my individual work, the quiet of my home for the summer and the lyceum for the winter."⁶

Susan B. Anthony finally took her friend's advice, and on May 26, 1870 The Revolution carried the farewell columns of the two women. Neither woman admitted that financial problems were the reason for their relinquishing control of the paper; each insisted that she could better serve the suffrage cause by lecturing, agitating, and organizing. Mrs. Stanton, in an article entitled "Who Shall Fill Our Places," wrote that The Revolution would continue to agitate for the same reforms:

Born on a stormy sea, it [The Revolution] has bravely struggled against wind and tide for nearly three years, to be brought by the good ship Independent [the publishing venture that was buying The Revolution] into a safe harbor at last. . . .

Our good friend Susan, writing from Chicago, says of the transfer of The Revolution, "I feel a great, calm sadness like that of a mother binding out a pet child she could not support."

⁶Ibid., p. 361.

No! no! not so. It is rather like giving up the society of a much loved daughter to new and brilliant prospects, superior education, foreign travel, or a desirable matrimonial alliance.⁷

And according to Susan B. Anthony: "In view of the active demand for conventions, lectures and discussions on Woman Suffrage, I have concluded that so far as my own personal efforts are concerned, I can be more useful on the platform than in a newspaper."⁸

The paper was transferred to a joint stock company, and Laura Curtis Bullard, who had been foreign correspondent for the paper, became editor-in-chief. Mrs. Stanton would later tell this anecdote about the transfer:

There is something humorously pathetic in the death of The Revolution--that firstborn of Miss Anthony. Mrs. Laura Curtis Bullard generously assumed the care of the troublesome child, and, in order to make the adoption legal, gave the usual consideration--one dollar. The very night of the transfer Miss Anthony went to Rochester with the dollar in her pocket, and the little change left after purchasing her ticket. She arrived safely with her debts, but nothing more--her pocket had been picked! Oh, thief, could you but know the value of faithful work you purloined!⁹

Susan B. Anthony did not stay in Rochester very long. She decided a lecture tour with the Lyceum Bureau would help her repay her debts, while allowing her to speak out on the suffrage question.

⁷The Revolution, V (May 26, 1870), 328.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), p. 182.

By maintaining a rigorous lecture schedule and with the support of her family and friends, Miss Anthony paid off the last of the \$10,000 by May 1, 1876--six years, to the month, after she had relinquished control of The Revolution. By that time, the paper had been dead for four years. Laura Curtis Bullard had edited it for one year; in 1872, it was sold to J. N. Hallock, who merged it with The Liberal Christian.

Both Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton saw The Revolution as a major force in the post-war suffrage movement and as a major episode in their own lives. Reminiscing about the toll the paper took on her time and finances, Miss Anthony later wrote:

My financial recklessness has been much talked of. Let me tell you in what this recklessness consists: When there was need of greater outlay, I never thought of curtailing the amount of work to lessen the amount of cash demanded, but always doubled and quadrupled the efforts to raise the necessary sum; rushing for contributions to everyone who had professed love or interest for the cause. If it were 20,000 tracts for Kansas, the thought never entered my head to stint the number--only to tramp up and down Broadway for advertisements to pay for them. If to meet expenses of The Revolution, it was not to pinch clerks or printers, but to make a foray upon some moneykind. None but the Good Father can ever begin to know the terrible struggle of those years. I am not complaining, for mine is but the fate of almost every originator or pioneer who ever has opened up a way. I have the joy of knowing that I showed it to be possible to publish an out-and-out woman's paper, and taught other women to enter in and reap where I had sown. . . .

If you today should ask me to choose between the possession of \$25,000 and the immense work accomplished by my Revolution during the time in which I sank that amount, I should choose the work done--not the cash in hand. So, you see, I don't groan or murmur--not a bit of it; but for the good name of humanity, I would have liked to see the moneyed men and women rally around the seed-sowers.¹⁰

¹⁰Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. I, pp. 362-63.

Legacy of The Revolution

X The Revolution was important to the woman's rights movement for two reasons. First, its publication marked the beginning of a long line of suffragist newspapers. Second, it served as a propaganda organ for the woman's rights ideology of Susan B. Anthony *along with* and Elizabeth Cady Stanton--radical ideology not espoused by the more conservative feminists who gradually took over the nineteenth century woman's rights movement.

