

Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey



Place de la République Française
Photograph by Elizabeth Churchich

From the Documents **The Guardian of the Ballot Box**

Walking in Paris one day, I was deeply impressed with an emblematic statue in the open square Chateau d'Eau placed there in 1883, in honor of the Republic. On one side is a magnificent bronze lion with his fore paw on the electoral urn, which answers to our ballot box, as if to guard it from all unholy uses. Having overturned all pretensions to royalty and nobility and all artificial distinctions between class and class and declared the rights of the people to have a voice in their laws and rulers, they exalted the idea of Republican government and universal suffrage with this magnificent monument, the royal lion guarding the sacred treasures within the electoral urn, more valuable than crown or scepter, the votes of a great people...It would be well for us to ponder the Frenchman's idea, but instead of the royal lion representing force, let us substitute wisdom and virtue in the form of woman.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Woman's Tribune*, 11 June 1898

SIXTH AND FINAL VOLUME IS COMPLETED AN AWFUL HUSH

An Awful Hush, 1895 to 1906, volume 6 of *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, has gone to press. By design, this is the final volume of the edition.

These have been strange times in which to bring this history to the public: echoes of the past have ricocheted around us every day. Access to the ballot is central to most of the stories told in the book, whether about campaigning for woman suffrage, disfranchising African-American men across the South, making property ownership a qualification for voting in the islands acquired from Spain, or testing for English literacy in order to vote in northern states.

In this modern era of voter suppression, the historical texts have had unwelcome relevance. Elizabeth Cady Stanton frequently described the lion who guards a ballot box in Paris, pictured to the left in a recent photograph, because it captured for her the significance of the ballot in a republic and the duty of citizens to protect their right to it.

At the turn of the century, in their final decades, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony had frequent occasion to realize that the progressive ideal was flawed, that women were not easily holding the ground they gained over the course of the nineteenth century. In 1902, when at least two coeducational universities were reconsidering the wisdom of their welcome to women, Mary McHenry Keith of Berkeley, California, coined a phrase for these reactionary impulses, "a tendency to crowd her back a page." Writing an appreciation of Keith's speech on the subject, Anthony observed that after fighting for everything they had gained, women "will have to fight on to maintain what they have

Continued on page 4



Prison doors decorate this detail of the award.

Ann D. Gordon, editor of the six-volume *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, was awarded this year's Silent Sentinel Award by the Turning Point Suffragist Memorial Association of Occoquan, Virginia. The award, given previously to Helen Thomas and Eleanor Holmes Norton, honors "an outstanding woman who shares common traits with those women who made personal sacrifice to secure the 19th Amendment."

In an unusual take on historical work, the Association interpreted its standard for the award to include collecting and publishing the papers of two pioneers of the woman suffrage agitation. "Her accomplishment," the citation reads, "is no less extraordinary than their own in helping contemporary Americans understand the necessity for equal rights."

Suffragists arrested at the White House for protesting their disenfranchisement during World War I were imprisoned and force fed at Occoquan Workhouse. The Turning Point Suffragist Memorial will be erected across the road from the site formerly occupied by their jail.

Several descendants of suffragists held at Occoquan attended the award ceremony on May 30, including Honora Horan, granddaughter of Elizabeth Selden Rogers and college friend of Ann Gordon. Also in attendance was Patricia G. Holland, coeditor with Gordon of the comprehensive *Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony Papers*, microfilm edition.

The elegant ceremony took place at Meadowlark Botanical Gardens, Vienna, Virginia, once the home of the social historian and New Dealer Caroline Ware. Eleanor Clift of *Newsweek* and the *Daily Beast* delivered the keynote. Two prominent beneficiaries of the Stanton and Anthony Papers testified to the value of the historical edition for their work. Lynn Sherr, journalist, author, and student of Susan B. Anthony, praised the *Selected Papers* for "wit and precision and sly asides" as well as the texts of Stanton and Anthony. Ken Burns, Honorary Patron of the event, reminisced with good humor about working with Ann Gordon on his film *Not for Ourselves Alone*, remarking on her "very thorough and rigorous" and "very tough" suggestions at every stage.

You can learn more about the Turning Point Memorial Association on Facebook and at <http://www.suffragistmemorial.org/>

What's Next?