"From the advent of The Revolution can be dated a new era in the woman suffrage movement. Its brilliant, aggressive columns attract the comments of the press, and drew attention of the country to the reform so ably advocated. Many other papers devoted to the discussion of woman's enfranchisement soon arose."¹¹ Between 1868, when The Revolution was first published, and 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment, granting woman suffrage, was ratified, the suffrage press was a viable and active medium for suffragists throughout the United States. A researcher in the 1970s has found evidence of more than sixty suffrage newspapers:

The suffrage press was an amalgam of journals with their own distinct characteristics. These newspapers ranged from the radical to the conservative, from The Revolution, which supported legalized prostitution, abortion, and easy divorce, to the Woman's Journal, which deplored the "social evil," "infanticide," and the dissolution of the marriage bond. They ranged from the nationally oriented Woman's National Weekly to the locally oriented

¹¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, eds., History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. I (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1881), p. 46.

Wisconsin Citizen. There were long-lived suffrage publications, such as the Woman's Tribune, which ran for twenty-six years, and short-lived suffrage publications, such as the Agitator, which ran for six months. They were as short as the four-page Woman's Column and as long as the forty-two-page Everywoman. Some, like the New Northwest, printed poems, recipes, and others, like The Suffragist, published only information concerned with the enfranchisement struggle. Suffrage newspapers came from all parts of the country, from New York to Des Moines, Portland to New Orleans, and they came in all the journalistic forms, from sloppy weekly broadsheet to slick monthly magazine.¹²

The suffrage press was important in carrying the woman's rights message to women throughout the United States:

The need for enfranchisement news and propaganda was felt at all levels of suffrage activity and met by all levels of the suffrage press. The press also served other requirements of the feminist movement. Those newspapers enunciated the goals of the movement and suggested the ways in which those goals might be attained. It provided information for the political socialization and education of its readers. It trumpeted the accomplishments of women, deeds that ranged from simple bravery to major educational achievements. Feminist journals helped bring the movement together and keep it together. They made their readers laugh over humorous short stories and cry over tragic tales of female inequality. They further made feminists aware of the arguments used against them and the counterarguments that could be used for them. In enunciating these theses, in performing these functions, the woman suffrage press, therefore, made a valuable contribution to the nation's women and to their struggle for equality of status.¹³

The woman suffrage press has traditionally been overlooked by journalism historians, although historians studying the suffrage

¹²Lynn Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing Less: The Functions of the American Woman Suffrage Press, 1868-1920" (Paper presented at the Fall, 1975, conference of Women Historians of the Midwest, St. Paul, Minn.), n.p.

¹³Ibid.

movement have used extant suffrage periodicals as primary research sources. Recent interest in woman's history, however, had lead scholars to investigate and analyze the suffrage press for its own sake. It is hoped that publication of such research will provide information on the suffrage press and its influence on the movement, on the general public, and on other media.¹⁴

Because suffragists newspapers are part of the intellectual history of the woman's movement, study of these publications can enhance our knowledge of the ideology of feminism. In assessing the content of The Revolution, for example, one is impressed with the radical nature of the woman's rights arguments contained therein. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were adamant in their insistence that women should be denied none of the rights and privileges men enjoyed. Suffrage was one of these rights and privileges, but political autonomy for women was just one of the goals of the two women. Thus discussions of the inequities suffered by women in religion, education, and marriage formed an integral part of The Revolution.

One can discern ideological similarities between the arguments of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony and the rhetoric of women in

¹⁴Two developments in the study of the history of women in journalism should be noted. Lynn Masel-Walters is writing a doctoral dissertation for the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism on the woman suffrage press. A book about women journalists, Up From the Footnotes, by Marion Marzolf of the University of Michigan and Ramona Rush of the University of Florida, Gainesville, is about to be published by Hastings House.

the new wave of feminism of the 1960s and 1970s. When the modern women began raising these issues, however, they did not know that they were part of an ideological heritage. For most of the radical ideas of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony were not espoused by the later suffragists. Radical ideas like those appearing in The Revolution were too strong for many liberals who simply thought women should have the vote, and during the 1870s and 1880s, new leaders, in the National Woman Suffrage Association as well as in the conservative American Woman Suffrage Association, began to modify and moderate the tone of their pro-suffrage arguments. In was during this period, for example, that the argument that women had a natural right to the franchise was replaced with the expediency argument, which held that women voters would help clean up politics.

At the time when the men of their group were taking new cognizance of the ways in which men differed from each other, new arguments for suffrage evolved, emphasizing the ways in which women differed from men. If the justice of the claim to political equality could no longer suffice, then the women's task was to show that expedience required it. The claim of women to the vote as a natural right never disappeared from the suffragist rationale, but the meaning of natural right changed in response to the new realities, and new arguments enumerating the reforms that women voters could effect took their places alongside the natural right principle that had been the staple of the plea of the suffragists in the early days of the movement. . . . Some suffragists used the expediency argument because social reform was their principal goal and suffrage the means. Other suffragists used the expedience argument because the link of woman suffrage to reform seemed to be the best way to secure support for their principal goal: the vote.¹⁵

¹⁵Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1971), p. 39.