Website: This will stay up and up-to-date as long as possible.

ecssba.rutgers.edu

Files: Looking for a home are 122 linear feet of research and document files and 17.5 feet of 4"x6" records. When the files are relocated, the website will direct potential users to the new location.

Editors' Notes

You can see one of our recent experiments on the World Wide Web at

editorsnotes.org

Editors' Notes is a collaboration of editors from the Margaret Sanger Papers at New York University, the Emma Goldman Papers at Berkeley, the Stanton and Anthony Papers at Rutgers, and archivists at the University of Michigan's Labadie Collection, working with Michael Buckland, Emeritus Professor at Berkeley's School of Information, and Ryan Shaw, Assistant Professor at the University of North Carolina School of Information and Library Science.

Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the team is exploring ways that editors can make their research available more quickly, more fully, and more widely by using the Web.

The experiments from each project differ widely. For our main experiment on the website, entitled "Women Already Voters: Test Cases during Reconstruction," we dipped into the office files for an outstanding example of research by the editorial assistants who prepared volume two of the *Selected Papers of Stanton and Anthony*. They assembled the most complete compilation anywhere of sources about voting rights cases launched by women during the early years of Reconstruction, eight of which reached federal and state courts between 1868 and 1875. Rather than leave this legal history idle in file drawers, we made the primary sources available for whatever new purposes students, teachers, or scholars might discover. The sources tell a cluster of stories left behind when notes were written.

There are many gems like that one in the project's files, and you can expect to see more experiments soon.



Welcome to the Imaginarium: Lists, Lies, and Life

A strange artifact of twentieth-century political and religious imaginations is the appropriation of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to serve the purposes of criminalizing abortion. These two secular humanists are embraced by fundamentalists without a shred of evidence to suggest agreement about the uses of state power to enforce religious precepts, the individual rights of women, or any tenet of this modern, reactionary movement.

Though it is a preposterous association that requires standing history on its head, an effective propaganda has made an imaginary history look real. Stanton and Anthony are each depicted on roadside billboards with the fictional claim that they labored to outlaw abortion, paid for by the group calling itself “Feminists Choosing Life of New York.” The “Susan B. Anthony List” is the improbable name of a conservative PAC devoted to electing Republican anti-abortionists to Congress. Anthony’s birthplace in Western Massachusetts has been turned into a center of misinformation by its anti-abortion activist owners.

MARRIAGE AND MATERNITY.

In a late **REVOLUTION** is an extract from the *New York Medical Gazette* rebuking a practice common among married women, and demanding a law for its suppression.

Much as I deplore the horrible crime of child-murder, earnestly as I desire its suppression, I cannot believe with the writer of the above-mentioned article, that such a law would have the desired effect. It seems to me to be only mowing off the top of the noxious weed, while the root remains.

We want prevention, not merely punishment. We must reach the root of the evil, and destroy it.

To my certain knowledge this crime is not confined to those whose love of ease, amusement and fashionable life leads them to desire immunity from the cares of children; but is practiced by those whose inmost souls revolt from the dreadful deed, and in whose hearts the maternal feeling is pure and undying. What, then, has driven these women to the desperation necessary to force them to commit such a deed? This question being answered, I believe we shall have such an insight into the matter as to be able to talk more clearly of a remedy.

Women are educated to think that with marriage their individuality ceases or is transferred to their husbands. The wife has thenceforth no right over her own body. This is also the hus-

Opening of an anonymous article falsely attributed to Susan B. Anthony, *Revolution*, 8 July 1869

THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS.
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN.
DISCUSSIONS ON ENLIGHTENED MATERNITY AND THE COEDUCATION OF THE SEXES—PAPERS BY MRS. CAROLINE A. SOULE, MRS. SARAH J. SPENCER, AND OTHERS.

The second day's sessions of the Association for the Advancement of Women were held in the Union Square Theater yesterday, beginning at 10 a. m. The hall and the corridors were crowded. Mrs. E. B. Hooker invoked the divine blessing, after which the Rev. Augusta C. Bristol spoke on Enlightened Motherhood. Mrs. E. C. Lovering of Concord, N. H., and Mrs. Elizabeth Churchill of Rhode Island followed on the same subject.