A major problem one faces in studying the history of the woman suffrage movement is that many of the histories and biographies of the early suffragists were written in the period from 1890 to 1920 when the movement was dominated by conservative women. Thus many of the authors of these books emphasized the "womanly qualities" of suffrage leaders, pointing out, for example, that Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott were good housekeepers, or that Susan B. Anthony had been an excellent teacher, had attracted suitors, and had been interested in wearing attractive clothing. Study of The Revolution, however, enables one to recapture the radical woman's rights arguments raised during the Reconstruction period.

Gayle Graham Yates's What Women Want: The Ideas of the Movement contains an example of the inaccuracy that can result from accepting the attitudes of the later suffragists as representative of the entire movement. Dr. Yates's book is not primarily concerned with the suffragist movement; it is an intellectual history of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. According to her, there are three models, or paradigms, of woman's rights ideology: the feminist (in which women strive to be equal to men), the woman's liberationist (in which woman strives to achieve her rights by separating herself, either physically or psychologically, from men), and the androgynous (in which men and women strive together to construct a new society in which men and women are equal to each other). In showing the historical roots for the modern resurgence of the woman's rights movement, Ms. Yates places the entire suffragist

movement in the feminist paradigm, insisting that a movement designed simply to give women the vote, a right that men possessed, was not a movement interested in any radical reconstruction of society. Although this description applies to American Woman Suffrage Association members such as Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell and to later members and leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, it seems to be an inadequate ideological model to encompass the woman's rights philosophy that appeared in The Revolution. Ms. Yates describes the early woman's rights advocates:

The women who wrote, spoke, and acted for change in women's role in American society from the colonial period to 1920 had a masculine model or paradigm for the change they sought. The women wanted to be like men. They wanted the rights and opportunities men had. They did not ask for a bold reconstruction of society. Rather, they asked that they, the dispossessed, be allowed to participate on an equal basis in already established institutions and opportunities. They wanted to be equal with men in what men had already demonstrated as valued modes of living. They accepted as good men's values of holding property, obtaining education, participating in professional life or factory work, and voting in a democratic political system, and they wanted a share in these values. They defined their oppression in relation to what men had and saw the male controllers of society as their oppressors.¹⁶

These beliefs were indeed part of the woman's rights propaganda contained in The Revolution, but there was much more. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton did not see the vote, equal opportunity, reformed marriage laws, and coeducation as ends in themselves, that is, of areas in which women should be equal to men. Rather, they

¹⁶Gayle Graham Yates, What Women Want: The Ideas of the Movement (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 33.

saw these reforms as a necessary first step women would have to take to have the power to restructure society in a way that would accommodate women's needs. In dress reform, for example, women wanted the freedom men had to walk, run, and play without being encumbered by hoops and heavy skirts and without having tight stays restricting their breathing. But The Revolution did not advocate that women adopt men's clothes; the paper asked that a new, more comfortable style of dress be designed for women.

Although Ms. Yates is probably oversimplifying the suffragist movement's ideology, her assessment of the inadequacy of the feminist mode (the mode that includes the expediency arguments of the later suffragists) demonstrates the reason that contemporary feminists have not turned to suffragist history for inspiration:

Although the equalitarian view did have the effect of planting the seeds of revolution, of pointing toward radical change by stating the problem of women's oppression and opposing it, it was almost always limited by the unquestioned assumption that the masculinist way of doing things was the right way. The early feminists' achievements were piecemeal, though constructive. It was a good thing for women to begin to become educated like men, to become professionals, to gain the vote. But the equalitarian mode had within it an unspoken acceptance of the masculinist framework; it was a masculine-equalitarian unit. Herein lies its failure to be revolutionary. If women's goal is to be like men, they tacitly accept the very premise they claim to reject--that women are inferior to men.¹⁷

That the feminist paradigm was rejected by Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton can be seen in this description of a speech Mrs. Stanton made in 1892:

¹⁷Ibid.

The responsibilities of life, Mrs. Stanton declared, rest equally on men and women. It would be a mockery to talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life, for they beat upon her from every point of the compass and with more fatal results, for man has been educated to protect himself, to resist, and to conquer. Who, she asked, dared take on himself the rights, the duties, or the responsibilities of another human soul? . . . Mrs. Stanton was demanding for woman not the right to manifest her equality but the right to become equal.¹⁸

Susan Hartmann has described the differences between the early and later suffragists, making the distinction between those arguments based on principle and those based on expediency:

The early feminist platform was based on abstract principles of natural law, justice, and equality, stressing the identity of (rather than the differences between) men and women as members of the human race and demanding self-determination and equality of rights and responsibilities.