Mrs. Henry B. Stanton asked what would be thought of an artist who should fill his studio with distorted forms, and yet that was what American mothers were doing. They were filling the world with cripples and monsters. Men had taught that it was woman's greatest glory to bear children, but as John Stuart Mill said, it was greater to give the world one hon than ten jackasses. They must teach the rising generation of girls that numbers was not their glory, but quality. It was not the duty of every man and woman to be parents, and that was why infanticide was so common. It was easier to create a type of noble manhood than to regenerate the present type.

A report of Elizabeth Cady Staton's remarks to the Association for the Advancement of Women, *New York Tribune*, 17 October 1873.

Evidence is of no importance in the case. Never mind that Stanton worked for women to achieve self-sovereignty. Answering criticism at a meeting in 1873 that she appeared to favor infanticide, Stanton explained that she “had merely stated what was an acknowledged fact in the world and always would be until women had the full and entire control of their own persons.” The claim is made on the Susan B. Anthony List’s website that, “Susan B. Anthony herself called abortion ‘child murder.’” Never mind that Anthony did not write the article to which they point, and its anonymous author used the phrase in a sentence that *condemns* New York State’s efforts to criminalize abortion after the Civil War. This is nonsense dressed in historical costumes.

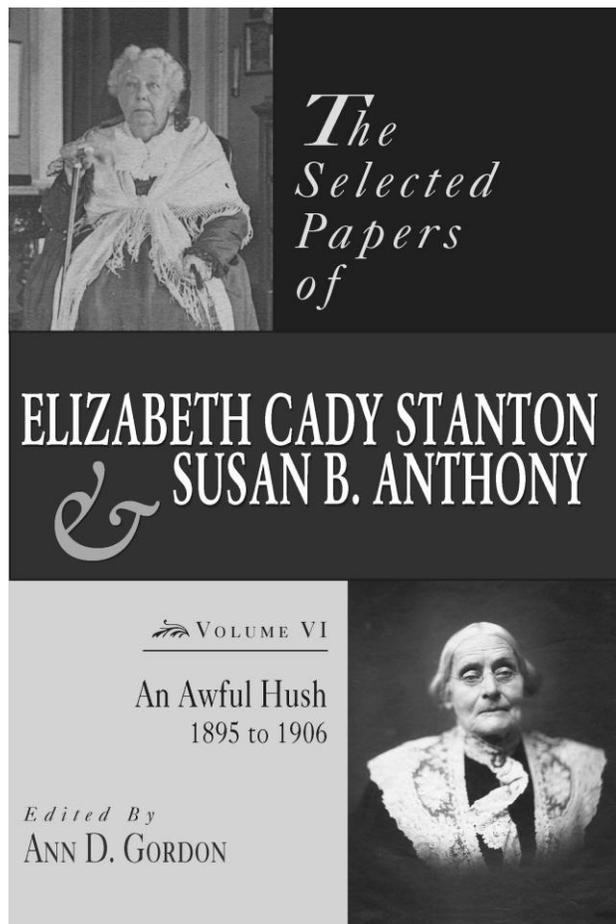
Neither Stanton nor Anthony ever campaigned or lobbied for any aspect of what modern women call reproductive rights. They did, however, express views about women’s need to control her sexual life, to have the freedom to say no, and to be willing and able mothers. They opposed husbands’ rights to force sex on their wives, and they opposed a legal system that imposed no penalties on men who impregnated women but criminalized women who chose not to mother the child.

The invented story is more than a political nuisance or static in the conversation about equal rights. It takes direct aim at the credibility and standards of women’s history. The upside-down and inside-out figures of Stanton and Anthony deployed in anti-abortion politics embody a story at odds with the well-documented history of women’s quest for rights that is designed to obliterate the rights themselves.



Introducing Volume 6: *An Awful Hush, 1895 to 1906* (2012)

Eds. Ann D. Gordon, Michael David Cohen, Sara Rzeszutek Haviland, Andy Bowers, and Katharine Lee



Awful Hush, continued

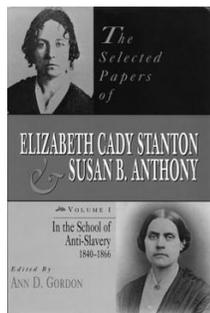
got, for men seem inclined to take away from us, even that which we thought we had.” The relevance in 2012 need not be spelled out.