Although a substantial number of these demands were won in the seventy years following the Seneca Falls convention, they were not achieved on the terms established by the first feminists. Many changes were promoted by men and women unsympathetic to the organized women's movement and to the universal principles expressed in the [Seneca Falls] declaration. Those with the power to effect the reforms were moved less by a commitment to these general principles than by expediency, and women's interests were subordinated to the interests of the larger society. Finally, most of the advances rested on assumptions which emphasized innate differences between men and women.¹⁹

✕ Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton did not believe that men and women had innate differences. Thus the woman's rights philosophy of these two pioneers is more in keeping with the androgynous ideal of many modern feminists than it was with the egalitarian beliefs of

¹⁸Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 41.

¹⁹Susan M. Hartmann, "The Paradox of Women's Progress 1820-1920" (St. Charles, Mo.: Forum Press, 1974), p. 4.

many of their contemporaries. According to Hartmann: "Recapturing the principles of 1848 sustained in the following years by only a small minority of women activists, today's feminists seek liberation from institutional and ideological barriers on the basis of justice and of the equality and identity of men and women as human beings."²⁰

The Revolution was the propaganda organ for that "small minority of women activists" whose ideas were too radical for their contemporaries: "Susan B. Anthony had properly called her periodical The Revolution, for she and her friends wanted to revolutionize the American domestic system. Not only did they propose to get at the roots of woman's oppressed condition, but they also had that narrow dedication to the interests of one's own group, and that willingness to sacrifice the interests of others, that distinguishes revolutionary leaders."²¹

²⁰Ibid., p. 14.

²¹William O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 352.

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APPENDIX

The woman suffrage press in general has not been the subject of methodical study, and The Revolution has fared only slightly better than many of the less well-known suffragist periodicals. Brief accounts of the newspaper are included in the many biographies of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton available today.

The Revolution has served as a primary source for historians studying the early days of the organized movement for woman suffrage in the United States, but until now no major published work has concentrated on this periodical alone or as a representative of the woman suffrage press.

Feminist historians are changing this situation; a history of women journalists in the United States is scheduled for publication this year. Up From the Footnotes, by Marion Marzolf of the University of Michigan and Ramona Rush of the University of Florida, Gainesville, will include a section on nineteenth and early twenties century suffrage publications.

Lynn Masel-Walters is now working on a doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin. She is conducting a thematic content assessment of twenty-two suffrage newspapers. Ms. Masel-Walters has found evidence of more than sixty suffrage publications, including newsletters of local and regional suffrage organizations. Her list

was not available to this writer. Following is a list of thirty-nine suffrage journals, compiled from sources including National Union List of Serials, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, and A History of American Magazines by Frank Luther Mott. Individuals interested in compiling a more complete list would be encouraged to check with state and local historical societies.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>Aegis</u> | <u>New Southern Citizen</u> | <u>Woman Citizen</u> |
| <u>Agitator</u> | <u>N. Y. Suffrage</u> | <u>Woman Patriot</u> |
| <u>American Suffragette</u> | <u>Newsletter</u> | <u>Woman Rebel</u> |
| <u>Ballot Box</u> | <u>Pacific Empire</u> | <u>Woman Voter</u> |
| <u>Equal Rights</u> | <u>Pioneer</u> | <u>Woman's Advocate</u> |
| <u>Everywoman</u> | <u>Progress</u> | <u>Woman's Campaign</u> |
| <u>Michigan Suffragist</u> | <u>Queen Bee</u> | <u>Woman's Column</u> |
| <u>National Citizen and</u> | <u>The Revolution</u> | <u>Woman's Era</u> |
| <u>Ballot Box</u> | <u>Sorosis</u> | <u>Woman's Journal</u> |
| <u>National Suffrage</u> | <u>The Suffragist</u> | <u>Woman's National</u> |
| <u>Bulletin</u> | <u>The Vote</u> | <u>Weekly</u> |
| <u>New American Woman</u> | <u>Votes for Women</u> | <u>Woman's Standard</u> |
| <u>New Citizen</u> | <u>Western Woman Voter</u> | <u>Woman's Tribune</u> |
| <u>New Era</u> | <u>Wisconsin Citizen</u> | <u>Woodhull and Claflin's</u> |
| <u>New Northwest</u> | | <u>Weekly</u> |



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