With this volume, Stanton and Anthony die, the *Selected Papers* concludes, and the editor retires. Sadness and pride, past and present, mix in equal measure. The title of this final volume comes from a letter Susan B. Anthony wrote from New York City on 28 October 1902, a day before the funeral of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Well, it is an awful hush—it seems impossible—that the voice is hushed—that I have longed to hear for 50 years—longed to get her opinion of things—before I knew exactly where I stood— It is all at sea—but the Laws of Nature are still going on—with no shadow or turning— What a world it is—it goes right on & on—no matter who lives or who dies!!

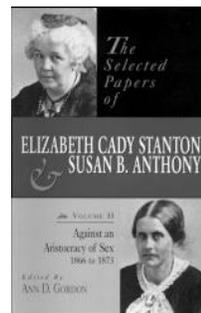


Vol. 1: *In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840 to 1866* (1997)



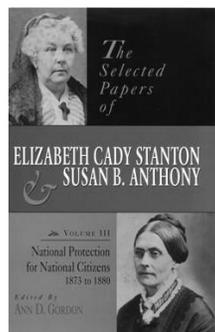
Eds. Ann D. Gordon, Tamara Gaskell Miller, Stacy Kinlock Sewell, Ann Pfau, Arlene Kriv

Vol. 2: *Against an Aristocracy of Sex, 1866 to 1873* (2000)



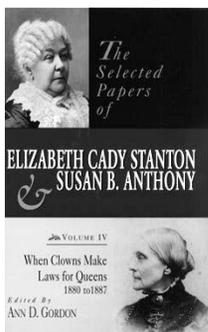
Eds. Ann D. Gordon, Tamara Gaskell Miller, Susan I. Johns, Oona Schmid, Mary Poole, Veronica A. Wilson, Stacy Kinlock Sewell

Vol. 3: *National Protection for National Citizens, 1873 to 1880* (2003)



Eds. Ann D. Gordon, Allison L. Sneider, Ann Pfau, Kimberly J. Banks, Lesley L. Doig, Meg Meneghel MacDonald, Margaret Sumner

Vol. 4: *When Clowns Make Laws for Queens, 1880 to 1887* (2006)



Eds. Ann D. Gordon, Lesley L. Doig, Krystal Frazier, Emily Westkaemper, Robin Chapdelaine

Vol. 5: *Their Place inside the Body-Politic, 1887 to 1895* (2009)



Eds. Ann D. Gordon, Lesley L. Doig, Patricia Hampson, Kathleen Manning, and Shannen Dee Williams

Sold individually or as a specially priced 6 Volume Set \$325.00 USD. Available at RutgersPress.Rutgers.edu.

Making It Happen

The Stanton and Anthony Papers Project arrived at Rutgers University in 1992 with cartons of resources, a good record raising money, one unpaid editor left over from the publication of a microfilm edition, and no money on hand. In that first year of dreaming about volumes of *Selected Papers*, the staff consisted of that volunteer editor and one undergraduate intern. We sat next to each other in a borrowed office writing grant proposals, style sheets, and how-to manuals and transcribing the first texts for a still fanciful book.

Quite without plan, that time spent with Jennifer Boutell established a model that endured for twenty years—an editorial team consisting of students. It was without plan because it never occurred to me that this was possible and less, that this was something I could make work. In 1993, in another borrowed office, two of us got paid, me on a grant-funded salary and Arlene Kriv, then a graduate student in the Department of History, earning hourly wages. For a part of that year, another amazing undergraduate intern joined us.

Various rites of passage toward adulthood followed and provided some stature as a part of the university's research community. Assistantships with the Stanton and Anthony Papers became available for graduate students in 1994. Offices were assigned to the project. A second full-time historian, Tammy Gaskell, joined the staff that year too. After her departure, eight other historians joined the project for periods ranging from six to fifteen months, often as post-doctoral fellows. Ann Pfau wore nearly all available hats as she earned her degree—graduate assistant three years, hourly employee in a few summers, and full-time faculty for a year.

The graduate assistants were key—two people, eleven months of the year, fifteen hours per week apiece. To them were added more and more students who came for a time and pitched in for hourly wages. All the students figured out how to hand down the work culture to the next generation of students. There is office information still kept in a composition book set up by Arlene Kriv in 1993, still decorated with her Amnesty International sticker. The students have transmitted to each other detailed directions about how to code the final files, how to request permissions to publish, how to back-up all the computers. Students still consult Stacy Sewell's guide to useful library sources to identify quotations, written out by hand in about 1998. The display of posters and postcards installed in new offices in 2001 by Margaret Sumner, Ann Pfau, and Kim Banks are in place. Krystal Frazier's index terms and abbreviations for a database are still posted by each desk. The website has been handed down from one graduate student to the next for twelve years, created by Kim Banks, made over by Damian Miller, and annually tweaked using Damian's amazing directions.

What we were doing—what we have done—carrying out the work of a major editorial project principally with students— attracted notice. Some members of the "extended family" will recall a dinner where we were joined by an editor from

Princeton: she asked to come in order to meet the students whose remarkable enthusiasm and hard work allowed this project to be staffed in a unique manner.

The work culture that students constructed made it possible to do so much with so little. Their enduring contributions are in the scholarship. Elsewhere in this issue of the newsletter mention is made of the leftovers of research on women's voting rights cases in federal and state courts in the era of Reconstruction, recently posted to the Web. That's the work of Susan Johns, Oona Schmid, and Tammy Gaskell, in about 1999, and it is still stunning work. The files are stuffed with comparable resources.

The people listed on this page were undergraduate and graduate students, as well as full-time employees at the project between 1992 and 2012. If we forgot someone, I apologize.

A.D.G.

Special Mention

Mekala Audain ✂ Kimberly Banks ✂ Jennifer Boutell ✂
Andy Bowers ✂ Danielle Bradley ✂ Kathryn Brower ✂
Michael David Cohen ✂ Robin Chapdelaine ✂ Lesley
Doig ✂ Kara V. Donaldson ✂ Sara DuBow ✂ Leigh-
Ann Francis ✂ Krystal Frazier ✂ Tamara Gaskell ✂
Tiffany Gill ✂ Patricia Hampson ✂ Sara Rzeszutek
Haviland ✂ Vanessa Holden ✂ Travis Jeffres ✂ Susan
Johns ✂ Melissa Klapper ✂ Ivy M. Klenetsky ✂ Arlene
Kriv ✂ Katharine Lee ✂ Meg Meneghel MacDonald ✂
Jennifer Manion ✂ Kathleen Manning ✂ Laurie
Marhoefer ✂ Peter Mickulas ✂ Damian Miller ✂ Amrita
Myers ✂ Ann Marie Nicolosi ✂ Ann Pfau ✂ Amanda
Pipkin ✂ Mary Poole ✂ Lynn D. Ritter ✂ Oona
Schmid ✂ Kate Sell ✂ Stacy Kinlock Sewell ✂ Harriet
M. Sigerman ✂ Ilanit Sluzak ✂ Allison L. Sneider ✂
Maragret Sumner ✂ Lauren Toth ✂ Mary K. Trigg ✂
Rebecca Tuuri ✂ Megha N. Vyas ✂ Ama Wattley ✂
Dara Walker ✂ Brian Walsh ✂ Tamar Weinstock ✂
Terri Wells ✂ Emily Westkaemper ✂ Shannen Dee
Williams ✂ Veronica Wilson ✂ Lindsey Wilson ✂
Jasmin A. Young ✂ Terri Youngwha



Some of the team, out to dinner, 11 June 2012. Photograph by the waiter. From the left, Megha Vyas, Rebecca Tuuri, Robin Chapdelaine, Vanessa Holden, Ann Gordon, Dara Walker, and Mekala Audain

How It's Done

In another sign of reaction against woman's rights, this time in the spring of 1905, the *Ladies' Home Journal* circulated Grover Cleveland's foolish plea that women stay home from their clubs to take care of their husbands and refrain from seeking their right to vote. Charles Lewis Bartholomew, editorial cartoonist for the *Minneapolis Journal*, joined scores of artists illustrating how women responded with this image of the energetic eighty-five year old Susan B. taking care of business, to the amusement of Uncle Sam. Anthony kept this copy of the cartoon in her scrapbooks.



Minneapolis Journal, April 26, 1905, from Scrapbook 1905-1906, Susan B. Anthony Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

Papers of Stanton and Anthony

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